A History of the Greek Colony of Corsica

by NICK NICHOLAS

1. Migrations from Mani

The peninsula of Mani in the Southern Peloponnesus enjoys renown within Greek culture disproportionate to its size. Mani to this day has the reputation of being a wild, lawless place, ridden with vendettas between the region's conflicting clans and bristling with guns. Since the clan rather than the village has been the central component of Maniot social identity, especially in the more conservative Inner (South-western) Mani (Alexakis 1980), conflict between clans has long been a characteristic of the region. Mani remained fiercely autonomous during the periods of nominal Venetian and Ottoman overlordship. In fact, even the newly established Greek state found it difficult to establish centralised control over the area: King Otto's regency was obliged to use bribery where regiments failed, and the Greek state was obliged to intervene militarily in local feuds as late as 1870 (Fermor 1956:97; Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985:36).

Feuds between clans were often resolved through the migration of the vanquished; Fermor (1956:93) estimates over fifty Maniot villages were founded this way. Both migration and clan conflict were tied up with the lack of arable land in Mani (Alexakis 1980:103)—although this was more the case in Inner Mani than elsewhere, and the villages of Outer (North-western) Mani

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have remained prosperous into modern times (Alexakis 1980:26). Another significant factor promoting migration away from Mani was warfare. When Maniots were unsuccessful in military ventures, particularly when their Venetian allies abandoned them, migration became a preferable option.

Migration from Mani has been attested throughout modern times, and there is an extensive history of colonies or proposed colonies well into the eighteenth century. It cannot be ruled out that the Greek population around Himara in Southern Albania is an early Maniot colony (Vayacacos 1983a); and we even have records of a Polish Maniot, Anthony Stephanopoli, who had gone to Rome in 1759 and was pleasantly surprised to meet his Corsican kin there (Vayacacos 1970a:98ff). Migration from Mani reached its peak in the late seventeenth century (Vayacacos 1983a:25; Blanken 1951:4), at the time of the Veneto-Ottoman wars culminating in the fall of Crete in 1669. Fearing that Mani would also fall to the Ottomans (Comnène 1999 [1784]:128-129), and mistrustful of the Ottomans’ guarantees (La Guilletière 1675:46), Maniots negotiated with several Italian states through much of the 17th century to allow refugees to settle in their dominions. There was also much migration to Greek-speaking dominions (Mexis 1977:298), including Zante, Cephalonia, Corfu, and Epirus. The participation in 1768 of around 500 Maniots in the New Smyrna plantation in Florida was triggered by similar concerns about hostilities with the Ottomans, which were to culminate in the Orloff uprising of 1770 (Panagopoulos 1965:31, 36).

Known migrations from Mani in the 1670s included:

- Tuscany (Moustoxydes 1965 [1843-53]; Lambros 1905; Fermor 1956:100-101): several hundred of the Iatrani/Medici clan from Vitylo (Oitylon), 1671.
- Leghorn (Livorno)/Malta (Kalonaros 1944:133; Vayacacos 1949:152): 120 in 1673, 250 in early 1674, and 200 in late 1674.
- Naples (Hasiotis 1969): an unknown number in 1679, apparently associated with the Iatrani/Medici of Vitylo.
- Brindisi (Tozer 1882:355; Vayacacos 1949; Hasiotis 1969:135; Coco 1921:12-13; Tsirpanlis 1979): 340 from
Adrouvista/Prastios in late 1674 and February 1675. (The travellers Spon and Wheler, who visited Mani in the summer of 1675, report that Maniots had recently fled to Puglia.)

- Corsica: around 700 of the Stephanopoli clan from Vitylo, late 1675; in 1764 400 more colonists bound for Genoa were captured and enslaved by the Ottomans near Zante (Kalonaros 1944:135), and in late 1675 another ship headed for Corsica, with 440 colonists, was captured off Corsica, with the colonists enslaved and sold in Algiers (SdC I:9).

The 1670s migrations are recorded in several sources: the interview conducted in Genoa with Bishop Parthenios Kalkandes (Kalonaros 1944:133-136), who accompanied the colonists to Corsica; the contracts drawn with shipowners to provide transport; and the drawn-out negotiations with the sponsoring states, Tuscany, Spain, and Genoa. The sponsors were reluctant to allow the migrations, especially while the Maniots remained allied with the Venetians. The Venetians for their part frustrated Maniot attempts at migration until the 1670s (Lambros 1905:421; Hasiotis 1969:120). Genoese sources (SdC I:12) claim that the decisive factor in allowing Maniot colonies was Vatican approval of the colonists’ religious status; but the changing geopolitical situation was probably more important in changing the host states’ minds.

