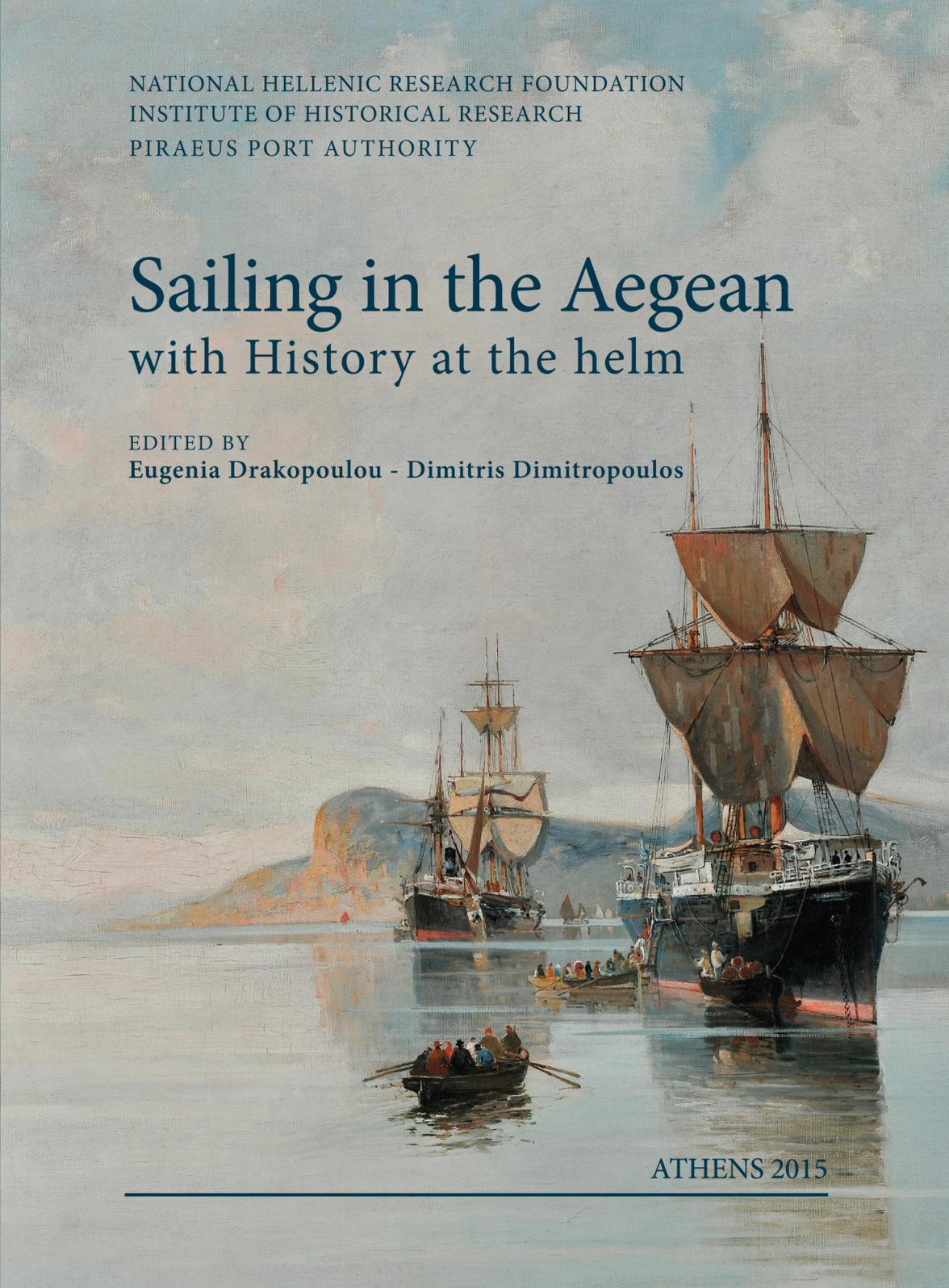


NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION  
INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH  
PIRAEUS PORT AUTHORITY

