

Bulletin



ITHACAN
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Bulletin of the Ithacan Historical Society
Επετηρίδα της Ιστορικής Εταιρείας της Ιθάκης

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Editor

K. Nikias

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The Bulletin (or BIHS) is published each year by the Ithacan Historical Society. It publishes articles, reviews and notes relating to the history of Ithaca and its region, from antiquity to the recent past, and provides a report of activities of the Society during the previous year.

Submissions should be directed to the Editor before 1 October of each year for the next volume. Please consult the Authors' Guidelines available at ithacanhistorical.org/publications

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Editor's Note

This first issue of the *Bulletin of the Ithacan Historical Society* is intended by the Society to make a contribution to the study of Ithacan history by launching a much-needed venue for the publication of specialist work relating to the island.

It responds to a palpable increase in interest in Ithacan history over the last few years, prompted as much by enthusiasm following the reopening of the local state archives as frustration about the ongoing neglect of the island's antiquities by the relevant authorities.

Periodicals with an Ithacan flavour have come in and out of print — most notably in the four volumes of the *Ἡμερολόγιον Ἰθάκης* of 1928–31 — but for long there has been a need for a journal capable of capturing trends in the conversation about Ithacan history among historians, archaeologists, and other writers.

It is frequently observed that the existing scholarship on Ithaca's history is either out-of-date, undeveloped, or inaccessible. The *BIHS* hopes to provide space for an ongoing conversation about the island's rich history across all periods, both by opening discussion between specialist scholars and by providing readers with accessible scholarship on the island's history in both English and Greek.

Vienna, December 2023

K. Nikias

The British Ionian Consul and Ithaca (1789–1809)

The letters of Consul Spiridion Foresti and Ithacan affairs

Ian Chessell

Spiridion Foresti (1752-1822)

Spiridion Foresti, a native of Cephalonia, lived through the most turbulent times for the peoples of the Adriatic and Ionian region in the closing years of the long eighteenth century.¹ Born in 1752 in Lixouri on Cephalonia, as a young man he moved to Zakynthos in 1770 where he established himself as a currant agent under Venetian rule, later becoming the British Vice-Consul on the island in 1783 and being elevated to Consul in 1789.²

The advent of the French Revolution accelerated the flow of Enlightenment ideas and the spectre of war to the Adriatic and Ionian which changed the region forever, bringing at first a succession of occupations of the Ionian Islands by foreign empires after the fall of the Venetian possessions to the French in mid-1797.³ As British Consul,

¹ For an excellent short introduction to the history of modern Greece with an emphasis on the position and role of the Ionian Islands, see: D. Arvanitakis, 'From Constantinople to Athens: the Vagaries of Greek Geography and the Hellenic World 1453–1830', in A. Delivorrias and E. Georgoula ed., *From Byzantium to Modern Greece: Hellenic art in adversity, 1453–1830*, (New York: Onassis Foundation, 2005).

² C.I. Chessell, 'Britain's Ionian Consul: Spiridion Foresti and Intelligence Collection', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 16(1) (2006): 45–61; idem, 'Britain's Ionian Consul: Spiridion Foresti and the Return to the Islands 1807–1810', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 19(2) (2010): 201–218.

³ For a treatment of the reception of Enlightenment ideals through the figure Adamantios Koraios, see G. Tolia, 'Κοραΐς και Επτάνησα (1798-1814): αποδοχή και ενδοιασμός των ιδεολόγων', in A. Nikiforou ed., *Επτάνησος Πολιτεία (1800–1807): Τα μείζονα ιστορικά ζητήματα* (Corfu: Γ.Α.Κ.–Αρχαία Νομού Κέρκυρας, 2001), 75–101. On attitudes to government in this period between Venetian and British rule, see the overview in M. Fusaro, 'Representation in practice: the myth of Venice and the British Protectorate in the Ionian islands (1801–1864)', in F. de Vivo, M. Calaresu, J.-P. Rubies ed., *Exploring*

Foresti was taken prisoner by the French in their occupation of the Ionian Islands in 1797, then was exiled to Venice in 1798, but returned in 1799 as the British Minister to the newly formed Septinsular Republic of the seven Ionian Islands under Russian-Turkish rule. Foresti was exiled again on the second French occupation in 1807, and returned as Minister with British Forces as they occupied the islands in the period 1809-1814. He saw the commencement of the Greek War of Independence just prior to his death in 1822 at Corfu.

Consul Foresti was a prolific correspondent and fortunately for historians, many of his letters have survived. His main correspondents were British Foreign Ministers, ambassadors and consuls around the Mediterranean, the local Septinsular Government, British Admirals and ship's captains, Ali Pasha of Ioannina, currant importers and travellers who visited Zante.⁴ A copy of each letter sent was made in the Consul's Copy Book, kept in the Consular Office. Foresti's 7-volume set of these books covering the period 1793-1813 miraculously survived war, earthquakes and neglect and were discovered in the British Consular Office in Corfu in 1936. They were transferred to the National Archives in London and are carefully preserved there today. (see Figure 1). Other major sources of his letters are in collections of letters received by: the Foreign Minister in the National Archives in London; the Septinsular Government in the Historical Corfu Archives and British Naval officers in London's National Maritime Museum. A number of these letters illustrate the effect of the quarantine measures that were in place to prevent the spread of the plague by people and goods across borders. In Figure 2 the effect of smoking the letters in sulphur fumes can be seen.

Cultural History. Essays in Honour of Peter Burke (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 309–25. More recently, see the comprehensive monograph by D.D. Arvanitakis, *Η αγωγή του πολίτη: Η γαλλική παρουσία στο Ιόνιο (1797–1799) και το έθνος των Ελλήνων* (Heraklion: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, 2020). Also see K. Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1850: Stammering the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

⁴ The Italianised names of the Ionian Islands have been used in this paper so as to match the usage of the times as reflected in the Consular letters being considered.

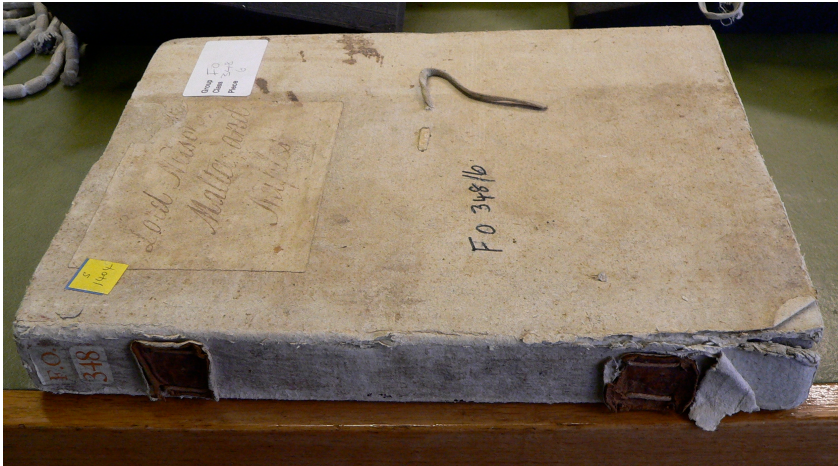


Fig. 1. UK National Archives: Ionian Consular Copy Book FO 348/6. (Photo by author).

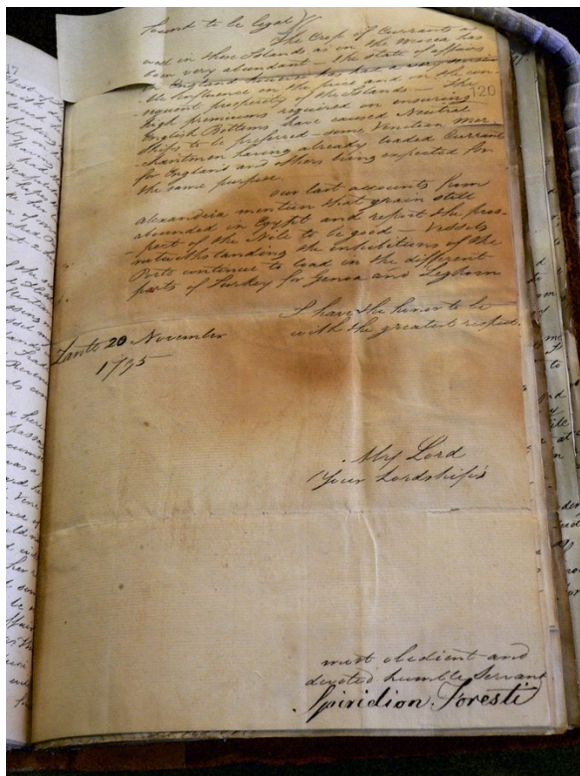


Fig. 2. UK National Archives: Example of letter received in London after fumigation treatment with sulphur fumes in transit. (Photo by author).

In his role as Consul Foresti was responsible for gathering intelligence from across the Ionian Island chain and the Italian and Turkish mainlands. Intelligence was carefully recorded and verified where possible and then forwarded to London when opportunities for carriage occurred. From time-to-time events at or concerning Ithaca were reported on by Foresti. The purpose of this paper is to examine these reports and to set Ithaca's history in the broader context of the Ionian, as seen by Foresti.

Currant Trade

Zante had been the centre of a rich trade in currants since at least the seventeenth century, mainly with European merchants and particularly with those from England.⁵ Cephalonia and Ithaca were also significant producers as well as the region around Patras on the Mainland. Though dependent on favourable weather, it was overall highly profitable for the principals and led to the development of a rich elite who largely controlled the island through political organs like the Council alongside the presence of the Venetian *Provveditor*, or Governor.⁶ The young Foresti established a business acting as an Agent for overseas merchants, buying currants on the public market for shipping back to England on ships owned or chartered by the Merchant. He built the business by each season writing to a number of potential customers in England, giving information on the prospects for the size and quality of the crop both at Zante but also at Cephalonia, Ithaca and Patras. He employed agents at these ports who reported to Foresti on the local market situation. As the season progressed he would provide updates on changing prices and sales volumes and also on destinations of ships so his customers would be aware of likely local competition at home.

⁵ See an overview (in Italian) by M. Fusaro, *Uva Passa, una guerra commerciale tra Venezia e l'Inghilterra (1540–1640)*, (Venezia: Il Cardo Editore, 1996), with introductory comments on Zante at 13–19. In English, see eadem, *Political economies of empire in the early modern Mediterranean: the decline of Venice and the rise of England, 1450–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁶ For an overview of local administration in the Venetian Ionian, with a survey of the reforms of the last two decades of Venetian rule, see D. D. Arvanitakis, 'Προβλήματα κοινοτικής αυτοδιοίκησης και κοινωνικές αντιθέσεις στον Ιόνιο χώρο (1750–1797)', in *Ελληνισμός και Κάτω Ιταλία. Από τα Ιόνια νησιά στην Grecia Salentina*, vol. 1 (Corfu: Ιόνιο Πανεπιστήμιο, 2002), 9–54.

An example is given at Letter 1 in the Annex. Foresti writes to G. and F. Fisher of Bristol updating them on the market situation in some detail and advising that he is gambling on getting them a good price at Ithaca for the cargo they have ordered. In other letters he notes that prices at Ithaca need to be lower as costs of shipping are higher.

Foresti as Consul

Foresti became British Vice-Consul at Zakynthos in 1783 and Consul in 1789. As Consul his responsibilities included diplomatic representation to the island Venetian government, support for British trade, support to British citizens visiting the islands or stranded through piracy or shipwreck, gathering intelligence for Government and military commanders. To assist in this task he had a network of Vice Consuls on the major islands and on key ports on the Mainland. These representatives had usually been Venetian citizens but in 1796 Venice issued orders that their citizens could not act as a Consul for a foreign power (see Letter 3). By this Letter Foresti sends a copy of the Seal of the Vice Consul at Ithaca to London together with those from Cephalonia and Missolonghi but advises that positions at a number of other places will now not be able to be formally filled. He advises his strategy of appointing “agents” rather than Vice-Consuls for the time being.

Empress Catherine II’s ambitions for an expansion of the Russian Empire into the Mediterranean had major impacts on the Ionian Islands. The two Russian-Turkish Wars, 1768-1774 (Orlov campaign) and 1787-1791 led to great hopes in the island communities that Russia would be the power that helped to break the Ottoman grip on Greece and lead to a revival of Greece’s ancient glory.⁷ Both wars proved to be disastrous for the Greeks, as Russia after setbacks withdrew their naval forces leaving the Greeks to defend themselves. Many Greeks including numbers from the Ionian Islands fought with the Russians. One such leader was Lambros Katsonis, distinguished himself fighting in Orlov’s Fleet, being renowned for his bravery, intelligence and cunning. At the start of the second Ottoman War in 1788 Katsonis, sanctioned by Russia, assembled his own

⁷ D.E. Vlasi, ‘Η Συμμετοχή των Επτανησίων στα Ορλοφικά (1770) και η Αντίδραση της Βενετίας’, *Μνήμων* 8 (1982): 64–84.

fleet of armed ships and entered active service in the war against the Turks flying the Russian Flag. Significant early successes with a growing fleet of some 27 small ships led to Ottoman determination to eliminate him which they largely did in a major sea battle in 1790. Foresti reports this battle to London in 1790. Katsonis manages to escape and with a small fleet of 6 ships makes his way to Ithaca to recover and refit. His arrival and activities are noted by Foresti (see Letter 2). Katsonis uses the harbours of Ithaca for safe anchorage for his Fleet and a base for operations against the Ottomans. He befriends the Androustos Family while on the island, themselves refugees from the Peloponnese and who become important leaders in the Greek revolution. Peace is restored between Russia and Turkey in 1791 but Katsonis refuses to accept it and fights on with his much reduced forces. He becomes a problem for the major powers as he often commits acts of piracy against any shipping that he finds rather than confining himself to Ottoman shipping. His Fleet was finally annihilated by a combined Turkish-French Squadron and Katsonis retired to Crimea.

The First French Occupation

Napoleon took possession of the Ionian Islands in 1797 following his defeat of Venice.⁸ General Gentilli was the first Commander but was replaced in early 1798 by General Chabot. Foresti was made prisoner at Zante and shipped to Corfu where he was held in house arrest. Despite this, Foresti established a system of smuggling letters out from Corfu and managed to maintain a steady stream of intelligence reports to British authorities. The French began to significantly reinforce the Fortresses at Corfu while establishing small garrisons on the other islands. Revolutionary ideas of government were introduced and the dominant role of the old elites was reduced.⁹ At first the other classes of the islands welcomed the wider opportunities for participation in government and the hope that these developments might lead to their greatly increased independence. However, as reported by Foresti to Secretary of State Lord Grenville in early 1798, the islands and some of the mainland possessions

⁸ E. Rodocanachi, *Bonaparte et les îles Ioniennes: un épisode des conquêtes de la république et du premier empire 1797–1816* (Paris :Ancienne Librairie Germer Bailliere, 1899).

⁹ See above nn. 3 and 6.

had been formed into Departments and as such were integrated into the French Administrative system, reducing the hope for independence. Departments were Corfu, Ithaca and Zante, the Department of Ithaca consisting of Ithaca, Cephalonia, Santa Maura, Prevesa, Vonizza and Calamo. These new arrangements had only a short time to operate before a combined Russian and Turkish force occupied the islands in 1799 after a prolonged siege of Corfu.

The Russian-Turkish Occupation

A combined Russian-Ottoman Force wrested the islands from France in 1798-1799. Foresti returned from Venice with the Russian Fleet and was appointed British Minister to the new Septinsular Republic established in the islands under direct Russian-Ottoman control and British approval.

Pirates had for centuries been a major threat to island life, and Foresti had typically called on Venice to provide protection for trading ships and even to towns on shore. In times of war, privateers, pirates operating with approval of participating empires added to the threat. Ithaca itself had a long history of threats of piracy, in the early sixteenth century the island had been almost uninhabited following depredations by corsairs. With the decline of Venice Foresti had to seek support from the Russian naval forces on the island or from cruising British warships. Foresti's reports to London frequently contain intelligence on pirates and French privateers, partly as warning to traders and partly seeking British Navy cooperation for their capture or destruction. Local communities often "allow their shores to be made stations for hostile vessels" as he complained to the Republican Government. Ithaca and the nearby island of Kalamos at times offered such protection and support for pirates. In 1801 (see Letter 4) Foresti writes to his friend John Hawkins in London describing the tragic circumstances of the death of their friend Doctor Artico and his family at the hands of pirates from Ithaca.

From 1800 on initial enthusiasm for the new Russian presence began to wane, and the first Constitution of the Republic largely limited power once more to the 'nobles' of the Venetian period, causing unrest and rising

tensions.¹⁰ Dissatisfaction with the local government and intense rivalry between leading families led to rebellion in Cephalonia which the Septinsular Government had great difficulty in controlling. On Zakynthos amid unrest and turmoil an English party emerged who took control of the island and taking down the flag of the Republic, raised the British Flag in early 1801. A British officer who appeared on the island, Colonel Callander, was made the Governor and Military Commander. However appeals to British authorities in the Mediterranean did not receive support as the actions were contrary to British policy of close cooperation with the Porte and Britain had just given Royal approval for the new Republic's Constitution. The revolutionary ideas spread to nearby Ithaca and Callander provided financial support to the revolutionary party there. The situation was made more difficult by the withdrawal of all Russian Forces from the islands on orders from the new Russian Czar Alexander. The task of the Septinsular Government was consequently made more difficult as the Republic only had a small force to enforce its policies.

Foresti as the British Minister in Corfu was charged by the Septinsular Government with taking down this British flag and restoring order. In September of 1801 Foresti sailed to Zakynthos on board a British Sloop *El Corso*, Captain Ricketts. (See Letter 5). They were initially received with the island forces heating shot in the Fortress, but Foresti was allowed ashore and after considerable negotiation, agreement was reached and the British Flag lowered and the Republican Flag raised. On his return journey to Corfu Foresti called at Ithaca to check on the situation on that island and reported that conditions were quiet there after timely action by his Vice-Consul.

By 1803 the Russians had returned to the islands with Count Mocenigo as Plenipotentiary. In January as the new Constitution for the islands had not received approval by the Turkish and Russian Governments, the local Government decided to renew the membership of

¹⁰A.D. Nikiforou ed., *Constitutional Charters of the Ionian Islands* (Athens: Hellenic Parliament Foundation, 2012), 133. For this period in Ithaca, see the overview in A. Lekatsas, 'Επτάνησος Δημοκρατική Πολιτεία', in *Η Ίθάκη*, vol. 2 (Athens: Φήμιος, 1998), 94–178.

the Senate with the same number of members as the previous Senate, from Ithaca that meant a single representative (see Letter 6).

With the resumption of War between France and Britain in May, 1803, the threat of French privateers to British trade became of concern again. Admiral Nelson now in command in the Mediterranean had an almost impossible task of protection over the length of the Sea and prevention of French break outs from Toulon. One effective tactic was the formation of convoys of merchant ships escorted by a British warship. The Septinsular Republic was to be neutral in this new conflict, and it was important to Foresti in protecting British trade that this neutrality was strictly maintained. In Letter 7 is an account of an interaction between a French privateer the *Veloce* operating in the waters around Ithaca which captured a prize in a British convoy. The British 28-gun Frigate, HMS *Thisbe*, in a series of boat actions captured the *Veloce* and its prize, but only after taking considerable damage from the Privateer's fire and from shore guns. Captain Shepherd of the *Thisbe* is very incensed by the breach of neutrality by the Ithacan population, and by the various other islands of the Republic in general. He asks Minister Foresti to voice strong condemnation of the actions of Ithacans to the Government of the Septinsular Republic.

A major issue for Foresti was managing the relations between the Russian Government and Ali Pasha, Vizir of Ioannina.¹¹ British policy was to maintain good relations with Ali Pasha and the Ottoman Government to ensure they would not go over to the French. Britain and Russia were allies and were supposed to have a common policy towards Ali Pasha but Russia and particularly the Russian Plenipotentiary Count Mocenigo, opposed Ali Pasha because of his treatment of their co-religionists the Greeks in his conquered territories.

Problems arose over two main issues: the first, of Greeks and Albanians seeking refuge in the islands from Ali Pasha's 'justice'. Ali was continually demanding their return saying they were criminals seeking to avoid legal punishment. Russia (and in reality Britain through Foresti), saw them as legitimate refugees fleeing a despotic Ruler. The second issue

¹¹ K.E. Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte: Diplomacy and Orientalism in Ali Pasha's Greece* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999).

concerned freedom of passage of Ali's armed shipping through the Straits of Corfu down the east side of the islands, Ali believed he had the right to this passage but the Septinsular Republic saw this passage as prohibited under the Convention of 1800 agreed by all parties.

In May 1806, Ali lodged complaints on both issues, requesting the return of a number of refugees that were assembled on Ithaca and Santa Maura, and complaining of Russian actions in preventing passage of his shipping in the Corfu Channel. He sought Foresti's help through the British Consul at Ioannina, John Morier, to help resolve these issues. At Letter 8 in the Annex, Foresti writes to Mocenigo in the politest terms (as an ally) outlining the situation and seeking some consideration be given to the Vizir's requests. Mocenigo's reply to Foresti, again in the politest but firm manner, is at Letter 9. Note that the 'Common Enemy' being referred to is France. Mocenigo advises that Ithaca was offered for the preservation of these families as the Septinsular Government saw them as legitimate refugees, unhappy victims of Ali's persecution. The refugees were not returned to the Vizir. These letters illustrate something the complexity of the relationships between the parties, all ostensibly allies or neutral, under the threat of Napoleon.

Second French Occupation

In August 1807 the French took possession of the seven Ionian islands again following their surrender to Napoleon by Emperor Alexander at Tilsit. The French were initially welcomed by the population of Ithaca as they established a new democratic government regime centred now on Corfu. A 14-member Senate was established in which Ithaca had one member. This attitude soured as the French imposed heavy taxation and the British blockade of the islands severely limited Ithacan trading opportunities which had expanded greatly under the Russians. The French built a number of defensive structures to face the expected invasion by the powerful British Fleet.

Foresti was exiled at Malta but continued with his Ministerial duties as the new situation would allow. His extensive network of contacts across the Adriatic and Ionian proved invaluable and he was able to continue to gather significant intelligence for the British Government and for local

British commanders. The British were most concerned about the fate of the large Russian Naval Force present in the islands at their surrender as these ships were to be handed over to France as well. Together with new constructions from Venice, the French would be enabled to assemble a powerful Naval Squadron and threaten British domination. A few months after the surrender of the islands, Foresti, using reports from his agents, was able to provide complete intelligence on the enemy Naval and Military Forces in the Adriatic and Ionian to the British Commander in the Mediterranean, Admiral Collingwood (see Letter 10). At Ithaca he reports there were only a few Italian soldiers making up the small Garrison. But he notes that some 50 merchant vessels were in the harbour at Ithaca. Septinsular merchant shipping, and particularly that of Cephalonia and Ithaca, had grown remarkably during the Russian/Ottoman period due to the encouragement and protection given by these two Governments.¹² However with the arrival of the French and the consequent British blockade, trade had fallen sharply. Foresti reports that Ithacan shipowners refused French offers to arm some of these idle ships and resume trading operations, the risks of such operations would have been considered too high as British cruisers would consider them legitimate targets as they would be sailing from a French occupied port.

British Capture of Ithaca

By 1809 the focus of the war had shifted to Peninsula, where Britain was attacking France from the South and to the Danube campaigns between France and Austria. The British Navy controlled the Mediterranean after Trafalgar in 1805. Foresti at Malta was well placed to urge the Commander-in-Chief Admiral Collingwood to consider an operation to capture the Ionian Islands as in his view the islanders themselves, excepting at Corfu,

¹² G.D. Pagratis, 'From the Septinsular Republic to the 'White Sea'. Ionian Shipping in the Port of Smyrna (1800-1807)', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 19(2) (2010): 335–50. Sir William Gell visited Ithaca in April 1806 and records 50 vessels in the harbour of Ithaca: W. Gell, *The Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807), 30. A census undertaken by the French administration in 1808 recorded 45 ships: Π. Καπετανάκης, *Ναυτιλία και εμπόριο υπό Βρετανική Προστασία. Ιόνιο Κράτος (1815-1864)* (Αθήνα: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, 2015), 73.

were ready to push the small French garrison forces out given the smallest encouragement by the British Navy (see Letter 11). The islanders only restraint in acting was their fear that if they are without outside Naval support, the French would launch a punitive expedition from the large French forces on Corfu or Santa Maura.

Others also urged similar views and although resisting these pressures for some time, Collingwood is finally persuaded to act and an expedition is launched from Sicily in September 1809. Foresti travels with the expedition and as a close adviser to the commander, General Oswald. He outlines the following events to the Foreign Secretary (see Letter 12). On the 1st of October Zante is captured with only limited resistance, and Oswald proclaims the restoration of the Septinsular Republic under British protection.

On the 5th of October Cephalonia followed and on the 8th Foresti boards the Sloop HMS *Philomel*, Captain Crawley, at Argostoli and sails to occupy Ithaca (see Letter 13).¹³ The *Philomel* arrived on the 8th October and entered the harbour before Vathi. Here they were confronted with well positioned batteries which made advancement impossible.¹⁴ Captain Crawley therefore landed a detachment of troops and marines who proceeded to a height commanding the main French battery which surrendered on seeing they were out-manoeuvred. The British were thus in possession of the island. Foresti consulted with the local leaders and established an interim Government for the island modelled on those established on the other islands. A letter welcoming the new arrangements in glowing terms and pledging the island's loyalty to the British Crown was sent to Canning in London by the new Ithacan Provisional Committee of

¹³ Captain Crawley's report was published in *The London Gazette*, No 16321, 2–5 December 1809: 1930–1931.

¹⁴ G. Livitsanis, 'Ίθάκη 1809: Στη Δίνη των Ναπολεόντειων Πολέμων', in E. Toumasatos ed., *ΙΑ' Διεθνές Παινόνιο Συνέδριο. Επτανησιακός βίος και πολιτισμός, Κεφαλονιά, 21-25 Μαΐου 2018. Πρακτικά*, vol. 1 (Argostoli: Εταιρεία Κεφαλληνιακών Ιστορικών Ερευνών, 2019). Livitsanis provides details of the defences constructed by the French at Ithaca in the expectation of British assault and further details of the assault itself. His paper also recounts earlier unsuccessful attempts by British warships to make contact with the British party on the island.

Government (see Letter 14).¹⁵ It appears that the local pro-British party played only a minor role in the outcome.

Conclusion

The letters of Consul/Minister Foresti provide a different perspective on the history of Ithaca. He sees the island in a wide political context and recognises it as a key player in the tumultuous events that follow the French Revolution. He shows Ithaca is tightly integrated in the important currant trade and in the broader carriage trade that develops around the eastern Mediterranean in the Russo–Turkish Republican period. Though of course small, Foresti considers Ithaca to be an important element of the Republic and is concerned that it adopts the policies of the central Government. The islands past traditions with piracy are seen to sometimes revive, particularly at times of economic stress, causing distress to friendly shipping and travellers. For Foresti his participation in the inclusion of Ithaca in the new Seven Islands arrangements protected by Britain was a satisfying finish to his interactions with this Island over some forty years.

*

¹⁵ This is an English translation of the original letter in Italian published by G. Livitsanis, ‘Ιθάκη 1809’, at 608.

Annex: Letters

1. Spiridion Foresti to G. and F. Fisher, Bristol, dated at Zante, 1 September, 1794.

Sirs,

You will notice from the preceding copy of my last, that the hope of being enabled to purchase your cargo of Currants on terms somewhat more advantageous than either the late established price of 16 Sequins in Zante or 15 1/2 in Cephalonia, had induced me to delay for a little the execution of your Commission. With this view therefore I am now endeavouring to purchase for you in the Island of Ithaca (otherwise called Little Cephalonia) from whence I wait with impatience the result; I have many doubts of my success because I find that there are many bidders for the Currants of that Island. I expected the price in Cephalonia would by this time have abated some little, but I find that after Mr Caridi had finished his purchase which including the cargo of the ship Olive amounts to one Million lbs., and also after the purchase of 100 tons by Mr Macri all at 15 1/2 Sequins, that Mr Strane has also sent there and purchased 250 m at the same rate which has served to sustain the price. I still however continue my views upon Cephalonia, and will not relinquish my attempts to obtain the fruit at something beneath the prices above mentioned. From the returns lodged by the Merchants who called the price here on the 27 Ultimo, the latest quantity purchased by them amounts to 2 million 724 m lbs. The remainder yet unsold is computed to be at least 4 million lbs. The English Brig Mentor is arrived here in six days from Venice. She will load about 200 tons of Currants for London. Another two English Brigs are expected daily from Venice to load Currants also.

I am etc.,

Spiridion Foresti.

Source: UK. National Archives, Ionian Consular Copybooks, FO 348/1, [no folio numbers].

2. Spiridion Foresti to Lord Grenville, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London, dated at Zante, 10 June. 1791.

My Lord,

The 5th of this month I received by the way of Venice your most respectable Letter dated the 22nd April, with which your Lordship was pleased to honour me.

Some time since I assign'd triplicate Letters to Government concerning the Plague in Morea, notifying its continued progress, in caution to them [sic] most interested objects of Health and Commerce.

I must again repeat, that in that afflicted Kingdom instead of consuming, the Disorder, continually blazes with the utmost vigour. Tripolizza the Capital, and Argos, with several other Inland Cities and Villages, and which is most interesting the Sea Port Towns of Napoli, Romania, Corinto, Vostizza, Patrasso, Gastuni in Chiarenza etc are all attacked to the utmost excess. All the European Consuls and Negotiators have lately left Patrasso, with the utmost precipitation, and have arrived in these Islands, where they are all shut up in our Lazzarettos, where is exacted the most rigorous and exact Rules for Quarantine.

The Plague has manifested itself in several Persons arrived here from Patrass, and which are now in the Lazzarettos of Zant and Cephalonia, where Government takes the most diligent precautions in quelling it, by using the utmost vigilance, that the disorder may not communicate itself out of its vicinity. We have as yet preserved ourselves from that terrible infection, and it is to be hoped we shall also for the time to come.

Our Commerce has not in the least suffered any interruption, but continually has increased, which we cannot say of Turkey, where there neither are any rules observed, nor the least tendency to any kind of discipline, as the Kingdom of Morea has communicated the disorder to the opposite shores Romelia, Lepanto, [...], Livadia and Leitoun in the Gulph of Vollo, where the aforementioned shores are fiercely attacked.

The Venetian Squadron commanded by that sage and vigilant Chevalier Emo, the greatest part is now anchored in this Road, where at intervals he sends out vessels as common upon cruises. This Admiral protects all Commerce in general, conserving the strictest neutrality in these present circumstances of War between the Court of Russia and the Porte, and is of the utmost service to these Islands, by his continual and unremitting vigilance upon all Vessels or Boats which may be infected by the contagious disorder, taking the wisest and most salutary measures to preserve us.

General Tamara, and Colonel Lambro Cazzone the Commanders of the Russian Squadron has arrived lately at Itacha. Where their force consists of sixteen vessels (viz.) small Frigates, Corvettes and Galiottes from twelve to twenty eight guns each. The major part of this small Squadron has lately left the Port of Ithaca and have proceeded to Calamo, a place not far off belonging to the Turks but uninhabited, where as yet they have not entered upon action.

We have had recent intelligence of a Turkish Fleet consisting of eighteen sail, some of which are of the Line, being actually at Hydra in the Archipelago.

These are all the particulars that I am able to inform your Lordship at the present; and always ready to obey your most respectful commands.

I have the honour to be etc.,

Spiridion Foresti.

Source: UK. National Archives: Ionian Islands, FO 42/1, pp.182-185.

3. Spiridion Foresti to Lord Grenville, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London, dated at Zante, 17 April, 1797.

My Lord

In conformity with the injunctions contained in Your Lordship's dispatch of the 16. August last, I have the honour of enclosing in the present, the

Impression of the Seal of this Consulship, together with the Signatures and Impressions of the Seals of the dependent Vice Consuls of the Islands of Cephalonia, and Ithaca, and that part of Turkey called Missolongi.

Allow me, My Lord, to remark, that the Senate of Venice, some time ago, enacted a decree prohibiting any Venetian Subject from accepting for the future, of the Consular Office, of any of the Foreign Powers. In consequence of this prohibition, I have not been enabled since the decease of my late Vice-Consul of the Islands of Corfu, Santa Maura, Cerigo, and that part of Rumely known under the denomination of Prevesa, of supplying their places by any persons not within the cognizance of the decree, and immediately dependent on the Consulship and on the honourable protection of the British Government. I, indeed, did myself the honour of making an application to His Majesty's Minister at Venice, on the subject, but it was found that the Decree was too express, to admit of any alteration, or exception. The places above mentioned may be said, therefore, to be legally vacant, but I have not failed to make choice of Persons as suitable to the Office and who, under the name of agents, in a great measure answer the purpose of regular Vice-Consuls. It is probable, that at a future period of less discord among the different Powers, I may have an opportunity of selecting some eligible person among the Consuls of the other Courts, who would esteem it an honour to be invested with the office; and, in that case, I will certainly make it my business to inform Your Lordship of the circumstance.