The major migrations of the time were prompted by the intersection of external and internecine warfare (Stephanopoli 1865:xv-xvi; Phardys 1888:26-27; Fermor 1956:99-100). Two major clans of Vitylo in Outer Mani, the Iatrani/Medici and the Stephanopoli, were at war in the 1670s, over a Stephanopoli’s abduction and marriage of an Iatrani girl. Liberakis Yerakaris of the third major clan, the Kosma, intervened on the side of the Iatrani—seeking to avenge his honour for the abducted Iatrani girl, who happened to be his fiancée. Yerakaris was a volatile personality, who had been a pirate, and then made common cause with the Ottomans and the Venetians in quick alternation. So the dispute between the three clans became enmeshed in the Veneto-Ottoman conflict. (The otherwise eulogistic Stephanopoli chronicle of 1738 admits this element of the dispute: Stephanopoli 1865:18.) Once matters had
died down, both the Stephanopoli and the Iatrani thought it prudent to follow through with their pledges to migrate.  

The Iatrani claimed descent from the Medici of Florence, who had ruled Athens in the 14th century. Because of this claimed link, the clan requested leave to settle in Tuscany. An earlier attempt in 1663 does not appear to have resulted in migration, but the attempt in 1670, after the fall of Crete, was successful: “several hundred” Iatrani, accompanied by five Greek Orthodox priests, settled in 1671 around the villages of Casalpina and Bibbona, near Volterra, and parts of Soana (Moustoxydes 1965 [1843-53]:268). The Bishop of Volterra insisted in 1674 that the Greeks convert to Catholicism and accept the authority of Rome. The doctrinal clean-up operation was carried out the following year by the Benedictine monk Odorisio Maria Pieri from Chios, sent by the Propaganda Fidei Congregation; the required concessions included withholding veneration from saints not recognised by Rome, the indissolubility of marriage, and the Gregorian calendar. The colony remained Greek rite Catholic until 1693, when the ethnic Greek priest was removed. Once the colony was no longer religiously distinct, it appears to have been rapidly assimilated by the surrounding population—although this is a guess by Moustoxydes.  

Lambros (1905:434), relying on Ioulios Typaldos' report of a document he had read in Siena in 1877, believes that the Tuscan colony was wiped out by illness through exposure to the swamps of the Maremma, a terrain to which they were not accustomed. (Cf. Greenhalgh & Eliopoulos 1985:37-38 on the correlation between the good health of Maniots and the mountainous terrain of Mani.)  

By way of corroboration, Panagopoulos (1965:82) claims that in the New Smyrna colony in Florida settled by Maniots, Minorcans, Italians and Greco-Corsicans, the Maniots “had little resistance [to malaria] and suffered tremendous losses.” Comnène (1999 [1784]:135-136) claims that some Tuscan colonists perished due to the “mauvais air” [bad air] soon after arrival, while the remainder returned to the Levant at the Grand Duke's expense.  

We know even less of what became of the other Maniot colonists once they arrived in Italy; the published state archives lose interest in them once they were established. For the Brindisi colony, we know that the colonists initially stayed in Mottola under the duke of Martina. After pressure from bishop Della
Quarda of Taranto to convert to Catholicism, some colonists fled to Tricarico in August of that year. By March 1677 the Greeks of Tricarico numbered 73; after the death of their priest in December 1675, they too had been obliged to convert to Catholicism. The colony appears to have assimilated rapidly thereafter.