# Sailing in the Aegean with History at the helm

EDITED BY  
Eugenia Drakopoulou - Dimitris Dimitropoulos



ATHENS 2015





# Sailing in the Aegean

with History at the helm

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# Sailing in the Aegean

## with History at the helm

Edited by Eugenia Drakopoulou – Dimitris Dimitropoulos

Translated by Deborah Brown Kazazis

ATHENS 2015



Thessaloniki

Volos

Piraeus

Nafplio

Syros

Mykonos

Paros

Naxos

Melos

Santorini

Chania

Rethymno

Heraklion

Lesbos

Chios

Patmos

Kos

Rhodes

AEGEAN  
SEA



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## Foreword

by the Chairman and CEO of Piraeus Port Authority SA

2015 is a significant year for the Port of Piraeus, the Greek port system, and for Greek shipping, a worldwide leader in the field. This is, first, because European Maritime Day will be celebrated this year in Piraeus, and secondly, because the General Assembly and annual Conference of the European Port Authorities (ESPO) will also be convening in Piraeus.

Ports are engines of development for every country's economy, and they play an important role in the expansion of the European economy, given that 90% of third-country transport to and from Europe is by ship.

From ancient times, ports were places where a multitude of activities were conducted, and important cities rose up around them. It is no accident that the great cities in world history were built on the banks of rivers and on sixteen seacoasts, lending strength and power to cities and states through transport and trade.

But ports were also bearers of culture with multicultural characteristics, given that their operation and the ships they served were based on a mix of many ethnic groups, religions, and knowledge.

Ports were the open gates to the entrance and exit not only of goods, but also of ideas. Along with the development of mathematics and astronomy, naval technology, seafaring, and cartography were among the first scientific fields that boosted navigation.

Today, when the rules of competitiveness, transparency, environmental protection, security, and the quality of services reign preeminent in European port policies, in addition to corporate social responsibility and a respect for the local and regional authorities of port cities, it is our duty to promote culture and cultural activities within the land areas of our ports.

In these volumes, entitled *Sailing in the Aegean / Ionian with History at the Helm*, which are being published on the occasion of the two above-noted events, the National Hellenic Research Foundation's Institute of Historical Research has prepared with its usual high sense of responsibility a superb journey through myths and events in Greece's ports, demonstrating once again their historical role in the country's development and culture.

Yiorgos Anomeritis

## Foreword

by the Director of the Institute of Historical Research

The main part of the Greek mainland and the islands of the archipelago to the East and of the Ionian Islands to the West which surround it have many ports, ports which from antiquity down to the present play a critical role in the movement of people, goods, ideas and culture generally.

Dealing with the history of the Greek ports is at one and the same time the study of one of our oldest civilizations. A simple visit to Greece's mainland or island ports is sufficient to stimulate an interest in investigating their past and following their development over the course of centuries.

The Institute of Historical Research, the chief body for carrying out organized and targeted historical research on Greece and which emerged from the uniting of three established institutes of the National Hellenic Research Foundation (Greek and Roman Antiquity, Byzantine Research, Modern Greek Research) two years ago, within the framework of its policy of approaching the wider society, in parallel with and through its main work, gladly assumed the role of "helmsman" to this history of Greek ports.

Knowing that the Chairman and CEO of the Piraeus Port Authority, Mr. Yiorgos Anomeritis, is particularly interested in culture, our Institute proposed the publication of two volumes devoted to the ports of the Aegean Sea and Ionian Sea, respectively. Eugenia Drakopoulou, research director at the Institute of Historical Research –who had the initial idea– collaborated with her colleague and fellow Institute research director Dimitris Dimitropoulos to form a team of scholars –historians, philologists, and archaeologists– to write the texts. The fact that contributors came not only from the Institute of Historical Research, but from universities and Ephorates of Antiquities throughout Greece ensured both a broad chronological framework and multidisciplinary. The texts, which combine documented historical

knowledge with free narrative and literary inspiration, are addressed in an original and comprehensible way to the wider public visiting the Greek ports.