I have the honour to be etc

Spiridion Foresti.

Source: UK. National Archives: Ionian Consular Copybooks, FO 348/2, [no folio numbers].

4. Spiridion Foresti to John Hawkins, London, dated at Corfu, 6 June 1801.

Sir,

I shudder at reciting the catastrophe of Doctor Artico. Unfortunate man! He went from Candia to Patras, where he hired a boat from Ithaca to go to the Gulph of Lepanto, but the crew proved to be pirates and murdered him, his Wife, and his Son and a Turkish Guide. He removed from Candia at the desire of his friend the Pasha of that place, who was appointed to a Government in Rumely. One of the accomplices went to Ithaca and confessed the fact: the others have not yet been apprehended. It is understood that some British and Turkish forces are to come to these Islands to set matters right. I am really afraid, that without some measure of this sort, the most atrocious crimes will become familiar to the Islanders. They are, in general, discontented with the present Government, tho' I believe less so here. An unfortunate affair took place here two days ago, in consequence of the extreme aversion of the Greeks for the Turks. Two Greeks who imprudently ventured to separate some Turkish sailors who had quarrelled, were killed by them. The Greeks took up arms, and pursued the Turks to a house, where they certainly would have burned them, if the Russians had not been prevailed to interfere and take them to the Fortress. As it was, 12 Turks were killed upon the spot, and 5 wounded, almost all mortally. Not a Turk has since come on shore. I was by chance upon the spot when the affray took place, and I say with truth that I was very instrumental on prevailing upon the Russians to interfere on behalf of the Turks. It was fortunate that it ended as it did, for the Greek Populace certainly meant to have seized the moment to massacre some of the obnoxious nobility. The outlaws, who might have headed the people, upon this occasion, have been since pardoned by Government in consideration of their forbearance. Upwards of one hundred have in consequence come to town.

I have the honour to be etc,

Spiridion Foresti.

Source: Cornwall Record Office, Hawkins Collection, J/3/5/91.

5. Spiridion Foresti to Lord Hawkesbury, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London, dated at Corfu, 22 September, 1801.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform Your Lordship of my return hither; of the taking down of the English Flag at Zante; and of the hoisting of that of the Republic of the Seven Islands in its room.

Upon my arrival at the town of Zante, on board of His Majesty's Sloop *El Corso*, and in company with the Turkish Frigates under the command of Vice Admiral Seremet Bey, I found that the Government at the Island and Colonel Callander were determined not to take down the English Flag without an order to that purpose from His Majesty himself, and that they had been the means of arming a very great proportion of the Inhabitants, in order to support their pretensions.

Captain Ricketts, who commands the *El Corso* and myself, signified to the above mentioned Government that the orders in consequence of which the *El Corso* had come to Zante were not less than the orders of Government because they were expressed by His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary at Constantinople, and that the English Flag must in consequence be taken down.

After some troublesome subsequent negotiation, it was agreed, that the First Lieutenant of the *El Corso* should be sent on shore, under the safeguard of Government, and that he should take down the British Flag. This was done accordingly: the Fortress and the Turkish Commodore saluted that Flag at the time with 13 guns, and the Colours of the Republic of the Seven Islands were immediately hoisted in its room, and saluted by Captain Ricketts. This event took place on the 14. Instant. The Flag in question was delivered to Captain Ricketts. Colonel Callander then made his escape on board of a vessel in which Mr Spencer Smith was on his passage to Trieste, and left the place soon afterwards.

Although the Inhabitants of Zante were previously in a state of great ferment, yet I can assure Your Lordship, that the transaction just alluded to took place with the greatest tranquillity, and I did not omit to recommend to the last moment I staid at Zante, the preservation of good order, and submission to the Senate of Corfu, as required by the Constitution agreed to by the Courts of Russia and Turkey and sanctioned by Great Britain .

I should have remained somewhat longer at Zante, had I not received letters in the interval from His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, addressed to me at Corfu, which required of me not to leave Corfu for reasons more closely connected with the King's Service, and which cannot but be well known to Your Lordship, and had I not also received intelligence of there being reason to apprehend, that the enemy might, in the absence of Anglo-Turkish Forces, attack this Island, from the Neapolitan Territory.

I touched however at Ithaca, and found that Colonel Callander and his party at Zante had sent a considerable sum of money to the leading people of Ithaca, in order to induce them to hoist the British Colours at that Island, but, that the Inhabitants had, through the well employed influence of my Deputy, resisted the temptation. Colonel Callander had employed the same means, for the same purpose, at Cephalonia.

I cannot but do justice to the great zeal and alacrity which Captain Ricketts which manifested in every stage of the occurrence above detailed.

I have the satisfaction to inform Your Lordship of the capture of the *Bulldog* Sloop of War, and of a transport under her convoy laden with ordnance, by His Majesty's Frigate *Champion* now in this Port. This event does the greatest honour to the Right Hon. Lord William Stuart who attacked and took the vessels in question, on the 16. Instant, under the batteries of Gallipoli, notwithstanding a heavy fire from them and the musquetry of the troops on shore, as well as from the vessels. The *Bulldog* and 5 transports were on their passage from Ancona to Taranto.

The Turkish Frigates were to sail from Zante the day I did. I much urged the Commodore to hasten to the protection of Corfu, and I understand that he is now on his voyage.

His Majesty's Sloop of War *la Bonne Citoyenne* arrived here this morning from Alexandria, and brought accounts of the conquest of that place by His Majesty's arms. The Right Hon. Lord Keith directed the Captain of the Sloop to touch here to take my advice as to the propriety of forwarding His Lordship's dispatches by sea or by land, and as I have advised the Captain to proceed to Trieste, I have an opportunity of forwarding this letter to Your Lordship.

I have the honour to be etc.,

Spiridion Foresti.

Source: UK. National Archives: Ionian Islands, FO 42/4, ff. 161r–164v.

6. Spiridion Foresti to Lord Hawkesbury, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London, dated at Corfu, 22 January 1803.

My Lord,

I take advantage of this favourable opportunity of transmitting by the return of the Alligator Frigate to Malta, which Sir Richard Bickerton sent here, and which arrived on the 17th December last, a quadruplicate of that of the 10th of December, and a triplicate of that of the 2nd Instant, with several enclosures under cover to that Admiral, since I am doubtful whether some of them may not have miscarried or have been intercepted.

Since the new Constitution is not arrived, the general government, with the consent of H. E. the Russian Plenipotentiary Count Mocenigo, thought it expedient to renew the Senate provisionally, which is to be composed of the same number of members as the last one; viz, three of Corfu, three of Cephalonia, three of Zante, two of Santa Maura, one of Ithaca, one of

Cerigo, and one of Paxo. The Prince of the Senate has sent orders to the Delegates of the different Islands for the election of the Senators, who are daily expected here. The Prince published a proclamation on the 30th December last, concerning the change in question, as also did Count Mocenigo on the same date, both of which permit me to enclose for Your Lordship's perusal.

The Russian Frigate and the Turkish Corvet that went with troops to the Island of Cerigo, have not as yet returned, but are shortly expected, since the Russian Frigate is arrived at Zante on her way hither. The Turkish Vice Admiral Seremet Bey is gone on a visit to Patras in the Morea, and is likewise expected here.

Permit me to take the liberty of enclosing to Your Lordship, a packet that the Russian Minister Count Mocenigo consigned to me for Count Woranzoff, the Russian Ambassador at our Court, wherein he mentions the proceedings of Horatio Sebastiani, and the French Commissaries in these Islands, and which Your Lordship will have the goodness to have consigned to that Ambassador.

The several persons whose misconduct has been notorious, and who have in consequence been committed to prison, have confessed in their examination that five or six of the inhabitants of the City have been the leaders in all their illegal proceedings; (the same as in all the other Islands) yet policy at present prevents both the Government and Count Mocenigo from using the severe animadversion these persons merit, and who are now not only skreened but rewarded with important and lucrative situations, since they are absolutely protected by the French Commissaries, as they were particularly warm in French interests during the late war.

It was customary under the Venetians for the Consul in each Island, (Corfu excepted) to hoist the Colours of his Nation, the same as in the different sea ports in Turkey, on the arrival of any ships and on holidays; but when the French took possession of these Islands this was prohibited, and the ensign-staffs were all taken down. Hitherto the French Commissaries at Zante and

Cephalonia are the only persons who have erected ensign-staffs, and hoisted the Colours of their nation.

I have the honour to be etc.,

Spiridion Foresti.

Source: UK. National Archives, Ionian Consular Copybooks, FO 348/4, [no folio numbers].

7. Captain Shepherd, of His Majesty's Ship *Thisbe* to Spiridion Foresti, dated at Corfu Harbour 5 May, 1804.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you in answer to your letter of this day's date respecting the capture of the *Veloce*, which fired into and boarded one of my convoy, that, on the 1st Instant, when only three quarters of a mile from the shore of Ithaca. She in a violent and hostile manner took out the master, his son and nephew and plundered the vessel of many articles, among which were her Colours and the master of his money and wearing apparel. It being calm, I immediately sent my boats to her assistance, which the Privateer perceiving she quitted her. The boats got the above information from the people in consequence of which they followed the Privateer to regain the Master and his people whom they took out. Immediately on the approach of my boats the Privateer fired upon them and also from the shore and killed and wounded several of my men, which I considered then, and do now to have been the greatest breach of neutrality that could have possibly occurred, not to mention their having captured the Brig in the situation which she then was.

I have therefore to acquaint you if you or the Russian Plenipotentiary, or the Government of the Republic of the Seven Islands wish for any further information, I refer you to Lord Nelson, Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean to whom only I am to give an account of my proceedings, and I beg of you to acquaint the Government of Corfu and the Russian

Plenipotentiary that I am sorry to be obliged to give you a very unpleasant report to Lord Nelson respecting the asylum which is given in the Ports of the Republic of the Seven Islands to the Privateers, and Piratical boats bearing the French Flag which so much annoy, and is likely to annoy the commerce of His Majesty's Subjects in these Seas.

I have also to acquaint you that I found no papers of commission on board the *Veloce* to entitle her to make captures, therefore on my arrival at Malta I intend to have the fourteen men which were taken on board her prosecuted and proceeded against for Piracy.

I have the honour to be etc.,

Lewis Shepherd.

Source: UK National Maritime Museum: Admiral Warren WAR/73, ff. 164v–165v.

8. Spiridion Foresti to His Excellency Count Mocenigo, Russian Plenipotentiary at the Republic of the Seven Islands, dated at Corfu, 17 May 1806.

Sir,

The declarations of our august respective Courts to maintain the Independence and Integrity of the Ottoman Empire and to provide as far as may be for the tranquillity of the same, declarations already well known to your Excellency, have imposed an imperious duty on the Ministers of those Courts respectively to give every possible proof of the authenticity and validity of them in all their relations and connections with that Empire.

Some transactions have however taken place between Agents of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias in these Islands and those of the neighbouring Ali Pasha of Ioannina, attended by certain circumstances on the part of the former, that have unfortunately excited in the latter sentiments which are irreconcilable with the above declarations. Among

these transactions the protection extended to the Albanian Refugees in Santa Maura and Ithaca is particularly to be regarded.

The irrefragability of these wise and beneficent Intentions by which His Imperial Majesty, in perfect concert with my August Sovereign, is actuated towards the Turkish Empire, forbids me at once to ascribe the origin of these unfortunate sentiments of the Vizir to any other cause than to that of misrepresentation of the facts alluded to, or to the insinuation arising from the intrigues of the Common Enemy carried on at Ioannina.

This interpretation however Ali Pasha has not given to the transactions alluded to, but he has attributed them to motives of an hostile disposition towards himself.

So strongly penetrated is he with this persuasion that he has communicated it to His Britannic Majesty's Consul General at Ioannina, reporting to him at the same time the facts which lead him immediately to make this communication. The British Consul has informed me in his official dispatch of the 1/13 Instant, of these facts, namely that some of his Boats laden with provisions which were going from Arta to the coast about Gomenizza have been intercepted by certain Russian Vessels; and that some of his armed vessels have been ordered away from the latter place by Russian Ships of War.

Ali Pasha unable to account for these proceedings on the part of the Russians on any other ground than that before mentioned, alleging that no satisfactory reason for them has been given to him, and the nature of the facts appearing to him not to correspond to the intentions of our respective Courts so often expressed to him, has judged it expedient to recur to the mediation of the British Consul General in his Capital, hoping that the differences unfortunately subsisting between the Russian Agents at Corfu and Himself may be brought thereby to a speedy and amicable issue.

Not being acquainted with the grounds and details of the facts I have quoted otherwise than by the report made by Ali Pasha to the British Consul General I cannot answer to the general merits of the Vizir's

Complaints. But as your Excellency can have nothing more at heart than to execute in the fullest manner the wise and friendly intentions of our respective Courts in favour of the Ottoman Empire, it is with confidence that I invite you to communicate to me the motives and disposition on which the transactions alluded to were founded, in order that my Influence in conjunction with that of Mr Morier His B. Majesty's Consul General in Albania may be exerted to remove from the mind of the Vizir those unfavourable impressions, which on this occasion he has received to the great prejudice of the Common Cause which our respective Courts are united to defend.

The repeated assurances of esteem and consideration given by us to Ali Pasha, the grounds on which they were given, and the conditions, by a strict observance of which he was only to expect a continuation of our support, must be too fresh in the recollection of your Excellency to need my recitation of them. It is deeply to be regretted that any occurrences should have arisen to invalidate this reliance on the sincerity of these assurances. And if measures be not now taken to prevent a recurrence of these complaints and suspicions, which, if well founded or not on the part of the Vizir, afford him plausible pretexts for enlarging his power and oppressing the Greeks, and to our Common Enemy the most favourable opportunity of establishing their influence in Albania, the joint Interests of Great Britain and Russia cannot but be impaired in that Country; a circumstance which demands therefore the most speedy and effectual redress.

The fatal measures to which the Vizir may resort while he sees that the influence of Great Britain cannot be exerted to support him, whilst he sees such various reasons to doubt the sincerity of the intentions of the Russians towards him and when he knows the disposition of the Porte towards him, these are considerations which, in the present important crisis, demand the most serious deliberation.

In proposing this mediation and offering these reflections to your Excellency in perfect conformity to the wise and friendly intentions of my Court, in all that regards the Turkish Empire, I have only in view to afford fresh Proofs of my ardent and sincere desire to contribute as far as depends

on me to preserve that good understanding between the parties now at issue, which for the success of the Common Cause, which our august respective Courts have engaged to defend, it is so desirable to cement and strengthen.

Nothing more remains for me than to pray your Excellency to accept the frank assurance of the distinguished consideration with whom I have the honour to be etc.,

I have the honour to be etc.,

Spiridion Foresti.

Source: UK. National Archives: Ionian Letter Books, FO 42/8A, ff. 70r–73v.

9. His Excellency Count Mocenigo, Russian Plenipotentiary at the Republic of the Seven Islands, to Spiridion Foresti Esq., His Majesty's Resident at the Republic of the Seven Islands, dated at Corfu, 20 May 1806.

Sir,

Your note of the 17th Instant has afforded me the same satisfaction, which I shall feel on all occasions, where your intervention is employed for promoting the better success of the service of our respective Sovereigns. This premised, it was my duty to observe most religiously those declarations, which our august Courts have made to secure the integrity of the Ottoman Empire under the present political circumstances, and as far as may be its tranquillity. I observe at the same time you have been so far actuated by this principle, which certainly is mine, as to consider it as your duty to represent to me the complaint of the Vizir of Ioannina, Ali Pasha, on two articles, the one relative to the refuge, which the Greek Armatoli have taken in the Islands of Santa Maura and Ithaca, and the other concerning the measures taken to remove from the Channel of Corfu the maritime armaments of the said Vizir.

Supported by the reflections of Mr Consul General Morier you have found in them an additional reason to endeavour that certain suspicions, which may injure the Common cause, by assisting that perhaps of our Common Enemy, be removed from the mind of that powerful neighbour. I observe lastly that actuated by these reasons you addressed me in order to learn the real state of the business and to concert with me, in the present important crisis such measures as may be necessary.

Fully appreciating the opportunity where you have offered me, I do not hesitate a moment to lay before you on both articles such explanations as will evince to you that the measures taken relative to these events through my interventions cannot bear the slightest shadow of the suspicion entertained, and which if they disturb the Vizir of Ioannina do not on that account affect in any manner the sacred inviolability of the declarations of our august Courts, or occasion any legitimate injury to the Common Cause.

If every other important situation is to be neglected, if the mere circumstances of the moment are to determine the immediate end of the measures to be taken, and if lastly no regard is to be paid to the primitive causes, which have occasioned the Emigration of the Greek Armatoli, certain it is that the humanity of this Government and of Him who protects it, would not have been opposed by me to deprive these unhappy victims of persecution of that Asylum, which the vicinity of the Islands of Santa and Ithaca offered for their preservation. Notwithstanding this, perceiving that the Vizir of Ioannina opposed the most daring and even indecent hostility to these humane and laudable Sentiments of the Septinsular Government, perceiving moreover the Tranquillity of the confines of the Seven Islands was disturbed and the commercial intercourse with the neighbouring State suspended, desirous also to accommodate our interests with those of the Vizir, and no longer regarding the Excesses committed, I availed myself of the regular and pacific measures of adjusting such differences by making sincere and equitable proposals: and I hastened in consequence to address the most excellent Senate, offering every cooperation on my part, in order, that by prompt and vigorous resolutions, it might render the residence of these refugees in its state compatible with

the demands of the Vizir of Ioannina and with those views, which cannot be overlooked but by those, who never accustomed themselves to look beyond the occurrence of the moment: and in order that the opening of a conciliatory negotiation might have the most efficacious success a Senator on the part of the Government and the Russian Consul residing at Ioannina were charged with this amicable negotiation, which I supported so much more readily, as I will frankly confess how reasonable a ground I found in the complaint of the above mentioned Vizir relative to these refugees, as far as it concerns the violent Incursions made by them into his territories, a violence arising however from a spirit of revenge natural to all persecuted persons destitute of subsistence for their families and of the most urgent wants of life.

I flatter myself therefore that this mission, in whatever light it may be regarded by the Vizir, will be fully appreciated by the Agents of His Britannic Majesty, who will see in it a very striking proof of the moderation and sincerity which have been employed and are employed to bring to a termination this ceaseless and troublesome business.

In passing to the second article I cannot conceal from you, Sir, my surprise in finding that Mr Consul Morier did not immediately remark to the Vizir, Ali Pasha, that the removing his maritime armaments and preventing the passage of military stores through the Channel of Corfu a measure adopted at the particular instance of the Septinsular Government, was and is to *garantie* [sic] to the same the inviolability of its own waters protected by the Forces of my Sovereign, and above all for the purpose of maintaining as is my duty, the august Convention of 21st March 1800, which convention and treaty cannot be unknown to Mr Morier, and certainly not to the Vizir himself, as he did omit to apply to His Excellency Vice Admiral Seniavin to obtain under a fair pretence of free passage for his vessels laden with provisions through the channel of the Republic, while he had already sent to Gomenizza various armed vessels laden with military stores and with everything that could prove to me the manifest desire of wishing openly to violate the cardinal point of a Treaty, to the observance of which I cannot nor ought not to be indifferent. However it may be I can adduce, under all circumstances, the most evident proof that the act alledged, of his vessels

laden with provisions or vessels not armed and not carrying more than the necessary complement, having been obstructed in passage, is totally false. I feel on the other hand however that I cannot deny to the Senate of the Republic that assistance and protection, which by the Treaty of the 21st March, is provided as well for the Inviolability of its Waters, the security of its small, but interesting daily commerce, as for the peace in short of its frontiers, and which assistance I repeat I could not absolutely refuse but in the case where the orders of my august Master shall command me to do so.

I can assure you, Sir, that the Instructions, clear and precise, issued to the Commanders of the Imperial Cruisers have only for their object the removing of armed vessels or of the vessels of the same nature, whenever these, either singly or united, shall attempt to violate the above mentioned Treaty. Nor should I have undertaken this had it not been for the repeated and pressing as well as legal and just demands of the Ionian Senate; nor upon the most mature reflection, will I desist to support it on these legitimate titles and in the forms prescribed so long as the acknowledged protection continues, which my Sovereign accords to this Government, as required by the Guarantee in the solemn Treaty of 1800. And unless the august Courts take measures on this subject, the free navigation of the armed vessels of the Vizir in the channels of this Republic cannot be authorised.

The intestine wars which now rage on the Shores and in the Country of Epirus offend in no respect nor have any direct relation with the Septinsular State or with the dignity of the Imperial Arms, which support it, but the case is very different with regard to the maritime wars, which had already begun in the waters surrounding this Island. For if these armed vessels, which had already entered into the Channel, and which refuse to leave it at the intimation given to them were to be allowed, and if similar permissions were to be given to the vessels, which might be armed by the Pashas who are now at war with the Vizir, and of whose example the former have already availed themselves to ask of me the same privilege the dignity of the Imperial Squadrons would be offended, the greatest injury would arise to the Public Opinion and considerable obstruction to the commercial intercourse both of the Seven Islands among themselves and of the Islands

with the Continent. For which reasons it is evident that if the Vizir of Ioannina, in his character as true Governor of a vast province of the Ottoman Empire is really interested to serve with loyalty the common cause, he cannot notice or complain of the prohibition given to his naval armaments to pass without the permission of the Government into these Channels, over which, I shall not cease to repeat that the Treaty of 21st March gives to the Senate of the Septinsular Republic the most absolute and declared jurisdiction nor, lastly can he complain of any of those means that have been employed for a long time and particularly in the late proceedings, to accommodate in a conciliatory way, those incidents which might have occurred, even after the aggravation which misconception and false representation might have added to them.

For the rest I beg you Sir, to believe that I shall always receive with infinite acknowledgment every conciliatory means compatible with the basis of the above mentioned Treaty, which you can offer me, any thing contained in this act notwithstanding; and also to accept the assurances of my particular esteem and distinguished consideration, etc.,

Conte Georgio Mocenigo.

Source: UK. National Archives: Ionian Letter Books, FO 42/8A, ff. 74r–78v.

10. Spiridion Foresti to His Excellency the Rt. Hon. Admiral Lord Collingwood, dated at Malta, 23 December, 1807.

My Lord,

I have the honour of receiving Your Lordship's letter by Captain Leake, and beg leave to return you my particular thanks for its contents.

The Proposals of Ali Pasha are what might have been expected from the spirit of personal ambition and cupidity which animates that Chief. Aware that the present moment is favourable to his aggrandizement with a subtlety peculiar to his character he wishes to have a pledge of our support in his hands. Expediency might lead the British Government to such a

concession; it is to be regretted, however, that it should be made in favour of a man professing so little good Taste and Moderation.

I have just received information from Corfu that the Enemy, there, are daily expecting the arrival of the Venetian Squadron and of reinforcement of National Troops with ammunition of which they stand so much in need.

By very recent accounts that I have received from Trieste I learn that the French at Venice had launched two 44-gun Frigates in addition to the Force they had there, and that there were also on the stocks three Ships-of-the-Line, two of which were to be launched soon after the arrival of Buonaparte at that Capital.

I beg leave to enclose a Statement of the Naval and Military Force at Corfu and in the other Islands. There are besides, about 180 merchant vessels at the Port of Argostoli in Cephalonia and about 50 at Little Cephalonia (Ithaca). The French have proposed to the Inhabitants of these Islands to arm a number of their vessels and to operate in the way they did under the Russians, but they declined for many considerations.

I think it useful also to mention to Your Lordship that General Berthier, having received information of an intention on the part of the English Government to make an immediate attack on Corfu, called a Council of War to consult on the best means of defending the Island and it was ascertained that they had only six weeks of provisions and hardly any ammunition. He assembled together also the Inhabitants, particularly those who commanded different districts, and exhorted them to unite with him in defending their Island. They showed no inclination to join with him, and with great reluctance they submit to their political change: and although many who have distinguished themselves for their attachment to Great Britain and for their aversion for the present Government became the peculiar objects of persecution, they, nevertheless did not hesitate particularly on that occasion to avow the impatience and fervency with which they looked to the hour of their liberation.

Such a procedure on the part of the Inhabitants is not, indeed, to be wondered at when it is considered that the arbitrary Requisitions together with the Extinction of all commercial Enterprise, must reduce to a considerable distress many of them who derived their subsistence from commerce and who depended totally upon it.

Yesterday arrived a vessel from Trieste in 9 days, which brought accounts of the arrival of Buonaparte in Venice.

I have the honour to be etc.,

Spiridion Foresti.

Attachment. Statement of the Naval and Military Force in the Seven Ionian Islands on the 2nd December, 1807.

Naval: 16 Russian vessels from 80 to 14 guns [two unfit for service], 5 French vessels 44 to 18 guns, plus gunboats etc.

Military: Corfu 1500 French troops / 800 Albanians and Italians; Santa Maura 200/1000; Cephalonia 60/5; Zante 150/400. Ithaca and Cerigo no French troops and but a few Italians.

Source: UK National Maritime Museum: Collingwood- In and Out letterbook to Consuls, COL/6, pp. 59–61.

11. Spiridion Foresti to the Rt. Hon. George Canning, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London, dated at Malta, 15 May 1809.

Sir,

H. E. Mr Adair's dispatches forwarded by the present conveyance will furnish you with a full detail of his recent proceedings at Constantinople in consequence of certain Septinsular Captains of Merchant Ships having on the 20th Ultimo hauled down the Flag given them by the French

Minister there, hoisted the Septinsular Colours and demanded the British Protection which was immediately accorded to them.

Aversion of the Septinsular Inhabitants to their present Rulers and their public declaration that their uncertainty of receiving His Majesty's protection alone prevents them from taking up arms against the Enemy I have frequently had the honour to represent to you.

Under the apprehension of an approaching rupture between Turkey and France this disposition of the Inhabitants has increased to a degree that the temporary appearance of a British naval Force before either of the Towns of Cephalonia, Zante, Ithaca and Cerigo and the Commander empowered to give them the assurance of His Majesty's support in maintaining their ancient Government would be alone necessary in instigating them to expel the French Party and establish their former government.

I have the honour to be etc.,

Spiridion Foresti.

Source: UK National Archives: Ionian Consular Copy Books, FO 348/7, [no folio numbers].

12. Spiridion Foresti to Rt. Hon. George Canning, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London, dated at Zante, 17 October 1809.

Sir,

In my dispatch dated Malta September 22nd of which the enclosed is a duplicate I had the honour to submit to you the motives that induced me to leave Malta and embark on H. M. Frigate *Spartan*.

I have now to acquaint you that I joined the Expedition at the appointed Rendezvous on the 28th Ultimo and on the same day was received on board H. M. Ship *Warrior* in which Brigadier General Oswald was embarked.

On the morning of October 1st the Squadron, consisting of H. M. Ships *Warrior*, *Magnificent*, *Spartan* and *Philomel* with ten Transports, arrived off Zante and every arrangement for Debarkation being completed and notice sent to the principal Inhabitants of the Island, the Troops landed at a distance of three miles from the City, and on the next day the Fortress and Island were surrendered to His Majesty's Arms.

Brigadier Oswald after having proclaimed the Restoration of the Ionian Republic, established a provisional Government, and left a sufficient Force, sailed with the Remainder of the Troops to Cephalonia.

Complying with Brigadier General Oswald's request I accompanied him to Cephalonia and on the 5th we arrived and took possession of that Island without any Opposition.

His Majesty's Ship *Spartan* with a Company of the 34th Regt. was immediately detached for the reduction of the Island of Cerigo, from whence the Enemy have been enabled to interrupt the trade of the Archipelago, and H. M. Ship *Philomel* with another portion of Troops was sent against the Island of Ithaca.

I sailed with the latter expedition and on the 8th we landed and occupied that Island.

Measures similar to those at Zante being adopted for Cephalonia and Ithaca, General Oswald and myself returned to Zante on the 15th.

Soon after our arrival we received accounts of the occupation of Cerigo by the Force detached from Cephalonia.

For the detailed account of the Naval and Military operations as also of the political arrangements connected with those operations I beg leave to refer you to the official reports of Captain Spranger of H. M. S. *Warrior* and of Brigadier General Oswald.

There remains for me only to offer you my Congratulations upon the Success which has attended, hitherto, these Operations and upon the advantages which may be confidently expected to be derived from them.

It is my intention to continue with Brigadier General Oswald until I shall have the honour of receiving His Majesty's further Instructions, and I have only to express a hope that the Part I have humbly taken in the conduct of these Operations will meet with His Majesty's gracious Approbation.

I have the honour to be etc.,

Spiridion Foresti.

Source: UK National Archives: Ionian Consular Copy Books, FO 348/7, [no folio numbers].

13. Captain C. Crawley, His Majesty's Sloop *Philomel* to Captain J. W. Spranger, His Majesty's Ship *Warrior* dated at Outer Harbour Ithaca, 10 October, 1809.

Sir,

I beg leave to inform you that His Majesty's Sloop *Philomel* anchored here on the 8th Instant, having been prevented from gaining the Port before by contrary winds. On working into the Harbour, I observed that the Battery was so situated as to render any attempt to destroy it by the guns of the Sloop impracticable; the detachment of troops, together with the Marines belonging to the *Philomel*, were therefore immediately landed under the Command of Captain Church, accompanied by a party of seamen, which I conceived might be of use, should the enemy be foolish enough to make any resistance.

The Gun Boat having been previously directed to keep the enemy in check, we immediately proceeded to a height commanding the Battery, with an intention of taking it by storm, which was only prevented by their making an unconditional Surrender immediately they observed us, and in less than

an hour from the Time the *Philomel* anchored, we had the satisfaction to find ourselves in full possession of the Island.

A few shots were exchanged between the Gun Boat and Battery, which consisted of two guns only, with a garrison of between seventy and eighty men, which was greatly reduced by the whole of the Albanians having deserted it.

The Cordiality and general good conduct of the troops and seamen, was such as I am fully convinced would ever ensure success in any of our enterprises; I have only to regret that they had not a greater opportunity of evincing their resolution and zeal.

The Inhabitants are apparently much pleased with the established provisional Government; a copy of the form of which you will herewith receive.

I should be much deficient in my duty did I now neglect to state the exertions made use of, and very essential services rendered, by Mr. Foresti, H. B. Majesty's Minister, which were such as to claim my greatest gratitude, and I am happy in this opportunity of making my acknowledgments to him.

I have, etc.

G. Crawley

Return of Prisoners and Ordnance taken in the Island of Ithaca, October 8, 1809.

2nd Italian Regiment – 3 Officers, 23 Rank and File

Albanians – 4 Officers, 46 rank and File.

Total – 7 Officers, 69 Rank and File.

1 Major de Place

Iron Ordnance.

2 Six-Pounders (mounted).

2 ditto (ready to mount).
4 Four-Pounders (dismounted).
3 Three-Pounders (dismounted).
2 Nine-Pounders (dismounted).
Total—13.

R. Church, Assist. Quarter Master General.

Source: UK National Archives: Mediterranean 1809, ADM 1/415, [no folio numbers].

14. Provisional Government of the Island of Ithaca to Rt. Hon. George Canning, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London, dated at Ithaca, 11 October 1809.

May it please Your Excellency,

As it is impossible to express the joy and exultation of this affectionate population of Ithaca on the recovery of their freedom, which awoke them from the lethargy into which they had been miserably plunged, raised them from the debasement and inertness under which they groaned, and opened them the way to resume their suspended navigation and ruined commerce, that gave them existence; so, likewise, do they set no bounds to their obligation, gratitude and acknowledgments toward His Majesty, who was the great and beneficent Author thereof. The people, who are represented by us, have not powers sufficient either to express or describe their devotion; still, however, animated by the knowledge of the immense generosity of the Royal Benefactors, we make bold to assure Y. E. of this dutiful and eternal gratitude of ours, which is indiscriminately engraven on the hearts of all the inhabitants of this Island, and to declare at the same time our loyal attachment to the great British Nation and our highest veneration for the Crown.

While, however, most honourable Sir, we supplicate Y. E. to be pleased to lay our most humble duty at H. M. feet we cannot pass over in silence the incomparable merit of his very worthy Minister, Mr Foresti, which has been conspicuous not only in his personal and indefatigable cooperation in that

fortunate circumstance, whereby he was instrumental in bringing matters to a happy issue, but also in exerting at all times his best endeavours for the prosperity and relief of the Ionian people in their most trying situations.