2. THE COLONISATION OF CORSICA

While the Iatrani went to Tuscany, the Stephanopoli and their followers\(^6\) chose Corsica. Negotiations for the settlement had already begun with a visit by four Maniots from Vitylo to the colony site in 1663, after which Bishop Joasaph of Mani wrote the Genoese senator Pietro Giustiniano in June 1665 to finalise the arrangement (Blanken 1951:304-309):

Kαι βεβαιώνοντας αὐτοῦ πάσα δούλεια χρειαστική, ἐτότες ἐρχόμεστε ὑμοὶ μὲ τὴν ἄφεντια σου μὲ ἑνα ἦ δύο καράβια ἐδῶ εἰς τὸν τόπο, ἐμπαίνοντας ἀπὸ ἐδῶ τόσα παιδιά, ἀπὸ οἷς τες χώρες, ναρθοῦνε αὐτοῦ πρῶτα, νὰ στέκονται διὰ βεβαιωσύνη, και ἐτότε θάρσοῦνε καράβια διὰ δὸλον τὸ λαό, εἰτε και ἢ ἄφεντια σου ἁλησίας νὰ ἐμπνεύσεις εἰς ἑνα καράβι μὲ τὸ νὰ βεβαιωθοῦνε τὰ καπέτουλα, νὰ κοπίασῃς ἐδῶ, πάλι ἔτσι νὰ γένῃ ἐμπαίνοντας νέοι ἀπὸ οἷο τὸν τόπο, διὰ ἁμαράτα και βεβαιωση τῆς γαληνοτάτης ῥεπούπληκας, και διὰ νὰ καταλάβης τόσο ἢ ἄφεντια σου, ὡσάν και οἷοι ἢ ἐρχόντες πῶς δὲ μιλοῦμε μὲ λόγια μοναχά, παρέξ µὲ ἀληθοσιως (sic) και ἐργασία ἀληθινά. [And having made sure of all necessary matters there, then shall we go from here with your lordship to that place in one or two ships, with so many youths embarking from here, from all the villages. They should go there first, and remain as an assurance; and then ships will come for all the people. Or should your lordship wish to enter a ship when the agreements have been confirmed, the same shall take place with youths embarking from the entire region, as assurance and surety for the most serene republic, and so that both your lordship and all the nobles understand that we do not just speak with words, but with truthfulness and true works.]
As with the Tuscan colony, the 1660s arrangement lapsed; but the fall of Crete intensified concerns in Mani, and led to the successful finalisation of the arrangement (SdC I:3-6). In October 1675, some 730 persons left Vitylo. Bishop Parthenios reported that over a hundred more Maniots had to be left behind as there was no room on the ship, as well as the 400 colonists on another ship captured near Zante. He also assured the Genoese that over a hundred monks and priests alone had also decided to migrate, if the Corsican colony turned out well (Kalonaros 1944:134, 135). So this was truly a mass migration. Though the majority of colonists were Maniot, other regions of Greece were also represented in the colony, as attested at the time and corroborated both by the dialect and the folksongs of their descendents (Phardys 1888:23; Blanken 1951:22-23). Fermor (1958:111) speculates that the Cretans in the colony were recent refugees from the fall of Candia to the Ottomans, which is plausible.

On arriving in Genoa the settlers renounced Orthodoxy while retaining the Greek rite, pledged loyalty to Genoa, and agreed to be conscripted in the Genoese army and navy (Blanken 1951:309-314). The Maniots were then settled in Paomia, the site of an abandoned Corsican village, on March 14, 1676. Their settlement soon prospered as they introduced new agricultural practices to the area (already favourably commented on in 1713: Limperani 1780:II 579, Phardys 1888:48, SdC I:32—and still boasted about in the 1960s: Vayacacos 1965c:112, 166).

Genoa intended the Greek settlers to help impose order on the rebellious Corsicans. Their choice of the site was strategic, despite the Stephanopolis’ claim that their representative John Stepanopoli/Koudzikalis had picked the site himself (Phardys 1888:30-31; Comnène 1959:14). The Corsicans for their part resented the intrusion of the Greeks on land they considered rightfully theirs. The 1738 chronicle (Stephanopoli 1865:22-23) glosses over the early conflicts between the two communities, though it emphasises the lack of intermarriage:

'Αλλὰ μὲ τοὺς Κόρσους ἀπ' ἀρχῆς οἴληγην ὁμόνοιαν εἶχαν, ἀμιμή δὲ τοὺς ἄραμβοῦτα: ὡστε ἐμάλλοναν μερικά μὲ τοὺς γείτονος τοῦ πιέβε τοῦ Βίκου, καὶ μὲ ἄλλους ἀπὸ ἄλλα μέρη. Καὶ ἀπὸ τρεῖς φορές τοὺς εἶχαν ὁμοιμάσει, πρῶτα ἀπὸ τὴν κοινὴν ἐπανάστασιν τοῦ νησίου, ἀλλὰ ἔφυγαν ἄφραχτοι καὶ
The Corsicans initially helped the Greeks build their settlement, and the colony chief Apostolo Stephanopoli described their relations as cordial: "Les Corses viennent chez nous et nous leur faisons bon accueil; et nous aussi quand nous allons dans leurs maisons, nous sommes très amicalement reçus" [The Corsicans come to our houses and we make them welcome; and when we go to their houses, we are likewise very warmly received] (translation in Comnène 1959:21; letter, 1677-05-25). By 1678, however, the two communities were quarrelling, and in April 1679 Corsicans killed a Greek for the first time on Palm Sunday (Comnène 1959:26-27; SdC 1:40-41). Disempowered in their straitened circumstances, the normally vigilant Maniots were reduced to pleading for Genoa to intervene.

Genoa ensured that conflict with the Corsicans was limited, until the island-wide insurrection of 1729. The Greeks, beholden to their Genoese protectors, refused to side with the Corsicans; they evacuated their women and children to Ajaccio, and began to battle them. The Greeks were defeated in April 1731, after a last stand defence of the tower of Omignia (though Nicholas Stephanopoli's 1738 account paints it as a triumph) (SdC I:44-49). The men also fled to Ajaccio, placing themselves under the protection of the Genoese. Despite ongoing negotiations (SdC I:129-138), the Greeks never recovered their land in Paomia.

While in Ajaccio, the Greek community were granted the use
of the church of La Madonna del Carmine, still known as Chapelle des Grecs. The Greeks were sought after as farmers, through their particular skills as cultivators. They also remained loyal to the Genoese cause, forming three military companies, and acting as the Ajaccio city guard (200 out of the 812 Greeks in Ajaccio in 1740: Phardys 1888:71; Vayacacos 1965b:38; SdC II:43).

In the capital of Corsica, the Greek community was less isolated than in Paoimia; they began to intermarry with Corsicans, and the male population learned Corsican. Nonetheless conflict with the Corsicans persisted. The violence culminated in 1745 (SdC II:21-27), when Corsican villagers killed a Greek soldier and Greeks in revenge killed three villagers. Warfare broke out between the villagers and the Greeks—the villagers careful to point out that their argument was not with Genoa. With its hold on Corsica already tenuous, Genoa was alarmed at losing control of the situation: her own 150 soldiers, she realised, were not enough to suppress the 200 armed Greeks. Greek indiscipline had become a liability to Genoa, leading the Genoese to seriously consider expelling them during the crisis; there were complaints as early as 1734 that the Greeks could not be sent on campaign without the Genoese officers keeping them in check (SdC II:39; cf. II:59). Greek troops were already deserting for lack of pay in 1744 (SdC II:20), and there were revolts in 1748 (SdC II:46-47). As a result, the Greeks' position in Ajaccio became untenable; they conducted multiple negotiations in order to move away from Corsica until the French established took over Corsica in 1768 (SdC II:82).

While in Ajaccio, the Stephanopolis became family friends with the Bonapartes. Napoleon is said to have fallen in love with Panoria Permon (Comnène 1959:56), and Panoria's brother Demetrius Stephanopoli sponsored the adolescent Napoleon in the military academy at Brienne. Panoria's daughter Laure, Duchess of Abrantès, claimed Napoleon as her kinsman, alleging that Buonaparte was a translation of Calomeros, a non-existent branch of the Stephanopoli (Blanken 1951:9; Fermor 1951:109; Valery 1837:103 charitably calls her "peintre plus ingénieux et plus fidèle que généalogiste" [more ingenious and reliable as a painter than as a genealogist]). In 1797 Napoleon sent Panoria's uncle Dimo Stephanopoli (a doctor and biologist who had been conducting fieldwork in the Balkans) on a secret mission to Greece and Mani
along with his nephew Nicolo, to investigate the possibility of a French invasion. A fictionalised account of their journey appeared in 1800 (Vournas 1974), and is a valuable source of information on Mani. (On Napoleon and the Stephanopolis see Comnène 1959:52-66.)