We hope that the present volume will become a travelers' *vade mecum*.

Taxiarchis Koliass

## Introductory note

History as it actually happened and fiction as History which might have happened are the protagonists in this volume. Thus, we have eighteen destinations and eighteen actual histories and fictions-as-history dealing with the ports of the Aegean. Today, these ports are reception centers for travelers, constituting open gateways to the Aegean's natural beauty and to its products, culture, and history.

The Aegean Island region and its neighboring coasts form a geographic entity defined by the sea. The area's main characteristic is its fragmentation into dozens of larger and smaller inhabited islands, and hundreds of islets or uninhabited skerries as well as towns and coastal settlements which represent the termination of continental inland regions, among which communication was for centuries preferentially conducted by ship. The history of the Aegean's residents is one of a continuous struggle to tame geography, to overcome the obstacles posed by the sea, and to transform difficulty into power, communication, and wealth.

Beyond the general features of insularity, the historical fortunes and particular traits of each island –terrain, size, distance from neighboring mainland coasts– were constants in life which decisively influenced residential settings, social structures, and the economic framework for the functioning of island and coastal societies. Within this context, the ports –i.e., organized mooring installations in some large cities as well as small piers with makeshift warehouses, a few houses, and humble infrastructure, or even leeward bays where sailboats moored– formed an invisible but strong communications and contacts network, and a key factor for economic development.

It was in searching out this history, not as a successive narrative of events and eras but as a flash of illumination on important or insignificant moments from the history of specific places, that we started this undertaking. As regards the style of writing and approach to various places, we attempted an experiment. Authors were asked to choose a topic anchored in a place and port,

and to tell a story, that is, to recreate an incident involving “major” or “minor” history as they themselves would consider it most attractive and appropriate –i.e., by employing traditional historiographical narrative or fiction– but with a commitment to scholarly validity and documentation.

Our decision to respect authors’ preferences not only as regarded style and the immediacy of the narrative, but also with respect to spelling and punctuation, method of bibliographical documentation, and illustration was deemed necessary, since this endeavor was for us all an experiment which required freedom of choice.

In any case, the ultimate objective of our effort was not so much for readers to enrich their encyclopedic knowledge as it was for them to catch a whiff of vibrant moments from the past, to absorb something of an era’s atmospheric quality, especially if the volume happens to be accompanying them during a tour of the Aegean. For this reason, we sought a chronological span for the texts hosted in the volume that would extend from prehistoric times to more recent ones. As regards its spatial development, the volume follows that of the ports visited by today’s travelers.

Earlier we spoke of a publication experimental in its conception, and this increased the risks of an undertaking which in one way or another had its own idiosyncrasies. It required the participation of a large number of scholars coming from different specializations as well as collaboration by a public research institution with a major company on a shared program of mutual interest. We believe that the outstanding ensuing collaboration offers tangible proof that collaborations between research foundations and businesses are both feasible and productive even in the humanities, which are often (and with inexcusable levity) reproached as being economically unprofitable. And it is especially enterprises like the Piraeus Port Authority, which by virtue of their position and size play a crucial public role, which can assume the responsibility for interventions that while not directly profitable, represent an investment in longer-term interventions that can contribute generally to an improvement in the quality of services offered.

It is of course for readers to judge the final result. For our part, we feel the obligation to offer the many thanks owed to the many individuals whose contributions made this publication possible within a scant twelve months.

First, we owe wholehearted thanks to the Chairman and CEO of the Piraeus Port Authority, SA, Mr. Yiorgos Anomeritis, who along with his long service in politics and the administration of large public and private organizations is a lover of history and has authored a large number of studies, particularly on his native Cyclades. His immediate acceptance of our proposal, rapid implementation and active though discreet participation throughout the project were decisive factors for both its start and completion. Thanks are also owed the PPA's administration and the head of its historical archive, Manolis Georgoudakis, for their first-rate cooperation.

