

INTRODUCTION

What Happened to the “Island of the Pope”?



Syra ou Syros, come l'appelloient les anciens, est une île de la mer Égée ou Archipel, située presque au centre des Cyclades, vers le 37e degré 22 minutes de latitude et le 42e degré 14 minutes de longitude. Sa longueur du N.O. au S.E. est d'environ 14 milles, et sa largeur de l'O. à l'E., c'est qui lui donne environ 40 milles des côtes, quoiqu'on les estime communément qu'à 36 dans le pays.¹

A medium-sized island, Syros counts among the most densely populated islands in the Cyclades, with more than twenty thousand inhabitants, two-thirds of whom live in Hermoupolis, the regional capital of the South Aegean administrative district of the Aegean Sea, a town founded and built by Greek Orthodox merchants and refugees during the Greek War of Independence (1821–1832). The fact that a third of its population are Roman Catholics adds a touch of Levantine multiculturalism to the nineteenth-century cosmopolitanism of the new city. Viewed from the sea, the two hills facing each other over the harbor, each with a church on the top, the Catholic Saint George Cathedral and the Orthodox Resurrection of the Savior, are emblematic of the multiple links of cooperation, interdependence and/or antagonisms between Orthodox and Catholics.

This was not always the case. The Greek Revolution of 1821 constitutes a radical rupture in the history of the island, separating before from after. Before, in the Ottoman era, Syra, as it was then known, was the only Aegean island inhabited for centuries by a majority of Catholics. According to most sources, between the early seventeenth and the beginnings of the nineteenth century, the Latins, also called Franks (*φράγκοι*, *efrenc*) by their Orthodox counterparts and the imperial administration, accounted for more than 90 percent of the island's population, compared to only “a handful of Greeks.”² Hence, Syra became the “most Catholic island of the Archipelago,”³ also known as the “island of the Pope.”

With a handful of notable exceptions,⁴ the presence, activity, and distinct identity of this community after its integration into the Greek nation-state has drawn only marginal attention in scholarly research. In most histories of the revolutionary events, the Latins of Syros figure usually as a detail in the saga of

founding and building in only a few years a new city that would become a major industrial and commercial hub of the new kingdom. According to a master narrative shaped in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the majority of indigenous Latins withdrew to the hill, overwhelmed by the revolutionary events, to be dragged into the new realities of the nation-state once the war was over.⁵

This research springs out of a gap I noticed back in 2016–17 while doing research on the population movements of hundreds of thousands of Christians and Muslims during the Greek War of Independence, in an early occurrence of the mass migrations of ethnic un-mixing of peoples in the region.⁶ While the arrival and settlement in Syros of tens of thousands of Greek Orthodox after 1822 is one of the best-documented aspects of the various forms of forced or voluntary migration, the encounter of those newcomers from Chios, Ayvalik, Psara, Crete, and all parts of the Ottoman Levant with the local Latin community, and the reactions and reluctant integration of the latter into the new state, have always remained a side story, in the background of those epochal events.

This book attempts to revisit Syros's transition from the perspective of the medieval hill town and the Latin community of four to five thousand souls who lived within its walls. How did the native inhabitants of the “island of the Pope” experience the arrival of over thirty thousand refugees and settlers? How did they initially implement their neutrality in the conflict between Greeks and Ottomans, and how did they respond to the different forms of violence? How did they affirm, accommodate, or compromise their distinct Latin identity and how did this shape their allegiances and tactics in the changing conjunctures? After all, how did they respond to that Braudelian “call of history,” the transformation of their island in the twinkling of an eye into a major hub of the Levantine trade?