When the French established control of Corsica, the Marquis de Marbeuf, governor of the island, took personal interest in the Greco-Corsicans (SdC III:81-84). He allocated them the village of Cargèse, a few kilometres away from their original settlement in Paomia. Under the leadership of Captain Georges-Marie Stephanopoli (SdC III:91-93), the village was built anew, with town planners Frère and Rollier laying the city grid out (Phardys 1888:84)—apparently the first instance of modern town planning in Corsica. The king ceded the area including Cargèse and Paomia to Marbeuf as his personal fiefdom, and Marbeuf had his chateau built there. The majority of Greeks resettled in Cargèse in 1775.

Conflict with their Corsican neighbours continued, despite the presence of a French garrison. The surveyors planning Cargèse had already been attacked by the villagers of Renno in October 1773 (SdC II:115-116), and there were multiple attacks from the village of Vico between 1789 and 1830, most occasioned by a breakdown in civic order.

- The 1789 attacks (twice in August, and November) exploited the upset brought about by the French revolution. Though they caused no lasting damage, the Greeks did concede some farmland to the Vicolesi after the second attack (SdC III:44-46).

- The 1791 attack was prompted by the Constitutional Assembly's revocation of property concessions made since 1768, which had benefited the Greeks. This attack was also driven back, and the Greek right to property was not challenged (SdC III:50-51).

- The 1796 attack followed the departure of the English occupiers of the island. This attack forced the Greco-Corsicans to flee to Ajaccio for three months, and Cargèse was razed (including Marbeuf's chateau) (SdC III:57-58).

- The 1814 attack, during the Hundred Days of Napoleon's return to France, was successfully quashed, although the
Vicolesi temporarily reclaimed some of the farmland turned over to the Greeks (SdC III:62-64).

- The final attack in 1830, coinciding with the overthrow of the Bourbons, was the final instance of Corsican violence against the Greeks. It proved ineffectual, driven back by a military unit sent just in time from Ajaccio (Phardys 1888:93; SdC III:66).

Since 1830, the Greeks of Cargèse have cohabited peacefully with the Corsicans, who themselves had begun to settle in Cargèse in 1792 (SdC III:98). Violence continued through the dispute between the Greek and Latin rite communities, but involved mostly Greeks on both sides. Valery (1837:104) already remarked that "depuis quelques années, ces réfugiés forment des alliances avec les familles indigènes, et même le sang corse commence à dominer" (in recent years, these refugees have formed alliances with the indigenous families, and the Corsican blood has even begun to predominate). By the 1870s, many young Greco-Corsicans rejected their Greek identity (Tozer 1872:197; Lear 1870:122). But the refusal of the Cargesian colonists to Algeria to admit Latin rite settlers in 1874-76 (Bartoli 1975:124), and the completion of a new Greek rite church distinct from the Latin church in 1872, suggest that not all Greco-Corsicans were of the same mind at this stage; full assimilation was reached only in the 20th century. The two churches in the village remain distinct, but as the same priest officiates now in both (see below), the distinction has become cosmetic. Linguistic assimilation has been rapid as well (Nicholas & Hajek forthcoming); by the 1930s there were only around 20 speakers left in Cargèse. The last native speaker of Greek, Justine Voglimacci, died in 1976.

Cargèse has been prosperous agriculturally, but in modern times its main income is from tourism (with an inevitable if relatively inconspicuous Club Med complex: http://www.clubmed.com/all_inclusive_resort/cargese.html). Cargèse is also a popular destination for scholarly conferences and summer schools, housing the Institut d'Études Scientifiques de Cargèse (http://cargese.univ-corse.fr/), affiliated with the University of Corsica.
3. RELATIONS WITH THE CORSICANS

Superficially, the Maniots and Corsicans have long had similar social structures (Kalonaros 1944:113-115; Vayacacos 1965b:29-34; Vayacacos 1998)—as Kalonaros puts it, Μανιάτες καὶ Κορσικανοὶ έχουν τὰ ἑλεττώματα καὶ προτερήματα, ποὺ εἶναι κοινά σὲ ὅλους τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς λαοὺς [Maniots and Corsicans have the faults and merits common to all mountain peoples]. Both populations value martial accomplishment and are organised into clans practising vendetta. This entails practicalities such as clan fortifications; tall houses which can house snipers; improvised ritual laments for the dead (expressing disappointment if the subject died of natural causes); and using a respected elder to accompany a feuding traveller, to guarantee their safety (the ξεβγαρτής in Mani: Alexakis 109-110). Both populations present a dour demeanour; pride themselves on hospitality to strangers; are strongly parochial and mistrust central authority; and have patriarchal family structures valuing male offspring.