We have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's

Demetrio Vlassopulo, President
Spiridion Caravia
Gerasimo Draculi
Provisional Committee of Government.

Source: UK National Archives: Ionian Letter Books, FO 42/11, pp. 220–222.

Note: Contemporary translation in which the incorrectly spelt names of letter's authors have been corrected to match the original Italian document published in G. Livitsanis, 'Ἰθάκη 1809', at 608.

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Abstract

This paper presents fourteen letters relating to Ithaca selected from the papers of Spiridion Foresti, Britain's consul in the Ionian during the last years of Venetian rule and into the early nineteenth century. A short commentary provides some background for the documents, particularly to emphasise the letters as sources for the history of Ithaca in its regional political and economic context.

Περίληψη

Η εργασία αυτή παρουσιάζει δεκατέσσερις επιστολές σχετικά με την Ιθάκη, επιλεγμένες από τα έγγραφα του Σπυρίδωνα Φορέστη, προξένου της Βρετανίας στο Ιόνιο κατά τα τελευταία χρόνια της βενετικής κυριαρχίας και μέχρι τις αρχές του δέκατου ενάτου αιώνα. Τα έγγραφα παρουσιάζονται με συνοπτικό σχολιασμό, προκειμένου να δοθεί ιδιαίτερη έμφαση στις επιστολές ως πηγές για την ιστορία της Ιθάκης μέσα στο περιφερειακό πολιτικό και οικονομικό της πλαίσιο.

The village of Stravonikou and the population of Ithaca in the 1583 census of Kastrofylakas

Re-reading an old source in search of Venetian Ithaca

Gerasimos Livitsanis

‘Absolute numbers for populations anywhere in the world before the eighteenth century are largely a matter of guesswork’ warns Mark Mazower.¹⁶ With this in mind, this note offers a new treatment of the recording of the populations of Cephalonia and Ithaca made in 1583 for the Venetian administration by Petros Kastrofylakas, as part of a wider census of the Venetian dominions in the Eastern Mediterranean, including Crete and the other Ionian Islands. In his monograph on Cephalonia and Ithaca, Joseph Partsch cites elements of the census, while also voicing certain objections to the source.¹⁷ Partsch does not seem to identify any record in the manuscript that refers him to a census of the population of Ithaca. In response to the work by Partsch, the Cephalonian historian Tsitselis published the section of the census concerning Cephalonia.¹⁸ Tsitselis expressed his objections to the confusion caused by the structure and presentation of the census by Kastrofylakas. However, what is of interest for our purposes is that the village (*casale*) Vathi (*Vati*) appears with 162 inhabitants and Anogi (*Anoi*) with 184 inhabitants. In the footnotes, Tsitselis leaves *Vati* unidentified while *Anoi* is identified with the area of the same name on the Cephalonian peninsula Palliki. He does not seem to reflect that these two settlements may be toponyms of neighbouring Ithaca.

This is a translation, with adaptations, of an article published in Greek: ‘Το χωριό Στραβονίκου και ο πληθυσμός του Θιακίου το 1583 μέσα από την απογραφή του Πέτρου Καστροφύλακα’, *Κεφαλονίτικη Πρόσδος* 2023 (11), 33–36. Thanks are owed to the editor Amalia Voutsina for allowing its translation and publication in this updated form.

¹⁶ Mark Mazower, *The Balkans. From the end of Byzantium to the present day* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2001), 26.

¹⁷ Joseph Partsch, *Κεφαλληνία και Ιθάκη. Γεωγραφική μονογραφία* (Athens, 1892), 117–118, note 2.

¹⁸ Ilias A. Tsitselis, *Κεφαλληνιακά Σύμμικτα*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1960), 662–673.

Another manuscript of the same census was published by Spanakis.¹⁹ Anogi appears again with 184 inhabitants but Vathi has here 497 inhabitants. More villages appear in the Spanakis edition than in the Tsitselis edition, including *Stravonicus* with 222 inhabitants.²⁰ However, neither Spanakis made any attempt to link the villages of *Vathì* and *Anoi*, let alone *Stravonicus*, with Ithaca. And yet, in two places Kastrofylakas clearly states that the scope of his census includes Ithaca: first, at the beginning of the list, where he notes that *Thiachi* was a district of Cephalonia ('Seguita il territorio a casal per casal et l'Isola de thiachi partnenzia detta Isola della Zaffalonia'); second, at the end where the number of priests on the two islands is stated ('Papati Greci in tutta l'isola et Diachi 220').²¹ With insightfulness, Sevasti Lazari proves that the difference in the population of *Vati* is due either to an error by the copyist of the manuscript consulted by Tsitselis or to a transcription error by Tsitselis.²² The correct number of inhabitants is the one in the Spanakis edition. The study by Lazari, nevertheless, still hesitates to identify the villages of *Vathì* and *Anoi* with the two homonymous toponyms of Ithaca.²³ The hesitation is partly justifiable. The way the census is presented is indeed problematic: 'The villages are brought together, jumping from one area to another', as Tsitselis notes. The villages are not grouped by region, nor was there provision for a separate record of the villages of Ithaca.

A scholar who is not familiar with the historical geography of Ithaca hardly realises that the sixteenth-century *Stravonicus* and today's Exogi are the same village. Joseph Partsch quotes an extract from the report of the *proveditor* of Cephalonia Angelo Basadonna in which it is stated that in 1590 Ithaca had about 1,500 inhabitants in three villages (*ville*), Vathi

¹⁹ Stergios G. Spanakis, 'Οι οικισμοί της Επτανήσου και οι κάτοικοί των τον 16^ο αι.', In *Πρακτικά Ε' Διεθνούς Πανιωνίου Συνεδρίου*, vol. 1 (Argostoli, 1989), 107–127.

²⁰ Ibid 120.

²¹ Ibid 119, 123.

²² Sevasti Lazari, 'Η συγκρότηση του επτανησιακού πληθυσμού: Η απογραφή του Πέτρου Καστροφύλακα (1583) και του Fr. Grimani (1760)', In *Πρακτικά Ζ' Πανιωνίου Συνεδρίου*, vol. 2 (Athens, 2004), 301–347, 345.

²³ Ibid 304.

(*Vati*), *Anoi* and *Stravonichio*.²⁴ In 1628, Andrea Moresini, the *proveditor* of Cephalonia in the period 1621–1622, wrote that Ithaca had three villages, the largest being *Vathi*, *Annai* (Anogi) and *Oxoi* (Exogi).²⁵ Therefore, in the period between 1590 and 1620 the place name of the village changed from Stravonikou to Exogi, as it remains until today.²⁶ Even in Ithaca, however, the place-name of Stravonikou was until recently almost forgotten. In 1951 the Ithacesian P.G. Callinicos published from his personal archive a will dated to 1585, which reads ‘I, Thodoris Prosalentis, standing in my house on the island of Ithaca in Stratonikou in the parish of St. Marina, ...’²⁷ Callinicos transcribes ‘Stratonikou’ and identifies the village with the present-day village of Stavros.²⁸ In a later edition of the will, Callinicos transcribes more correctly ‘Stravonikou’ [Στραβονίκου] and, based on the known location of the church of Agia Marina, identifies the village with today’s Exogi.²⁹ Agia Marina is located right in the centre of Exogi, although the current church is a twentieth-century building. The archivist and historian Stamatoula Zapanti located and published a Cephalonian notarial act for the sale of land from 1565 in which we read that one of the parties: ‘...sold [to the other] the fields that he had bought in the area of the village of Stravonikou’.³⁰ Zapanti’s familiarity with Ithaca allowed her to understand that the act of the Cephalonian notary refers to Ithaca and not to Cephalonia. On the contrary, the editors of the notarial

²⁴ Partsch, *Κεφαλληνία και Ιθάκη*, 147, note 1; See now also Kostas G. Tsiknakis, *Οι εκθέσεις των Βενετών Προνοητών της Κεφαλονιάς (16^{ος} αιώνας)* (Athens: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, 2008), 123.

²⁵ Andrea Moresini, *Corsi di penna, e catena di materie sopra l’Isola della Ceffalonia*. (Venice, 1628), 102. Annai is likely a misprint for Annoi.

²⁶ Vlachos has also shown that between roughly 1600 and 1630 the toponym used for Exogi was ‘Dragoniko’ [Δραγονικό]: Petros Vlachos, *Εκκρεμείς λογαριασμοί της Ιθάκης με την μεσαιωνική Ξενοτική ιστορία (της)* (Ithaca, 2021), 81–100.

²⁷ P.G. Callinicos. ‘Μια Θιακιά διαθήκη του 1585’, *Ελληνική Δημιουργία* 74 (1951): 407–410, 407.

²⁸ But see also Ippokratis A. Kokkinis, ‘Ο Αρχιδούκας Σαλβάτωρ για την Ιθάκη’, *Ελληνική Δημιουργία* 74 (1951): 361–363, 362, who identifies ‘Stavronision’ with Exogi.

²⁹ P.G. Callinicos, *Επτανησιακά (κατά το πλείστο Ιθακησιακά) Σύμμεικτα*, 2nd ed. (Athens: Domos, 1991), 85, 89–90.

³⁰ Stamatoula S. Zapanti, *Κεφαλονιά 1500–1571. Η συγκρότηση της κοινωνίας του νησιού*. (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1999), 382–383.

register of another Cephalonian notary of the Castle of St. George, Nikolaos Kapianos, did not recognise that an act for the establishment of a religious brotherhood in the village of Stravonikou in 1575 in fact refers to Ithaca and not Cephalonia: ‘... the undersigned brothers in the church of Panagia Mesosporitissa which is in the village of Stravoniko, ...’.³¹ The church of Panagia Mesosporitissa is located in the village of Exogi at a distance of 130m northwest of Agia Marina. The present church is of the nineteenth century with more recent repairs.

Returning to the census of Kastrofylakas, if we sum up the inhabitants of all three villages, we have a population of 903 persons in Ithaca. This number is significantly below the approximately 1,500 inhabitants reported seven years later by Basadonna in 1590. Even if Basadonna exaggerates, something which Partsch suggests in respect of his record of the population of Cephalonia, the difference is not easily bridged.³² One possible interpretation could be the rapid rise of the population in the years before 1590. Were the conditions in place to justify such a rise? In 1574 the Cephalonian *proveditor* Vincenzo da Molin omits to note the population of Ithaca, although he seems to have conducted a census. However, he seems to consider the number low because during the Venetian-Turkish war of 1570–1573 the island had been abandoned.³³ Clearly the abandonment was temporary — for safety — and after 1573 the number of inhabitants would follow an upward trend as the inhabitants gradually returned. This perhaps explains the rate of increase between the two sets of information, from Kastrofylakas in 1583 and Basadonna in 1590. Besides, in the three notarial documents mentioned above, the same persons appear in the years 1565, 1575 and 1585. Presumably, they and many others would have left the island and returned after the war.

The comparison of the population between the three villages also raises questions. The 497 inhabitants of Vathi are justified if one considers that this is the most flat and fertile part of the island, it has semi-

³¹ Vagionakis et al., *Νικόλαος Καπιάνος, νοταριακές πράξεις, Κάστρο Κεφαλονιάς (1571–1576)* (Athens: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, 2008), 102–104.

³² Partsch, *Κεφαλληνία και Ιθάκη*, 117, note 2.

³³ Tsiknakis, *Οι εκθέσεις*, 60 and 54.

mountainous and mountainous cultivable land, extensive pastures, and an excellent natural harbour which is praised by all the Venetian *proveditori* who refer to it. The village of Anogi is located in the most mountainous and barren part of the island and its small population is possibly justified. The number that can hardly be justified is the mere 222 inhabitants of Stravonikou. The above notarial deeds inform us that the inhabitants of Stravonikou cultivated fields not only near the village, but as far as the port of Polis to the south and Frikes to the east. The area is large and no less fertile than that of Vathi. In addition, it has semi-mountainous and mountainous areas for cultivation and grazing, as well as ports for fishing and shipping. Was there any reason for the northern Ithaca to be more sparsely populated than the southern? Incidentally, the *proveditor* of Cephalonia in 1572–74 Vincenzo da Molin notes that the northern part of Erisos around Fiskardo remained uninhabited and uncultivated because the population feared pirates from Lefkada.³⁴ It is therefore not impossible that northern Ithaca, which is very close to Lefkada, was sparsely populated for fear of pirates.

Another possibility is that Kastrofylakas deliberately did not record part of the island's population. Shall we speculate that there were people whom the state bureaucracy perhaps did not wish to register? Tommaso Porcacchi, in the second edition of his work in 1576, states that Ithaca was inhabited mainly by fugitives (*fuorusciti*) from Cephalonia, Zakynthos and Corfu.³⁵ Something similar is reported by the Dutch pilgrim Jan van Cootwijk, who passed through the Ionian Islands in 1598. According to Cootwijk, Ithaca was the seat of exiles ('exulum sedes').³⁶ Cootwijk's chronicle was published in 1619 and it is likely that he knew Porcacchi's work. The latter had contacts with senior Venetian officials who were able

³⁴ Ibid 55.

³⁵ Tommaso Porcacchi, *L'Isola piu Famose del Mondo* (Venice, 1576), 96.

³⁶ Jan van Cootwijk, *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum* (Antwerp, 1619), 44; See Romina N. Tsakiri, 'Η Ιθάκη μέσα από τις μαρτυρίες των Βενετών αξιωματούχων κατά τον 17^ο αιώνα: Κρησφύγετο πειρατών, παρανόμων και εξοριστών', In *Πρακτικά Ι' Διεθνούς Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου*, vol. Η' (Corfu, 2015), 635–644, for a fascinating account on exiles and outlaws residing in Ithaca.

to pass on reliable information to him.³⁷ The phenomenon of the settlement of exiles in Ithaca also seems to be referred to by the careful wording of Basadonna, who in his report to the Senate in 1590 proposed that exiles be allowed to settle in Ithaca by granting uncultivated land until they had served their sentence.³⁸ Here perhaps Basadonna is proposing a way to legitimise a reality to which the Venetian officials had turned a blind eye. It is therefore possible that a number of inhabitants who had settled in Ithaca to evade the law were not included in the census of Kastrofylakas.

It is furthermore possible the information received by Kastrofylakas from Ithaca was not accurate for all parts of the island. The three villages mentioned, Vathi, Anogi and Stravonikou, correspond to the three main residential enclaves of the island (see Figure 1). In each of them, in addition to the main settlement, there must have been other smaller settlements. In the long run, the size, location and character of each settlement within such a settlement area could change according to circumstances. It may therefore be that the census data for the settlement area of Vathi was more complete than those of the other two. Bearing in mind that the seat of the governor of the island (the *capitano*) was also located in the settlement of Vathi — though we do not yet know its exact location — it is possible that the population of all the settlements, large and small, were recorded more thoroughly in the southern part of the island than in the north. It is also possible that some inhabitants of the northern part of the island, taking advantage of their relative distance from the administrative centre, did not wish to be censused, in order to avoid paying the tithe. In conclusion, despite these outstanding problems of interpretation, the purpose of this note has been to show with clarity that Ithaca is not left out from the census of Kastrofylakas in 1583.

³⁷ Veronica Della Dora, 'Between the garden and the island: Mirror images and imaginative geographies of Greece in Thomaso Porcacchi's *L'isole più famose del mondo, 1572*', In *Viewing Greece: Cultural and political agency in the Medieval and Modern Mediterranean*, edited by Sharon E.J. Gerstel (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 185–206, 185.

³⁸ Tsiknakis, *Οι εκθέσεις*, 128.

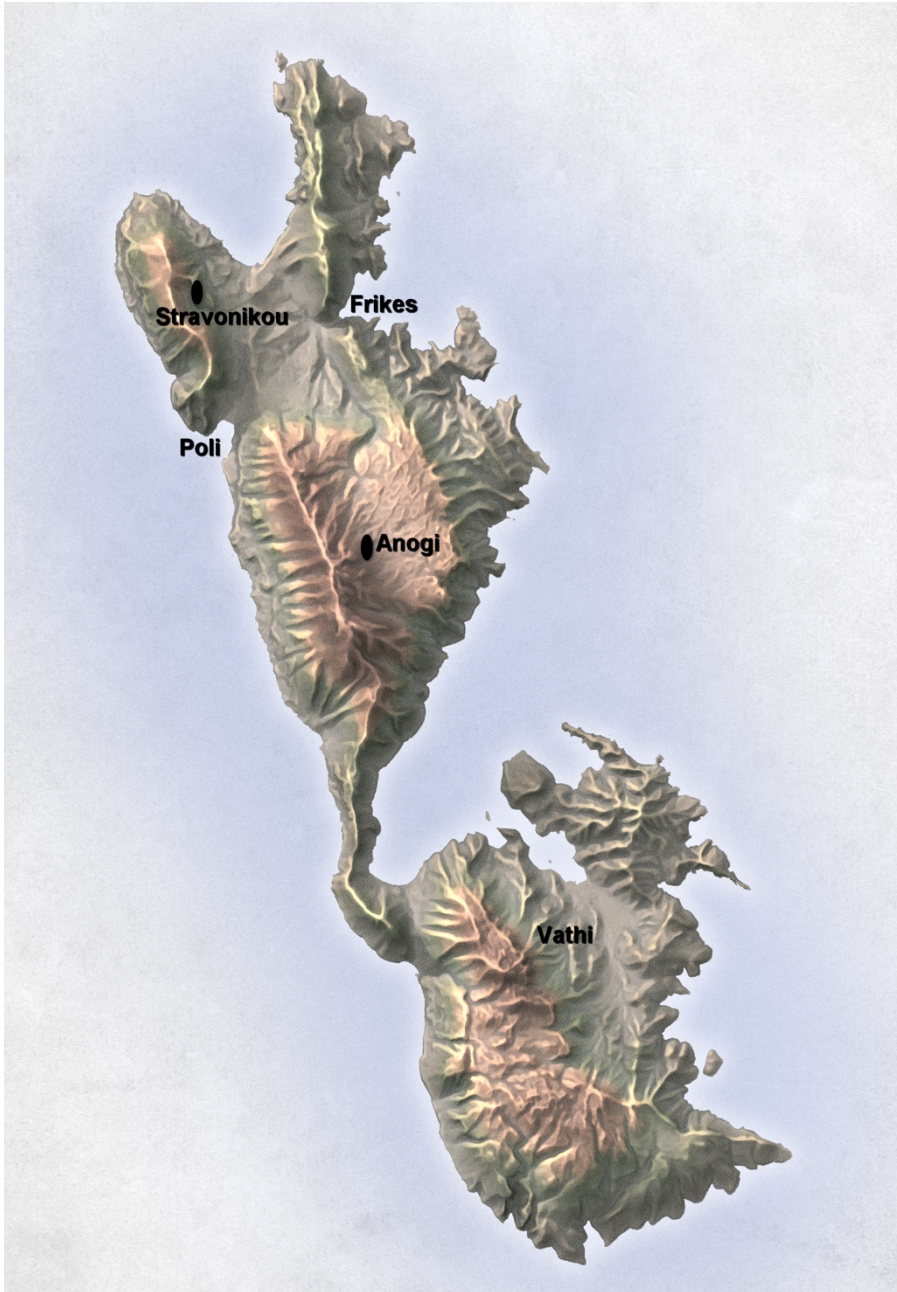


Figure 1. Map of Ithaca with toponyms mentioned in the 16th century sources (Map: Markku Ylisirnio).

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Abstract

This article re-examines an already published source for the population of Ithaca in 1583. It is a census undertaken by the Venetian administrator Petros Kastroyfylakas, in which scholars had so far failed to identify the toponyms of Ithaca, and, therefore, supposed that Ithaca was not included. A consideration of this census with respect to Ithaca's historical geography allows better appreciation of an important historical source for Ithaca.

Περίληψη

Αυτή η ανακοίνωση επανεξετάζει μια δημοσιευμένη πηγή σχετική με τον πληθυσμό της Ιθάκης το 1583. Είναι η απογραφή πληθυσμού του Βενετού αξιωματούχου Πέτρου Καστροφύλακα, στην οποία οι μελετητές μέχρι σήμερα δεν είχαν καταφέρει να ταυτίσουν τα τοπωνύμια της Ιθάκης και, ως εκ τούτου, συμπεραίνουν πως η Ιθάκη δεν είχε συμπεριληφθεί. Ωστόσο, η προσέγγιση αυτής της απογραφής με αναφορά στην ιστορική γεωγραφία της Ιθάκης επιτρέπει την καλύτερη εκτίμηση μιας σημαντικής ιστορικής πηγής για την Ιθάκη.

Sources for the history of Ithaca after antiquity

ca. 530–1500

‘It seems that, since the island was small, nothing of significance happened after Odysseus, and if something did happen, then History does not tell us.’¹

K. Nikias

To recognise that the history of Ithaca after antiquity has long been overlooked by the scholarship, as I have done elsewhere, is to diagnose a problem rather than to treat it.² More than one century ago it was noted by William Miller that ‘it is customary to find the statement that the island of Odysseus was “completely forgotten in the middle ages”’.³ Miller’s survey of the mediaeval sources remains the best treatment at hand, but the sufficient number of new sources which have come to light since, together with those which escaped his eye, together justify a return to the task. The cure for the prevailing disinterest in the history of Ithaca after antiquity must surely be sought through the promotion of the primary sources for

* My thanks are due to Dimitris Prevezianos, with whom this series has been conceived, for his counsel and help in making often difficult historiographical choices.

¹ Nikolaos Karavias Grivas, *Ιστορία τῆς νήσου Ἰθάκης ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ 1849* (Athens: Φ. Καραμπίνη καὶ Κ. Βάφα, 1849), 68.

² As I have done in Kyriaco Nikias, Review of Petros Vlachos, *Εκκρεμείς λογαριασμοί της Ἰθάκης με την μεσαιωνική ἔσ' ενετική Ἱστορία (της)*, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 37, no. 1 (2022): 126–29; idem, ‘Class and Society in Ithaca under Tocco and Early Venetian Rule (1357–ca. 1600)’, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 47, no. 1 (2023): 54–70; idem, ‘The Governors of Venetian Ithaca’, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 118 (2023): 399–416.

³ William Miller, ‘Ithake under the Franks’, *The English Historical Review* 21 (1906): 513–7, 513.

the period which are the basis of historical research. To this end much is promised by the reopening of the historical archive of Ithaca, which has allowed us to reconsider the boundaries of the surviving sources for the island's history, especially through a treatment of the earliest administrative and notarial documents of the Venetian period.⁴ While these offer some insight into the history of the island into the sixteenth century, no known documents from the archive on Ithaca extend their reach into the period before Venetian rule. For the period after antiquity and before Venetian rule, the sources relevant to Ithaca are fewer and poorer in detail, and the various attempts to survey them have tended to selectivity over comprehensiveness.⁵ The series *REGESTA ITHACAE HISTORIAE* seeks to make a contribution to this end through compiling a list and summary of the known published documentary sources, and those unpublished documentary sources which archival research has made it possible to identify. The form of presentation follows the standard practice of collecting summaries of large numbers of surviving documentary sources (in the German historiography termed *Regestenwerke*), that is, to describe the nature of the source, citing the original, editions, and the most relevant literature, and giving the most fundamental critical commentary.⁶ The first part of the *REGESTA ITHACAE HISTORIAE* presented here covers sources from the period of Byzantine rule, beginning from the sixth century, through the fall of the southern Ionian to the Normans and extending the centuries of Latin rule until 1500 when the island was captured by the Venetians. Sources after 1500 which cover the formative first century of Venetian rule have been collected and presented following the same method

⁴ On the Venetian administrative documents, see my forthcoming survey: 'The Archive of the Venetian Administration at Ithaca', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 39 (forthcoming) (2024). The earliest notarial documents are presently under preparation for publication by this author.

⁵ Most notable are Miller, 'Ithake'; the lemma for 'Ithake' in Peter Soustal and Johannes Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallënia [Tabula Imperii Byzantini, 3]* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), 168–69; Alexios G. C. Savvides, 'Notes on the History of Ithaca (Ithake/Theachi/Val de Compar/Serfent/Faskyu/Siyaki) in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Periods', *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 25 (2016): 441–45. Other literature of narrower scope is cited among the sources below.

⁶ The sigla adopted in this series are provided below. On the model of the *Regestenwerke* see *infra* n. 12.

in this volume by D. Prevezianos as the second part of the series.⁷ It is hoped that this series shall contribute to promoting interest in the island, particularly among scholars of the region for whom Ithaca has long represented a lacuna.

The selection of sources

Since the object of *Regestenwerke* is to support further scholarship, and must gloss over large numbers of sources, it is customary to leave interpretive judgment for future study. However, it cannot be denied that the selection of sources already requires judgments of quality and relevance to be made. Collections of this nature require that somewhat arbitrary decisions be made to define boundaries and rules for inclusion and exception. The basic rule followed here has been that the source must expressly refer to Ithaca (whichever variation of its name this might be).

The more sensitive rule concerns the temporal scope of the collection. For Part One of the REGESTA ITHACAE HISTORIAE I have sought to restrict myself to those quiet centuries which were in the mind of William Miller when he referred to the decline in historical interest in the island after antiquity.⁸ The rather more easily defined boundary is the *terminus ante quem*, which is conveniently provided by the arrival of Venetian rule in 1500, after which the sources are greater and more detailed, and have been surveyed by Prevezianos in Part Two of this series.⁹

The *terminus post quem* is, however, rather more difficult to define. It has been decided that the Roman sources should be excluded here — and left for another collection — on the justification that these are foremost concerned with the Homeric epic and Ithaca's place in the Homeric world as the homeland of Odysseus. Such sources have been omitted, since the task of exhausting all references of this nature from the Roman and Byzantine (let alone Italian) commentaries would be too great in view of the fact these are concerned with Ithaca primarily as a literary construction

⁷ D. Prevezianos, 'Ψάχνοντας για την Ιθάκη στις απαρχές της βενετικής κυριαρχίας: 1500–1600' [REGESTA ITHACAE HISTORIAE, II], *Bulletin of the Ithacan Historical Society* 1 (2023): 92–126 (hereafter cited as *RIH*, II).

⁸ *Supra* n. 3.

⁹ Prevezianos, *RIH*, II.

and not the history of the island as a real place, let alone its condition during the time of the commentators themselves, which is our primary object.¹⁰

Nevertheless I have not at all sought to avoid the Homeric theme by rule, one we must acknowledge was most important for its having promoted interest in the island through history. Some sources derivative of Homer and the ancient scholiasts have been allowed in with discretion, such as the lemmata of the geographical encyclopaedia of Stephanus of Byzantium (from ca. 530), which are the earliest sources included here. These, though concerned with the world of the ancient epics, exhibit a special concern with the geography of the island and give a useful indication of continuity of the problem of Homeric geography into the early Byzantine period, a theme which study of the later sources collected here shows remained in the minds of the island's rulers and early tourists for centuries after. Since some of the lemmata were not included in Soustal and Koder's survey of the Byzantine sources, and given the early travellers like Leake were keen tracers of the Byzantine reception of Homeric geography, they were considered too significant to leave out.¹¹ The choices made represent imperfect solutions but necessary treatments for the practical impossibility of total coverage.

¹⁰ Cf. 'Über die felsige u. wenig fruchtbare Insel aus byz. Zeit fast nichts bekannt; Erwähnungen Ithakes stehen zumeist in mythologischem Zusammenhang.' [Hardly anything is known about the rocky and rather unfertile island from the Byzantine period; mentions of Ithake are usually related to mythology.]: Soustal and Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallēnia*, 168, listing some of these sources at 169, nn. 1–7. We can add some others. See an account of the Ithacan fleet of Odysseus by Constantine Manasses (ca. 1150) in I. Bekker ed., *Constantini Manassis breviarium historiae metricum* [*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, 33] (Bonn: Weber, 1837), 53–4. Some passages on Odysseus in John Tzetzes (12th century): T. Kiessling ed., *Ioannis Tzetzae Historiarum variarum Chiliades* (Leipzig: F.C.G. Vogel, 1826), 226 at 6.743 ('τῆς [τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύως] πατρίδος'), 352 at 9.741 ('Ἐλυσαν δ' Ἰθακήσιοι ἀσκὸν τὸν τῶν ἀνέμων'). Also, the Homeric commentaries of Eustathius of Thessalonica (12th century), on the Iliad in M. van der Valk ed., *Eustathii Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, 4 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1971–1987); and those on the Odyssey in E. Cullhed and S.D. Olson edd. *Eustathius of Thessalonica, Commentary on the Odyssey*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2022–3).

¹¹ Soustal and Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallēnia*, 168–9. See sources 1–10 below.

Within the bounds set for the collection, while the aim has been to be comprehensive, some sources no doubt have escaped me. Following the practice of Byzantine *Regestenwerke*, documents which are cited in the older literature, which have since been destroyed, lost, or are otherwise untraceable (termed *deperdita*), have been included here.¹² To do otherwise would deny the reality that such citations or fragments are often significant for they are the only sources we might have for a particular period. Indeed the inclusion of such sources is important because what might long have been considered a *deperditum* may one day be identified by future archival research. This has indeed turned out to be the case for several sources, including some relating to the formative early Venetian period surveyed by Prevezianos in part two of this series.¹³ As far as the surviving sources are concerned, we cannot fail to observe that so many — especially the documents of the Latin period — merely mention Ithaca as part of the realms of the county palatine of Cephalonia, a fact which may seem to have

¹² The classic examples followed broadly here are *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, 5 vols, ed. F. Dölger (vols 1–4), edd. F. Dölger and P. Wirth (vol. 5) (Munich and Berlin, 1924–65); and *Les Regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, 7 vols, ed. V. Grumel (vols 1–3), edd. V. Laurent (vol. 4) and J. Darrouzès (vols 5–7) (Paris: 1932–91). The methodology of *Regestenwerke* is surveyed usefully in *Ἡ ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡ τεχνικὴ τῶν ἐπιτομῶν [Nécessité et technique des regestes]*, Σεμινάριο ἐργασίας: Μεθοδολογία ἔκδοσης, κατάσταση, καὶ προοπτικὲς τῆς ἔρευνας τῶν μεταβυζαντινῶν πηγῶν 2 (Venice: Ἑλληνικὸ Ἰνστιτούτο Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν & Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes E.H.E.S.S., 2003).

¹³ Prevezianos *RIH*, II. Notable recent archival discoveries include a late-seventeenth-century Ithacan copy of the appointment of Costa Puiese as governor of Ithaca in 1536. This act of the Venetian Senate had been cited vaguely in the old literature, from a Cephalonian copy presumably since lost: C. N. Sathas, *Ἑλληνικὰ ἀνέκδοτα*, vol. 1 (Athens: Τύποις τοῦ Φωτός, 1867), ρλα' n. 2. In my recent compilation of a list of governors of Venetian Ithaca, my survey of the likely copies led me to presume the document to be lost: Nikias, 'The Governors', Supplementary Material, notes on Costa Pugliese (s.v.). Only by chance during a survey of the Venetian fragments at the archive of Ithaca in mid-2023 appeared a copy of the concession of 1536 in a dossier relating to a dispute over inheritance among descendants of the family Puiese (also Pugliese or Pouliezios): ΓΑΚ Ιθάκης, Αρχεῖο βενετικῆς διοίκησης, Fragments, Box 38, Documents attributable to governor Francesco Cologna (1686) [*Scrittura instando*], ff. 1010/1029v–1022/1041r. The Ithacan copy is now cited in Prevezianos *RIH*, II, source 15. Another discovery concerning documents relating to the privileges of the family Galati in the Latin period are described *infra* n. 18.

rather limited application for the historiography of the island itself (see sources 25, 26, 29, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49). We must not forget, however, that the island is not always so listed in documents issued by the court chancelleries, where the abbreviating tendency of diplomatic shorthand obscures full titles with an ambiguous ‘etc’.¹⁴ Indeed Hopf comments in his travel diary that ‘even’ a passing reference to Ithaca among the realms of the count Richard Orsini in the *praktikon* of 1264 (source 26) is important, since it ‘answers the question, until that point undecided, to whom Ithaca belonged in the thirteenth century’.¹⁵ The same point can be repeated for later sources which offer information of the same kind, which, though modest, affirm the place of Ithaca among the Latin possessions of the southern Ionian. This cannot be taken for granted, as indeed indicated by the political instability which is the context for source 37, and by the frequency of Ottoman incursions (on these, see sources 41, 47, 48, 49). The other significance of collecting such sources where Ithaca is but cursorily mentioned is that they clearly show what Miller had conjectured on a narrower scope of evidence, namely the unbroken continuity of the use of the classical name for the island despite the appearance of variants during certain periods, like the notorious ‘Val di Compare’ in some but not all of the mediaeval Italian documents (see sources 19, 22, 24, 25, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 48, 49).¹⁶ For this reason, I have noted in parentheses the

¹⁴ For such documents where Ithaca is in fact mentioned, see sources 25, 26, 29, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49. The number of documents where Ithaca is left out is much greater. No doubt, for example, Ithaca is intended in the unnamed provinces of the realm in the formulation ‘Leucatem, Zefaloniam, Zacintum, et cetera loca patrimonii sui antiqui’: in a document of 1433, in C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l’histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, vol. 3 [*Μνημεῖα ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας*] (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1882), 417. The omission of a citation to Ithaca in these documents merely underscores the importance of those where the island is expressly listed.