The Aegean Archipelago: A Space In-between in Times of Transition

A precarious, restricted, and threatened life, such was the lot of the islands, their domestic life at any rate. But their external life, the role they have played in the forefront of history far exceeds what might be expected from such poor territories. The events of history often lead to the islands. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that they make use of them.⁷

The most recent synthesis of a history of Hermoupolis by Christos Loukos, covering the period until the mid-twentieth century, contains a brief but interesting section on the old town and the local Catholic community. The claims of the Catholics to their properties seized in the mid-1820s by the Greek Orthodox settlers continued to feed occasional tensions throughout the nineteenth century. Anti-Catholicism remained pronounced among the inhabitants

of Hermoupolis. The old medieval town and the newly built city were integrated as separate administrative entities and remained so, in different forms, all through the twentieth century. Despite various pressures, the local Syriots maintained for decades their trade and networks with the Levantine hubs of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea. About a century later, a few years after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, their distinct hybrid identity based on indigenesness and religion had been adapted to the new setting: “We, Greek Catholics, aspire to be Catholics within Hellenism and Greeks within Catholicism.”⁸

Until the Greek Revolution, Syriot Catholics were generally known or referred to as Latins, and as such they declared their neutrality at the outbreak of the Greek insurgency. They were first addressed as “Greeks of the Western Church” by representatives of the provisional revolutionary government and as such were also included in the newly established Greek Kingdom.⁹ This book relates how, within a decade of war, incursions, attacks, land encroachments, mass arrivals of refugees and settlers that sometimes bore a resemblance to colonization or outright conquest, the community of indigenous Syriot Catholics abandoned their Latin identity for that of Greeks of the Western Church. During the next two centuries within the nation-state, that story has not been an easy one to recount for either side. Instead, various Catholic Syriot intellectuals often sought to integrate their community into the national history, by highlighting linguistic traits or material remains that provided evidence for the Greekness of the local population throughout the centuries, including those under Frankish rule.¹⁰

In order to reconstruct the story from the point of view of that insular community, we explore the dialectics of isolation and connectivity, following the internal dynamics of solidarity and division but also the multiple threads that connected the island with the Levantine communities of Smyrna and Constantinople, the trade hubs of the Black Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean and the hierarchy, networks, and religious missions of the Holy See, and all sorts of representatives of France and other imperial courts of Europe. The renegotiation of their collective identity markers was imposed by a sudden change of the frame of reference, a fragmentation of the Archipelago and the inclusion of the Cyclades in the territories of the new nation-state, from the Ottoman *eyalet* of the islands of the White Sea to the Greek prefecture of the Cyclades in the Aegean.

The contacts, exchanges, and negotiations of Syros and the other Catholic communities of the Archipelago with the Greek government have drawn the attention of historical research, in a long-running debate around their alleged unpatriotic attitude during the Revolution.¹¹ For that purpose, I looked into the archives of the Municipality of Ano Syros, the Catholic Diocese of Syros in Hermoupolis, the Catholic Archdiocese of Tinos-Naxos in Xinara and the

Jesuit Library and Archives in Athens. The traces of correspondence located in Greece revealed an intense communication with prelates of the Catholic Church as well as with diplomats and military officers of the French and the Habsburg empires. Since the archives of the nineteenth century rarely contain copies of the outgoing correspondence, I followed the thread of those exchanges in a number of individual or collective petitions from or about Syra, letters, reports, or formal declarations in the Archive of the Propaganda Fide, the Vatican Apostolic Archive, the Diplomatic Archives of the French Foreign Ministry and the Austrian State Archives. As Syros was a regular port of call for European merchants and diplomats, passersby, travelers, missionaries and envoys, I also managed to draw and cross-check information about the Catholic community of Syros, using a number of published sources, mainly travelogues and various accounts of the revolutionary events.

From a geographical point of view, this brings us to the dialectics of isolation and connectedness. If isolation is inherent in the concept of insularity, the sea that surrounds the islands cutting them off from the rest of the world is also the linking body through which insular societies maintain formal and informal connections and relationships with the world around them. Recent research on ancient, medieval, and modern insularity has highlighted the complex matrix of maritime connectivity.¹² In the Mediterranean, and even more in the Archipelago, the “sea of islands,” isolation was only relative and provisional. The islands functioned since antiquity as bridges in a dense matrix of connectivity through complex and ever-changing networks of mobilities, stations, and ports of call. This book attempts to decipher how, to follow Fernand Braudel’s metaphor, the events of history or the events of war make use of a medium-sized island, placing it at the center of a modern “dance of the islands”—the ancient poetic image for intense insular connectivity, mobility, and interaction.¹³