The notoriety of both peoples was such that, on the eve of the establishment of the colony, a commentator remarked:

Et les Gennois disent qu’il faudroit que la Barbarie des Magnottes fust bien grande, si celle des Corses n’estoit capable d’y mettre un contre-poids. Il est certain que si par le cours des affaires ce dernier Traité vient à réussir, jamais aucune alliance de Nation n’a esté mieux assortie. Leurs Marriages communs doivent produire des enfans, qui seront autant de Chefs-d’Oeuvres de ferocité. [The Genoese say that the barbarity of the Maniats will never be so great as not to be counterbalanced by that of the Corsicans. What is certain is that, if that treaty ever succeeds, no national matchmaking shall ever prove a better choice. Their common marriages shall produce offspring which will be masterpieces of monstrosity.] (La Guilletière 1675:47)

Because of this similarity, rather than despite it, relations between the Greeks and the Corsicans remained strained long after the Greeks’ arrival in Corsica. According to both Stephanopoli’s 1738 chronicle (Phardys 1888:75) and a 1739 description of Cor-
sica (cited in Kalonaros 1944:139), the Corsicans continued to consider the Greeks schismatics despite their professed Catholicism, and called the Greeks "Turks", because of their oriental dress (and of course, because they knew that it would give them offense). In reporting the warfare between the populations of 1730, Stephanopoli (1865:38) refers to the Corsicans as 'blacks' (μαύροι), and quotes the Greeks dismissing their parleyers with the words: "Ομως σύρτε, επέτε τῶν Ῥωσάδων γνενεραλέων σας, τῶς ἄμεις δὲν φοβούμεσθεν τράγους καὶ αίγες [But go, tell your poncho-wearing generals that we do not fear billy and nanny goats].

Although the relations of the Greeks with the elite of Ajaccio were cordial once they moved there, conflict continued with both the surrounding villagers and the simple townspeople of Ajaccio (SdC II:39, 40). This conflict frequently resulted in bloodshed (SdC II:17, 18-19, 32), culminating in the crisis of 1745, when Genoa was powerless to prevent warfare between Greeks and Corsicans. The Marquis de Marbeuf spoke of the "antipathie naturelle entre Grecs et Corses" in 1770 (SdC II:56), and this animosity surfaced in the raids on Cargèse until 1830.

Even after 1830, once the raids stopped and Corsicans routinely lived together with the Greeks, the hostility did not die out quickly. This was still evident among the Greeks who settled Sidi Merouan in Algeria from Cargèse around 1876. Pierre Petrolacci Stephanopoli's application to establish the colony speaks of Cargèse prospering "malgré le système tyrannique que les Corses n'avaient cessé de leur faire sentir depuis l'époque déjà très éloignée à laquelle leur immigration avait eu lieu" [despite the tyrannical system which the Corsicans have not ceased to make them feel since the time already long past of their migration] (Bartoli 1975:114). The governor of Mila was concerned not to settle two families in Sidi Merouan which were "pas grecques de religion" [not Greek by religion], as "les habitants les repoussent" [the inhabitants would reject them] (Bartoli 1975:124). And the colonists of the adjacent settlements of Siliana and Bou-Foua (where the Catholic families ended up) rejected the proposal that they be merged with Sidi Merouan in 1878, pointing out that "les Grecs avaient la réputation de vivre entre eux, de ne fréquenter "pas même leurs compatriotes corses" [the Greeks had the reputation of living amongst their own kind, and did not frequent "even their Corsican compatriots"] (Bartoli 1975:127). This pop-
ulation, at least, rejected the assimilation underway in Cargèse, and kept its distance from Corsicans.