¹⁵ ‘Schon dieser Titel ist interessant, weil er die bisher unentschiedene Frage, wem Ithaka in 13. Jahrhundert gehört habe, löst’: Carl Hopf, ‘Reiseberichte’, In *Monatsberichte der Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Aus dem Jahre 1864* (Berlin: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1865), 225.

¹⁶ Miller, ‘Ithake’, 514. On the name question, see Dikaios Vagiakakos, ‘Ἐκ τοῦ τοπωνυμικοῦ τῆς Ἰθάκης’, *Ἐπετηοὶς ἐταιρείας βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν* 29 (1959): 322–48.

precise variation of the name of the island in each source (excepting the earliest Greek sources which all use the classical name).¹⁷

Finally, it should be observed that certain types of sources have been intentionally excluded. Cartographical sources (maps, portolans, etc) have been left out for practical reasons, because an initial attempt to include them all revealed there to be many more available sources than the few which have been cited in the literature; we therefore leave a survey of cartography for future research. Two other sources of clear relevance have been left out of the REGESTA because I have considered them impossible to disambiguate on the basis of the known evidence, but it is worthwhile to mention them here in the hope that future research will enlighten us. The first is a concession of privileges by Leonardo III Tocco in 1403 — believed lost until I recently discovered a copy in Venice — which mentions a certain Efdochia (Eudokia), daughter of Nicolaus Galates (Γαλάτης), and is associated with the Ithacan family by the old scholarship.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the document instead concerns fiefs on Zakynthos and does not alone allow us to reconstruct any connection with Ithaca.¹⁹ Another document left out is a lost and undated chronicle of the island's history, referring to a tradition which held that the two earliest pre-Venetian settlers of the island were Konstantinos Messinēs and Nikolaos Tamizēos in 1488. This is cited

¹⁷ Note that I have reproduced the name exactly as parsed in the source, without changing the case; the genitive is used frequently.

¹⁸ The relevant sources are outlined on the basis of the old literature in Nikias, 'Class and Society'. This relied on several documents cited by the German historian Carl Hopf from the archive of Zakynthos, destroyed in 1953. These *deperdita* were discovered, by chance, during my recent research in Venice, surviving in copies of the seventeenth century in a bundle concerning disputes among descendants of the family Palagano in Zakynthos: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Provveditori sopra feudi, b. 1168 ('Querella contro Chiaretta Pelegana dal Zante...'). Among many other documents survive copies of several grants under the Tocco, including the grant of 1403 cited by Hopf which confirmed privileges for Franculo Palagano and his wife Efdochia (Eudokia), daughter of Nicolaus Galates: *ibid.*, f. 203r–207r. These have not been included in this collection because the documents do not expressly associate the family with Ithaca: this problem is outlined in Nikias, 'Class and Society'. The discovery of other *deperdita* linking this gap must be hoped for future research.

¹⁹ See *supra* n. 18; and the other documents discussed in Nikias, 'Class and Society'.

by Karavias Grivas in his history of the island from a booklet found in a church on the island, now ruined, and which it has been impossible to retrace.²⁰ These documents should be left out until further research brings us greater clarity, just as we hope it shall uncover even more documents relevant to Ithaca which have been missed here.

Notes on the presentation

The sources are listed here chronologically, giving the dates of redaction for diplomatic sources, and the reconstructed dates of earlier events recounted by chronicles and the like (which are given in the presentation in square brackets, []). The dating of sources, where not certain, has followed the suggestions of the better editions. Where there are multiple editions, usually only the latest or better has been pinpoint cited. Since many of the earliest sources are not solely concerned with Ithaca, literature on the sources has been usually omitted which does not expressly concern the island.

Sigla

Fons. = name or description of source; *Ling.* = language of source; *Inc.* = incipit; *Orig.* = original, where diplomatic source; *Ms./Mss.* = main manuscripts; *Cop.* = other manuscript copies; *Ed./Edd.* = editions; *Trans.* = translations into modern languages; *Cit.* = citations, if source survives in citation only; *Lit.* = literature; *Chr.* = notes on dating. *Crit.* = critical notes.

Abbreviations:

ASG = Archivio di Stato di Genova; ASN = Archivio di Stato di Napoli; AST = Archivio di Stato di Torino; ASV = Archivio di Stato di Venezia; BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France; Vat. gr. = (Codex) Vaticanus Graecus; ΓΑΚ-ΚΥ = Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους – Κεντρική Υπηρεσία

CSHB = *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn); *CFHB* = *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* (Berlin); *AAV* = *Acta Albaniae Veneta*; *MEI* = *Μυνηεΐα Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας*; *Enc. Med. Chron.* = Dunphy (2010)

²⁰ Karavias Grivas, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἰθάκης*, 70 n. 1. My questioning in pursuit of the manuscript has led me nowhere.

ca. 530

1. **Lemma for Alkomenai in a geographical encyclopaedia.** *Fons. Ethnica* of Stephanus of Byzantium, at α 216. *Ling. Greek. Ed.* Meineke (1849), at 75.14–16. *Ed./Trans.* Billerbeck et al. (2006) = *CFHB* 43/1. *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Kordosis (2007), 95, 232, 263–6.
2. **Reference to the existence of a spring of Arethusa in Ithaca in a lemma for Arethusa in a geographical encyclopaedia.** *Fons. Ethnica* of Stephanus of Byzantium, at α 410. *Ed.* Meineke (1849), at 116.6. *Ling. Greek. Ed./Trans.* Billerbeck et al. (2006) = *CFHB* 43/1.
3. **Reference to an island called Asteria between Cephalonia and Ithaca with a quotation of Homer (Od. 4.844–6) in a lemma for Asteria, a city in Syria, in a geographical encyclopaedia.** *Fons. Ethnica* of Stephanus of Byzantium, at α 501. *Ed.* Meineke (1849), at 138.11–2. *Ling. Greek. Ed./Trans.* Billerbeck et al. (2006) = *CFHB* 43/1. *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 117, 168–9; Kordosis (2007), 58.
4. **Reference to a place in Ithaca called Demos or Krokyleion in a lemma for ‘Demos’ in a geographical encyclopaedia.** *Fons. Ethnica* of Stephanus of Byzantium, at δ 65. *Ling. Greek. Ed.* Meineke (1849), at 228.9. *Ed./Trans.* Billerbeck and Zubler (2011) = *CFHB* 43/2. *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Kordosis (2007), 251–3.
5. **Lemma for Ithaca in a geographical encyclopaedia.** *Fons. Ethnica* of Stephanus of Byzantium, at ι 42. *Ling. Greek. Ed.* Meineke (1849), at 328.22–25. *Ed./Trans.* Billerbeck and Zubler (2011) = *CFHB* 43/2. *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Kordosis (2007), 42, and *passim*.
6. **Lemma for place in Ithaca called ‘Korakos petra’ with a citation to Homer (Od. 13.408) in a geographical encyclopaedia.**

Fons. Ethnica of Stephanus of Byzantium, at κ 155. *Ed.* Meineke (1849), at 372.15–6. *Ling. Greek. Ed./Trans.* Billerbeck et al. (2014) = *CFHB* 43/3. *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Kordosis (2007), 179 n. 5.

7. Lemma for Krokyleion, an islet of Ithaca, with a citation to Thucydides (3.96.2) and the Homeric scholiast Herakleon, who describes Ithaca as having four parts, in a geographical encyclopaedia. *Fons. Ethnica* of Stephanus of Byzantium, at κ 226. *Ling. Greek. Ed.* Meineke (1849), at 386.7–10. *Ed./Trans.* Billerbeck et al. (2014) = *CFHB* 43/3. Note the apparatus in Billerbeck and Zubler, 129 n. 326. *Lit.* Leake (1835), 49, who recognises the four modern departments of Ithaca with those described here; Kordosis (2007), 245–55.

8. Lemma for Kynaitha with reference to a city of the same name on mount Neriton in Ithaca in a geographical encyclopaedia. *Fons. Ethnica* of Stephanus of Byzantium, at κ 262. *Ling. Greek. Ed.* Meineke (1849), at 393.6–7. *Ed./Trans.* Billerbeck et al. (2014) = *CFHB* 43/3; *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Kordosis (2007), 105 n. 11, 107.

9. Lemma for Neion, a mountain on Ithaca, with a citation to Crates of Mallus in a geographical encyclopaedia. *Fons. Ethnica* of Stephanus of Byzantium, at ν 42. *Ling. Greek. Ed.* Meineke (1849), at 472.12–5. *Ed./Trans.* Billerbeck et al. (2014) = *CFHB* 43/3. *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9.

10. Reference to a mountain called Neriton, likely that in Ithaca, in a lemma for Nerikos, a city in Acarnania, in a geographical encyclopaedia. *Fons. Ethnica* of Stephanus of Byzantium, at ν 45. *Ling. Greek. Ed.* Meineke (1849), at 474.2. *Ed./Trans.* Billerbeck et al. (2014) = *CFHB* 43/3. *Crit.* Reference to Ithaca supplied by Billerbeck and Zubler: ‘Neriton, wie den Berg <auf der Insel Ithaka>’, i.e. Νήριτον, ὡς τὸ ὄρος <Ἰθάκης>. *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9.

Before 535

11. Ithaca listed in the province of Old Epirus (Παλαιὰ Ἠπειρος) in a table of administrative divisions of the Empire. *Fons. Synecdemus* of Hierocles, at 652/ιβ'. *Ling. Greek. Edd.* Bekker (1840) = CSHB 18/3; Parthey (1866); Burckhardt (1893); Honigmann (1939). *Lit.* Vagiakakos (1959), 325; Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Kordosis (2007), 105, 263. *Crit.* Note emendations in the apparatus in Burckhardt, 13; also see Bekker, 425; Parthey, 15.

After 565

12. Account of Odysseus of Ithaca in the war against Troy. *Fons. Chronicle* of John Malalas, at 5.41, 5.47, 5.51. *Ling. Greek. Edd.* Dindorf (1831) = CSHB 32; Jeffreys, Jeffreys, and Scott (1986).

After 630

13. Ithaca in a list of Mediterranean islands. *Fons. Chronicon Paschale.* *Ling. Greek. Edd.* Dindorf (1832) = CSHB 16, at 49.

[Before 907]

14. Conjectured reading of Ithaca (‘Et’êké’) in an Armenian version of a list of the hierarchy of the sees of the Eastern Church. *Fons. Notitia Episcopatum* of the Patriarch of Constantinople Nicholas I Mystikos. *Ling. Armenian. Ms.* Vatican Library, Vat. arm. 3. *Ed.* No critical editions. *Cit.* Darrouzès (1981), 60–1. *Chr.* The *Notitia* are dated between 901–7: Darrouzès (1981), 55. The ms. is expressly dated to 1270: see Darrouzès (1981), 60. *Crit.* The reading of two toponyms in the Armenian manuscript is uncertain: Esonas and Et’êké; the latter has been conjectured as Ithaca in Conybeare (1896), 126; this reading rejected by Darrouzès (1981), 61 n. 1.

ca. 930

15. Ithaca as part of the *theme* of Kephallenia. *Fons. De thematibus* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, book 2. *Ling. Greek. Ed.* Pertusi (1952), 174–6; *Trans.* Haldon (2021), 191–2 with extensive apparatus, noting known errors here and in the *De administrando imperio. Lit.* Zakythinios (1954); Oikonomides (1965); Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Zapanti (1992–4); Tsatsoulis (2012); Savvides (2016).

10th century

16. Lemma for Ithaca in a lexicon. *Fons.* Anonymous lexicon, *Suda. s.v. Ling. Greek. Ed.* Bekker (1854). Note neither the lemmata for Mount Neriton and Odysseus expressly mention Ithaca.

After 1013

17. Ithaca in a list of islands. *Fons. Chronographia* attributed to Leo Grammaticus. *Ling. Greek. Ed.* Bekker (1842) = *CSHB* 31, 17.

[1085]

18. A ruined city called Jerusalem on Ithaca (‘Ιθάκην’), in an account of the death of the Norman conqueror Robert Guiscard in 1085. *Fons. Alexiad* of Anna Comnena, book 6.6. *Ling. Greek. Edd.* Schopen (1839) = *CSHB* 2; Reifferscheid (1878) = *CSHB* 3; Leib (1937); Reinsch and Kambylis (2001) = *CFHB* 40, at 179. *Chr.* Before 1150: see Reinsch and Kambylis (2001), 5–6, n. 24. *Lit.* Hopf (1867), 144; Lekatsas (1998), 150ff; Vagiakakos (1959), 342–3 citing the older literature; Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Malamut (1988), 188, cf. 187; Kordosis (2007), 110–13, 265; Leontsini (2014), 59–60.

[1101]

19. Account of a Genoese attack on a Byzantine fleet off Ithaca (‘ual de Compar’). *Fons.* Multi-authored chronicle begun by Caffaro of

Caschifellone, *Annales Ianuenses*. *Ling.* Latin. *Mss.* BnF, lat. 10136 (oldest); ASG, Serie dei documenti restituiti dalla Francia, Ms. di Parigi, 2(3); British Library, Additional ms. 12031. *Ed.* Belgrano (1890), 118. *RHC Oc.* (1895), 68. *Trans.* Hall and Phillips (2013). *Chr.* late-13th century: see *Enc. Med. Chron.*, 68, 135, 238. *Lit.* Miller (1906), 513; Lekatsas (1998), 156; Vagiakakos (1959), 325; Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9. *Crit.* According to Miller, this is the earliest attested use of the Italian name for the island ‘Val di Compare’.

[1148–9]

20. Account of a Venetian assault on the navy of emperor Manuel Komnenos around Asteris, an island between Ithaca (Ἰθάκη) and Cephalonia, in 1148–9. *Fons. Historia* of Niketas Choniates, book 2. *Ling.* Greek. *Edd.* Bekker (1835) = *CSHB* 35, 114; van Dieten (1975) = *CFHB* 11/1, 86. *Chr.* Before 1204: Simpson (2006); Simpson (2013), 2–3. *Lit.* On the context, see Magdalino (1993), 137–40; and on Choniates’ sources for this passage, see Simpson (2013), 217; also cf. Lekatsas (1998), 155.

Before 1154

21. Description of an island identified as Ithaca (‘Thacou’) in the geography of Muhammad al-Idrisi. *Fons. Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq.* *Ling.* Arabic. *Ed.* Cerulli et al. (1970–84). *Trans.* [Latin] Sionita and Hesronita (1619), at 182, 189 [‘Thanu’]. *Trans.* [French] Jaubert (1836), vol. 2, 121. *Lit.* Lekatsas (1998), 155; Vagiakakos (1959), 325; Savvides (2016); Savvides (2017). *Chr.* Jaubert (1836), vol. 1, xxii. *Crit.* The Arabic gives ‘Faskyu’, which Jaubert interprets as Thacou, and Savvides as Thaku or Thakiu; in the Latin translation of 1619, the text gives ‘Thanu’, which is read as Ithaca in Soustal and Koder (1981), 168 (noting that this is perhaps ordinarily read as Othonoi). To read Othonoi here would be bizarre from context, given the 1619 ed. on p. 182 lists the main Ionian islands: ‘Corfos, Leocata, Thanu, Cefalonia & insula Chachet’ (the last a corruption for Zakynthos); both the significance of the islands and their order north-south supports the reading of Thanu as Ithaca. This is also

supported by the improved transliteration in the French translation by Jaubert (1836).

Late 12th century

22. Ithaca ('Fale de Compar') listed among main islands 'in the Greek sea' ('in mari Graeco ... Nomina autem quarundam principalium insularum); also mentioned (erroneously as 'Serfent') among three islands under the control of the Norman admiral Margaritone ('Serfent, quæ est Margariti, et aliæ duæ insulæ ... Chefeleine, et ... Jagent') where navigation is unsafe due to piracy; also a description of a town built by Robert Guiscard on Ithaca ('Fale de Compar'). *Fons.* Anonymous chronicle, traditionally associated with Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Henrici II. Ling. Latin. Mss.* British Library, Cotton Julius ms. A.xi (older); and British Library, Cotton Vitellius ms. E.xvii (later). *Edd.* Stubbs (1867), 203, also 198–9; Liebermann and Pauli (1885) (excerpted ed. only), at 128. *Lit.* Heyd (1879), 210 n. 3; Miller (1906), 514; Lekatsas (1998), 156; Vagiakakos (1959), 325–6, 346 n. 5; Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Malamut (1988), 187; Dalché (1995), 60, 199, 201; Kiesewetter (2006), 327–9; Kordosis (2007), 113; Savvides (2016), 443. *Crit.* The account of the town built seems to have confused the sources and is perhaps unreliable: at Stubbs (1867), 203. *Chr.* See *Enc. Med. Chron.*, 698. Also see the closely related Chronicle of Roger of Howden: see source 24. On the error giving Serfent (Serifos) for Ithaca see notes on source 24.

1198

23. Ithaca ('Ithaki') listed among territories included in a grant of privileges to Venice by Constantinople. *Fons.* Chrysobull of Alexios III Angelos (surviving only in Latin translation). *Ling. Latin. Edd.* Tafel and Thomas (1856), 246–80 (*Privilegium Alexii III Imperatoris Constantinopolitani, concessum incliti domino Henrico Dandulo Duci*), at 264; cf. 278–80 (*Epimetrum pacti*), at 279; Pozza and Ravegnani (1993), 130. *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Kiesewetter (2006), 343. *Crit.*

Generally see Penna (2012), 62–4. The Latin translation of the name makes it clear the Greek original had Ἰθάκη.

Before 1202

24. Ithaca ('Fale de Compari') listed among Greek islands and described following the earlier account attributed to Benedict of Peterborough (above source 22). *Fons.* Chronicle of Roger of Howden, *Chronica. Ling.* Latin. *Mss.* British Library, Royal ms. 14.C.ii (oldest); Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Laud 582; British Library, Arundel ms. 69. *Ed.* Stubbs (1870), 159, 161. *Chr.* see *Enc. Med. Chron.*, 1289–90. *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 58. Kiesewetter (2006), 327–9; Savvides (2016), 443. *Crit.* As in source 22, here the ms. also has 'Serfent' at the second mention (at Stubbs, 161), which ordinarily means Serifos: Markl (1966), 57. On the problematic interpretation, and emendation of 'Serfent' to read Ithaca, see Soustal and Koder (1981), 58; Kiesewetter (2006), 327–9. Kiesewetter makes a strong argument for a copyist's error, where the ms. should read *Fale de Compari* in the second instance as in the first. This chronicle is reliant on the anonymous *Gesta Henrici II* (source 22), but the description of a town in the *Gesta* is less detailed in the corresponding passage here, in Stubbs (1870), at 161: cf. source 22. Also see *Enc. Med. Chron.*, 1289–90.

[1259]

25. Ithaca ('Teachi') listed among the realms of Maio Orsini, noting that the island is today called 'Val de Compare' ('Theachi, el qual es clamado agora Val de Compare'). *Fons.* Chronicle of the Morea (Aragonese version), *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea. Ling.* Aragonese. *Ms.* Lost. *Ed.* Morel-Fatio (1885), at 53 para. 239. *Chr.* End of 14th century: *Enc. Med. Chron.*, 376–7. *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9 (citing by error the Old French version but the Aragonese was intended); Kiesewetter (2006), at 338ff. with a survey on the sources for Maio. *Crit.* This is the only version of the Chronicle which mentions Ithaca. Ithaca is not mentioned in the Greek versions of the Chronicle

edited by Schmitt (1904) and Egea (1996); nor in the French edited by Longnon (1911), or the Italian in Hopf (1873a), 414–68.

[1261–82]

26. Ithaca (referring to “Ἰθακησίους”) listed with other regions which had been part of the Byzantine province of Old Epirus (Παλαιὰ Ἠπειρος), and then part of the Despotate of Epirus, referring to the reign of emperor Michael Palaeologus (1261–82). *Fons. Historia Romana* of Nicephorus Gregoras, book 4. *Ling. Greek. Edd.* Schopen (1829) = CSHB 25, 110. *Trans.* [German] van Dieten (1973), 119, also 251 n. 201. *Chr.* Written before 1351: see Van Dieten (1973), 38.

1264

27. Ithaca (“Ἰθάκης”) listed among the realms of Richard Orsini, count palatine of Cephalonia, in a register of landholdings of the Latin bishopric. *Fons. Praktikon* of the Latin Bishopric of Cephalonia (‘Πρακτικὸν τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἐπισκοπῆς Κεφαλληνίας ... ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος μὲν κόντε Πρεκιάρδου...’). *Ling. Greek. Ms.* Destroyed: see Tzannetatos (1965), 4. *Edd.* Miklosich and Müller (1887), 16–67, at 44; Tzannetatos (1965), 68, lines 590–1. *Lit.* Hopf (1865), 225; Kiesewetter (2006), 341. *Crit.* No landholdings on Ithaca appear to be listed, but see comments on the register and the toponym Jerusalem in Lekatsas (1998), 153, 158; cf source 18.

1278

28. Ithaca (‘Ythache’) described as the scene of piracy against merchant sailors. *Fons.* Account of legal claims by subjects of Venice against crimes of piracy: ‘Judicium Venetorum in causis piraticis contra Græcos decisiones’. *Ling. Latin. Ed.* Tafel and Thomas (1857), 215. *Lit.* Miller (1906), 514. *Crit.* The reference concerns the robbery of the ship of Phylippo de Lapathia in the sea of Ithaca (‘ad pontam de Ythache’).

1295, January 31

29. Promise from the count palatine of Cephalonia Richard Orsini to grant the castle Coroni in Cephalonia or the island of Ithaca ('castrum Coroni ... sive ... insulam Ytacy') to his son John and Marie, daughter of Anna Comnena and the Despot of Epirus Nicephorus, on the pair's marriage. *Fons.* Grant by count Richard Orsini: 'in privilegiis scriptis in greco, sigillis'. *Ling.* Latin. *Orig. and Cop.* Greek original lost; citation and description survives in Latin letter from the King of Naples Charles II to Florent of Hainaut. On mss. see Lambros (1914), 414; Perrat and Longnon (1967), 126. *Edd.* Minieri Riccio (1892), 87–8; Lambros (1914); Perrat and Longnon (1967), 126–7. *Lit.* Hopf (1867), 354; Hopf (1870), 165; Chiotis (1863), 22; Miller (1906), 514; Lekatsas (1998), 161; Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Asonitis (2005), 65, 81–2.

[Late 13th century]

30. Ithaca ('Thiachi') listed among the realms held by the count palatine Richard Orsini in a later description of the estate of the Latin Bishopric of Cephalonia and Zante. *Fons.* Petition of Francesco Gozzadini, Bishop of Cephalonia and Zante on the taxation of church land. *Ling.* Venetian Italian. *Ms.* ΓAK–KY, ms. 45, f. 252/325v; the folio appears to have been reversed, with the continuation on the recto. *Inc.* 'Ser(enissi)mo P(re)n(ci)pe[,] Sono 400 Anni in circa ch(e) Il Conte Rizzardo dell'Isola del Zante[,] Ceff(aloni)a e Thiachi, Investi la Chiesa Latina di molti beni, quali tutti hà fatto notare dentro in un volume di cartapecora...'. *Chr.* After 1657, date of last cited document. *Crit.* The petition is copied among a register of documents concerning church property, ff. 248–332 (perhaps an inventory of the 'volume di cartapecora?'), the oldest of which is from 1412: f. 238r.

1320, June

31. Reply from the Venetian Senate to the ambassador of the count palatine of Cephalonia Richard Orsini asserting Venetian

sovereignty over the islands of Cephalonia, Zakynthos and Ithaca ('vallis compari'). *Ling.* Latin. *Orig.* Lost? *Cop.* Survives in register of Senate: ASV, Senato, Misti, rub. 1, f. 77/75v. *Edd. AAV* vol. 1, 32; Cessi and Sambin (1960), 233; Giomo (1880), 93. *Lit.* Romanos (1895), 125; Miller (1906), 514; Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Nicol (1984), 90.

1321

32. Ithaca ('Compar') passed by the traveller Symon Semeonis on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. *Ling.* Latin. *Ms.* Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ms. 407. *Ed./Trans.* Esposito (1960), at 38. *Chr.* *Ms.* dates to 1335–52: Esposito (1960), 1–3. Travel from Venice on 28 June 1321, and leave Crete on 10 October, making date of travel through Ionian between July and September: *ibid.*, 7–8. *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9.

After 1340

33. Ithaca ('Fale de Compar') in a list of islands 'in the Greek sea' ('In mari Græco'). *Fons.* Chronicle of John Brompton [Fitzhugh Chronicle]. *Ling.* Latin. *Mss.* Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 96 (earlier); British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.xiii (later). *Ed.* Twysden (1652), 1218. *Lit.* von Warsberg (1879), 96; Vagiakakos (1959), 325 n. 8; *Chr.* After 1340, before 1377: see *Enc. Med. Chron.*, 218. *Crit.* This chronicle is evidently reliant on Roger of Howden and the anonymous chronicle traditionally associated with Benedict of Peterborough: see sources 24, 22.

1357?

34. Ithaca included among the lands, together with Cephalonia and Zakynthos, given in fief by the Venetians to Leonardo I Tocco. *Fons.* Reconstructed concession. *Orig.* Lost? *Cit.* Morosini (1628), 94 (erroneously giving 1352 and referring to Carlo, not Leonardo); and others, listed in Zečević (2014), 186 n. 205. *Lit.* Zečević (2014), 41 n. 43, 186 n. 205. *Crit.* According to Zečević (2014), 175 (cf. 33), 'there is no

direct evidence', and the concession has only been imputed on the basis of other sources, surveyed by her at 186 n. 205.

[mid-1370s]

35. Ithaca (‘Ιθάκη’) listed among the realms inherited by Carlo I Tocco on his ascension to the duchy of Leukas and palatine county of Cephalonia on the death of his father Leonardo I (ca. mid-1370s). *Fons.* Chronicle of the Tocco of Cephalonia, at line 25. *Ling.* Greek. *Mss.* Vat. gr. 1831; Vat. gr. 2214. *Ed.* Schirò (1975), 222. *Chr.* Composed before 1429: Schirò (1975), 137–9; on the date of death of Leonardo I, Schirò (1975), 25–7; Zečević (2014), 177. *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9.

1384, August 22

36. Ithaca (‘Vallis de Compare’) listed among the realms which had belonged to the late count palatine of Cephalonia Leonardo I Tocco. *Fons.* Concession of the realms of the Tocco to Rainier Grimaldi by the Louis, Duke of Anjou and King of Naples, 22 August 1384. *Ling.* Latin. *Ms.* Archives of the Palace of Monaco, Archives secrètes, A 18, n° 9, pièce 1. *Ed.* Saige (1905), 505–10, 506. *Lit.* Zečević (2014), 50, 56 n. 60. *Crit.* In this grant Louis, Duke of Anjou, sought to confiscate the realms of the Tocco, who are here described as traitors (‘rebelles et proditores notorios’) in the unstable political conflicts over the inheritance of the Angevin realms in Greece. The concession never occurred and the county remained in the hands of the Tocco. See also source 37.

1387, July 19

37. Ithaca (‘Valle de Compare’) listed among the realms of the county palatine of Cephalonia claimed by John Lascaris Kalopheros. *Fons.* Concession of fiefs to John Lascaris Kalopheros by Amadeus of Savoy, 19 July 1387. *Ling.* Latin. *Ms.* AST, Principato di Acaia, mazzo 3.1, fasc. 3. *Ed.* Excerpted in Jacoby (1968), 217, n. 177. *Lit.* Miller (1906), 515. *Crit.* In what Jacoby describes as a ‘vive déception’, Kalopheros clearly never took possession of the county, which he seems to have been granted to

Kalopheros by the Latin emperor of Constantinople and prince of Achaea Jacques des Beaux during an unstable period under the regency of Magdalena Buondelmonti, widow of Leonardo I Tocco: see Jacoby (1968), 211–2, cf. 207–9; the claim to the title appears in an earlier Catalan document of 10 February 1383 in Rubió i Lluch (1947), 590–1 (‘Johan Lascari es hom assats notable ..., e es comte de les illes de Jazant e de Sefalonia’, not mentioning Ithaca); and in another of 20 July 1387 in Cessi (1919), 47, doc. 15; cf. Jacoby (1968), 217, n. 176; also Zečević (2014), 50, 56 n. 60.

1389, August 21

38. Ithaca (‘Ιθάκη’) listed among the realms of the duchess Francesca (wife of Carlo I Tocco) in a record on the election of the bishop of Leukas. *Fons.* ‘Κωδίκιον τῶν συνοδικῶν παρασημειώσεων γεγονὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ παναγιωτάτου δεσπότη τοῦ οἰκομενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Νείλου’, in the register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople under patriarch Neilos Kerameus. *Ling.* Greek. *Orig.* ‘Registre V 48, f. 53’: Darrouzès (1979), 161. Ed. Miklosich and Müller (1862), 139. *Cit.* Darrouzès (1979), 160–1 (Doc. 2870). *Chr.* Date of document slightly earlier than accepted date of marriage to Carlo in Zečević (2014), 178–9. *Lit.* Miller (1906), 515; Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9.

1422

39. A description of Ithaca (‘olim Ithaca, et nunc Val di Compare’) in the account of the traveller Buondelmonti. *Fons.* Traveller’s account including descriptions of islands and maps (*isolario*): ‘Liber insularum Arcipelagi’. *Ling.* Latin. *Mss.* Ragone (2002). *Edd.* Sinner (1824), at 57. *Trans.* Excerpts in Bessi (2014), with Ithaca at 245–7. *Chr.* Ragone (2002); Bessi (2014), 229. *Lit.* Miller (1906), 515–6; Vagiakakos (1959), 326; Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Kordosis (2007), 265–6; Bessi (2014).

40. A description of Ithaca ('Val di Compare') among the other Ionian islands in the merchant's handbook of Giovanni di Bernardo da Uzzano. *Fons.* Handbook for merchant trade: 'Pratica della mercatura'. *Ling.* Tuscan Italian. *Ed.* Pagnini (1766), 218. *Lit.* Heyd (1879), 210 n. 3.

1430, July 6

41. Response of the Venetian Senate declining to guarantee Venetian protection against Ottoman attack over the realms of the duchy of Leukas and county of Cephalonia, including Ithaca ('val de compare'), then held by Francesca after the death of Carlo I. *Fons.* Responses sent 6 July 1430 by the Venetian Senate to letters of the *bailo* and *capitano* of Corfu dated 14 June. *Ling.* Latin. *Ms.* Copied in the Senate register: ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreti, reg. 11, ff. 119/120v–120/121r, 120/121v. *Ed.* *AAV*, vol. 14, 82–5 (doc. 3377), 85–6 (doc. 3378); second document also in *MEI* 1, 191–2 (doc. 125) but the last paragraph mentioning Ithaca is omitted. *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Zečević (2014), 114, 118–9 n. 148. See also *AAV*, vol. 14, 29–40 (doc. 3327); Thiriet (1959), 271–2 (doc. 2186), 275 (doc. 2201). *Chr.* On date of death of Carlo I, see Zečević (2014), 179–80.

1430, December 24

42. Ithaca ('Thiaci') listed among the realms of Carlo II Tocco. *Fons.* Unclear. *Ling.* Latin. *Orig.* Lost? *Cit.* Morosini (1628), 96; Buchon (1843), vol. 1, 319, n. 1. *Crit.* Title of Carlo II transcribed by Morosini as 'Karolus secundus Dei gratia, Dominus Artæ II, Dux Leucate, ac Comes Palatinus Ceffalenix Pthiaci, & Zacynthi'; no doubt Pthiaci is a misprint for '& Thiaci', though Buchon emends it to 'Ithace' (without having seen the ms.).