The project was also exceptionally well-received by our own organization, the Institute of Historical Research and National Hellenic Research Foundation. And so we first extend warm thanks to the Director of the Institute of Historical Research, Professor Taxiarchis Kolias, who embraced the project and included it among the Institute's activities. Thanks are also due for their support to the Director and Chairman of the NHRF Board of Directors, Dr. Vasileios Gregoriou, and to the foundation's administrative services, especially Central Administration Director Ioanna Petrohilou. We are grateful to our colleague Ourania Polycandrioti for her substantial contribution to this edition. Katerina Dede has supported us in multiple ways—moreover, the “history” about Katakolo which she spontaneously narrated to us one midday while we were improvising, in search of a guiding “compass” for *Sailing in the Aegean/ Ionian*, persuaded us to launch the project. Konstantina Simonetatou readily and patiently contributed to the edition's typographical appearance in both Greek and English; Dimitra Pelekanou did the cover design, Filippa Chorozi provided secretarial support and Evi Delli edited the English edition; our thanks go to each of them. The texts' parallel translation into English for foreign visitors to the Aegean Islands presented its own challenges. Deborah Brown Kazazis, an experienced translator of historical and archaeological texts, carried out this difficult task with especial enthusiasm. We thank her for an admirable collaboration, together with Fanis Rigas, who volunteered to assist us in comparing the Greek and English texts.

We also thank the National Art Gallery of Greece for granting publication rights to the photo of Vasileios Chatzis' painting, as well as local

Ephorates of Antiquities for their ever-willing response to our search for photographic material.

Special thanks are owed to Konstantinos Banis for the original drawing accompanying the “history” of Kos, and to Michalis Andrianakis, Dimitris Georgopoulos, Aristeia Gratsea, Zisis Melissakis, Aspasia Papadaki, Grigoris Markakis, Machi Marouda, Lemonia Chanaki, and Athina Chatzidimitriou for their photos of Chania, Nafplio, Heraklion, Syros, Rethymno, Paros, Melos, and Mykonos.

In closing this introductory note, we express our heartfelt gratitude to the authors who entrusted us with their texts: Yiorgos Anomeritis, Katerina Dermizaki, Eftychia Liata, Marina Loukaki, Christos Loukos, Zisis Melissakis (who willingly made available his large photographic archive), Panagiotis Michailaris, Anna Michailidou, Dina Moustani, Thymios Nikolaidis, Angeliki Panopoulou, Harikleia Papageorgiadou, Anastasia Tourta, Kostas Tsiknakis, and Angelos Chaniotis. Each writer met the strict time constraints imposed by the contractual obligations of this sui generis project, working with pleasure, creativity, and imagination on a publishing venture which required us all to surpass (and at the same time, safeguard) scholarly rigor in our narrating of incidents, phenomena, ways of thinking and social conditions in Aegean ports in a manner reflected by our sources.

Eugenia Drakopoulou – Dimitris Dimitropoulos

# Mykonos

## On Mykonos at the dawn of the 18th century

In 1700, the botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656-1708) gave up his position as director of Paris' famous *Jardin des Plantes*, and with two friends –the German physician Andreas Gundelsheimer (1668-1715) and artist Claude Aubriet (1651-1743)– undertook an official French mission to the East, a long journey that would last two years. They started out from Marseilles on 23 April 1700 and toured the Aegean, Constantinople, and the Black Sea as far as the borders of Persia. They were no longer of an age to follow the fashion of wealthy young Europeans, who passionately sought the Grand Tour among Italian and Greek antiquities, the popular “coming-of-age” trip. The purpose of their own tour falls within another travelers' tradition that would flourish in Enlightenment Europe, namely that of scientific curiosity and discovery.



Mykonos. View of Chora (photo: Athina Chatzidimitriou).