Situated in an intermediate gradient of sovereignty where the presence of the Ottoman authority was limited to the occasional dispatch of judges (*kadis*) and an annual visit of the fleet,¹⁴ Syra possessed a deep and large natural harbor on its eastern side and, most importantly, a unique status of neutral territory, controlled neither by the Ottomans nor by the Greek insurgents, with a local community that was for centuries under French protection. Hence, the shore under the old medieval town would become a safe haven for entrepreneurs, pirates, traders of all sorts, and a shelter for thousands of refugees. According to James Emerson Tennent, a British philhellene, “Syra [was] now the only neutral port of the empire equally respected by Turk and Greek, and permitted to carry on the trifling remnant of commerce remaining in the Cyclades.”¹⁵

The Archipelago remained a contested sea since the centuries of shared or shifting Byzantine and Latin/Frankish rule to the long-standing antagonisms and wars between the Ottomans and Venetians.¹⁶ In recent decades, a growing

number of approaches have explored the dialectics of singularity and diversity, isolation and connectivity, contact and conflict in the islands of the late Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean.¹⁷ The maritime dimension of the Ottoman Empire has come into focus both from the perspective of the Sublime Porte, the logic guiding the conquest of the islands and their organization, as well as from the point of view of the insular societies, their reciprocal links and the continuities of their social and economic structures through the transfers of imperial power. Next to the studies on the demography and ethnoreligious diversity of those islands, long considered as a sort of ethnographic conservatory, recent research has shed light on their networks and modes of communications with each other and with the rest of the world, as well as on the precariousness of their position and the dangers caused by piracy.¹⁸

Syra was thence part of the “far-flung city” of the Aegean Archipelago,¹⁹ a diverse aggregate of insular communities striving to overcome the structural disproportion between local resources and needs through various forms of fishing, shipping, and trade. The multiple threads connecting these insular societies with the world around, reveal a plurality of spatial perspectives and temporalities. The spatial extent and multiplicity of its connections allows us to grasp a more comprehensive, multilateral and multifocal, and transnational perspective of the revolutionary events of the 1820s. The conflicting claims for political sovereignty over Syros during the 1820s describe the Archipelago as a liminal space with fuzzy boundaries, a space of mobility and intense interaction and dynamic interplay between majority and minority cultures, between the boundaries of imperial entities, in other words a contact zone or a *Sattelraum*.²⁰ When caught in the dynamic field of struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, empires and nations, this insular space, whose territories dispose “the strange capacity of preserving for centuries antique forms of civilization,”²¹ offers a panorama of the contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous. Multiple temporalities coexisting next to each other can easily be noticed in the shifting boundaries of cultural and political geography. Depending on the ideological and spatial perspective of different actors, the Greek Orthodox subjects of the sultan could be named or referred to as Greeks, Romans, or Hellenes; the Catholics as Latins, Franks, Levantines, Grecolatins or Greek Catholics; the maritime space at stake as the Archipelago, White Sea, or Aegean. Syra itself (or *Sira* in Italian) was since the eighteenth century reported on by European writers with its ancient Greek name in various, at times misleading, spellings (*Syros*, *Siros*, *Sciros*).

The encounter with the multitude of traders, sailors and captains, soldiers and officers, pirates and refugees produced a kind of Arendtian gap between past and future, an “interval in time altogether determined by things that are no longer and by things that are not yet.”²² Pre-national imperial forms of

extraterritoriality based on the Capitulations (*ahdnames*) conceded by the sultan to various European powers existed alongside claims and forms of territorial sovereignty;²³ hence, among others, the double taxation paid by the community to both Ottomans and Greeks during half of the decade examined in this book. Steamships, a large-scale ship-building industry, printing presses, rapid monetization of the economy existed alongside traditional forms of agriculture and animal husbandry, like the Syriot beekeeping praised by Abbé della Rocca thirty years earlier. New instances of secular administration functioned alongside ecclesiastical courts and traditional forms of government. Eventually, a compromise was achieved on the basis of a strict distinction between nationalism and religion, as formulated first in 1823 by the Interior Minister of the provisional Greek government.²⁴

“Sira nostra patria,” a recurring phrase in the petitions of local Catholic priests against the crimes and offenses committed by the thousands of “foreigners” (*forestieri*), illustrates both that which was about to vanish and that which was about to come into being. It epitomizes a pre-national notion of fatherland bound by common descent, territory, and religion, which for a limited amount of time existed alongside—only to be finally replaced by—a modern notion of homeland as national space.