1433, March 15

43. Ithaca ('Ithacae') listed among the realms of Carlo II Tocco in a grant recognising him as a Venetian subject. *Fons.* Concession of privileges to Carlo II Tocco by Francisco Foscari, doge of Venice. *Ling.* Latin. *Cop.* ASN, according to Buchon 'Ex libro privilegiorum secondo f^o 40, verso', 'Ce privilège se trouve inséré dans celui qui fut donné en l'an 1458 à Léonard II.': Buchon (1843), vol. 2, 353; also ASN, Archivio di Tocco di Montemiletto, Privilegi, b. 1, perg. 47 (according to Zečević (2014), 119 n. 151); also copied in ASV, Senato, Deliberazioni, Privilegi, reg. 2, f. 17r. *Ed.* Buchon (1843), vol. 2, 350–2 (from the Neapolitan copy) ('Ithacae'); also *AAV* 15, 5–6 (doc. 3550) (from the Venetian copy) ('I'tace'). *Lit.* Morosini (1628), 96. *Crit.* Title of Carlo II given as 'Carolus secundus de Tocco, Artæ despotus, dux Leucatæ et comes palatinus Cephaloniæ, Ithacæ et Jacinthis'. *Lit.* Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9; Zečević (2014), 112–3, 119 n. 151. *Crit.* Related document of 14 March 1433 does not expressly mention Ithaca: *AAV* 15, 4–5 (doc. 3549). Other relevant documents cited Zečević (2014), 119 n. 151, also 43 n. 50. This grant renewed in 1458: see source 46.

[1448]

44. Ithaca ('Itaco') listed among the realms of Carlo II Tocco in an account of Venetian history in the year 1448. *Fons.* Chronicle of Stefano Magno, *Annali veneti e del mondo*. *Ling.* Venetian Italian. *Mss.* Biblioteca del Museo Correr, mss. Cicogna 3529–33. On the complexities of the mss. see Hopf (1873), xxiv–xxvi; Setton (1978), 329 n. 50; Schmitt (2005), 133–5. *Ed.* Hopf (1873b), 196. *Chr.* Before 1572 (death of Magno): Setton (1978), 329 n. 50. *Lit.* Miller (1906), 516. Also see source 48.

Before 1449?

45. Ithaca ('Itace') listed among the realms of Carlo II Tocco. *Fons.* Confirmation of privileges held by the family Ariano of Cephalonia; one of three documents copied 'dalli Privilegi concessi alla Famiglia Ariano'.

Ling. Latin. *Ms.* ΓΑΚ–ΚΥ, ms. 45, f. 16/33r–v. *Inc.* ‘Carolus Secundus Dei Gra(tia) Dominus Despotatus Arthe, Dux Leucade ac Comes Palatinus Cefalonie, Itace, et Zacynthi, universis et singulis tam present(ibus) qua(m) futuris, hoc confirmationis privilegiu(m)...’. *Crit.* Ithaca not listed in the other two documents (dated to 1424, 1430) copied on the same folio. *Chr.* Zečević (2014), 182.

1458, January 3

46. Ithaca (‘Ithacæ’) listed among the realms once belonging to Carlo II Tocco. *Fons.* Renewal of privileges to Leonardo II Tocco by Pasquale Malipiero, doge of Venice. *Ling.* Latin. *Orig.* ASN, destroyed; ‘Ex libro privilegiorum secundo f^o 40, verso’: see Buchon (1843), vol. 2, 353. *Ed.* Buchon (1843), vol. 2, 352–3. *Lit.* Miller (1906), 515; Zečević (2014), 43 n. 50. *Crit.* Title of Carlo II given as ‘Caroli secundi de Tocco, Artæ despoti, ducis Leucatæ et comitis palatini Cephaloniæ, Ithacæ et Jacinti’. Renewal of grant of 1433: see source 43.

[1479]

47. Ithaca (‘Θιάκην’), Leukas, and ‘Lophimon’ captured by the Ottoman fleet. *Fons.* Chronicle of Ottoman assaults between 1187–1571. *Ling.* Greek. *Ms.* Library of the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian of Patmos, ms. 286, ff. 35v–37r. *Edd.* Lambros and Amantos (1932), 56–8, at 57; Schreiner (1975) = *CFHB* 12/1, 513–6, at 514. *Lit.* Vagiakakos (1959), 323; Soustal and Koder (1981), 168–9.

48. Account of the Ottoman capture of Ithaca (‘Itaci’, ‘Itacha, ditta Vale di Compare’). *Fons.* Chronicle of Stefano Magno, *Annali veneti e del mondo*. *Ling.* Venetian Italian. *Mss.* See notes on source 44. *Ed.* MEI, vol. 6, 214–43, at 215–6. *Lit.* Lekatsas (1998), 170; Schreiner (1977) = *CFHB* 12/2, 520–1 (‘zeitlich ... nicht genau präzisiert’); Miller (1906), 516. *Crit.* Sathas’s transcriptions ‘careless’: Setton (1978), 329 n. 50. For a related Byzantine chronicle, see above source 47.

49. Ithaca ('Itaca' vel sim, 'val de compari') listed among the realms of Leonardo III Tocco in an account of the Ottoman aggression and capture of the southern Ionian islands. *Fons*. History of Theodoros Spandounes: *De la origine deli imperatori Ottomani.... Ling. Italian*. Ms. BnF, ms. italien 881; see Nicol (1997), xvii-xviii. *Ed.* Spandugino Cantacuscino (1551), at 12, 26, 27 (all 'Itaca'), 61 ('val de compari'); *MEI* 9, 138–261, at 143 ('Ithaca'), 149 ('Itacha'), 150 ('Itacha'), 166 ('Itacha'). *Trans.* Nicol (1997). *Lit.* Miller (1906), 515. *Crit.* The passage in *MEI* 9, at 166 corresponds to the 1551 ed. at p. 61, but with textual inconsistencies including substitution of 'val de compari' for 'Itacha'.

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²¹ Photographs of this manuscript were very kindly provided to me by Dimitris Prevezianos.

di Roma/Fondazione Giorgio Cini/Pontificio Istituto di studi orientali/Albanien Institut, Universität München/Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen Orients sowie für Turkologie/Südost Institut/ Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium Zagrabiae, 1972.

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Abstract

This article presents a collection of sources relevant to the history of Ithaca after antiquity, spanning from the Byzantine period until the island's capture by Venice (ca. 530–1500). The sources are presented as an aid to further research, citing the manuscripts, original documents, together with the editions, and providing a basic commentary where necessary for the interpretation of the source. This comprises the first part of the series REGESTA ITHACAE HISTORIAE which aims to collect documentary sources for the history of Ithaca.

Περίληψη

Το άρθρο αυτό παρουσιάζει μια συλλογή πηγών που αφορούν την ιστορία της Ιθάκης μετά την αρχαιότητα, από τη βυζαντινή περίοδο μέχρι την κατάληψη του νησιού από τους Βενετούς (περίπου 530-1500). Οι πηγές παρουσιάζονται ως εργαλείο για περαιτέρω έρευνα, αναφέροντας τα χειρόγραφα, τα πρωτότυπα έγγραφα, καθώς και τις εκδόσεις, και παραθέτοντας έναν βασικό σχολιασμό, όπου απαιτείται για την ερμηνεία της πηγής. Πρόκειται για το πρώτο μέρος της σειράς REGESTA ITHACAE HISTORIAE, η οποία έχει ως στόχο τη συλλογή τεκμηρίων για την ιστορία της Ιθάκης.

*Ψάχνοντας για την Ιθάκη στις απαρχές της
βενετικής κυριαρχίας*

1500–1600

A. B. Πρεβεζιάνος

Το καλοκαίρι του 1499 ξέσπασε στην θάλασσα του Ιονίου ο β' βενετοοθωμανικός πόλεμος,¹ ο οποίος μετέβαλε τα δεδομένα και τις πραγματικότητες τόσο της Βενετίας, όσο και των κατοίκων της περιοχής. Από την αρχή του πολέμου οι οθωμανικές δυνάμεις υπερίσχυσαν των βενετικών και επέφεραν καίρια χτυπήματα σε αυτές. Σημαντικές κτήσεις της Βενετίας κατακτήθηκαν από τους Οθωμανούς, με πρώτη αυτήν της Ναυπάκτου, το καλοκαίρι του 1499. Το καλοκαίρι του επόμενου έτους ο στόλος του σουλτάνου

*Θα ήθελα να συγχαρώ την Ιστορική Εταιρεία της Ιθάκης (Ithacan Historical Society) για την απόφαση έκδοσης του δελτίου αυτού, το οποίο, είμαι σίγουρος πως, κάθε έτος θα εμπεριέχει σημαντικά άρθρα τα οποία θα συμβάλλουν τα μέγιστα στην μελέτη της ιστορίας της Ιθάκης.

**Θα ήθελα να ευχαριστήσω και από αυτήν την θέση δύο ανθρώπους. Καταρχάς και καταρχήν τον Κυριάκο Νικιά, για την σημαντική, αμέριστη και γενναιόδωρη αρωγή του προς εμένα κατά την διάρκεια σύνταξης του παρόντος άρθρου. Μεταξύ των άλλων μου κοινοποίησε τις περισσότερες ανέκδοτες πηγές που παρατίθενται παρακάτω (αρθ. 1, 2, 15, 19, 25, 54), ενώ μου παραχώρησε και φωτογραφίες από χειρόγραφα που απέκινται σε διάφορα αρχεία της Βενετίας, μέσω των οποίων κατόρθωσα να επαληθεύσω και να παραπέμψω ήδη γνωστές πηγές (αρθ. 5, 22, 31, 37, 47). Επίσης, μου εκχώρησε και το υπό έκδοση άρθρο του για τα αρχαιότερα σωζόμενα νοταριακά έγγραφα της Ιθάκης, από το οποίο προέκυψαν οι καταγραφές 33, 45, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68. Χωρίς αυτόν δεν θα ήταν δυνατόν να ολοκληρωθεί το παρόν άρθρο. Δεύτερον, θα ήθελα να ευχαριστήσω και τον κύριο Διονύση (Ντένη) Γρίβα, ο οποίος κατά την διάρκεια του δημιουργικού και για τους δύο μας καλοκαιριού του 2023, με βοήθησε, μέσω των πολύωρων συζητήσεών μας, να αντιληφθώ τον δομικό χαρακτήρα του 16ου αιώνα για την Ιθάκη.

¹ Για τον β' βενετοοθωμανικό πόλεμο βλ. Κ.Γ. Τσικνάκης, 'Ο ελληνικός χώρος στη διάρκεια της βενετοκρατίας', Στο *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα. Προσεγγίζοντας την ιστορία της*, επιμ. Χ. Μαλτέζου (Αθήνα-Βενετία: Ελληνικό Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών Βενετίας, 2010), 41–42.

κατόρθωσε να αποσπάσει από την Βενετία τους οφθαλμούς της στην Ανατολή, δηλαδή τις καστροπολιτείες της Μεθώνης και της Κορώνης, ενώ, ταυτόχρονα, της απέσπασε και το Ναβαρίνο. Οι Βενετοί, προσπαθώντας να ανακόψουν την νικηφόρα και ορμητική επέλαση των Οθωμανών, συμμαχήσαν με τους Ισπανούς. Ως βασικός στόχος της συμμαχίας είχε τεθεί η κατάκτηση της Κεφαλονιάς, η οποία από το 1485 βρισκόταν υπό οθωμανική κυριαρχία.² Ήδη από την άνοιξη του 1500 είχαν ξεκινήσει οι προσπάθειες για την κατάληψη του κάστρου του Αγίου Γεωργίου. Η εκπόρθησή του πραγματοποιήθηκε στα τέλη του Δεκεμβρίου του ίδιου έτους και η σημαία με το λιοντάρι του αγίου Μάρκου υψώθηκε στην κοιλάδα της Λειβαθούς,³ σηματοδοτώντας την παγίωση της βενετικής κυριαρχίας στον ιόνιο χώρο, η οποία αποκρυσταλλώθηκε αρκετά αργότερα με την κατάληψη της Λευκάδας το 1684. Ο πόλεμος τερματίστηκε επισήμως το 1503 με την υπογραφή συνθήκης μεταξύ των δύο μερών. Ακολούθως και το μικρό νησί της Ιθάκης, το οποίο λόγω της γεωγραφικής του θέσης επισκιαζόταν για αιώνες από το μεγάλο γειτονικό νησί της Κεφαλονιάς, πέρασε στην κυριαρχία των Βενετών. Δεν υπάρχει καμία αναφορά για τον τρόπο ή τον χρόνο κατάκτησης του νησιού, εάν υποθέσουμε, βέβαια, ότι χρειάστηκε να κατακτηθεί, ενώ δεν γίνεται καμία αναφορά σε αυτό ούτε στην συνθήκη του 1503. Βέβαια, είναι σημαντικό το γεγονός ότι οι Βενετοί χρησιμοποιούσαν το νησί και συγκεκριμένα το λιμάνι *Val de Compare*, ήδη από τον Απρίλη του 1500, για την αγκυροβόληση των γαλερών τους, γεγονός που δείχνει πως είχαν αποκτήσει από τότε τον έλεγχο του νησιού.⁴ Οι Βενετοί θεώρησαν δεδομένη την κυριαρχία τους και στην Ιθάκη, αφού την έβλεπαν ως

² Την ίδια περίοδο η Ζάκυνθος, με βάση την συνθήκη ειρήνης του 1484 μεταξύ Βενετών και Οθωμανών, ήταν βενετική κτήση, φόρου υποτελής στην Υψηλή Πύλη. Βλ. M. Kolyvā, “Per la pension si paga a Costantinopoli allo Illustrissimo Gran Signor per detta isola”. Il tributo della Serenissima alla Sublime Porta per il possesso di Zante”, *Archivio Veneto* σειρ. VI, τόμ. 22 (2021): 59–61, όπου και η παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία.

³ Για την κατάκτηση της Κεφαλονιάς βλ. Σταματούλα Σ. Ζαπάντη, *Κεφαλονιά 1500–1571. Η συγκρότηση της κοινωνίας του νησιού* (Θεσσαλονίκη: University Studio Press, 1999), 31–39· Κ. Γ. Τσιγκάκης (έκδ.), *Οι εκθέσεις των Βενετών Προνοητών της Κεφαλονιάς (16ος αιώνας)*, Αθήνα 2008, XVII–XIX· επίσης την περίληψη ‘La guerra del 1499–1503 e la conquista di Cefalonia’ βάσει των αρχειακών πηγών στο B. Crevato-Selvaggi, M. Marcella Ferraccioli, G. Giraud, S. Pelusi (έκδ.), *Cefalonia e Itaca al tempo della Serenissima. Documentazione e cartografia in biblioteche venete* (Μιλάνο: Biblion edizioni, 2013), 17–29.

⁴ Βλ. τις καταγραφές 1 και 3.

εξάρτημα της Κεφαλονιάς.⁵ Με αυτόν τον τρόπο ξεκίνησε μια μακρά περίοδος, σχεδόν τριών αιώνων, βενετικής κυριαρχίας στην Ιθάκη, μέχρι το 1797.⁶

Ο δέκατος έκτος αιώνας, ο οποίος συνέπεσε με την απαρχή της βενετικής κυριαρχίας, αποτέλεσε για την Ιθάκη μια περίοδο ανασυγκρότησης και αναδιαμόρφωσης, ύστερα από ένα δύσκολο διάστημα, λόγω της αβεβαιότητας και της πληθυσμιακής εξασθένησης, που είχε κληροδοτήσει η αμέσως προηγούμενη περίοδος της σύντομης οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας (1485–1500).⁷ Μπορούμε, λοιπόν, να πούμε πως οι Βενετοί βρήκαν πρόσφορο έδαφος στην άγονη Ιθάκη για την μεταφύτευση θεσμών διοίκησης και διακυβέρνησης, οι οποίοι με την σειρά τους επηρέασαν και την κοινωνική συγκρότηση και διαστρωμάτωση του νησιού. Κατά την εκατονταετηρίδα αυτήν τέθηκαν τα θεμέλια για την οικοδόμηση της νεότερης Ιθάκης και παγιώθηκαν πολλά στοιχεία που θα την συνόδευαν στο εξής για πολλούς αιώνες. Η μελέτη, λοιπόν, του δεκάτου έκτου αιώνα για την Ιθάκη είναι σημαντική και βασική για την κατανόηση της βενετικής κυριαρχίας σε αυτήν, αλλά και της εν γένει νεότερης ιστορίας της. Βασικό πρόβλημα για αυτό αποτελεί η έλλειψη πηγών ή η, τουλάχιστον, περιορισμένη διαθεσιμότητά τους. Καταρχάς στο ίδιο το νησί δεν έχουν διασωθεί έγγραφα του δεκάτου έκτου αιώνα, παρά μόνον ελάχιστα αντίγραφα νοταριακών πράξεων (βλ. παρακάτω τις καταγραφές 33, 45, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 68, από τον κώδικα του Ν. Παϊζή)⁸ και ακόμη λιγότερα διοικητικών εγγράφων (βλ. παρακάτω τις καταγραφές 15 και 54). Εάν, λοιπόν, κάποιος θελήσει να μελετήσει την συγκεκριμένη χρονική περίοδο για την Ιθάκη δεν θα μπορέσει να το κατορθώσει μέσω του Αρχείου του νησιού, διότι οι σχετικές με την βενετική κυριαρχία σειρές του ξεκινούν τον 17ο αιώνα. Επίσης,

⁵ Βλ. Σταματούλα Ζαπάντη, 'Η Ιθάκη στα πρώτα χρόνια της Βενετοκρατίας (1500–1571)', *Κεφαλληνιακά Χρονικά* 7 (1998) [Αφιέρωμα στον Γιώργο Γ. Αλισανδράτο]: 130.

⁶ Γενικά για την περίοδο της βενετικής κυριαρχίας στην Ιθάκη βλ. Κ. Nikias, 'The Governors of Venetian Ithaca', *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 118 (2023): 399–416 και του ίδιου, 'Class and society in Ithaca under Tocco and early Venetian rule (1357-ca. 1600)', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 47 (2022): 54–70, 59 κ.ε., όπου και η παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία.

⁷ Για την Ιθάκη κατά τον 16ο αιώνα βλ. Κ. Nikias, 'Class and society', 59 κ.ε. και Ζαπάντη, 'Η Ιθάκη στα πρώτα χρόνια', 129–133.

⁸ Επίσης, άλλα δύο αντίγραφα νοταριακών πράξεων του 16ου αι. σώζονται στο κώδικα του Ιθακησιού νοταρίου Αναγνώστη Ραφτόπουλου (αρθ. 64 και 67), ο οποίος παραδόξως δεν φυλάσσεται στο Αρχείο της Ιθάκης, αλλά στο ΕΛΙΑ στην Αθήνα.

η γενικότερη υποτονική κατάσταση του νησιού, το «καταδίκασε» στην, πολλές φορές, αγνόησή του από τους συντάκτες των, κυρίως επισήμων, πηγών, με αποτέλεσμα να δυσχεραίνεται έτι περαιτέρω ο εντοπισμός πληροφοριών για αυτό.⁹ Επομένως, η κάθε αναφορά από τον 16ο αιώνα για την Ιθάκη είναι σημαντική. Έχοντας, λοιπόν, στον νού μου αυτό, αποφάσισα να συντάξω έναν κατάλογο με πηγές για την Ιθάκη του δεκάτου έκτου αιώνα, ως συνέχεια του REGESTA ITHACAE HISTORIAE I, όπου καταλογογραφούνται από τον Κ. Νικία οι πηγές για την βυζαντινή και λατινοκρατούμενη Ιθάκη.¹⁰

Η επιλογή και η παρουσίαση των πηγών

Εδώ συνολικά έχουν καταλογογραφηθεί 70 πηγές σε χρονολογική σειρά από το 1500 έως το 1600. Πρόκειται σχεδόν κατ' αποκλειστικότητα για ήδη εκδοσμένες πηγές, ενώ έχουν περιληφθεί και ανέκδοτες ή υπό έκδοση πηγές. Είναι δυνατόν οι αναφορές αυτές να χωριστούν σε τρία κύρια είδη, τα εξής: α) βενετικά επίσημα ή διοικητικά έγγραφα, με 27 καταγραφές (αρθ. 1–7, 9, 10, 13–15, 17, 18, 19, 22, 25, 27, 31, 32, 37, 46–48, 53, 54, 56, 59), β) νοταριακά έγγραφα, με 26 καταγραφές (αρθ. 8, 21, 23, 24, 33–35, 38, 39, 41–42, 49, 55, 57, 58, 60–65, 67, 68) και γ) ταξιδιωτικά-περιηγητικά κείμενα, με 9 καταγραφές (αρθ. 16, 30, 36, 40, 51, 52, 66, 69). Άλλα τρία δευτερεύοντα είδη είναι τα χαρτογραφικά κείμενα, με 3 καταγραφές (αρθ. 12, 29, 70), τα ιστορικά έργα, τα οποία αντιπροσωπεύονται μόνον από την καταγραφή 11 και τα λεξικά, με μόνη την καταγραφή 26. Τέλος, παρατίθενται και άλλες 3 αναφορές οι οποίες διασώζονται μόνον ως βιβλιογραφικές παραπομπές και για τις οποίες δεν γνωρίζουμε περισσότερα για τον ακριβή τύπο του πρωτοτύπου τους (αρθ. 20, 28, 50). Είναι γνωστό πως υπάρχουν και άλλες, κυρίως ανέκδοτες, πηγές που αφορούν την Ιθάκη σε διάφορα αρχεία (Ιθάκη, Κεφαλονιά, Βενετία κ.α.), όμως, για τις ανάγκες του παρόντος άρθρου δεν κατέστη δυνατόν να επισημανθούν, αλλά ούτε κρίθηκε σκόπιμο να γίνει κάτι τέτοιο, μιας και ο σκοπός του καταλόγου αυτού δεν είναι σε καμία περίπτωση να εξαντλήσει το θέμα των πηγών του 16ου αιώνα για την Ιθάκη.

⁹ Για το ίδιο πρόβλημα στους προηγούμενους αιώνες βλ. Κ. Νικίας, 'Sources for the history of Ithaca after antiquity: ca. 530–1500', [REGESTA ITHACAE HISTORIAE, I], *Bulletin of the Ithacan Historical Society* 1 (2023): 57–91 (στο εξής: *RIH*, I).

¹⁰ Βλ. *RIH*, I.

Οι πηγές καταχωρούνται περιγραφικά, ενώ σημειώνεται τόσο η γλώσσα σύνταξής τους, όσο και η αρχειακή παραπομπή ή του πρωτοτύπου ή των αντιγράφων τους. Επίσης, σημειώνεται η έκδοση ή οι εκδόσεις τους και η βιβλιογραφία στην οποία ενδεχομένως έχουν χρησιμοποιηθεί. Όπου κρίθηκε απαραίτητο προστέθηκαν και κάποιες κριτικές παρατηρήσεις. Τέλος, σε όλες τις ξενόγλωσσες πηγές αναγράφεται και η ονομασία του νησιού, όπως αναφέρεται σε αυτές.¹¹

*

Sigla

Fons. = όνομα ή περιγραφή της πηγής· *Ling.* = γλώσσα της πηγής· *Orig.* = πρωτότυπο της πηγής· *Ms./Mss.* = κύρια χειρόγραφα· *Cop.* = αντίγραφα της πηγής· *Ed./Edd.* = έκδοση/εκδόσεις· *Trans.* = μεταφράσεις σε σύγχρονες γλώσσες· *Cit.* = παραπομπές, εάν η πηγή επιβιώνει μόνον μέσω παραπομπής· *Lit.* = βιβλιογραφία· *Crit.* = κριτικές σημειώσεις.

αρθ. = αριθμός· Βεν. = βενετική διάλεκτος· Γαλλ. = γαλλικά· έγγρ. = έγγραφο/-α· Ελλ. = ελληνικά· Ιταλ. = ιταλικά· κφ. = κεφάλαιο· κώδ. = κώδικας· λ. = λήμμα· Λατ. = λατινικά· μτφρ. = μετάφραση· νοτ. = νοτάριος· πρ. = πράξη· σ./σσ. = σελίδα/-ες· στ. = στίχος· τ. = τόμος· υποσ. = υποσημείωση· υποφάκ. = υποφάκελος· Φ. = φάκελος· φ./φφ. = φύλλο/-α· χφ./χφφ. = χειρόγραφο/-α· b. = busta· cod. = codex· m.v. = *more veneto*· reg. = registro.

Συντομογραφίες

ASV = Archivio di Stato di Venezia· Correr = Biblioteca del Museo Correr· Marc. = Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana· ΓΑΚ = Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους· ΕΛΙΑ = Ελληνικό Λογοτεχνικό και Ιστορικό Αρχείο.

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¹¹ Κάτι αντίστοιχο για τις ελληνόγλωσσες πηγές δεν κρίθηκε αναγκαίο, καθώς σε όλες το νησί αναφέρεται με την ονομασία *Θιάκι*.

REGESTA ITHACAE HISTORIAE
II. 1500–1600

1500, 7 Απριλίου

1. Επιστολή του *vice capitano delle Navi Marco Orio*, που ήταν αγκυροβολημένος στο λιμάνι *Conpar*, με την οποία ενημέρωνε τις βενετικές αρχές για τις εξελίξεις του β' βενετοοθωμανικού πολέμου (1499–1503). *Fons.* Επιστολή του Marco Orio από το κατάστιχο αλληλογραφίας του: *'Registrum Literarum sub magnifici et g(e)n(er)osi d(omi)ni Marci Aurio dignissimi Capitanei Navium Armatar(um)'*. *Ling. Ben. Orig.* Correr, Ms. Cic. 2791, φ. 97r (βλ. Crevato-Selvaggi *et alii* (2013), 82). *Ed.* Ανέκδοτο.

1500, 14–13 και 24 Ιουνίου

2. Επιστολές του *vice capitano delle Navi Marco Orio*, με τις οποίες ενημέρωνε τις βενετικές αρχές για τις εξελίξεις του β' βενετοοθωμανικού πολέμου (1499–1503) και στις οποίες αναφέρεται και στην Ιθάκη (*Conpar, Compare, porto de Vatti*). *Fons.* Επιστολές του Marco Orio από το κατάστιχο αλληλογραφίας του: *'Registrum Literarum sub magnifici et g(e)n(er)osi d(omi)ni Marci Aurio dignissimi Capitanei Navium Armatar(um)'*. *Ling. Ben. Orig.* Correr, Ms. Cic. 2791, φφ. 58v, 74r, 102r–102v. (βλ. Crevato-Selvaggi *et alii* (2013), 82). *Ed.* Ανέκδοτο.

1500, 18 & 22 Ιουλίου

3. Μια σειρά αναφορών προς τις βενετικές αρχές από τον αρχηγό του βενετικού στόλου *Jacomo Venier*, ο οποίος ήταν αγκυροβολημένος στο λιμάνι *Val di Compare*. *Fons.* Καταγραφές των αναφορών του αρχηγού του βενετικού στόλου *Jacomo Venier*, σχετικά με τις εξελίξεις των επιχειρήσεων του β' βενετοοθωμανικού πολέμου, από τον Βενετό ιστορικό *Marino Sanudo* στα *Ημερολόγιά* του: *'I Diarii di Marino Sanuto'*. *Ling. Ben. Ed.* Sanudo, τ. 3, στ. 488, 498 και 500.

1503, 13 Νοεμβρίου

4. Αναφορά του προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Nicolò Marcello προς τις βενετικές αρχές, σχετικά με την αποβίβαση στο νησί *Thiachin* ή *Val di Compare* μιας ομάδας εποίκων, η οποία επικαλούταν πως ο τόπος της ανήκε κληρονομικά δικαίωματι. Επίσης, ο Marcello αναφέρει πως οι έποικοι αυτοί είχαν φέρει μαζί τους 15 με 20 ζευγάρια βόδια και σπόρους, για να καλλιεργήσουν την γη. *Fons.* Καταγραφή της αναφοράς του προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Nicolò Marcello από τον Βενετό ιστορικό Marino Sanudo στα *Ημερολόγιά του: 'I Diarii di Marino Sanuto'*. *Ling. Ben. Ed.* Sanudo, τ. 5, στ. 883. *Lit.* Ζαπάντη (1998), 129–130· Nikias (2022), 60–62.

1504, 18 Μαρτίου

5. Βενετικό διάταγμα στο οποίο, μεταξύ άλλων, εμπεριέχεται και μία παράγραφος για τον εποικισμό της Ιθάκης (*Val de Compare*). Το νησί περιγράφεται ως ακατοίκητο, αλλά γόνιμο και καρποφόρο. Σε όποιον ερχόταν να κατοικήσει στο νησί θα του παραχωρούταν κληρονομητή γη για καλλιέργεια και κατοικία, η οποία για πέντε έτη θα ήταν ατελής. Έπειτα ο ιδιοκτήτης θα όφειλε να καταβάλλει στο ταμείο της Κεφαλονιάς ό,τι κατέβαλλαν και οι Κεφαλονίτες. *Fons.* Διάταγμα της Γερουσίας της Βενετίας. *Ling. Ben. Orig.* ASV, Senato, Mar, Deliberazioni, reg. 16, φφ. 35r/47r. *Corp.* ΓΑΚ-Κεντρική Υπηρεσία, χφ. 229, φφ. 3r–3v· Marc., Cod. It. VII, 1534 (=7839), φ. 34v· ASV, Compilazione delle leggi, prima serie, b. 124, Cefalonia (documenti), φφ. 17v–18r. *Edd.* Σάθας (1883), 157 (βάσει του πρωτοτύπου)· Μηλιαράκης (1890), 190 (βάσει «κεφαλονίτικου» αντιγράφου). *Trans.* Παρτς (1892), 115, υποσ. 4· Μηλιαράκης (1890), 190–191. *Lit.* Μηλιαράκης (1890), 153· Παρτς (1892), 115· Ζαπάντη (1998), 130· Nikias (2022), 59 κ.ε.· Nikias (2023), 400 (όπου και οι αναφορές από τα σωζόμενα γνωστά αντίγραφα της πηγής).

1504, Μάρτιος

6. Αναφορά στην περί εποικισμού της Ιθάκης (*Val de Compari, olim Ytacha*) παράγραφο του βενετικού διατάγματος του 1504. *Fons.*

Καταγραφή της σχετικής με τον εποικισμό της Ιθάκης παραγράφου του βενετικού διατάγματος του 1504 από τον Βενετό ιστορικό Marino Sanudo στα *Ημερολόγιά του*: ‘*I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*’. Ling. Βεν. Ed. Sanudo, τ. 5, στ. 1009.

1513, 9 Μαρτίου

7. Ο Zaccaria Pagani περιγράφει το ταξίδι της διπλωματικής αποστολής της Βενετίας προς τον μεγάλο σουλτάνο του Καΐρου, με επικεφαλής τον Domenico Trevisan (1446–1535). Σημειώνει πως το απόγευμα της 9ης Μαρτίου πέρασαν από το κανάλι *di Compare* και στα αριστερά τους βρισκόταν το νησάκι Ιθάκη (*Itaca isoletta*), το οποίο στην αρχαιότητα ήταν η πατρίδα του Οδυσσέα (*paese di Ulisse*). Fons. Περιγραφή του ταξιδιού της βενετικής διπλωματικής αποστολής, με επικεφαλής τον Domenico Trevisan, από τον Zaccaria Pagani: ‘*Viaggio di Domenico Trevisan ambasciatore veneto al Gran Sultano del Cairo nell’anno 1512 descritto da Zaccaria Pagani di Belluno*’. Ling. Ιταλ. Ed. Barozzi (1875), 6. Lit. Brown (2020), 157.

1515, 19 Απριλίου

8. Ο Νικόλαος Παπαδόπουλος και ο Γεώργιος Γιαννινιώτης, αμφότεροι κάτοικοι Ιθάκης, πωλούν 1.750 λίτρες τυρί στην Κέρκυρα. Fons. Πράξη του νοταρίου Κέρκυρας Πέτρου Αγαπητού. Ling. Ελλ. Orig. ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Κέρκυρας, Διάφοροι Συμβολαιογράφοι, Φ. 4, υποφάκ. 7, φ. 142r. Ed. Βλάχου *et alii* (2015), πρ. 582, σ. 382.

1521, 21 Μαρτίου

9. Αναφορά του προνοητή της Ζακύνθου Alvise Pizamano προς τις βενετικές αρχές, σχετικά με τις καταστροφές που υπέστησαν οι κάτοικοι της Ιθάκης (*Chachy*) και του Καλάμου (*Calamo*) από τις πειρατικές επιθέσεις που δέχτηκαν από τρεις τουρκικές φούστες. Ο Pizamano αναφέρει, επίσης, πως οι περισσότεροι κάτοικοι των νησιών κατέφυγαν στην Κεφαλονιά. Fons. Καταγραφή της αναφοράς του προνοητή της Ζακύνθου Alvise Pizamano από τον Βενετό ιστορικό Marino Sanudo στα

Ημερολόγιό του: *‘I Diarii di Marino Sanuto’*. *Ling. Ven. Ed.* Sanudo, τ. 30, στ. 35. *Lit.* Κραντονέλλη (1985), 426 και 440· Ζαπάντη (1998), 130–131.