Tournefort recorded his impressions from the places he visited, together with any other information he considered useful in the form of letters to the person who was the mission's inspiration and patron, the Conte de Pontchartrain, Foreign Minister of France. They stopped in the Aegean Islands along their tour to collect scientific material, and moored temporarily in dozens of sheltered bays. On 22 October 1700, strong winds forced them to seek a haven on Mykonos<sup>1</sup>. There they would be hosted in the home of Giannakis Gyzis, the French Consul, who was a Catholic and the scion of one of the island's oldest and most important noble families. The Venetian *Ghisi* family had been the masters and rulers of Mykonos since the early 13th century. During the intervening centuries, and following the Ottoman conquest in 1537, when the family lost its feudal-type privileges, their distant descendants were still living in the Cyclades. They still held considerable property as well as the office of French and Venetian Consul, which offered them protection vis-à-vis the Ottoman administration. Giannakis Gyzis was in possession of a good number of *scalas*, of cultivable land including vineyards, fields, country estates, and houses in Chora, the capital<sup>2</sup>.

Tournefort and his companions would travel around the Cyclades and return to Mykonos, where they spent the entire winter until early March. One of their premier destinations was neighboring Delos, made famous since antiquity, with which they were anxious to become personally acquainted. On Mykonos they had the opportunity to study the island's flora and fauna as well as to come into contact with the natives and get to know their customs and habits. The island appeared to be teeming with life. Its approximately 3,000 inhabitants were nearly all Greek Orthodox, with small number of Catholics, distant descendants of the Western Europeans (Latins) who had ruled the island nearly five centuries earlier. No Turks lived on Mykonos, but recently a small but active minority of European

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1. Material related to Tournefort's impressions and sojourn on Mykonos is included in the work he published after his return to France, J. Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, vol. 1, Paris 1717, p. 278-286.

2. Two individuals by the name of Ioannis Gyzis (one, the son of Markos) are recorded on a late 17th century tax ledger of property registration. It is not certain which of the two was the Consul, but both men were in possession of considerable property – 39 and 55 pieces of real estate, respectively. See General State Archives of Greece, K60, ms. 132.

Christians from Italy, the Dalmatian coast, France, and Malta had settled there permanently, lending local society a cosmopolitan air<sup>3</sup>. These settlers were for the most part seamen seeking their fortunes through piracy, privateering, and the trade in booty and slaves sparked by war.

All the inhabitants lived in Chora, which had already begun to expand in the direction of Alefkandra and Agios Nikolaos tou Yalou, outside the old coastal fortress created mostly by the reinforced exterior walls of buildings abutting on one another. Houses occupied a small surface area but extended to a considerable height –at least two stories– in an effort to take advantage of every inch of ground. Dense construction, narrow access and communication roads, a sense of economy of space achieved thanks to clever and *sui generis* architectural solutions employed by residents and local craftsmen dominated Chora's residential core. At the same time, the crowding of many people into a small area, the cohabitation of men and animals (often pigs) in the same buildings, poor hygienic conditions, the absence of a drainage network, and inadequate ventilation and lighting in many rooms of its densely-built residences made people's daily lives difficult.

The port had some traffic since French ships traveling from Marseilles to Constantinople and Smyrna found refuge there when high winds in the region prevented their staying on course. And there were quite a few boats and caiques tied up there which were engaged in local commerce with the Peloponnese and Asia Minor; goods traded included mostly wine produced by local vineyards and a small number of other agricultural products such as barley, figs, and a few olives cultivated on Mykonos' arid land. The local diet was supplemented by wild greens, plenty of game (quail, woodcocks, hares), and a high-quality soft white cheese produced by the many sheep and goats raised mostly in the northern part of the island, on neighboring Delos, and on the uninhabited islet of Rheneia. The lack of agricultural land and water had turned the island's males towards the sea, and several hundred of them were mariners famed for their seamanship throughout the Aegean.