“Sira Nostra Patria”

The multiple threads linking Syra with Istanbul, Smyrna, Rome, Paris, or the Vatican portray the island as a crossroads in which several regional studies (Ottoman, Greek, European, East Mediterranean, etc.) and several fields of historical research (the history of religion, nationalism, empires, revolutions) intersect, raising questions concerning analysis and research that could not fit into a single book. Therefore, rather than exhausting the range of questions posed by the material studied, the aim of this book is to add a missing piece to the history of the revolutions of the 1820s and to map the territory of this developing field for further research.

The territory containing the only Catholic community that did not represent a small minority among larger aggregates and a unique Ottoman territory not inhabited and/or controlled by a Muslim or Greek Orthodox majority, Syra remained for centuries part of an imperial setting. With a varying but considerable degree of autonomy all through the Ottoman era, the Syriots exploited their close ties with the Catholic Church and the French to integrate the Levantine communities and networks of the Empire.²⁵ If the French Revolution and the wars that ensued had already upset the imperial order in the Ottoman Levant, the Greek Revolution of 1821 and the consequent creation

of the Greek Kingdom raised a new border in land and sea that fragmented the imperial space and heralded the long passage to the age of nationalisms. In this sense, the inclusion of Syra and the integration of its Latin community into the new nation-state as a religious minority is representative of the end of a historical era. Following the chronological order, the chapters are divided in two parts: one (chapters 1 to 4) on what was no longer, that is, early modern Syros before the 1820s; and one (chapters 5 to 9) on what was about to occur, focusing on the events of the years 1822 to 1830. The last chapter attempts to draw some provisional conclusions and to formulate questions for further research.

Chapter 1 introduces a long-term perspective reviewing Syros and the other Catholic communities of the Archipelago from the time of the Latin Empire and the Crusader states until the late eighteenth century. The modest purpose of this hazardous endeavor to fit half a millennium in a few pages is to propose an approach that, instead of following the often unproductive or illusory path of looking for a real or imaginary ethnic origin, explores the making of this hybrid community and identity through the major turns of the historical tide: transition to Ottoman rule, Counter-Reformation, the Tridentine church and the era of missions, the Capitulations and French protection, the Ottoman–Venetian antagonisms, the role of Ecumenical Patriarchate, and the “Orthodox reconquest” in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Alongside antagonisms and conflicts between Orthodox and Catholics, diverse forms of syncretism, conversions, shared places of rite and *comunicatio in sacris* indicate that the boundaries of belonging and allegiance between the two churches remained to a great extent permeable, movable, and negotiable all through the early modern period.

The presence of the so-called northern invaders in the Mediterranean since the sixteenth century and the European state system after the Peace of Westphalia (1648) blurred but did not dissipate the boundaries of religious conflicts and divisions.²⁶ During the seventeenth century, the tensions between Orthodox and Catholic culminated around the Veneto–Ottoman conflicts, until Tinos, the last Venetian outpost in the Archipelago, passed to the Ottomans in 1715. Instead of a consolidation of Ottoman control in the region, the gradual withdrawal of the Serenissima created a power vacuum that was to be filled by local sailors and captains, primarily Greek Orthodox, who started taking over small- and medium-distance (*caravane*) trade across the Eastern and Central Mediterranean. A series of Russo–Ottoman wars during the reign of Catherine the Great in the last third of the century signaled the beginning of the involvement of the region in large-scale antagonisms.²⁷ Chapter 2 starts at the time of the first of those wars, which for Syros and the other Cyclades produced a unique disruption of Ottoman rule through a short period of Russian occupation between 1770 and 1774. The fifty years separating that Russian

occupation from the Greek Revolution were marked by the upheavals of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars (1792–1815) but were also a period of commercial opportunities, of intense mobility, connectivity, and population growth in the region.