1524, 22 Σεπτεμβρίου

10. Επιστολή του προνοητή της Αρμάδας Zuan Vituri στην οποία αναφέρεται πως ταξιδεύοντας προς την Κέρκυρα έφτασε στις 22 Σεπτεμβρίου στο *valle de Compare*, τόπο της Κεφαλονιάς, όπου και στάθμευσε για δύο ημέρες. *Fons.* Καταγραφή μιας σειράς επιστολών του προνοητή της Αρμάδας Zuan Vituri από τον Βενετό ιστορικό Marino Sanudo στα *Ημερολόγιό του: ‘I Diarii di Marino Sanuto’*. *Ling. Ven. Ed.* Sanudo, τ. 36, στ. 588.

1524

11. Ο Βενετός ιστορικός Marco Guazzo (1480–1556) κάνει μια σύντομη αναφορά στην Ιθάκη, για την οποία σημειώνει πως στα χρόνια του ονομαζόταν *Teachi* και στην αρχαιότητα *Itaca*. *Fons.* Χρονικό του Marco Guazzo: *‘Historie di tute le cose degne di memoria quai del anno M.D.XX.III. sino a questo presente...’*. *Ling.* Ιταλ. *Ed.* Guazzo (1546), 266v.

1528

12. Ο Βενετός χαρτογράφος Benedetto Bordone (ca. 1450–1530) περιγράφει την Ιθάκη (*Ithacha...al presente Compare*), τον αρχαίο θρόνο του Οδυσσέα (*Ulisse sedia*). Αναφέρει πως ήταν ορεινή και μικρής σημασίας και πως στο μέσον της υπήρχε μια μικρή κοιλάδα με λίγα σπίτια. Επίσης, σημειώνει πως ήταν πολύ επικίνδυνη για τους ναυτικούς. *Fons.* Ιζολάριο του Benedetto Bordone: *‘Isolario di Benedetto Bordone nel qual si ragiona di tutte l’isole del mondo...’*. *Ling.* Ιταλ. *Ed.* Bordone (1528), 35r. *Crit.* Ο Bordone φαίνεται πως αντιγράφει την περιγραφή του Buondelmonti (1422), βλ. *RIH*, I, πηγή 39.

1532, 21 Ιουνίου

13. Αναφορά προς τις βενετικές αρχές από τον προνοητή της Αρμάδας **Francesco Pasqualigo**, ο οποίος ήταν αγκυροβολημένος στο το λιμάνι *val de Compane*. *Fons*. Καταγραφή της αναφοράς του γενικού προνοητή της Αρμάδας Francesco Pasqualigo από τον Βενετό ιστορικό Marino Sanudo στα *Ημερολόγιά του: 'I Diarii di Marino Sanuto'*. *Ling. Ben. Ed.* Sanudo, τ. 56, στ. 520 και 549. *Lit.* Ζαπάντη (1998), 131. *Crit.* Το 'Compane' είναι προφανώς λάθος, μάλλον τυπογραφικό, για το 'Compare'.

1532, Αύγουστος

14. Αναφορά του προνοητή της Ζακύνθου **Matio Barbarigo** προς τις βενετικές αρχές, στην οποία μεταξύ άλλων αναφέρεται ότι μετά την αναχώρηση της Αρμάδας από την Ιθάκη (*Xiachi*), 6 τουρκικές φούστες επέδραμαν στο νησί και σκλάβωσαν 3 κατοίκους, τους οποίους έδεσαν ως κωπηλάτες σε γαλέρες τους. *Fons*. Καταγραφή της αναφοράς του προνοητή της Ζακύνθου Matio Barbarigo από τον Βενετό ιστορικό Marino Sanudo στα *Ημερολόγιά του: 'I Diarii di Marino Sanuto'*. *Ling. Ben. Ed.* Sanudo, τ. 56, στ. 941–942. *Lit.* Κραντονέλλη (1985), 121, 201 και 428. Ζαπάντη (1998), 131.

1536, 7 Οκτωβρίου

15. Βενετικό διάταγμα το οποίο παραχωρεί ισοβίως το *καπιτανάτο της Ιθάκης (Scoglio, over Isoleta dell'Thiachi della Ceffalonia)* στον *σοπράκόμιτο Costa Puiese*, ύστερα από δική του αίτηση. *Fons*. Διάταγμα της Γερουσίας της Βενετίας. *Ling. Ben. Orig.* ASV, Senato, Mar, Deliberazioni, reg. 23, φφ. 183/163v–184/164r. *Cop.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Ιθάκης, Αρχείο Βενετικής Διοίκησης, Σπαράγματα, Φ. 38, φφ. 1010/1029v και 1022/1041r. *Ed.* Ανέκδοτο. *Cit.* Σάθας (1867), ρλα', υποσ. 2. *Lit.* Nikias (2023), 400–401.¹²

¹² Οι σημειώσεις του Νικία γράφηκαν βάσει μόνον της παραπομπής του Σάθας και πριν το εύρημα του εγγράφου.

16. Ο Βενετός καθηγητής και αξιωματούχος **Giovanni Bembo** (1473–1545) περιγράφει στην αυτοβιογραφία του το ταξίδι του από την Κέρκυρα προς την Ναύπακτο και κάνει μια σύντομη αναφορά στην Ιθάκη (*Ithacam autem a nostris Val de Compare*). *Fons*. Αυτοβιογραφία του Giovanni Bembo: ‘*Inscriptiones antiquae ex variis locis sumptae a Joanne Bembo Veneto ... MDXXXVI*’. *Ling. Lat. Ms.* Munich, cod. Pal. M. 801 (=Lat. 10801). *Ed.* Mommsen (1861), 585.

1548, 3 Μαρτίου

17. Έκθεση του προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς **Alvise Calbo**, στην οποία σημειώνεται πως η Ιθάκη (*Tiachhi*) παρήγε 82 stara σιτηρά, για τα οποία πλήρωνε την δεκάτη, αξίας 26 δουκάτων και 28 άσπρων. *Fons*. Απολογιστική έκθεση του προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Alvise Calbo προς το Collegio. *Ling. Ven. Orig.* ASV, Collegio (Secreta), Relazioni di Ambasciatori, Rettori e altre cariche, b. 61, reg. 2, φφ. 62v–65v. *Edd.* Σάθας (1884), 280–284· Τσικνάκης (2008), 18.

1548, 7 Οκτωβρίου

18. Έκθεση του προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς **Antonio Calbo**, στην οποία περιγράφεται και η Ιθάκη (*Thiachhi*). Πιο συγκεκριμένα αναφέρεται πως ήταν πολύ ορεινή και άγονη, πως το μεγαλύτερο λιμάνι της ήταν το *Vathi, olim Val de Compare*, και πως υπήρχαν σε αυτήν τρία χωριά τα οποία κατοικούνταν από 60 οικογένειες, τις οποίες διακατείχε ο φόβος των πειρατών. *Fons*. Απολογιστική έκθεση του προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Antonio Calbo προς το Collegio. *Ling. Ven. Orig.* ASV, Collegio (Secreta), Relazioni di Ambasciatori, Rettori e altre cariche, b. 61, reg. 2, φφ. 74v–75r. *Edd.* Σάθας (1884), 284–285· Τσικνάκης (2008), 22.

1556, 28 Αυγούστου, 24 Νοεμβρίου και 7 Δεκεμβρίου

19. Αναφορές σε στρατηγικές τοποθεσίες του Ιονίου και του Αιγαίου πελάγους, συμπεριλαμβανομένης και της Ιθάκης (*Zeffalonia piccola*,

Thiacchi), από τον Christoforo da Canal *provveditor dell'Armata.* *Fons.* Επιστολές του *provveditor dell'Armata* Christoforo da Canal. *Ling.* Βεν. *Orig.* ASV, Senato, Dispacci, Provveditori da terra e da mar e altre cariche, b. 819, no. 1194, cc.nn. (ημερομηνίες 20–8–1556, 24–11–1556, 7–12–1556). *Ed.* Ανέκδοτο.

1558

20. Ανανέωση των προνομίων της ιθακησιακής οικογένειας Γαλάτη από τον αντιπρονοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Zuane Dolfin. *Fons.* Έγγραφο του αντιπρονοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Zuane Dolfin με το οποίο αναγνωρίζονται τα προνόμια της οικογένειας Γαλάτη από την περίοδο των κομήτων Τόκκων. *Ling.* Άγνωστο. *Cit.* Χιώτης (1858), 228, υποσ. 62· Hopf (1867), 160. *Lit.* Nikias (2022), 62–63. *Crit.* Παλαιότερα σχετικά έγγραφα της οικογένειας Γαλάτη αναφέρονται στα *RIH*, I, 63 και υποσ. 18.

1560, 29 Μαΐου

21. Οι κληρονόμοι του Σιπιώνη Ανδρουτζάτου και της γυναίκας του Μαρίας, Θόδω Ανδρουτζάταινα (κόρη τους) και Θεοχάρης Αρκαδιώτης (γαμπρός τους), κάτοικοι Κέρκυρας, κάνουν γενικό πληρεξούσιό τους τον Νικόλαο Πουλιέζο του ποτέ Κωνσταντίνου, κάτοικο Κεφαλονιάς, ούτως ώστε να διευθετήσει τα σχετικά με την κληρονομιά τους στο μέρος τους Στραβονίκους της Ιθάκης. Επίσης, του δίνεται και η εξουσία να λάβει τα 2 τσεκίγια, τα οποία χρωστά ο Θεόδωρος Προσαλέντης στον ειρημένο Θεοχάρη. *Fons.* Πράξη γενικού πληρεξουσίου του νοταρίου Κέρκυρας Αντωνίου Σπύρη. *Ling.* Ελλ. *Orig.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Κέρκυρας, Διάφοροι Συμβολαιογράφοι, Φ. 6, υποφακ. 7, φ. 164r. *Ed.* Βέρρα *et alii* (2007), πρ. 26, 24–25. *Crit.* Οι αναφερόμενοι Πουλιέζοι είναι δυνατόν να ταυτιστούν με τους πρώτους γνωστούς διοικητές της Ιθάκης, βλ. Nikias (2023), 400–401. Σχετικά με το τοπωνύμιο Στραβονίκου βλ. Λιβιτσάνης (2023)· Livitsanis (2024).

1563, Μάρτιος

22. Αίτημα της πρεσβείας της Κοινότητας της Κεφαλονιάς, προς την Βενετία, να εκλέγει στο εξής τον διοικητή (*capitano*) της Ιθάκης (*Tiacchi*) από τα μέλη του Συμβουλίου της. Στην αίτηση αναφέρεται πως η Ιθάκη ήταν καλά κατοικημένη και πως πολλοί Κεφαλονίτες έσπευδαν να κατοικήσουν σε αυτήν. Επίσης, σημειώνεται πως δεν χρειαζόταν η ίδια η Βενετία να δαπανεί κάποια ποσά για τον μισθό του διοικητή, καθώς αυτός θα περιοριζόταν στις συνήθεις προσόδους. Η Βενετία απεδέχθη το αίτημα, με μόνη προϋπόθεση ο διοικητής να αναγνωρίζει πάντοτε ως ανώτερό του τον εκάστοτε προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς. *Fons*. Πρεσβεία της Κοινότητας της Κεφαλονιάς στην Βενετία, δια μέσω των Alvise Fasuel και Christoforo Crassan. *Ling. Ben. Mss.* ASV, Senato, Mar, Deliberazioni, reg. 36, φ. 35/56v (Η απάντηση των βενετικών αρχών)· σχετική *lettera ducale* στο ΓΑΚ-Κεντρική Υπηρεσία, χφ. 20, φ. 3v-4r. *Ed.* Σάθας (1883), 202 (από την καταγραφή της Γερουσίας). *Lit.* Ζαπάντη (1998), 131–132. Nikias (2023), 400.

1565, 10 Ιουλίου

23. Διαθήκη της Μήλως Ζουλίναινας του Φιλιππή από την Ανωγή της Ιθάκης. Η διαθήκη όρισε ως γενικό κληρονόμο της τον αδελφό της Γιώργη Βολώξα, ενώ κληρόδοτησε και στον ναό της Υπεραγίας Θεοτόκου στην Ανωγή ένα χωράφι μισού βατζελιού στις *Αγγραπιδιές*. Μάρτυρες ήταν ο Αναγνώστης Καγκελάρης και ο Καλογιάννης Κρεκόπουλος. *Fons*. Διαθήκη συνταγμένη από τον Μιχάλη Κρεκόπουλο και αντιγραμμένη από τον νοτάριο Ερίσσου Φράγκο Καγκελάρη. *Ling.* Ελλ. *Cop.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Κεφαλληνίας, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, αρθ. 3 (νοτ. Φράγκος Καγκελάρης), φ. 7v. *Ed.* Βλάχος (2021), 104. *Lit.* Ζαπάντη (1998), 133. *Crit.* Η έκδοση του Βλάχου έχει πολλά λάθη και παραλείψεις.

1565

24. Πώληση χωραφιών στο χωριό του Στραβονίκου στην Ιθάκη, από τον Στεφανή Βαλουμά στον Αναγνώστη Καγκελάρη. Γέροντες για την εκτίμηση ορίστηκαν ο Μάρκος Αμάραντος, ο Γεώργιος Μήτζουρας και ο

Στάθης Μπράτος και μάρτυρες ήταν ο Μάρκος Αμάραντος, ο Γεώργιος Κόκκινος, ο μισέρ Αντώνης Τζινιμπού και ο Αντρίας Λεκατζάς. *Fons.* Νοταριακή πράξη συνταγμένη από τον Στεφανή Βαλουμά και αντιγραμμένη από τον νοτάριο Ερίσσου Φράγκο Καγκελάρη. *Ling.* Ελλ. *Cop.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Κεφαλληνίας, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, αρθ. 3 (νοτ. Φράγκος Καγκελάρης), φ. 6ν. *Ed.* Ζαπάντη (1999), ελλ. έγγρ. 15, σσ. 382–383. *Lit.* Ζαπάντη (1998), 132–133. Λιβιτσάνης (2023), 34· Livitsanis (2024), 50.

1566, 15 Φεβρουαρίου

25. Κοινοποίηση, από τον αντιπρονοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Vincenzo Venier, της προκήρυξης (*proclama*) των βενετικών αρχών για τον εντοπισμό στην Κεφαλονιά, την Ιθάκη (*Thiachi*) και την Ζάκυνθο, όσων συμμετείχαν σε ληστεία στα Ακαρνανικά παράλια. *Fons.* Αναφορά του αντιπρονοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Vincenzo Venier. *Ling.* Βεν. *Orig.* ASV, Senato, Dispacci, Provveditori da terra e da mar e altre cariche, b. 587, φφ. 29ν–30ν. *Ed.* Ανέκδοτο.

1567

26. Ο Ιταλός φιλόλογος Orazio Toscanella (1510–1580) αναφέρει στο λεξικό του και την Ιθάκη, με αρχαίο όνομα *Itaca isola* και σύγχρονο *Val Compare*. *Fons.* Λεξικό του Orazio Toscanella: ‘*I nomi antichi, e moderni delle provincie, regioni, città, castella, monti...*’. *Ling.* Ιταλ. *Ed.* Toscanella (1567), κφ. Grecia, λ. *Itaca isola*.

1569, 11 Ιουλίου

27. Έκθεση του προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Nicolò da Mulla, στην οποία αναφέρεται πως στα δύο νησιά, Κεφαλονιά και Ιθάκη (*Tiachi*), κατοικούσαν 24.392 άνθρωποι. *Fons.* Απολογιστική έκθεση του προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Nicolò da Mulla προς το Collegio. *Ling.* Βεν. *Orig.* ASV, Collegio (Secreta), Relazioni di Ambasciatori, Rettori e altre cariche, b. 83, φφ. 1r–4v. *Edd.* Ζαπάντη, (1998), ιταλ. έγγρ. 17, σ. 366· Τσιγκνάκης (2008), 47.

Δεκαετία 1560

28. Η Κοινότητα της Κεφαλονιάς οικοδόμησε ένα κτήριο στο *Βαθύ* για κατοικία του διοικητή. *Fons.* Άγνωστο. *Ling.* Άγνωστο. *Orig.* Άγνωστο. *Cit.* Λοβέρδος-Κωστής (1888), 124.

1572

29. Ο Ιταλός χαρτογράφος Tomaso Porcacchi (1530–1576) περιγράφει το νησί *Theachi*, πατρίδα του Οδυσσέα (*patria d'Ulisse*), το οποίο στην αρχαιότητα ονομαζόταν *Ithaca*, ενώ άλλοι το ονομάζουν *Dulichio* και *isola del Compare*. Αναφέρει πως το νησί ήταν ορεινό και κατοικούταν κυρίως από φυγάδες από την Κεφαλονιά, την Ζάκυνθο και την Κέρκυρα. *Fons.* Ιζολάριό του Tomaso Porcacchi: *L'isole più famose del mondo descritte da Tomaso Porcacchi da Castiglione (1572)*. *Ling.* Ιταλ. *Ms.* βλ. Gerstenberg (2004), 5–10. *Ed.* Porcacchi (1576), 96. *Lit.* Gerstenberg (2004), 222–223. Λιβιτσάνης (2023), 35–36. Livitsanis (2024), 52–3.

1573

30. Ο Γάλλος διπλωμάτης Philippe Canaye (1551–1610), περιγράφει το ταξίδι του από την Βενετία στην Κωνσταντινούπολη. Αναφέρει πως δίπλα από την Κεφαλονιά βρισκόταν η *Αντικεφαλονιά* (*Anticéphalonie*) και πως προς την ηπειρωτική χώρα βρισκόταν ένα νησί το οποίο ονομαζόταν από τους σύγχρονους Έλληνες *Atoco* και από τους Ιταλούς *Val compare*. Αυτό το νησί αναφέρει πως είναι σίγουρα η *Ιθάκη* (*Ithaque*), πατρίδα του Οδυσσέα (*patrie d'Ulysse*). Ο Canaye απόρησε πως είναι δυνατόν αυτός ο άνθρωπος (Οδυσσέας) που έχει υμνηθεί από ένα τόσο διάσημο ποίημα (Οδύσσεια) να έχει γεννηθεί σε έναν τόσο φρικτό και άγονο τόπο. *Fons.* Ταξιδιωτικά απομνημονεύματα του Philippe Canaye: *Le Voyage du Levant*. *Ling.* Γαλλ. *Ed.* Hauser (1897), 187. *Crit.* Αυτή η πηγή έχει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον, καθώς ο Canaye θεωρούσε δύο διαφορετικά νησιά την *Anticéphalonie* και το *Val compare*, ενώ ταυτίζει το δεύτερο με την Άτοκο και με την αρχαία Ιθάκη. Αποτελεί μοναδικό παράδειγμα και είναι προφανές πως ο συγγραφέας βρισκόταν σε σύγχυση.

1574, 25 Ιανουαρίου

31. Ο Pasqualin Puiese του ποτέ Nicolò ζητεί το αξίωμα του διοικητή-καπιτάνου (*capitaneato*) της Ιθάκης (*Thiachi*), το οποίο είχε παραχωρηθεί στον πατέρα του για 10 χρόνια. *Fons.* Αίτημα του Pasqualin Puiese του ποτέ Nicolò προς τις βενετικές αρχές. *Ling. Ben. Orig.* ASV, Collegio, Suppliche di fuori, b. 327 (21 Gennaio 1573 m.v.). *Ed.* Ανέκδοτο. *Cit.* Πλουμίδης (1985), αρθ. 127, σ. 38· Nikias (2023), 401. *Lit.* Nikias (2023), 401.

1574, 15 Σεπτεμβρίου

32. Έκθεση του προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Vincenzo da Molin, όπου περιγράφεται και η Ιθάκη (*Theachi*). Ο Molin αναφέρει πως ήταν στο μεγαλύτερο μέρος της ορεινή, πως ήταν γεμάτη από βοσκοτόπια και πως παρήγε παρόμοια είδη με την Κεφαλονιά. Πιο συγκεκριμένα παρήγε σε μικρές ποσότητες λάδι και κρασί, ενώ είχε πολλά βελανίδια. Το νησί διοικούταν από έναν Κεφαλονίτη *cittadino*, εκλεγμένο από το Συμβούλιο της Κοινότητας της Κεφαλονιάς, ο οποίος είχε την δυνατότητα να εκδικάζει αστικές υποθέσεις αξίας έως 10 λίρες. Τέλος, αναφέρει πως η Βενετία εισέπραττε από την Ιθάκη την δεκάτη. *Fons.* Απολογιστική έκθεση του προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Vincenzo da Molin προς το Collegio. *Ling. Ben. Orig.* ASV, Collegio (Secreta), Relazioni di Ambasciatori, Rettori e altre cariche, b. 62, reg. 2, φφ. 1r–6r. *Edd.* Παναγιωτοπούλου (1992–1994), 390–398· Τσικνάκης (2008), 60. *Trans.* Παναγιωτοπούλου (1992–1994), 398–407.

1575, 7 Σεπτεμβρίου

33. Προικοσύμφωνο της Μαργέτας, κόρης του Γιώργη Χαλικιά και της Ρηγήνας, η οποία έπαιρνε ως σύζυγό της τον Δημήτρη Παϊζή. Μάρτυρες ήταν ο Μιχέλης Ρουμανός και ο παπα-Μιχέλης Δρακόπουλος. *Fons.* Προικοσύμφωνο συνταγμένο από τον παπα-Μιχέλη Δρακόπουλο και αντιγραμμένο από τον νοτάριο Νικολό Παϊζή. *Ling.* Ελλ. *Cor.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Ιθάκης, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, Φ. 1 (νοτ. Νικολός Παϊζής), 2ος κώδ., φφ. 5r–5v (5 Μαρτίου 1605). *Ed.* Υπό έκδοση από τον Κυριάκο Νικία.

1575, 16 Οκτωβρίου

34. Παραχώρηση του ναού της Παναγίας της Μεσοσπορίτισσας στο χωριό του Στραβονίκο της Ιθάκης, από τον Στάθη Μπράτο στους Αλίσανδρο Λεκατζά, Αντώνη Λεκατζά, Αντώνη Μίτζουρα, Κωνσταντή Λεκατζά, Σταμάτη Μήλα και παπα-Σπύρο Δευτεραίο, με σκοπό την σύσταση θρησκευτικής αδελφότητας. Μάρτυρες ήταν ο Φράγκος Ορφανός, ο Φραγκιάς Κυπριώτης-Λογαράς, ο Καλογιάννης Αμάραντος και ο μαστρ-Ανδρέας Πελεκούδης. *Fons*. Νοταριακή πράξη συνταγμένη από τον μαστρ-Ανδρέα Πελεκούδη και αντιγραμμένη από τον νοτάριο Κάστρου Κεφαλονιάς Νικολό Καπιάνο. *Ling.* Ελλ. *Orig.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Κεφαλληνίας, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, αρ. 6 (νοτ. Νικόλαος Καπιάνος), φ. 14r. *Corp.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Κεφαλληνίας, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, αρθ. 6 (νοτ. Νικόλαος Καπιάνος), φ. 13v. *Ed.* Βαγιωνάκης *et alii* (2001), πρ. 42 και 43, σσ. 102–104. *Lit.* Λιβιτσάνης (2023), 32.

1575, 3 Δεκεμβρίου

35. Συνυποσχετικό διαιτησίας μεταξύ του Γκίνη Τρούπου και της Αντωνίας, χήρας του Αντώνη Μαρούλη, οι οποίοι διόρισαν αιρετούς κριτές τους Λινάρδο Καραβία και Νικηφόρο Ταμπίζιο. Μάρτυρες ήταν ο Μιχάλης Παπαδόπουλος και ο Αλήσανδρος Κυπριώτης. *Fons*. Πράξη του νοταρίου Κάστρου Κεφαλονιάς Νικολού Καπιάνου. *Ling.* Ελλ. *Orig.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Κεφαλληνίας, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, αρθ. 6 (νοτ. Νικόλαος Καπιάνος), φ. 11r. *Ed.* Βαγιωνάκης *et alii* (2001), πρ. 31, σ. 90. *Crit.* Δεν αναφέρεται πουθενά στην πράξη ότι πρόκειται για Ιθακησίους, όμως, τα επίθετα μπορούν να μας οδηγήσουν σε αυτό το συμπέρασμα με σχετική βεβαιότητα.

1579

36. Ο Γάλλος περιηγητής Jean Carlier de Pinon πέρασε από την Ιθάκη (*Cephalonie la petite*) και σημείωσε για αυτήν πως βρισκόταν υπό την κυριαρχία των Βενετών και πως κατοικούταν μόνον από λίγους πειρατές. *Fons*. Ταξιδιωτικά απομνημονεύματα του Jean Carlier de Pinon: ‘*Voyage en Orient*’. *Ling.* Γαλλ. *Ed.* Blochet (1920), 47–48.

1581, 4 Απριλίου

37. Η Κοινότητα (*Università*) της πόλης και της νήσου Κεφαλονιάς υπέβαλε μια σειρά αιτημάτων στις βενετικές αρχές. Μεταξύ αυτών αιτούταν να γίνονται οι δίκες στην Ιθάκη με νομιμότητα και οι γραμματείς να μην λαμβάνουν τα διπλάσια από ό,τι στην Κεφαλονιά. *Fons.* Αίτημα της Κοινότητας της Κεφαλονιάς προς τις βενετικές αρχές. *Ling.* Βεν. *Orig.* ASV, Collegio, Suppliche di dentro, b. 4, pezzo 7, φ. 6r–6v. *Ed.* Ανέκδοτο. *Cit.* Πλουμίδης (2016), αρθ. 79, σ. 197.

1581, 19 Δεκεμβρίου

38. Συμβιβασμός μεταξύ του Δράκου Ποταμιάνου (πληρεξουσίου του Ανδρέα Ρουμανού) και του Γκίνη Τρούπου, από την Ιθάκη, με την κληρονομιά του, για διορισμό γερόντων για την εκτίμηση ενός βοδιού. Διορίστηκαν ο Φίλιππος Λαταβινός και ο Στάθης Χαλκιάς. Μάρτυρες ήταν ο Γιάκουμος Αμάραντος και ο Θεωδωρής Μαρούλης. *Fons.* Νοταριακή πράξη συνταγμένη από τον παπα-Γιώργη Γιαννιώτη και αντιγραμμένη από τον νοτάριο Κάστρου Κεφαλονιάς Γιάκουμο Σουριάνο. *Ling.* Ελλ. *Orig.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Κεφαλληνίας, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, αρθ. 8 (νοτ. Γιάκουμος Σουριάνος), φ. 23v (19 Δεκεμβρίου 1581). *Ed.* Ζαπάντη (2001), πρ. 85, σ. 65.

1581, 31 Δεκεμβρίου

39. Ο Πασχάλης και ο Μιχάλης Τρούπος από την Ιθάκη έκαναν γενικό πληρεξουσίο τους τον Θεωδωρή Παπαδόπουλο, μάλλον από την Κεφαλονιά. *Fons.* Πράξη του νοταρίου Κάστρου Κεφαλονιάς Γιάκουμου Σουριάνου. *Ling.* Ελλ. *Orig.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Κεφαλληνίας, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, αρθ. 8 (νοτ. Γιάκουμος Σουριάνος), φ. 27r. *Ed.* Ζαπάντη (2001), πρ. 100, σ. 73.

1581

40. Ο Γάλλος περιηγητής Jean Palerne (1557–1592) πέρασε έξω από την Ιθάκη (*Compare*, πρώην *Ithaque*), πατρίδα του Οδυσσέα (*pays d'Ulisses*). *Fons.* Ταξιδιωτικά απομνημονεύματα του Jean Palerne:

‘*Pérégrinations du Sieur Jean Palerne Foresien*’. *Ling. Gall. Ed. Palerne* (1606), 17. *Lit. Brown* (2020), 158–159.

1582, 12 Μαρτίου

41. Ο Θεοφύλακτος Παπαγιαννόπουλος από την Ζάκυνθο κάνει γενικό πληρεξούσιό του τον Ανδρέα Ραύτη από την Κεφαλονιά, ούτως ώστε να επιλύσει μια διαφορά που είχε με κάποιους ανθρώπους από την Ιθάκη, σχετικά με μια βάρκα. *Fons.* Πράξη του νοταρίου Κάστρου Κεφαλονιάς Γιάκουμου Σουριάνου. *Ling. Ell. Orig.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Κεφαλληνίας, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, αρθ. 8 (νοτ. Γιάκουμος Σουριάνος), φ. 50v. *Ed. Ζαπάντη* (2001), πρ. 232, σσ. 137–138.

1582, 23 Μαρτίου

42. Ο Λουράντος Φερεντίνος από την Ιθάκη κάνει γενικό πληρεξούσιό του τον ευγενή Φερδερίγο Αλφιέρη από την Κεφαλονιά. *Fons.* Πράξη του νοταρίου Κάστρου Κεφαλονιάς Γιάκουμου Σουριάνου. *Ling. Ell. Orig.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Κεφαλληνίας, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, αρθ. 8 (νοτ. Γιάκουμος Σουριάνος), φ. 55r. *Ed. Ζαπάντη* (2001), πρ. 253, σ. 149.

1582, 5 Μαΐου

43. Διακανονισμός μεταξύ του Ανδρέα Ρουμανού, *αμιράλη* (διοικητή του λιμανιού) του Αργοστολίου, και του Βασίλη Τρούπου από την Ιθάκη, σχετικά με την αποπληρωμή χρεών για κάποια χωράφια στην Ιθάκη που είχε πωλήσει ο πρώτος στον δεύτερο. Μάρτυρες ήταν ο Κωνσταντής Αρέθας και ο Γιώργης Μαρκέτος. *Fons.* Νοταριακή πράξη συνταγμένη από τον παπα-Θεόδωρο Πινιατόρο και αντιγραμμένη από τον νοτάριο Κάστρου Κεφαλονιάς Γιάκουμο Σουριάνο. *Ling. Ell. Orig.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Κεφαλληνίας, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, αρθ. 8 (νοτ. Γιάκουμος Σουριάνος), φ. 23v (19 Δεκεμβρίου 1582). *Ed. Ζαπάντη* (2001), πρ. 87, σσ. 65–66.

1582, 12 Ιουνίου

44. Συμφωνητικό στο οποίο ο ένας από τους συμβαλλόμενους ήταν ο Φραγκίσκος Ριτζαρδόπουλος, ο οποίος εκείνον τον χρόνο ήταν κοντοτόρος του ντάτζου του Θιακιού, δηλαδή ενοικιαστής του φόρου (δέκατης) της Ιθάκης. *Fons*. Πράξη του νοταρίου Κάστρου Κεφαλονιάς Γιάκουμου Σουριάνου. *Ling.* Ελλ. *Orig.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Κεφαλληνίας, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, αρθ. 8 (νοτ. Γιάκουμος Σουριάνος), φ. 77v. *Ed.* Ζαπάντη (2001), πρ. 368, σ. 207.

1582

45. Προικοσύμφωνο της Ευγένως, κόρης του Νικολού Βαρνακιώτη και της Φράγκως. *Fons*. Προικοσύμφωνο συνταγμένο από τον παπα-Βρετό Δευτεραίο και αντιγραμμένο από τον νοτάριο Νικολό Παϊζή. *Ling.* Ελλ. *Cop.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Ιθάκης, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, Φ. 1 (νοτ. Νικολός Παϊζής), 2ος κώδ., φ. 15r (30 Ιανουαρίου 1609). *Ed.* Υπό έκδοση από τον Κυριάκο Νικιά.

1583, 31 Δεκεμβρίου

46. Οι *sindici et inquisitori in Levante* Zuanne Gritti και Giulio Garzoni, επισκέφθηκαν την Ιθάκη (*Teachi*). Οι κάτοικοι των τριών χωριών της (*Vathì, Anòi και Stravanecchi*) τους υπέβαλαν 11 αιτήματα, τα εξής: 1) να τους επιτραπεί να εκλέγουν δύο εντόπιους *consiglieri* (συμβούλους), οι οποίοι θα πλαισιώνουν τον διοικητή και θα εκδικάζουν μαζί του τις διάφορες υποθέσεις (το αίτημα απερρίφθη),¹³ 9) η εισπραξη της μισής δεκάτης να πραγματοποιείται μόνον κατά τον μήνα Αύγουστο (το αίτημα ενεκρίθη), 10) ο εκτιμητής του ενοικιαστή του φόρου να συνοδεύεται και από έναν εκλεγμένο Ιθακήσιο, ούτως ώστε οι εκτιμήσεις να γίνονται δίκαια (το αίτημα ενεκρίθη) και 11) οι Λευκαδίτες έποικοι αιτούνταν να έχουν την υποστήριξη των βενετικών αρχών, ούτως ώστε να διοικούνται σωστά (το αίτημα ενεκρίθη, ενώ ο προνοητής της Κεφαλονιάς προτρεπόταν να έχει ιδιαίτερη φροντίδα για αυτούς τους ανθρώπους). *Fons*. Αιτήματα των Ιθακησίων προς τους *sindici*

¹³ Τα αιτήματα 2-8 δεν μας είναι γνωστά μέχρι στιγμής.

et inquisitori in Levante Z. Gritti και G. Garzoni και οι αποφάνσεις των βενετικών αρχών: ‘*Ordini degli Eccellentis(si)mi Sig(no)ri Zuanne Gritti Giulio Garzoni Sindici, Inquisitori, et Avvogadori in Levante. 1583*’. *Ling. Ben. Ms.* ΓΑΚ-Κεντρική Υπηρεσία, χφ. 229, φφ. 14r–15r (με παραλείψεις). *Ed.* Ανέκδοτο.