The absence of men was made up for by women, who dominated local society, first and foremost in terms of their numbers; Tournefort mentions

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3. D. Dimitropoulos, *Η Μύκονος τον 17ο αιώνα. Γαιοκτητικές σχέσεις και οικονομικές συναλλαγές*, Athens 1997, p. 418-419.

a ratio of four women to every man – a nugget of information which, though probably inaccurate, created something of a sensation and ended up being repeated later by many travelers who recorded their impressions. Consequently, there was a strong female presence in social life, since women took part in the management of the family property, received an equal share of the inheritance from their parents, retained financial control of their dowry, bought and sold real estate, took out loans, and had the right to sign all types of agreements.

The date (1700) was immediately after the end of the Ottoman-Venetian war, which had ended with the fall of Chandax (Herakleio) and Ottoman occupation of the entire island of Crete. During this long war (1684-1699), hostilities and pirates going by various names who had established their lairs on the small islands and passages of the Aegean had turned it into the *Archipelagus Turbatus*. But now things seemed to be quieting down, as the Ottoman peace – a heavy burden but also in some sense a relief – began to spread throughout the region. On Mykonos, which by virtue of its geographic setting and proximity to Tinos (the sole remaining Venetian bulwark in the Aegean) had found itself in the eye of the hurricane, things returned to normal. The presence of Ottoman power was bloodless and essentially confined to the regular payment of taxes to each official charged in turn with collecting the island's revenues. Normally this was the Kapudan Pasha, but during the years with which we are concerned it was an individual who had played an active role in stamping out piracy: Mehmet the Bey of Kos, nicknamed "the Bald" in virtue of his bare pate.

In mid-December 1700, daily life on Mykonos would be upset by a strange occurrence<sup>4</sup>. It began with the death of a trouble-maker, a bad-tempered villager in the countryside. They had buried him according to the widespread practice of the era in one of the city's fifty or so churches, but two days later a rumor began circulating that people were seeing him appear unexpectedly at night, inflicting minor damage, extinguishing lamps, overturning furniture, and stealing things from houses. The ensuing turmoil compelled the island's notables to meet with the local priests and in

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4. The story is recorded by Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, vol. 1, Paris 1717, p. 131-136.

the end decide to exhume his body on the tenth day. They put the corpse, which was by now in an advanced state of decomposition, in the church and entrusted the city's elderly butcher with removing the heart. This proved extraordinarily difficult to do. The overcrowding in the small church, the fumes from the incense being burned, the stench from the corpse and the psychic strain induced by the whole process brought about tremendous agitation among the onlookers, which was exacerbated when some were heard to cry out "Vampire!" Scenes of frenzy ensued.

In the end, the carved-out heart was ceremoniously burned on the beach, but this didn't help matters in the slightest<sup>5</sup>. Many of the island's residents, who were in a state of hysteria, refused to sleep in their houses, and remained at night in the public square or the countryside. Others were preparing to move with their families to Tinos or Syros, while others forced the priests to bless their houses repeatedly, or sprinkle holy water on the dead man. After this it seemed a good idea to drive swords into the "vampire", and someone even argued that scimitars should be employed, since Christian swords formed a cross on the handle grip which would prevent the deceased from departing. Finally, in response to popular demand and a decision by the community commissioners, the much-beleaguered corpse was transferred to the islet of Agios Georgios (also known as the island of Baos) at the entrance to the harbor, where it was burned in a great fire. The calendar showed the date of 1 January 1701, the day of the dawning of the "Century of Lights", the Enlightenment as it is now known.

Did this episode so eloquently described by Tournefort actually take place? Despite the intensity lent the events by the writer, it appears to have left no traces in the archival documents of Mykonos. Of course this doesn't prove that it didn't happen, but it certainly prevents the traveler's testimony from being cross-checked with other sources. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that European travelers and Catholic Church emissaries in the Aegean frequently reproduced stories featuring vampires. The distinction here goes to Santorini, whose terrain, volcano and myths related to it

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5. The toponyms *Vourvoulakas* (vampire) and *Kardiokaftis* (heart-burner) are found on Mykonos (see P. Kousathanas, *Χρηστικό λεξικό του ιδιώματος της Μυκόνου*, Herakleio 1996, p. 270, 272). Are these connected with the episode in 1700?