In Syros, as in most other insular societies, economic growth and mounting inequalities intensified internal divisions across lines of income, status, and class but also of religion. A revolt of the poor farmers working in the countryside (*chorikoi*) against the notables (*kastrinoi*) in 1814, provisionally deposed the *epitropos* from office. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the community was also involved in a long feud with the Orthodox Metropolitan of Andros and his local representative around the ownership of a chapel. According to a series of reports to the Propaganda Fide, external pressure and internal strife had contributed to a gradual decline of Catholicism in the Archipelago. In a demonstration of the different temporalities at play, the outbreak of the Greek Revolution in the Morea coincided with a key moment in the internal strife in Syra: the departure of the Catholic bishop, Russin, for Rome, accused of being at the head of one of the two parties that divided his flock.

Part of the revolutionary wave of the early 1820s in the Mediterranean,²⁸ the Greek revolt appeared first as a regional uprising. Chapter 3 assesses its impact on Syra during 1821. As for most Archipelago islands, the first year of the Greek insurrection had no significant effect on the internal situation or the overall position of Syra. The Latin prelates urgently requested instructions from the French ambassador in Istanbul and activated channels of communication with the Austrian internunzio, the Apostolic Vicariate in Istanbul, the French general consul and the Catholic archbishop in Smyrna, the archbishop of Naxos, and the whole web of connections between Catholic hierarchs and vice-consuls of France and other European powers in the region.

Chapter 4 revisits the internationalization of the Greek question from the perspective of the Holy See. Already committed to condemning the Carbonari, justifying and facilitating the oppression of the liberal revolts in the Italian peninsula by Austrian troops, the Vatican believed the Greek revolt would fail. Catholics in the Ottoman lands received instructions to observe full neutrality and to demonstrate loyalty to the Porte. Along with some Orthodox prelates or vice-consuls, the Latins evoked French protection and hoisted the French flag on churches and consular residences.

Until the Congress of Verona (1822), the question of the Catholic communities in the Archipelago for the Greek insurgents was mainly a foreign policy issue affecting their relations with the European sovereigns, especially the Holy See and the French emperor. In the wake of the collaboration between Cardinal Ettore Consalvi and Klemens von Metternich for the suppression of the Italian revolts, the Vatican requested a more active involvement of the Austri-

ans in the protection of the Catholics in the Ottoman Empire, along with the Division du Levant of the French Navy. It was at that moment that the fate of Syra was first implicated in international politics as a Catholic outpost that could be conceded to the Knights Hospitaller in a treaty unofficially negotiated by the French Count Philippe Jourdain on behalf of the Greek government.²⁹

The second part of the book starts when the Greeks first laid specific sovereignty claims over the Archipelago islands, challenging the imperial status quo. The Chios massacre had an enormous impact on those insular societies. Thousands of refugees and fear of subsequent Ottoman attacks stimulated oaths of allegiance to the sultan from both Orthodox and Catholics and stirred internal strife. As Mark Mazower has noticed for neighboring Tinos during the same period, where the two communities shared the island, in the power vacuum created by the revolutionary events conflicts between leading factions took on religious connotations.³⁰ The Latins were officially addressed as co-nationals who shared common descent, language, territory, and Christian faith. At the same time, there is plenty of evidence that in real life they were often treated as Turcophiles. That Syra was the only Cycladic island not included in the national territories of the first tentative administrative division of the Greek state in 1822 was a tacit but clear acknowledgment of its distinct ethnoreligious identity.

Chapter 5 follows the Greek attempts to control the islands through coercion and consensus in 1822–23. In most islands, the Revolution was imported from outside. The purpose of the first representatives of the Greek government was to organize a system of taxation and representation of those communities in the National Assembly. The battle for the collection of the annual tithes in the Archipelago was of vital importance for the maintenance of the Greek fleet in 1822–23. This happened sometimes through compromise with the local primates, and sometimes by means of military intervention or gunboat diplomacy carried out by ships from Hydra, Spetses, and Psara.