1583

47. Οι *sindici et inquisitori in Levante* Zuane Gritti και Giulio Garzone όρισαν πως κάθε έτος ο ένας από τους συμβούλους (*consiglieri*) του *Reggimento* της Κεφαλονιάς έπρεπε να επισκέπτεται την Ιθάκη (*Teachi*), για 15 ημέρες, ούτως ώστε να εκδικάζει τις διάφορες υποθέσεις. Διαταγές των *sindici et inquisitori in Levante* Z. Gritti και G. Garzoni για την Κοινότητα της Κεφαλονιάς: ‘*Ordini degli Eccellentis(si)mi Sig(no)ri Zuanne Gritti Giulio Garzoni Sindici, Inquisitori, et Avvogadori in Levante. 1583*’. *Ling. Ben. Ms.* ΓΑΚ-Κεντρική Υπηρεσία, χφ. 229, φφ. 12r-ASV, Archivi propri dei rettori, provveditori e altri pubblici rappresentanti, b. 2, Ordini di Cefalonia, φ. 15r. *Ed.* Ανέκδοτο.

1583

48. Καταγραφή του πληθυσμού της Ιθάκης (*Thiachi*) στην απογραφή του Πέτρου Καστροφύλακα. Συνολικά το νησί είχε 903 κατοίκους, κατανεμημένους στα τρία χωριά του (*Vathi: 497, Anoi: 184 και Stravonicus: 222*). *Fons.* Απογραφή του Πέτρου Καστροφύλακα. *Ling. Ben. Ed.* Σπανάκης (1989), 119 και 123. *Lit.* Λιβιτσάνης (2023). Livitsanis (2024). *Crit.* Η εξακρίβωση της ύπαρξης της Ιθάκης στην απογραφή του Καστροφύλακα έγινε πρόσφατα από τον Γ. Λιβιτσάνη, βλ. τα παραπάνω άρθρα.

1585, 26 Απριλίου

49. Διαθήκη του Θιακοκερκυραίου Θεοδωρή Προσαλέντη, ο οποίος κατοικούσε στην ενορία της Αγίας Μαρίνας στο χωριό του Στραβονίικου της Ιθάκης. Άφησε γενική κληρονόμο την γυναίκα του, ενώ όρισε πως εάν επέστρεφε ο γιος του ο Φραγκίσκος από την σκλαβιά, να μπορούσε

να λάβει την περιουσία του που βρισκόταν στην Κέρκυρα και το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της περιουσίας που βρισκόταν στην Ιθάκη. Επίσης, κληροδότησε και στον πρωτοπαπά Δημήτριο Κλουδάκη χωράφια σε δύο διαφορετικές τοποθεσίες της Ιθάκης. Μάρτυρες ήταν ο παπα-Γιώργης Βρετός, ο Γιάννος Ραφτόπουλος και ο Αποστόλης Γαλάτης. *Fons*. Διαθήκη συνταγμένη από τον νοτάριο Ερίσσου (;) και πρωτοπαπά Δημήτριο Κλουδάκη. *Ling*. Ελλ. *Orig*. Άγνωστο. *Ed*. Καλλίνικος (1991), 85–87.

Μετά το 1585

50. Ο αρματολός στις περιοχές της Βόνιτσας και του Λούρου Θεόδωρος Μπούας-Γρίβας, εκδιώχθηκε από τους Οθωμανούς, λόγω της συμμετοχής του σε κάποιες εξεγέρσεις, οι οποίες πραγματοποιήθηκαν με την υποστήριξη των Βενετών. Κατέφυγε με την οικογένειά του και λίγους πιστούς οπαδούς στην Ιθάκη, όπου και απεβίωσε. *Fons*. Άγνωστο. *Ling*. Άγνωστο. *Orig*. Άγνωστο. *Cit*. Σάθας (1867), ρκθ' και ρλα'–ρλβ'.

1586

51. Ο Γάλλος περιηγητής Jean Zuallart (1541–1634) ταξιδεύοντας προς τους Αγίους Τόπους πέρασε από την Ιθάκη (*Compare à Itaca/Compare isle dite Ithaca*) πατρίδα του Οδυσσέα (*dove nacque Ulisse/patrie d'Ulises*), για την οποία σημείωσε πως ήταν πολύ ορεινή και άγονη και πως κατοικούταν μόνον από λίγους φτωχούς Έλληνες. Στο βόρειο τμήμα της υπήρχε ένα ψηλό βουνό το οποίο οι αρχαίοι συγγραφείς το ονόμαζαν *Neritos*. Τέλος, αναφέρει πως είχε καλά και ασφαλή λιμάνια, ενώ σημειώνει πως δεν είχαν διασωθεί στο νησί ίχνη κάποιας αρχαίας πόλης. *Fons*. Ταξιδιωτικά απομνημονεύματα του Jean Zuallart: 'Il Devotissimo Viaggio Di Gerusalemme' ή 'Le Très dévot voyage de Jerusalem'. *Ling*. Ιταλ. και Γαλλ. *Edd*. Zuallardo (1587), 80. Zuallart (1608), 119. *Lit*. Brown (2020), 159.

1588

52. Ο Γάλλος περιηγητής Jacque de Villamont (1558–ca. 1628) πέρασε από την Ιθάκη (*Ithaca* ή *Compare*, όπως αποκαλούνταν από τους

ναυτικούς) και σημείωσε πως ήταν πολύ ορεινή και με μικρή σημασία, αλλά ήταν φημισμένη, καθώς ήταν κάποτε το βασίλειο του Οδυσσέα (*Royaume d'Ulysses*). *Fons*. Ταξιδιωτικά απομνημονεύματα του Jacques de Villamont: 'Les Voyages du seigneur de Villamont'. *Ling. Γαλλ. Ed.* Villamont (1611), 169. *Lit.* Brown (2020), 159.

1590, 6 Απριλίου

53. Έκθεση του προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Angelo Basadonna, στην οποία γίνεται μια εκτενής περιγραφή του διάσημου νησιού του Οδυσσέα (*l'isola famosa d'Ulisse*), της Ιθάκης (*Teachi*). Ο Basadonna αναφέρει πως ήταν ορεινή, αλλά αρκετά γόνιμη. Επίσης, πως υπήρχαν μόνον τρία κατοικημένα χωριά, στα οποία κατά προσέγγιση υπήρχαν 1.500 ψυχές, το *Vatì*, όπου υπήρχε ένα ωραίο λιμάνι το οποίο ονομαζόταν *Val de Compare*, η *Anoi* και το *Stravonichio*. Εν συνεχεία σημειώνει πως υπήρχαν και πολλά άλλα μικρά λιμάνια, μεταξύ των οποίων ξεχώριζε αυτό της *Polì*, το οποίο ήταν ασφαλές και ικανό να φιλοξενήσει μεγάλο αριθμό πλοίων. Ενώ παρατηρεί πως το νησί θα μπορούσε να αποκτήσει μεγαλύτερη σημασία εάν ήταν περισσότερο κατοικημένο, όπως ήταν στο παρελθόν, γεγονός που μαρτυρείται από τον μεγάλο αριθμό ερειπωμένων χωριών. Συμπληρώνει πως διοικούταν από έναν εκλεγμένο Κεφαλονίτη, ο οποίος είχε την δυνατότητα να εκδικάζει αστικές υποθέσεις αξίας μέχρι 10 λίρες, ενώ για τις υπόλοιπες αρμόδιο ήταν το *Reggimento* της Κεφαλονιάς. Ακόμη, παραθέτει και δύο διαμαρτυρίες των Ιθακησίων, σχετικά με τον τρόπο απονομής δικαιοσύνης και τον σφετερισμό του δάσους του νησιού από έναν Κεφαλονίτη. Τέλος, ο Basadonna προτείνει η Ιθάκη να αποτελέσει μέρος εγκατάστασης επικηρυγμένων. *Fons*. Απολογιστική έκθεση του προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Angelo Basadonna προς το Collegio. *Ling. Ben. Orig.* ASV, Collegio (Secreta), Relazioni di Ambasciatori, Rettori e altre cariche, b. 83, φφ. 1r–24v. *Ed.* Τσικνάκης (2008), 104, 122–124 και 128.

1593, 25 Απριλίου, 10 και 20 Μαΐου

54. Οι παπα-Σπύρος Δευτεραίος από την Εξωγή (*pappa Spiro Deftereo da Oxoì*), Κυριάκης Πεταλάς από το Βαθύ (*Chiriachi Petalla da*

Vathi) και Αντώνιος Λεκατσάς-Τσεμπέρης από την Εξωγή (*Antonio Lecazzà Cemberi da Ochoi*), επιβεβαιώνουν με ένορκες καταθέσεις τους ότι οι απόγονοι του Κωνσταντίνου Πουλιέζου, διοικητή της Ιθάκης (*Thiachi*), υπέφεραν από αγγαρείες. *Fons.* Ένορκες καταθέσεις στον προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς σχετικά με μια υπόθεση περί της κληρονομιάς και των προνομίων της οικογένειας Πουλιέζου. *Ling.* Βεν. *Orig.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Ιθάκης, Αρχείο Βενετικής Διοίκησης, Σπαράγματα, Φ. 38, φφ. 1009/1028v–1010/1029r. *Ed.* Ανέκδοτο.

1593, 21 Σεπτεμβρίου

55. Πώληση χωραφιών σε διάφορες περιοχές της Ανωγής, από τον Αντωνέλλο Χαλικιόπουλο στον Δήμο Μωραΐτη. Μάρτυρες ήταν ο Νικολός Τραυλός, ο Αλίσαντρος Τραυλός και ο Αντρία Χαλικιάς. *Fons.* Νοταριακή πράξη συνταγμένη από τον παπα-Ιωάννη Σφαγέλο στο Κάστρο της Κεφαλονιάς και αντιγραμμένη από τον νοτάριο Νικολό Παϊζή. *Ling.* Ελλ. *Corp.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Ιθάκης, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, Φ. 1 (νοτ. Νικολός Παϊζής), 2ος κώδ., φ. 2v (10 Μαρτίου 1605). *Ed.* Υπό έκδοση από τον Κυριάκο Νικία.

1593

56. Καταγραφή του Nicolò Travlò *Capitano al Theachi*, στον κατάλογο των μελών του Συμβουλίου της Κοινότητας της Κεφαλονιάς. *Fons.* 1ο βιβλίο Πρακτικών του Συμβουλίου της Κοινότητας της Κεφαλονιάς: *‘Libro 1° Consigli et altro del ex-Governo Veneto. Principia li 19 marzo 1593 e termina li primo luglio 1604’.* *Ling.* Βεν. *Orig.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Κεφαλληνίας, Αρχείο Βενετικής Διοίκησης, Διοίκηση Κεφαλονιάς, Consiglio della Comunità, Φ. 2 (Βιβλίο 1ο, 1593), φ. 2v. *Ed.* Μοσχονάς (1979), 277.

1594, 21 Οκτωβρίου

57. Συμφωνία μεταξύ της Σταμάτου Κάλενας, μαζί με τα εγγόνια της Αντώνη και Αλιβίζη, με τον παπα-Αντρία Παϊζή, για ένα χωράφι στον Άγιο Βάρβαρο, το οποίο παραχωρήθηκε στον δεύτερο για φύτευση. Μάρτυρες ήταν ο Μιχάλης Παπαδόπουλος, ο Καλογιάννης Ραφτόπουλος, ο Σταμάτης Κανδηλιώτης και ο Μπατίστας

Κοντομανόλης. *Fons.* Νοταριακή πράξη συνταγμένη από τον Δήμο Αρακλινό και αντιγραμμένη από τον νοτάριο Νικολό Παϊζή. *Ling. Ell. Cop.* Τμήμα Ιθάκης, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, Φ. 1 (νοτ. Νικολός Παϊζής), 2ος κώδ., φ. 2ν (30 Μαρτίου 1605). *Ed.* Υπό έκδοση από τον Κυριάκο Νικία.

1595, 8 Ιανουαρίου

58. Συμφωνία μεταξύ του Μιχάλη Μαλατρή και των Δήμου Μωραΐτη και Αποστόλη Μαρούδα, για την καλλιέργεια ενός χωραφιού στον Σταυρό, στην περιοχή Ρεντάκι, για επτά χρόνια. Μάρτυρες ήταν ο παπα-Αντριάς Παϊζής, ο Δήμος Αρακλινός και ο Νικολός Προκόπης. *Fons.* Νοταριακή πράξη αγνώστου συντάκτη, αντιγραμμένη από τον νοτάριο Νικολό Παϊζή. *Ling. Ell. Cop.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Ιθάκης, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, Φ. 1 (νοτ. Νικολός Παϊζής), 2ος κώδ., φ. 57ν. *Ed.* Υπό έκδοση από τον Κυριάκο Νικία.

1596, 17 Ιουνίου

59. Έκθεση του προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Bartolomeo Moro, στην οποία αναφέρεται πως οι κάτοικοι της Ιθάκης (*Theacci*) δεινοπαθούσαν από τις τουρκικές επιδρομές και πως, ύστερα από αίτημά τους, τους δόθηκαν όπλα και πολεμικά εφόδια, ώστε να μπορούν να αμύνονται. Όσοι είχαν συλληφθεί, κατά την τελευταία επιδρομή, βρίσκονταν σκλάβοι στην Λευκάδα και επρόκειτο σύντομα να απελευθερωθούν με ειδική εντολή του σουλτάνου. *Fons.* Απολογιστική έκθεση του προνοητή της Κεφαλονιάς Bartolomeo Moro προς το Collegio. *Ling. Ben. Orig.* ASV, Collegio (Secreta), Relazioni di Ambasciatori, Rettori e altre cariche, b. 83, φφ. 1r–6v. *Ed.* Τσικνάκης (2008), 145.

1596, 10 Ιουλίου

60. Προικοσύμφωνο της Πλούμωσ, κόρης του Γιάννη Ποταμιάνου και της Λάμπρωσ, η οποία έπαιρνε ως σύζυγό της τον Αντρία Κατωπόδη. Μάρτυρες ήταν ο Γαλιάτζος Καραβίας, ο Νικολός Καραβίας και ο Αναγνώστης Ραφτόπουλος. *Fons.* Προικοσύμφωνο συνταγμένο από τον Αναγνώστη Ραφτόπουλο και αντιγραμμένο από τον νοτάριο Νικολό Παϊζή.

Ling. Ell. Cop. ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Ιθάκης, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, Φ. 1 (νοτ. Νικολός Παϊζής), 2ος κώδ., φ. 13v (6 Ιανουαρίου 1603). *Ed.* Υπό έκδοση από τον Κυριάκο Νικία.

1597, 8 Μαΐου

61. Προικοσύμφωνο της Μάρως, κόρης της Πέτρου Φερεντινής χήρας του Μανόλη Αλευρά. *Fons.* Προικοσύμφωνο συνταγμένο από τον Γιακουμή Πουλιέζο και αντιγραμμένο από τον νοτάριο Νικολό Παϊζή. *Ling. Ell. Cop.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Ιθάκης, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, Φ.1 (νοτ. Νικολός Παϊζής), 2ος κώδ., φ. 33v. *Ed.* Υπό έκδοση από τον Κυριάκο Νικία.

1597, 20 Νοεμβρίου

62. Πώληση χωραφιού στην περιοχή της Επισογής, από τον Τζανή Ραφτόπουλου στον παπα-Αντρία Παϊζή. Εκτιμητές του χωραφιού ήταν οι γέροντες Τζανής Παξινός και Σίμος Καλλίνικος, ενώ μάρτυρες ήταν ο Γιώργης Γαλάτης του ποτέ Λινάρδου, ο Γιώργης Μαλατρής και ο Τζιλιάνος Ποταμιάνος. *Fons.* Νοταριακή πράξη αγνώστου συντάκτη, αντιγραμμένη από τον νοτάριο Νικολό Παϊζή. *Ling. Ell. Cop.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Ιθάκης, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, Φ. 1 (νοτ. Νικολός Παϊζής), 2ος κώδ., φφ. 17r–17v. *Ed.* Υπό έκδοση από τον Κυριάκο Νικία. *Crit.* Η περιοχή της Επισογής ταυτίζεται με την σημερινή ευρύτερη περιοχή του Κιονιού.

1597

63. Προικοσύμφωνο της Ρόδως, κόρης του Δήμου Μακρή και της Αλταδώνας. *Fons.* Προικοσύμφωνο συνταγμένο από τον Αναγνώστη Μορφέση και αντιγραμμένο από τον νοτάριο Νικολό Παϊζή. *Ling. Ell. Cop.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Ιθάκης, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, Φ. 1 (νοτ. Νικολός Παϊζής), 2ος κώδ., φ. 11v (8 Απριλίου 1607). *Ed.* Υπό έκδοση από τον Κυριάκο Νικία.

1597

64. Πώληση ενός χωραφιού στον Άγιο Δημήτριο, από τον Γιαννουτζό Πεταλά στον Νικολό Προκόπη. Μάρτυρες ήταν ο Δήμος

Παπαδόπουλος, ο Θεόφιλος Κοκκινόπουλος και ο Πασχάλης Καλλίνικος. *Fons.* Νοταριακή πράξη συνταγμένη από τον Πέτρο Κρεκόπουλο και αντιγραμμένη από τον νοτάριο Αναγνώστη Ραφτόπουλο. *Ling.* Ελλ. *Cop.* ΕΛΙΑ, Νοταριακοί κώδικες Ιθάκης, Φ. 1 (νοτ. Αναγνώστης Ραφτόπουλος), φ. 107/53r (1 Οκτωβρίου 1622). *Ed.* Υπό έκδοση από τον Κυριάκο Νικία.

1598, 25 Μαρτίου

65. Η Ανθούλα Γιαννιώταινα, μαζί με την κόρη της Μπατούλα και τον αδελφό της Λινάρδο Γιαννιώτη, δήλωσαν πως ο ανιψιός τους Αποστόλης Γαλάτης τους είχε εξοφλήσει για τα χωράφια στον Άγιο Ιωάννη τον Θεολόγο, που του είχαν πωλήσει. Μάρτυρες ήταν ο Νικολός Χριστόφορος, ο Μιχέλης Ραφτόπουλος και ο Αναγνώστης Ραφτόπουλος. *Fons.* Νοταριακή πράξη συνταγμένη από τον Αναγνώστη Ραφτόπουλο και αντιγραμμένη από τον νοτάριο Νικολό Παϊζή. *Ling.* Ελλ. *Cop.* ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Ιθάκης, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, Φ. 1 (νοτ. Νικολός Παϊζής), 2ος κώδ., φ. 4v (5 Μαΐου 1603). *Ed.* Υπό έκδοση από τον Κυριάκο Νικία.

1598, 18 Αυγούστου

66. Ο Ολλανδός περιηγητής Jan van Cootwijk (;–1629) ταξιδεύοντας προς τους Αγίους Τόπους πέρασε από την πατρίδα του Οδυσσέα (*Ulyssem...patriam*), την Ιθάκη (*Ithaca*, η οποία στις μέρες του αποκαλούνταν από τους ναυτικούς *Teachia*), για την οποία σημείωσε πως ήταν ορεινή και γεμάτη με βοσκοτόπια, αλλά και τόπος εξορίας Κεφαλονητών, Κερκυραίων και Ζακυνθινών. Αναφέρει, επίσης, πως γινόταν συχνά στόχος πειρατικών επιδρομών και πως υπήρχε σε αυτήν μια πόλη με το ίδιο όνομα και με πολλά ερείπια. *Fons.* Ταξιδιωτικά απομνημονεύματα του Jan van Cootwijk: *‘Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum’*. *Ling.* Λατ. *Ed.* Cotovico (1619), 44–45. *Lit.* Brown (2020), 159. Λιβιτσάνης (2023), 35.

1599, 22 Ιανουαρίου

67. Διακανονισμός για μια κτηματική διαφορά μεταξύ του παπα-Καλογιάννη Παϊζή και του Αποστολή Γαλάτη. Μάρτυρες ήταν ο Καλογιάννης Αρησένης, ο Καλογιάννης Μορφέσης και ο Αθανάσης Γιαννιτζόπουλος. *Fons*. Νοταριακή πράξη συνταγμένη από τον νοτάριο Νικολό Καπιάνο στο Κάστρο της Κεφαλονιάς και αντιγραμμένη από τον νοτάριο Αναγνώστη Ραφτόπουλο. *Ling*. Ελλ. *Cop*. ΕΛΙΑ, Νοταριακοί κώδικες Ιθάκης, Φ. 1 (νοτ. Αναγνώστης Ραφτόπουλος), φ. 17/9r (6 Μαΐου 1612). *Ed*. Υπό έκδοση από τον Κυριάκο Νικία.

1599, 16 Αυγούστου

68. Πώληση ενός χωραφιού, από τον Μανόλη Ραφτόπουλο στον Σταμάτη Μωραΐτη. Εκτιμητές του χωραφιού ήταν οι γέροντες Νικολός Καλλίνικος και Νικολός Παξινός, ενώ μάρτυρες ήταν ο Νικολός Κουτζουβέλης, ο Σταμάτης Μαρούδας, ο Τζανής Κουβαράς και ο Τζανής Παϊζής. *Fons*. Νοταριακή πράξη συνταγμένη από τον Τζανή Παϊζή και αντιγραμμένη από τον νοτάριο Νικολό Παϊζή. *Ling*. Ελλ. *Cop*. ΓΑΚ-Τμήμα Ιθάκης, Νοταριακό Αρχείο, Φ. 1 (νοτ. Νικολός Παϊζής), 2ος κώδ., φ. 8r (10 Απριλίου 1607). *Ed*. Υπό έκδοση από τον Κυριάκο Νικία. *Crit*. Η πράξη έχει εκδοθεί με ελλείψεις και λανθασμένη χρονολογία στο Βλάχος (2021), 195.

1600

69. Ο Γάλλος κληρικός και περιηγητής Henri Castella ταξιδεύοντας προς τους Αγίους Τόπους έκανε μια στάση στην Ιθάκη (*petite Cephalonie*). Επισκέφθηκε το χωριό *Strabongers* και δείπνησε στο σπίτι ενός ιερέα (ο ίδιος τον ονομάζει επίσκοπο). *Fons*. Ταξιδιωτικά απομνημονεύματα του Henri Castella: *‘Le Sainct Voyage de Hierusalem et Mont Sinay fait en l’an du Grand Jubilé’*. *Ling*. Γαλλ. *Ed*. Castela (1603), 60–64. *Lit*. Vingopoulou (2004), 193–194, 227, 374 και 397–398. *Crit*. Η πηγή αυτή είναι πολύ σημαντική, καθώς ο Castella είναι ο μοναδικός περιηγητής του 16ου αιώνα, ο οποίος αποβιβάστηκε στο νησί και επισκέφθηκε ένα χωριό του, το *Strabongers* (το οποίο προφανώς είναι το χωριό του Στραβονίου), και συναναστράφηκε με τους κατοίκους του.

16ος αιώνας

70. Περιγραφή της θέσης της Ιθάκης (*Βαλ ντε Κουμπάρε, Θιάκι*) σε τρεις ελληνικούς πορτολάνους του 16ου αιώνα. *Fons*. Ελληνικοί πορτολάνοι αγνώστων συντακτών. *Ling. Ell. Ed.* Delatte (1947), I. σσ. 42–43, 45–46 και 53 - II. σσ. 207–209 - III. σ. 306.

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Περίληψη

Στην Ιθάκη ο δέκατος έκτος αιώνας συνδέεται με την αρχή της βενετικής κυριαρχίας, η οποία είχε δομικό χαρακτήρα στην διαμόρφωση της κοινωνίας της και διαδραμάτισε καθοριστικό ρόλο στην ιστορική της πορεία. Για τους λόγους αυτούς η μελέτη του δεκάτου έκτου αιώνα είναι σημαντική για την κατανόηση τόσο της μακράς περιόδου της βενετικής κυριαρχίας στην Ιθάκη, όσο και για την γενικότερη νεότερη ιστορία της. Το κύριο εμπόδιο για την μελέτη της συγκεκριμένης ιστορικής περιόδου είναι η έλλειψη πηγών ή, τουλάχιστον, η περιορισμένη προσβασιμότητα σε αυτές. Δεδομένου ότι κανένα έγγραφο του δεκάτου έκτου αιώνα δεν έχει διασωθεί στο πλούσιο Αρχείο του νησιού, εκτός από μερικά αντίγραφα συμβολαιογραφικών και διοικητικών εγγράφων, κάθε πηγή που σώζεται είναι σημαντική. Στο παρόν άρθρο καταλογογραφούνται 70 (κυρίως, αλλά όχι μόνον, εκδεδομένες) πηγές για το νησί, από το 1500 έως το 1600. Πρόκειται για διοικητικά-επίσημα βενετικά έγγραφα, νοταριακές πράξεις, περιηγητικά-ταξιδιωτικά κείμενα, χαρτογραφικά κείμενα, ιστορικά έργα και λήμματα λεξικών. Οι πηγές αυτές είναι αποσπασματικές και μας παρέχουν περιορισμένης δυναμικής πληροφορίες, όμως, συνολικά μπορούν να δημιουργήσουν μια γενική ικανοποιητική εικόνα για την Ιθάκη του δεκάτου έκτου αιώνα. Οι εβδομήντα αυτές πηγές μας πληροφορούν για πολλά, όπως για τον ρόλο του φυσικού περιβάλλοντος του νησιού, την οικονομική παραγωγή και το εμπόριο, την φορολογία, την δυναμική του πληθυσμού, το διοικητικό καθεστώς και το σύστημα δικαιοσύνης, την εκκλησία, ενώ εξεταζόμενες συνολικά, αποκαλύπτουν πολλά για την δομή και την μορφή της κοινωνίας της Ιθάκης κατά τον πρώτο αιώνα της βενετικής κυριαρχίας.

Abstract

Searching for Ithaca at the advent of Venetian rule (1500–1600)

For Ithaca, the sixteenth century is associated with the advent of Venetian rule, which had a formative character on the island's society and played a decisive role in its historical course. For these reasons, study of the sixteenth century is important for understanding its modern history more broadly. The main obstacle for the study of this period is the lack of sources, or at least their limited accessibility. Since no documents of the sixteenth century have survived in the island's rich archives, excepting a few copies of notarial and administrative documents, every surviving source is significant. This article catalogues 70 sources from the period 1500 to 1600 — mostly but not exclusively published — including administrative and official Venetian documents, notarial acts, travellers' works, cartographic works, histories and the relevant lemmata of dictionaries. These sources are fragmentary and provide us with limited precise information, but together they are capable of sketching a useful picture of sixteenth-century Ithaca. The seventy collected sources inform us much about the role of the island's natural environment, economic production and trade, taxation, population dynamics, the administrative regime and system of justice, the church and, considered together, reveal much about the structure and form of Ithaca's society in the first century of Venetian rule.

Passage to Ithaca (Second Edition)

A presentation by the author

G. Paxinos-Kalatzis

*This piece is a written version of the presentation made by the author on the launch of the second edition of *Passage to Ithaca* at Ithaca House, Melbourne on 5 March 2023. Some edits have been made.*

The second edition of *Passage to Ithaca* was published by the Ithacan Historical Society in 2022.⁷³ I would like to take this opportunity to talk a little about the experience of producing the work. With very little by way of previous experience in producing a large body of writing in book format, the road before me was far from clear. Typical of a first timer, the work was, perhaps, overly ambitious from the outset. The research was two pronged: firstly, a study of available sources on the establishment of Ithacan society and the complex, post-Byzantine political background and history that influenced that process. This aspect of the research took me to a number of libraries, both in Australia and Greece, each providing me with a rich and varied source of material.

The second focus of my research was to interview the islanders. I conducted extensive field work to amass the largest collection of nicknames produced to date. The nicknames were vital in so far as the work might ultimately serve as a companion to family history. I had fantasised that in the diaspora many generations removed, that the only vestige of past identity that remained might very well be an unknown name or word, reminiscent of a distant past, an Ithacan version of the ‘Kunta Kinte’ story. Subsequent search of the word in *Passage to Ithaca* would open a whole world of ancestral discovery.

⁷³ George Paxinos, *Passage to Ithaca* (Melbourne: Ithacan Historical Society, 2022, 2nd ed.).

When does work on a subject begin?

It is hard to know when the seeds were first planted for the production of this work. It may have been as early as the late 70s when I first visited Ithaca as an adult. As it was winter, I turned my attention to searching documents for the purposes of family history. There is no doubt that the personal search led to interest in the wider Ithacan context. As I was not yet aware of the Historical Archive, I ventured only to the Registry of Civil Records, the *Lixiarcheio*. I relate this experience for the purpose of illustrating how rustic the process of getting a copy of a relevant page was at the time. The then Registrar, opened the folio size ledger at the appropriate page and sent me off to the other side of Vathi to have it photocopied at the local bookseller. So, at the height of winter, I walked with the already worse-for-wear ledger across my arms with the pages facing upwards. Should any rain have fallen, the ink of the late-19th and early-20th centuries would have been dissolved never to be seen again. Upon reaching my destination, the shopkeeper, in order to get the ledger to fit the machine, bent it back without any restraint or care for the spine which cracked under the assault. The experience left me with an indelible impression of the vulnerability of precious documents that hold the key to our journey of discovery of our ancestral past.

It would be quite a number of years before I returned to Ithaca. In the meantime I entered into a busy correspondence with anyone who could add to my developing interest. This was in the years prior to the internet — no quick fix email as yet. During that time I became aware of the Ιστορικό Αρχείο Ιθάκης (the Historical Archive of Ithaca, now the ΓΑΚ Ιθάκης) and excitedly made contact with the then keeper Eleni Griva. I expressed an interest in the archive and anything she could tell me about it. In retrospect I believe this was a rare contact between Australia and the Archeio as borne out by her generous and enthusiastic response. Among other information, I was delighted to receive documents relating to my ancestors going back a few generations. Keeping in mind that at this stage there was no such thing as a photocopier at the Archeio, it was clear she had gone to some trouble. I was all the more grateful as I had not asked for anything of that kind. Needless to say I was hooked. To have a document with a great-great-grandfather's signature from around the time Cook came to Australia was

mind blowing. The indelible impression this contact made on me consolidated a deep desire to assist in the preservation of such material. I am most gratified to see that the Ithacan Historical Society has made this aim a high priority of its mission.

For about a year prior to embarking on the first of my longer stays on the island, I spent one day a week at the Ithacan club talking to both the gentlemen card players and the Bingo ladies. My inquiries centred on Andrea Anagnostatos' tentative list of unattached nicknames. I also explored the Club's book collection for any relevant material. It was not till the late 90s and early 2000s that I was able to make successive longer trips to Ithaca. The first was for about four months, where I spent much of my time developing relationships with the locals and following up any family history I could. The more I learned the more I became interested in the wider picture. This entailed many chats at the kafeneia, predominantly in the northern precincts where I was based. I also conducted many walks which offered me a better understanding the geography in relation to settlement patterns. My on site explorations were all documented with copious photographs. Unfortunately, I was using my old Pentax and did not realise that the light meter was not functioning properly until it was too late. So it wasn't all smooth sailing. Things did go wrong. The folkloric information took time because I did not interrogate my respondents. Information, which bordered on the personal, was gathered as part of a non-confrontational, casual conversation. I'm pleased to say I was able get down to business once my purpose was known and accepted.

Swallowing my pride and suppressing the initial embarrassment, I ploughed headlong into everyone I chanced upon. The spiel was simple enough: 'Hello, I'm doing such and such, can I trouble you for your surname and *paratsoukli*'. After a while, I was truly immersed and invested, and little by little I started to add significantly to the collection of nicknames. My zeal must have reached fever pitch when waiting to be served at a restaurant, and in order not to waste an opportunity, I zeroed in on a group of women at the next table. Half way through my spiel I noticed they were a little downcast and ... all dressed in black; yes they had come from off shore to pay respects to a dearly departed member of the family, whose nickname I was in the process of insensitively collecting. I was lucky they welcomed the distraction and approved of my project. It was the same

all over. My greatest apprehension was that I would be met with disdain, even rudeness, which had been known to happen to at least one previous researcher. My experience overall proved the opposite.