The church of Paraportiani in Chora (photo: Athina Chatzidimitriou).

favored the propagation of narratives with exotic and bizarre overtones<sup>6</sup>. But in Tournefort – the man of rational thought, the man of science who in his text operates as an anatomist not of a corpse but of the inhabitants’ behavior and way of thinking, there is a certain powerful “Orientalist” tinge, given that throughout there is a mocking and derogatory attitude towards the locals, who appear as superstitious, boorish, and uneducated.

But if Tournefort presents an extreme occurrence of limited reliability, contemporary written evidence from the communal archives of Mykonos offers different glimpses of island life, highlighting other, more tangible aspects of daily life faced by inhabitants at the dawn of the 18th century.

For example, a few days prior to Tournefort’s arrival, more practical matters were occupying the Mykonians, to wit the settlement of chronic financial difficulties besetting their island community. On 4 August 1700,

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6. See Fr. Richard, *Relation de ce qui s’est passé de plus remarquable à Sant-Erini isle de l’Archipel*, Paris 1657, p. 208-226, and P. Sauger, *Histoire nouvelle des anciens ducs et autres souverains de l’Archipel*, Paris 1698, p. 254-256. There is similar evidence for other islands as well, e.g. Chios (J. Thévenot, *Voyages de Mr de Thévenot en Europe, Asie et Afrique*, 3rd ed., vol. 1, Amsterdam 1727, p. 310-312) and Naxos during the years of the Greek War of Independence (Nik. Dragoumis, *Ιστορικά αναμνήσεις*, ed. Alk. Angelou, 2nd ed., vol. 1, Athens 1973, p. 101-104).

the notables, a total of 147 people including both clerics and laity, had met and agreed to replace the “accountants” they had appointed the year before with three new ones to take over the calculation of taxes owed by each family. These individuals, armed with community consensus and a popular mandate, would have the authority to control the financial affairs not only of households but of the community’s commissioners, as well as of those charged with collecting the head-tax. The public assembly also allowed them to request assistance from residents of their own choosing, on condition that the latter would not become involved in cases that concerned them personally. In order to make the agreement official, they also prepared a document that was signed by those present, which they would store thenceforth at the island’s chancellery. Therein they explicitly stated that all were assuming the obligation to honor the agreement and defend their representatives –those who would carry out the actual work– from any form of harassment<sup>7</sup>.

This action by the Mykonians highlights a different facet of life on Mykonos than that exhibited by Tournefort. It reveals an organized community which had already established from at least the mid-17th century the so-called “tariff”, a framework of rights and obligations pertaining to residents’ daily lives<sup>8</sup>. It also shows a local community where inhabitants consulted with one another in assemblies, took decisions in the common interest, and established rules that held for all without exception, given that even the notables’ authority arose from, and was legitimized by the assembly of residents.

Of course, in the early 17th century Mykonos was not an island of autonomy in the ocean of *Pax Ottomana*. Residents were subordinate to the terms and conditions of life as defined by its Ottoman framework. During the era when Tournefort visited the island, the Ottoman ruler at the time, Mehmet Bey of Kos, was playing a leading role in an incident that highlights daily imperilment, insecurity, and fear as further elements of the islanders’ everyday reality.

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7. This document was published by P. Zerlenti, *Σύστασις του κοινού των Μυκονίων*, Ermoupoli (Syros) 1924, p. 63-67.