The war and its consequences, thousands of refugees, the transit of prisoners and slaves, piratic raids, and disrupted communications and commercial routes multiplied pressure on those insular societies and deepened social cleavages along lines of class and status rather than of confession. Reportedly, Syra also had two opposing factions (*partiti*) who were either in favor or against their bishop, which were distinguished from each other by the social status of their membership. Meanwhile, the number of merchants and refugees settling temporarily in the harbor under the old town already equaled or even outnumbered the local population. When the Greeks started their attempts to take over control of the port, the local community had already elected a new governor from the Syriot diaspora in Istanbul, while the diocese had been provisionally put under the supervision of the archbishop of Smyrna. Chapter

6 focuses on a sequence of proxy warfare and gunboat diplomacy carried out in 1823 by the Greek insurgents against the Latin community of Syra. A series of raids and incursions headed by a Cephalonian ship captain on ships flying the flag of the Ionian Islands—a British protectorate since 1815—were countered by armed groups of local Latins and consecutive interventions of the French Division du Levant. In the midst of those upheavals, a Hydriot flotilla forced the payment of the first of a series of levies imposed on the community of Syra.

After multiple frictions and negotiations between Greeks, Latins, and the various representatives of the European powers across the Levant, a compromise was found in a regime of shared sovereignty over the port of Syra. Chapter 7 recounts what happened after the Greeks took over the port and its revenues, committing themselves in return to refrain from hoisting their national flag and to respect the entitlements of the various vice-consuls. Transformed *de facto* into a free port where everything, including slaves and pirate booties, could be sold, the harbor became from that point on the meeting point of all nations, “a picture of Venice at the time of Crusades,”³¹ while the hinterland of the island became a crossroads for several thousand wretched refugees and a favorite target for pirates and bandits.

The issue of anti-Latin violence has been sort of taboo in the various histories of the Greek Revolution. However, the great number of petitions from the local community and vice-consular reports document the many incursions and attacks from land and sea, armed riots against the Catholic population and profanations of their churches and chapels, mainly in Syros and Tinos between 1822 and 1827. Symptomatically, the fate of Syra Latins was sometimes paralleled with that of the ancient Helots.³² Chapter 8 attempts to frame how diffused violence, in combination with disrupted trade routes and double taxation, suffocated the economies of the Latin community and its individual members, undermining drastically its internal cohesion. Hence, local landowners who rented their lands or poor peasants who sided with the Greeks had to be dealt with by the secular and religious authorities. Despite consecutive petitions and declarations documenting crimes and aggressions and claiming reparations, the consolidation of the Greek positions, in combination with the reluctance of the French to enter into conflict with them, rendered impossible any return to the previous state of affairs. Chapter 9 follows the efforts of the community, the Catholic Church, and the French to adjust into the new realities that were about to take shape.

A reformed Franciscan friar from Piedmont with a long service in Istanbul, who was appointed apostolic administrator of the Catholic diocese of Syra in 1825, became a pivotal figure in the endeavor to adjust to new realities. After reiterating the claims of the local communities to the Greek government and containing the divisions within the Latin community, the administrator coor-

minated the Catholic communities of the Aegean islands and represented them to the French and the other Europeans. Hence, once the point of no return was reached after the disaster of the Ottoman fleet in Navarino in October 1827, a final series of paper exercises among local bishops and French officials shared and promoted an autonomous status for the Latin communities in the new national setting. But once again, the end result would be something other than what they would have chosen or hoped for.

In the following pages, the reader will become familiar with a number of historical figures who were directly or indirectly involved in the communication of Syros with the Levant and Europe in the 1820s. Among them, Luigi Maria Blancis da Ciriè, the apostolic administrator of the diocese who would be appointed bishop in 1830 and remain in office for another two decades until his death in 1851, represents the end of a transition and the adaptation to the new reality. Blancis's navigation toward an unknown shore recalls the regrets of François-René de Chateaubriand, a man who found himself between two centuries as at the confluence of two rivers³³ and who symptomatically was among the receivers of information about Syra during this critical turn as Minister of Foreign Affairs of France in 1823–24. The world of yesterday is perhaps best embodied in the figure of Bishop Russin. In office from 1801 but absent in Rome during the events of the Revolution and in failing health, he persistently asked his superiors for permission to return to his parish. His appeals were not satisfied until his death in 1829. The place to which he wished to return, the Pope's island in the Ottoman Levant, was where the Catholic priests who had remained there also sought to return. *Sira nostra patria* was a country that no longer existed.