During a particularly hot Ithacan summer there was a routine to my working day. All the notes collected during the early part of the day needed to be tidied up and cross referenced with information from other sources. This would take place during the siesta time. As the house I stayed in was a post-earthquake cement sheet construction, it was a freezer in the winter, and a *tserepa* in the summer. Due to the excessive heat inside, my computer would struggle and I could not afford it to collapse, as I kept no other notes. We resorted to freezing containers of ice and after wrapping them in a towel the computer would be placed on top. My afternoon's deliberations would conclude with a short list of doubtful entries, which needed further confirmation. Armed with these notes I would hit the town in the evening and depending on the gathering would target likely suspects. Invariably, I ended up with Giorgi Paro and Mitso Flokka, who tended to solve most of my outstanding questions. They became used to the routine and seemed to enjoy it. Other locals had also become so invested in the project that on one occasion with another group at *Margarita*, during a lull in conversation, I was pressed: 'go on, ask us a question!'. As nearly all of my respondents (of 20 odd years ago) were octogenarians and older, it is safe to assume they are sadly now all dearly departed.

I had put Vathi off for too long as I had no contacts there. I was eventually informed that I should seek out retired lawyer, Gianni Kandilioti, 'who frequents the *kafeneio* round the corner'. I spotted a likely character and introduced myself, expecting to be told to 'bugger off' and not annoy people in their retirement. He pondered seriously on the matter for some minutes before answering 'Come back in two weeks'. A man of few words, who I suspect appreciated my direct approach; no go-betweens. About a week later I was in Vathi around 2am with local acquaintances at the Exedra cafe. The waiter, having exchanged some pleasantries with the local familiars turned to me, a hitherto unknown, and said, 'aren't you the one who is collecting the *paratsouklia*?'. 'Yes', I answered, 'but how do you know?'. He said Gianni had been rousing everyone around for days to collate material. I was most surprised and chuffed to have made that much of an impression in this alien southern locale. But how did he know it was

me? They know! ... they know! You may think you are invisible but you are not. Gianni and his friend, a Mavrokefalo, came good with a host of names and attendant *paratsouklia*. But they came with a caveat! They drew on names from all over the island as he did not believe that I should compartmentalise the island. Needless to say I was duly grateful and refrained from arguing my case. Gianni's information formed the core of my siesta cataloguing, cross checking and eliminating. It should be noted that at no time did I resort to speaking English during my interactions with the locals so, I was pleasantly surprised when upon departing one turned to me and asked if I was going to translate the work to English! Alas, though a Greek translation has been attempted, it has not come to fruition.

The quest persisted well after the first edition. One nickname that had eluded me to the point of distraction was 'Klapatsouras'. I had scratched my head for years over what that meant. You would think the people would just tell you, but often they assume you know. You would also think I would have asked, but I was often not speaking directly to the person in question, and equally often the interviewee pleaded ignorance. During a pre-pandemic gathering of Ithacans at the Club in mid-conversation on another topic, I just blurted out, 'does anyone know etc etc...?'. Luckily Spiridoula Coutsouveli was in attendance and thought that perhaps it was from 'klapa', a Greek work for a 'hinge'! It was that simple.

As I have already said, the project was not entirely free of hassle. A most dire experience occurred on our return to Athens, content in the knowledge that the work was in the final stages of completion. After the six hour journey by boat and bus to Athens, hot and bothered and a little dazed on a 40 degree day, I took the computer out of the suitcase and placed it on the bedside table in case I had a brilliant idea. Hot and exhausted, we fell asleep. I was suddenly rudely awakened by my wife screaming and the vision of a fearsome fellow staring at us as he squatted in the now widely opened window. Adding my own screams, I charged the window sending him off. At this point there was a sense of great relief. That was until the moment when my wife asked the blood curdling question; where was the computer, and hastily adding 'you stupid idiot! Why did you take it out of the suitcase?!' It being nowhere in sight my only thoughts were whether to jump out the window to my assured death or paraplegia. Today the feeling of loss would not be so great but unfortunately this was a time before I had

become accustomed to back-ups and USB sticks. Certain in the knowledge that the work of some years, involving so many oral testimonies and travels, could never under any circumstances be repeated, I was inconsolable.

On reassessing the event as the minutes went by, we were even more chilled by the realisation that in order to get to the computer the thief had to have entered the room. There was no way his arm could have stretched from the window to the bedside table. Eventually something drove me to the window again and on closer inspection I saw the computer sitting ever so tentatively on the outside ledge. In other words but for a minute's reaction on our part the project would have vanished and my sanity with it. My wife would argue that the computer would have been the bigger loss of the two. Calm was restored; suicidal thoughts abated. Exhausted from our trip and travails I half latched the shutter as I had done before, thinking he would surely not return. Resting with one eye open I soon heard the scratching noise of his attempt to unlatch the shutter as he had successfully done before. Having to fend him off a second time was the last straw and we got the hotel to ring the police. Needless to say that was the last time we stayed in cheap hotels without air conditioning, where you got a discount if you were a friend of Dennis Skioti's.

The second edition

Remembering that this was meant to be a talk on the occasion of the second edition I must stress that the second edition is by no means a mere reprint. I will spare the reader a detailed outline of all the amendments and revisions. However, notes and observations were kept from the time of the first publication. Apart from the privilege of being given the chance to revise the text with the benefit of hindsight, the second edition has also been beneficiary of references to recent and relevant works such as Athanasopoulou's publication of the Census of 1807 (of which the IHS is wisely preparing a second edition with an English introduction). It has also benefited from advice from respected scholars and the greater availability of information on the Internet. The second edition represents an important milestone for both the work and the publishers. It has cemented The Ithacan Historical Society's commitment to acting as a publishing

house under the logo of IHS. I am most appreciative that this work was its first publication and that any proceeds will go towards furthering its good work in the future.

I will conclude on a humorous anecdote, which serves as another example of how the work continues to grow. Over the years I have come to know Gerry Shannos from Newcastle. When I last saw Gerry at 'Kourvoulia one', I told him that I had put his father in the first edition of my book. His father was 'Pentakosias', a nickname acquired because he was famous for saying that as soon as he could amass 500 pounds he would return to Greece. Gerry's amusing reply was that as a consequence of being 500's son he was called 250! And so the tradition continues in a new land.



ITHACAN
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

**Report of Activities
(2022–2023)**



ITHACAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Committee

Peter Raftopoulos
PRESIDENT

Kyriaco Nikias
VICE PRESIDENT

Athena Connock
SECRETARY

James Morris
TREASURER

Greg Deftereos
Nick Galatis
Christine Georgopoulos
Leah Koutsounis
John Paizes
Andrew Raftopoulos

Mission

The Ithacan Historical Society was established in Melbourne by members of the Ithacan Philanthropic Society (founded in 1916) and is an affiliate society of the Royal Historical Society of Victoria. The Society aims to promote the history of the island of Ithaca in the Ionian Sea, its region, and its people, from antiquity to modern times.

Ithacan Historical Society Inc.
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President's Message

This report of the activities of the Ithacan Historical Society in the years 2022–2023 allows us to reflect upon the great accomplishments and contributions the Society has made towards its various causes over the past two years, and to look forward to increasing and improving our activity and reach over the next years. It fills me with immense pride to present the report for the inaugural volume of the *Bulletin of the Ithacan Historical Society*, which will stand as a testament to our commitment to promoting the history of Ithaca across all periods of time, and the stories of Ithacans everywhere in the world.

In the years 2022–2023, our Society embarked on numerous projects of historical and cultural significance, both in Australia and in Greece. From promoting conservation through support provided to the reopened state archives of Ithaca, to fascinating lectures presented by expert historians and writers on topics from ancient Ithaca to the island's modern maritime heritage, to launching our online bookstore and embarking on a new genealogy project, these years have been particularly busy for the Society and our members. Our efforts have shed light on the profound connections between our homeland and the diaspora, enriching our understanding of Ithacan identity and heritage.

I extend my deepest gratitude to all members whose dedication and passion have propelled our Society forward. Your unwavering support and enthusiasm have been instrumental in our success, and will continue to be.

As we look to the future, let us continue to embrace our shared history with pride and purpose, to see it preserved for future generations, and better appreciated through research and study. Together, we will explore new avenues of exploration, forge lasting partnerships, and ensure that the legacy of the Ithacan people endures for generations to come.

Peter Raftopoulos
PRESIDENT

Kyriaco Nikias
VICE PRESIDENT

Acknowledgement of Donations

As a not-for-profit organisation, the Ithacan Historical Society relies on our generous members to support our activities to promote Ithaca's history, and to conserve its heritage.

Your gift can help preserve Ithaca's history for future generations.

We express our profound appreciation to the following donors for their generous support for the Society during the year 2023.

Ithacan Archive Fund

\$15,000 (over 3 years)	Ithacan Philanthropic Society
\$2,065	Proceeds from film night (Lucy Kostos), <i>In memory of Katina Kostos</i>
\$1,000	Prof. Nicholas Patricios
\$1,000	Nick Galatis, <i>In memory of his parents Christogerasimos and Elly</i>
\$1,000	Paulette Galatis, <i>In memory of Angeliki Galati née Moraiti (1926–2022)</i>
\$600	Peter and Isabel Raftopoulos
\$500	George Florence
\$500	Elly Symons
\$500	Robert & Denise Cappai, <i>In memory of Nikolaos and Manti Galatis of Anoghi</i>
\$450	Andrew and Kay Raftopoulos
\$300	Peter Paxinos, <i>In memory of Dr Anastasios Paxinos</i>
\$300	Katherine Biazos (née Comninos)

\$200	Dracoulis family
\$100	Barbara Vasdekis, <i>In memory of her parents Ioakeim (Jack) and Mary Lecatsas</i>
\$100	Ken Brownrigg
\$100	Danae Paxinos
\$100	<i>Anonymous donor from Queensland</i>
\$50	George Pangalis
\$50	Vera Black
\$50	Georgia Defteros
\$50	James Morris
\$25	Athena Connock

We also thank several other anonymous donors for their generous support.

Other donations

\$400	Debbie Argyropoulos, <i>Towards the launch of a new IHS website</i>
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Calendar of Activities

The following events and activities were hosted or supported by the Ithacan Historical Society during the years 2021–2023.

2021

11 October. **‘The Ithacan *libro d’oro* of 1803’**, online lecture given by K. Nikias, University of Vienna.

15 November. **‘Brigandry and piracy in Ithaca during Venetian rule, with particular focus on the 17th century’**, online lecture given by Dr Romina N. Tsakiri, Historian, National Library of Greece, Athens.

29 November. **‘Ithaca and the British protectorate (1815–1864) Between local and colonial history’**, online lecture given by Prof Sakis Gekas, Associate Professor, Hellenic Heritage Foundation Chair in Modern Greek History, York University, Canada.

2022

4 April. **‘The O. Stathatos Nautical School of Ithaca (1907–1914): A pioneering donation to Ithacan and Greek society’**, online lecture given by Prof. em. Machi Paizi-Apostolopoulou of the National Hellenic Research Foundation.

9 May. **‘The 1807 Census of Ithaca’**, online lecture given by Prof Ioanna Athanasopoulou of the Ionian University, Corfu.

19 June. **‘Homeric sites on Ithaki’**, lecture given at Ithaca House, Melbourne, by Jonathan Brown, author.

4 July. **‘Wild Colonial Greeks: The prominence of Ionian Islanders among Australia’s early Greek settlers’**, online lecture given by Peter Prineas, author.

21 August. ‘**Ancient Greek large-scale bronze masterpieces at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens: conservation, elemental analysis and mounting for display**’, lecture given at Ithaca House, Melbourne, by Dr Georgianna Moraitou, Head of the Conservation, Physical- Chemical Research & Archaeometry Department of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.

5 September. ‘**Towards an archaeology of Venetian Ithaca**’, online lecture given by Gerasimos Livitsanis, archaeologist.

16 October. Screening of *Beautiful Journey: An Ithacan personal documentary* (Fionn Skiotis) at Ithaca House, Melbourne.

2023

5 March. **Book launch for *Passage of Ithaca (2nd edition)***, by George Paxinos at Ithaca House, Melbourne. A presentation by the author was followed by a lively discussion.

20 March. ‘**In the footsteps of Odysseus on Ithaca**’, online talk by Jane Cochrane, conservation architect and author.

27 August. ‘**Gods and heroes around Troy: Mt Ida, Odysseus’ camp, and the tomb of Achilles**’, lecture given at Ithaca House, Melbourne, by Jonathan Brown.

25 September. *Μια συζήτηση για το Αρχείο της Ιθάκης*, seminar at the Μορφωτικό Κέντρο Ιθάκης, Vathy, Ithaca. Hosted together with the Centre of Maritime History of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, and the General State Archives of Ithaca. Guest speakers Dr Theodora Zafeiratou (Director, General State Archives of Ithaca), Prof Gelina Harlaftis (Centre of Maritime History, IMS-FORTH & University of Crete), Dr Kalliopi Vasilaki (Centre of Maritime History, IMS-FORTH), Kyriaco Nikias (University of Vienna), Gerasimos Livitsanis (Archaeologist), Dimitris Prevezianos (University of Athens).

26 November. *A forum on the Archive of Ithaca*, online seminar hosted together with the Centre of Maritime History of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, and the General State Archives of Ithaca. Guest speakers Prof Gelina Harlaftis (Centre of Maritime History, IMS-FORTH & University of Crete), Dr Kalliopi Vasilaki (Centre of Maritime History, IMS-FORTH), Kyriaco Nikias (University of Vienna), Gerasimos Livitsanis (Archaeologist).

Summary of Activities (2022)

After the disruptive lockdown periods of the previous two years, the Ithacan Historical Society was able to return to our monthly in-house working sessions at Ithaca House and to continue building our online presence.

Several informative and well-received online historical seminars were held on both YouTube and Zoom and then uploaded to our IHS YouTube channel for our members and the general public to view at their leisure. The question-and-answer discussion segments following these seminars enabled attendees to delve deeper into the history of Ithaca, creating a forum for our members and international scholars to share their knowledge and engage with like-minded academics.

The IHS held three in-house lectures at Ithaca House, which attracted new and current members, built valuable relationships with external cultural organisations and authors, and attracted interest in the current projects that the committee is pursuing.

A resolution was passed by the IHS committee to establish our own publishing series to publish works relating to Ithaca, its history and the story of its people. We propose to translate previously published Greek texts, out-of-print publications and new works by authors according to the IHS's criteria. The most recent book published by the IHS is George Paxinos's 2nd edition of *Passage to Ithaca*, which is on sale through the IHS and available locally and internationally.

The most significant initiative of the IHS was the continued support of the re-opened archive in Vathi. We continue to liaise with the archive

manager and assist with the significant work that has been undertaken to preserve centuries-old valuable, though uncatalogued, documents. The committee provided \$6,000 worth of archival supplies, which have been used to protect these documents, drawing interest from various academics and institutions to catalogue and study them.

The committee also decided to purchase the residual stock of Jonathan Brown's two books, 'Homeric Ithaca' and 'Homeric Troy', and be their sole distributor. These books are available via the IHS and now feature on the new online bookstore that the committee resolved to establish on the website.

Our library collection continues to grow, and we hope that the collection's catalogue will soon be available online for members, researchers and the wider public.

The IHS committee looks forward to continuing to broaden its activities and offerings to members with the support of the IPS executive and our Ithacan community.

Peter Raftopoulos
PRESIDENT

Summary of Activities (2023)

The Ithacan Historical Society's activities continued to gain momentum and widened in scope during 2023, as more members of all ages joined our committee meetings, attended our monthly working days held at Ithaca House and contributed their thoughts and ideas for future projects. To focus on our key initiatives, the *Cultural Heritage* and *Funding* sub-committees were established to operate alongside our *Archive* sub-committee.

The decision to build a new IHS website was unanimously approved by the committee late in the year and seeks to provide a modern platform to attract and engage both Ithacans and the broader global community in our history and cultural activities, whether held in Australia, Greece or online.

The IHS held two in-house lectures at Ithaca House and one online, which were all well received. In March, George Paxinos presented his 2nd edition of *Passage to Ithaca* and vividly described his painstaking research

to create this unique academic work of Ithacan history. Jonathan Brown also returned to Ithaca House and presented his lecture, *Gods and Heroes Around Troy*, based on his first book entitled *Homeric Sites Around Troy*. Both books are available through the IHS's new online bookstore, which was established during the year. Jane Cochrane presented the online lecture, *In the Footsteps of Odysseus on Ithaca* and has received 500 subsequent views on YouTube.

A significant focus of the IHS centred on the continued support of the archive in Vathy on Ithaca. The Ithacan Archive Fund was established with a foundational donation of \$15,000 over three years from the IPS and numerous individual donations so far totalling more than \$10,000 including \$2,065 from a film night held by Lucy Kostos and hosted at Ithaca House in Melbourne on 7 May 2023. In further support of the Archive Fund, a well-publicised discussion forum was held in person in Ithaca at the Cultural Centre in Vathy on 25 September and an online English version of the forum on 26 November for an international audience. Both events were recorded on our YouTube channel. We continue to regularly liaise with the archive manager to support the significant work undertaken to preserve centuries-old valuable, though uncatalogued, documents and assist various academics and institutions eager to catalogue and study the archive's rich treasures.

After participating in the inaugural GCM Book Fair in November 2022, the Ithacan Historical Society again participated at the event over weekend of 25–26 November 2023, and raised over \$500 from book sales. Members of the Greek community expressed great appreciation for the IHS's work and commended the Ithacan community's continual record of fostering a greater understanding of the Greek-Australian migrant narrative.

The IHS committee looks forward to another exciting year of seminars, events and launches throughout the year for the enjoyment of all members of our broadening community.

Peter Raftopoulos
PRESIDENT

Project updates

Ithacan Archive Fund

Since early 2022, the IHS has been working to support the historical archive at Vathy, Ithaca (officially now known as the ΓΑΚ Ιθάκης, or General State Archives at Ithaca). Following the reopening of the archive in late 2021 after several years' closure, the IHS was keen to renew its relationship with the archive, having supported the archive in the past yet being unable to renew its support in recent years owing to the archive's long closure. The President of the IHS made contact with the newly appointed head of the archive Christos Miaritis, who welcomed the Society's offer to collaborate to improve the condition of historical records at Ithaca.

The Ithacan state archive is of great significance not only to islanders, but to all of Greece and the Mediterranean. Compared to the poor archival collections in other parts of Greece, the local Ionian archives contain an excellent record of the formation of modern societies in the Mediterranean under successive colonial regimes. The archive holds a large collection of official records from the Venetian administration dating to the early 1600s, and extensive records covering revolutionary French rule (1797–9), the Septinsular Republic (1800–7), French imperial rule (1807–9), and the British period (1809–64).

First tranches of support (May-Oct 2022)

During the first half of 2022, Kyriaco Nikias travelled to Ithaca as representative of the Society to work with Mr Miaritis in Vathy to identify areas of urgent need at the archive. Years of inadequate funding, together with the long-term closure of the archive, have left sections of the collection in need of intervention to ensure the preservation of documents. A proposal was made which emphasised the need to prioritise the oldest and most fragile sections of the archive — particularly the Venetian and early 19th century collections. In May 2022, the IHS Committee approved a first tranche of support to the value of almost \$5,000 AUD to purchase archival supplies consistent with professional standards. These supplies included boxes for safe storage, document sleeves and archival paper for interleaving,

and appropriate equipment for the public reading space. The materials have been sourced from professional archival suppliers on the advice of conservators. Mr Miaritis made prompt use of these materials which have allowed the archive to improve its conservation practices. The IHS was very proud to have made this first important contribution to the improvement of the archive at Ithaca, and looked forward to planning future initiatives to extend further support to the archive. In July, the President of the IHS Peter Raftopoulos visited the archive and was thrilled to see the fast and enthusiastic implementation of the first support package. Mr Miaritis was presented with copies of IHS publications for the archive's library. The IHS approved a second proposal for purchases of similar conservation materials in October 2022.

Over the course of 2022 the IHS had contributed support to the archive to the value of \$6,000 AUD. Most of these funds had been held by the IHS for several years with the anticipation that they could be directed to support the archive, something which had been impossible faced with the long-time closure of the archive by the Greek authorities. With the reopening of the archive, the IHS welcomed the opportunity to finally make a contribution through the first tranches of support made during 2022. In late 2022 the IHS identified the need to make a new appeal to raise funds for further initiatives in support of the archive into the future.

Subcommittee for the Archive

In late 2022 the IHS formed a subcommittee which would be dedicated to discuss further possibilities to assist the archive not only to preserve its invaluable collection, but to promote public interest in these unique records of life in centuries past. The members of the subcommittee are the President of the IHS, Peter Raftopoulos, the Vice President, Kyriaco Nikias, and George Paxinos, who brings several decades of experience with the historical archive at Ithaca, having built a relationship with the late archivist Ms Eleni Griva during the 1990s. The Subcommittee for the Archive recognised the need for a framework to guide the IHS in supporting the archive over the next years. The Subcommittee proposed that the IHS establish a dedicated fundraising scheme, to be called the Ithacan Archive Fund.

The Ithacan Archive Fund

The Ithacan Archive Fund was launched by the IHS in late April 2023 with an appeal for contributions which would allow the IHS to support the archive into the future. The Fund is a perpetual project of the IHS and welcomes individual contributions from all who are interested in the history of Ithaca and its region. It also welcomes corporate contributions and bequests.

The strategy for disbursing money from the Fund to support the archive is guided by four main objectives:

Conservation and preservation of documents

- Provision of appropriate professional-standard, acid-free conservation materials to preserve records currently conserved inappropriately

Improvement of the archive environment

- Modern digitisation equipment for fragile documents
- Exhibition cabinets for the safe public display of selected documents
- Climate, fire-safety and humidity controls

Classification of the collections

- Support for the classification of documents, and the publication of catalogues to the archive's collections

Support for research

- Support for researchers to publish primary sources (notarial registers, ecclesiastical/civil registry records, etc) and related studies

In response to the launch of the Ithacan Archive Fund, the Ithacan Philanthropic Society (IPS) generously committed to providing \$15,000 in annual instalments over three years, to ensure the longevity of the Fund's ability to support the archive into the future. Over the course of 2023 the Fund received several generous private contributions from members of the Ithacan community in Australia, Europe, and America. These proceeds

have been received by the IHS with great appreciation and awareness that the support provided to the archive is only possible with the generosity of the community.

The IHS welcomes further donations to the perpetual fund in support of the Ithacan archive.

Third tranche of support (mid-2023)

The Subcommittee for the Archive made an extensive proposal for a third package of purchases of conservation material and other support for the archive, which was accepted by the IHS Committee in early September 2023. This was the largest package of support sent to the archive to date, to a value of more than \$7,000 AUD.

The proposal was guided by the four objectives of the Ithacan Archive Fund. As in 2022, the proposal was formed following extensive and detailed conversations with the responsible archivist to determine the most suitable supplies which could make the most difference to improving the conditions of the archive. Most of the support took the form of conservation supplies (acid-free boxes, sleeves, and paper) sourced from the main industry conservation supplier (InSitu) in Greece on the advice of expert conservators. This included 600 acid-free archival boxes, for the proper conservation of historical documents which have been improperly kept in the archive until now. Among other smaller purchases of materials to improve the conditions of the archival store-room, support was also provided to a group of researchers from the Institute for Mediterranean Studies from Crete in the form of a small per-diem allowance during their stay for work at the archive in Ithaca.

Seminars on the archive

The Ithacan Archive Fund has also sought to promote the awareness of the public, in Ithaca, elsewhere in Greece, and across the world, about the richness of the historical archive of Ithaca. As part of this ongoing initiative, the IHS hosted two very successful events on the archive in late 2023. A seminar titled 'A forum on the Archive of Ithaca' was held on Ithaca on 25 September 2023 with presentations in Greek by six guest speakers. This was followed by an English-language version of the seminar, hosted online for

an international audience on 26 November 2023. The events were organised together with the Centre of Maritime History of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies and the Ithacan branch of the General State Archives (ΓΑΚ Ιθάκης). The forums sought to contribute to improving the Ithacan public's understanding of the great value of the historical collections of the island's archive.

Dozens of Ithacans attended the forum at the theatre of the Morfotiko Kentro Ithakis in Vathy on Monday 25 September at 7 p.m., including the current mayor Dionysios Stanitsas and former mayor Spyros Arsenis, and other distinguished and familiar figures on the island. Six speakers presented on their work at the Archive of Ithaca. The Head of the Archives of Ithaca and Cephalonia, Dr Theodora Zafeiratou, began the forum with a presentation on the role of the archive today in its modern administrative context as a working public service. The second and third speakers were invited from the Centre of Maritime History. Professor Gelina Harlaftis gave an introduction to the role of Ithaca in the maritime history of the Mediterranean, and placed the collections of the local archive in Ithaca in the context of other relevant collections for research which are kept in state and private archives across Europe. Dr Kalliopi Vassilaki, postdoctoral researcher at the Centre of Maritime History, spoke about the maritime documents held in the Archive of Ithaca. Three further presentations were given by researchers on other collections held at the archive. Kyriaco Nikias of the University of Vienna (and Vice President of the IHS) gave a survey of the documents of the Venetian administration of Ithaca (1638–1797). Gerasimos Livitsanis, archaeologist and researcher, presented some highlights from the unclassified archives of the post-Venetian administrations which span the period 1797–1817. Finally, Dimitrios Prevezianos, student at the University of Athens and former intern at the Archive, surveyed the ecclesiastical documents. The forum in Vathy also took place with the presence of several members of the Centre of Maritime History, who have been conducting a survey of unclassified documents in the archive under the supervision of the Director of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies and Professor of the University of Crete, Gelina Harlaftis. The forum was repeated in English in an online format on 26 November 2023, in order to reach an international audience. The recording is available online.

The Ithacan Historical Society extended its thanks to the organisers and speakers at the event and expressed its interest to continue this collaboration into the future. The forums organised by the IHS seek to promote public awareness of the riches held at the Archive, being a key objective of the Ithacan Archive Fund.

Support us

The IHS continues to hold discussions with researchers, conservators, and the relevant authorities in Greece, in order to plan further initiatives to support the archive into 2024 and beyond. The support provided by the IHS through the Ithacan Archive Fund relies on the generosity of the community.

If you would like to donate to support the Archive, see ithacanhistorical.org/projects/ithacan-archive-fund

G. Paxinos, K. Nikias, P. Raftopoulos

Ithacan Family Tree

The IHS Family Tree Project arose out of discussion amongst our members about creating a family tree that would map the connection between different families and be a vehicle for discovering previously unknown ties. This had the aim of helping us to better answer that question perpetually asked in cafes, churches, and taverns all around the world, “I think we’re related, aren’t we?”. Importantly, the project will provide a way to preserve the knowledge of our ancestors, and to enrich our sense of identity.

Our vision is to create a comprehensive online family tree available to all Ithacans which can be used as a social history resource for generations to come. Launching in early 2024, the project is designed to be collaborative, giving IHS members the opportunity to be actively involved in documenting our history and strengthening our sense of identity and community.

The IHS is partnering with MyHeritage.com to provide an online platform where members can explore their family history. There are some useful features including a family tree builder, easy-to-use Greek language setting, ability to print customised family tree posters, and the largest European historical records database in the world.

Members can participate in the project in two ways:

- Explore and curate their own family history and build their individual family trees.
- Collaborate with the IHS committee to combine their individual tree to help grow the single Ithacan family tree.

The IHS was fortunate to be gifted a large family tree created by the late Nicholas Sikiotis, which has been kindly provided to us as a contribution towards the project by his daughter Eleana Sikiotis and family. This tree will kick-start the project, becoming the ‘foundation tree’, to which our members can add their own family branches. The tree will be an inspiration to others, demonstrating just how much a tree can grow when you begin to explore your own family ancestry.

The IHS committee acknowledges and thanks the family of the late Nicholas Sikiotis for permission to publish and build on his genealogical

work as part of the Ithacan family tree. We recognise Nick's invaluable research and documentation of his ancestors and the people he so loved. In Nick's own words, the Ithacan family tree is 'για μάς'.

A. Connock

Bookstore

IHS represented at the GCM Bookfairs (2022–2023)

After participating in the inaugural GCM (Greek Community of Melbourne) Book Fair in November 2022, the Ithacan Historical Society again participated in the book fair over the weekend of November 25th and 26th, 2023, which was organised in collaboration with the Greek-Australian Cultural League and the Hellenic Writers Association of Australia.

Held on the mezzanine level of the GCM Centre, Dr Nikos Dallas, GCM Head of Educational Programs, welcomed all. Professor Nikos Papastergiadis and Greek Consul General Emmanuel Kakavelakis officially opened the event. Over thirty exhibitors, including Greek-Australian authors, publishers, bookshops, and organisations, were represented, and the program included casual talks, book launches, book signings and literature awards.

The IHS was represented by Peter Raftopoulos (President), James Morris (Treasurer) and committee members Nick Galatis and Andrew Raftopoulos, who helped raise over \$500 from book sales over the weekend. Many members of the Greek community expressed appreciation for the work of the IHS. They commended the Ithacan community for continuing to record and foster a greater understanding of the Greek-Australian migrant narrative that extends back to the Gold Rush period of the 1850s.

President of the GCM, Mr Bill Papasteriadis, was especially thankful for our work and expressed an eagerness to foster a closer relationship going forward with the IHS, noting that the Ithacan community was pivotal in the formation of the GCM and its early years, as noted in Georgia (Juliana) Charpantidou's, *The Embodiment of a Distant Homeland: the history of the GOCMV from its founding to 1972*, launched in Greek in 2023 and will be translated into English in 2024.



Formation of Cultural Heritage Subcommittee

The Cultural Heritage subcommittee of the Ithacan Historical Society was formed in 2023. It responds to the perception that protection, preservation and academic research into the cultural heritage of the island has fallen into neglect in recent times. It aims to address the problem of this stagnation particularly in light of the fact that there is presently no overarching heritage strategy in place to support its reinvigoration.

Such a strategy is especially important on an island whose very identity, perhaps more than any other in the Mediterranean, has been so shaped by readings of its cultural heritage. In recent years the Greek financial crisis certainly had an impact on all of Greece's many heritage commitments, however the country's ongoing recovery presents an opportunity to reinvigorate interest in the island's cultural heritage as well as to support, encourage, and work together with the relevant authorities to address these issues.

Objectives

The Cultural Heritage subcommittee is guided by the following objectives:

- To be inclusive of both the community of the island and the diaspora to discuss what heritage means to them, and how they would like it developed.
- To promote the archaeology and heritage of the island through public initiatives, including publications, seminars, exhibitions.
- To preserve the archaeology and heritage of the island through initiatives such as prudent political advocacy, a suitable Management Plan within the legal frameworks
- To formulate a coherent overarching heritage strategy.
- To further protect the archaeology and heritage of the island on a local level with continuing site preservation strategies, heritage interpretation where viable, and appropriate registration and status of all archaeological sites and areas of potential heritage sensitivity.
- To promote academic archaeological and historical research on the island, including in the local archives and museums.

- To promote sustainable tourism and harness technology strategically (AR/VR).
- To manage potential negative aspects/social impacts of heritage tourism.
- To secure funding to achieve these ends.

Engagement

The Cultural Heritage subcommittee will engage with a wide group of experts and stakeholders. There are currently several different individuals and bodies actively involved with the promotion of the island in non-convergent ways. We will engage with these entities to harness their knowledge and viewpoints with regards to community involvement and the politics of the past, in order to use the past to inform a strategy for the future. In doing so the Cultural Heritage subcommittee will encourage wide community involvement and advocacy.

The Cultural Heritage subcommittee will be inclusive and broad in scope, promoting the rich heritage of the island from pre-historic antiquity to the recent past. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw a particular focus on the classical history of the island through the lens of Homer, which continues to define and perhaps confine the conception of Ithacan history and public interest in the island. Remaining central to our mission, we will seek to engage with institutions like the British School at Athens which has long been involved in the archaeology of the island.

We shall also promote the island's heritage from lesser-studied and perhaps neglected periods which are becoming more familiar through recent ground breaking research. While the Homeric epics continue to frame and inform the island's identity, we will also seek to raise other voices from the past, through a promotion of heritage from the Venetian period, and other foreign colonial periods during the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. While forming a varied fabric, each is an intriguing historical period in itself, with its own material culture and signature left on the landscape and the community. In particular, the reopening of the local and invaluable State Archives offers an opportunity for new research to provide further context into periods previously overshadowed by selective readings of the past, each a reflection of a particular present.

In its mission, the Cultural Heritage subcommittee seeks both to reinvigorate our perceptions of Ithaca's long cultural history and to revive engagement with its heritage into the future.

Greg Deftereos





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