8. See the evidence, *ibid.*, p. 216-219.

On 18 August 1701, Alexandros Kalamaras appeared at the chancellery of the community of Mykonos and prepared a *precura*, a power of attorney that made the “Most Illustrious Master” Antonis Betis his representative in all his affairs. The reason that prompted him to do so is presented by Kalamaras himself, somewhat elliptically but quite vividly, in a document he submitted to the community<sup>9</sup>. Mehmet Bey, who as attested by Tournefort was at this time the holder of Mykonos’ tax revenues, had in his possession two women as slaves: Eirini, the widow of Captain Antonis, and her mother, a nun whose son was an officer in the Venetian military<sup>10</sup>. Mehmet was demanding 200 *reales* to free them. Alexandros Kalamaras, who had served as a commissioner for the Mykonos community during the critical juncture of the Venetian-Ottoman war and was probably in contact with Mehmet, assured him that they were both poor island women, and in this way succeeded in gaining their liberation for a low price. When Mehmet Bey learned he had been deceived, he hastened to Mykonos with 20 galleys (“*galiotsas*”), arrested Kalamaras, kept him in chains on Kos for 13 months, and finally sold him as a slave to make up the 200 *reales* of the original price he had demanded for the redemption of the two women. Through the proxy he deposited with community authorities, Alexandros Kalamaras empowered Captain Antonis Betis, who traveled to Constantinople because of his profession, to demand the restoration of justice and compensation for the financial and bodily harm he had suffered.

Kalamaras’ story eloquently illustrates a grim aspect of life on the islands during the years of Ottoman supremacy. “Slavery”, the possibility of someone being arrested and enslaved and of the individual and their family’s being forced to buy his freedom back, was a constant in the islanders’ life<sup>11</sup>.

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9. Ant. Fl. Katsouros, *Κουρσάροι και σκλάβοι. Ανέκδοτα μυκονιάτικα και συριανά έγγραφα*, Syros 1948, p. 30-32, doc. 14 (today in General State Archives of Greece, K60, folio 19).

10. The nun is mentioned as the mother of “Sir Colonel Alibrante”. The Alibrante family, who were of Venetian origins, is found on Crete and the Aegean Islands, and particularly on Paros, see N. Alibrantis, *Παριανά μελετήματα*, vol. Α’, Athens 2003, p. 155-156. The man in question was probably an islander who belonged to the Venetian fleet, in which he rose to the rank of colonel.

11. On the slave trade during this period on Mykonos see D. Dimitropoulos, *Η Μύκονος τον 17ο αιώνα*, p. 322-334 and idem, «Η πειρατεία στο Αιγαίο. Όψεις και αντιφάσεις των στερεοτύπων», *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο: Μύθοι και ιδεολογήματα στη σύγχρονη Ελλάδα*, Athens 2007, p. 115-134.

A declaration of war, like that between the Turks and Venetians, swelled the trade in booty, which also included human beings, and made the taking of hostages a legitimate act of war. But whether cloaked in a veil of legitimacy or not, a person's falling into slavery carried an unbearable cost both for the one enslaved and for the members of his family. Indeed, as a rule it led to the disposal of his real property, since the wealthier someone was, the steeper the price demanded for his liberation. For example, with the 200 *reales* Mehmet was demanding to liberate the two women in question, 10 houses or 13-15 vineyards or other walled expanses of cultivable land could be purchased on Mykonos according to prices recorded in notarial acts of this era<sup>12</sup>.

These three stories resemble snapshots which momentarily illuminate some of the many and varied aspects of daily life on Mykonos at the dawn of the 18th century. They included different images of an island society connected by the single strand of fear: fear of the Turks' financial demands and of falling into debt, fear of pirates and falling into slavery, and even –sometimes– fear of ghosts. But at the same time they bring into relief another common element. Local society had a distinct form, it was founded and established around the local community, with institutions that functioned **efficiently and regulated the terms on which inhabitants co-existed; in parallel**, these institutions allowed islanders' decisive participation in ongoing events on Mykonos. At the edge of an empire that was rural and sluggish, oriented mainly towards its farming and livestock-raising mainland hinterland, and unable to control what was happening in the island area, the small island society of Mykonos made the best of the situation, the ingenuity, adaptability, and inhabitants' maritime experience, maintained its cohesion and prepared for a brighter future.

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12. A vineyard or *kleisma* ("enclosure") sold for an average of 14-15 *reales* and a house for 20, see D. Dimitropoulos, *Η Μύκονος τον 17ο αιώνα*, p. 132-133.

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