Notes

1. "Syra or Syros is an island of the Aegean Sea or Archipelago situated almost in the center of the Cyclades toward the 37th degree 22 minutes of latitude, and toward the 42nd degree 14 minutes of longitude. Its length from N. W. to S. E. is about 14 miles, and its width from W. to E. from 6 to 7 miles, which gives it almost 40 miles of coastline, although it is commonly estimated at 36 miles." This description was provided in 1790 by a Levantine monk in a treaty on the beekeeping as practiced on an island that constitutes a most precious source of information on the rural economy and social organization of this medium-sized island of the Archipelago. Della Rocca, *Traité complet sur les abeilles*, 29–30.
2. See Della Rocca, *Traité complet sur les abeilles*, 1:82; See also, Dimitropoulos, *Μαρτυρίες για τον πληθυσμό*, 227–31, where the number of Greeks mentioned is between ten and twelve and two hundred out of a population of two thousand to five thousand. Cf. the Catholic population census of 1777 (*stato di anime*) recently published by Michalis Roussos, "Μία ανέκδοτη απογραφή του καθολικού πληθυσμού της Σύρου του έτους 1777."
3. De Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage*, 122.

4. See mainly the study of Andreas Drakakis on the making of Hermoupolis. Drakakis, *Ιστορία του οικισμού*, vol. 1 and vol. 2; Lecoœur, *Mussolini's Greek Island*; and the recent study of Loukos, *Ιστορία της Ερμούπολης Σύρου*, 215–48.
5. See Loukos, *Ιστορία της Ερμούπολης Σύρου*, and Drakakis, *Ιστορία του οικισμού*; likewise, in more recent approaches, the emergence of Hermoupolis figures emblematic of a swift modernization process while the presence and agency of the local Latins has generally not been the focus. See, for instance, Kardasis, *Σύρος, 1832-1857*; Agriantoni and Dimitropoulos, *Σύρος και Ερμούπολη*. Also the recent histories of the Greek Revolution published around the bicentenary, see, for instance, Kitromilides and Tsoukalas, *The Greek Revolution: A Critical Dictionary*, 94–96; Kitromilides, *The Greek Revolution in the Age of Revolutions (1776–1848)*.
6. See in an extensive bibliography, Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean*; Zürcher, “The Late Ottoman Empire as Laboratory of Demographic Engineering,” 1–12; Sigalas and Toumarkine, “Demographic Engineering—Part I.”
7. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, 154.
8. Stefanou, “Το Βατικανό και οι Έλληνες Καθολικοί,” quoted in Loukos, *Ιστορία της Ερμούπολης Σύρου*, 243–44.
9. Salachas, “Η νομική θέσις της Καθολικής Εκκλησίας εν τη ελληνική επικράτεια,” 55–71.
10. See, for example, from three different moments of the twentieth century the efforts to document the Greekness of the local Catholic population: Stefanou, “Το Βατικανό και οι Έλληνες Καθολικοί,” quoted in Loukos, *Ιστορία της Ερμούπολης Σύρου*, 243–44; Sigalas, “Τα εξωκλήσια της Σύρου”; Printezis, “Παλιά και νεώτερη ονομασία της Σύρου.”
11. See, for example, the documents published by Hoffmann, *Das Papsttum*, and Georgios Zoras, *Εγγραφα του αρχείου Βατικανού*. For the recent debate on Greece, see the two recent studies on ecclesiastic history and intercommunal relations: Manikas, “Σχέσεις ορθοδοξίας και ρωμαιοκαθολικισμού,” and Asimakis, *Η πορεία των σχέσεων Ελλάδος και Αγίας Έδρας*.
12. Among an immense and ever-growing body of bibliography on insularity and connectivity: Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*; Constantakopoulou, *The Dance of the Islands*; Sicking, “The Dichotomy of Insularity”; Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire byzantin*; Saint-Guillain and Schmitt, “Die Ägäis als Kommunikationsraum im späten Mittelalter”; Rothman, *Brokering Empire*; Calafat and Grenet, *Méditerranées*.
13. Constantakopoulou, *The Dance of the Islands*, 25–26.
14. Talbot, “Ottoman Seas and British Privateers”; Calafat, *Une mer jalousie*, 258.
15. Emerson Tennent, *Letters from the Aegean*, 11.
16. See Slot, *Archipelagus Turbatus*; Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans*.
17. Dierksmeier et al., *European Islands between Isolated and Interconnected Life Worlds*; Reyerson and Watkins, *Mediterranean Identities in the Premodern Era*.
18. Only indicatively: Slot, *Archipelagus Turbatus*; Vatin and Veinstein, *Insularités ottomanes*; Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants*; White, *Piracy and Law in the Ottoman Mediterranean*; Zachariadou, *The Kapudan Pasha*; Kolovos, “Insularity and Island Society in the Ottoman Context”; Zéi, *Visages et visions d'insularité*; Harlaftis et al., *Corsairs and Pirates in the Eastern Mediterranean*; Hadjikyriacou, *Islands of the Ottoman Empire*.
19. “[T]hat unifying sea or plain-like expanse, has always been a focal point for the reception and transmission of cultures, throughout pre-history and recorded history, and has apportioned itself between isolation and a system of constant connections. Without a center of its own, it has forged multiple links between the lands to its East and West; its fragmentary

- nature allowed its individualized organizational forms to survive throughout the long years of Ottoman rule." Asdrachas, "The Greek Archipelago."
20. For the notion of a "contact zone," see Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; for the notion of "in the Levant," see Kaser, *The Balkans and the Near East*; for the concept of *Sattleräume* (saddle spaces), built in analogy to Koselleck's *Sattelzeit*, in order to describe "liminal spaces and fuzzy boundaries" see Lässig and Rürup, "Introduction: What Made a Space Jewish."
 21. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, 150.
 22. Arendt, *Between Past and Future*, 9.
 23. For an overview of the various forms and limits of Ottoman sovereignty, see: Faroghi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around it*, 27–74. On the concept of "territorial sovereignty," among the rich recent literature see: L. Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty*; Maier, *Once within Borders*; Legg, *Spatiality, Sovereignty and Carl Schmitt*. For a more comprehensive discussion of territorial sovereignty in the insular space, see Kousouris, "Empires, Nations and the Question of Territorial Sovereignty in the Greek Archipelago during the Greek Revolution: The Case of Syros".
 24. See chapter 7, this volume. This was the very basis upon which Petros Stefanos or Stefanou, a publicist and publisher of several newspapers and a public intellectual of the community in the first half of the twentieth century, defined the identity and the belonging of the Catholics in the Greek nation: Loukos, *Ιστορία της Ερμούπολης Σύρου*, 241.
 25. See Drakakis, *Η Σύρος επί Τουρκοκρατίας*; Schmitt, *Levantine*; see Karachristos, "Familie, Verwandtschaft, Heirat und Eigentumsübertragungen"; Agriantoni and Dimitropoulos, *Σύρος και Ερμούπολη*; Katsouros, "Περὶ των Κάπου-Κεχαγιάδων."
 26. See the remarks of Greene, "Beyond the Northern Invasion."
 27. See Galani, *British Shipping in the Mediterranean*, 19–53.
 28. Isabella, *Southern Europe in the Age of Revolutions*; Innes and Philp, *Re-imagining Democracy in the Mediterranean*; Stites, *The Four Horsemen*; Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean*.
 29. Jourdain, *Mémoires historiques et militaires*, 166–236; see St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, 138–49.
 30. Mazower, "Villagers, Notables and Imperial Collapse."
 31. Lauvergne, *Souvenirs de la Grèce*, 151.
 32. Indigenous people of ancient Laconia subjugated and enslaved by the Spartans. For its uses in this context, chap. 7, this volume.
 33. Hartog, *Regimes of Historicity*, 66.