Modern accounts emphasise that there is no longer animosity between the populations. Kalonaros (1944:145) found none in 1921, nor did Blanken (1951:10) in 1934; and even Phardys (1888:94) spoke of the animosity as ἀλοτελώς ἀπεσφέθησαν [altogether extinguished]. But there was linguistic evidence of the old hostility until recently: Blanken (1951:264) records caidüro ≤ γαϊδοὗτοι 'jackass' among the Greek loanwords in Cargesian Corsican, as a derogatory term for the Greeks. For their part, the Greeks derisively referred to the Corsicans as Vlachs (Stephanopoli 1865:80; Vayacacos 1965b:35); a term used in Mani to refer to their neighbours, considered as plains-dwellers and shepherds (Fermor 1956:70; Alexakis 1980:14). And the usual tourist guide adage, "Et depuis [1830] . . . Grecs et Corses vivent en parfaite intelligence" (http://www.corsica.net/corsica/fr/regajac/cargese/carg_his.htm), is simplistic. As Blanken puts it more accurately, "depuis lors leurs rapports se sont améliorés peu à peu sans que la méfiance intelligence ait jamais complètement disparu" [since then their relations have improved little by little, without the disagreements ever disappearing completely].

4. CLAN STRUCTURE

4.1. The preeminence of the Stephanopoli

Alexakis (1980:40) believes the Corsican colonists belonged to the Stephanopoli clan in their entirety (relying on Phardys 1888:31). The presence of non-Maniots and 'paupers' in the colony does not contradict the involvement of a single clan: to survive in Mani, foreigners and small families were obliged to become adherents of a clan (Alexakis 1980:62). Nonetheless, there was an understanding that certain families enjoyed preeminence in the colony, notably those who bore the Stephanopoli surname. The colony leaders expected to be treated as such: they demanded fiscal privileges from Genoa the year of their arrival (Comnène 1959:29-30), and remained prominent in the history of the colony. The Stephanopolis later validated their claim to power by taking on the cognomen of the Imperial family of the Comneni, just as the Iatrani
had claimed relations with the Medici; and the Stephanopolis remaining in Ajaccio in Phardys' (1888:1) time insisted on being called “Princes Commeni”. The family remains important to the village: when Dikeos Vayacacos visited the colony in the 1960s, Théodora Stephanopoli de Comnène (the historian Michel’s sister) was the main force behind the cultural exchanges between Greece and Corsica (Vayacacos 1983:827-834).

Many Cargesians have added the Stephanopoli surname to theirs by clan consent (http://membres.lycos.fr/suzegranger/MILA.html). Pierre Petrolacci Stephanopoli, the organiser of the Cargèse colony to Sidi Merouan (Bartoli 1975:125), was one instance; another was Stefano Stephanopoli, né Ragazacci, Greek rite priest in Cargèse in 1865-67 and later rector of the Greek College of Rome (Blanken 1951:281); and a third is Marie-Anne Comnène (1959), historian of Cargèse, whose father, the Greek teacher Pierre Stephanopoli de Comnène, was also born Ragazacci. (Marie-Anne’s abandonment of “Stephanopoli” thus reflects a surname inflation parallel to that of Demetrius [Stephanopoli de] Comnène 1999 [1784].) The historian Michel Stephanopoli de Comnène and his sister Théodora, on the other hand, claimed direct descent from Georges-Marie Stephanopoli, founder of Cargèse. As Kalonaros (1944:146) put it,

“Ολοι τους ὄμως θέλουν να λέγωνται Στεφανόπουλοι, ἐπειδὴ οἱ Στεφανόπουλοι θεωροῦνται διτὶ κατάγονται ἀπ’ τοὺς αὐτοκράτορες τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ Τραπεζοῦντος Κομνηνοῦς. Π’ αὐτό καὶ κολλοῦν δίπλα στὸ οἰκογενειακὸ τοὺς ὄνομα καὶ τὸ πρὸσθετο ἑπώνυμο Στεφανοπολί. Ρωμαίη μικροφιλοδοξία, ποὺ τὴν βλέπει κανεὶς να μεταβιβάζεται ἀπὸ πατέρα σὲ γιον, ἀφοῦ κι’ ὁ Πατὰ Νικόλαος Στεφανόπουλος στὸ Χρυσικό τοὺς γράψει τόσα καὶ τόσα καὶ διηγεῖται μὲ αὐταρχία τὰ περὶ καταγωγῆς τῶν Στεφανοπούλων ἀπ’ τοὺς Κομνηνοὺς. [But (the inhabitants of Cargèse) all want to be called Stephanopoli, because the Stephanopoli are considered to be descended from the Comneni, emperors of Constantinople and Trebizond. That is why they adjoin to their family name the additional surname Stéphanopoli. This is Greek pettiness, which one can see transmitted from father to son, as Fr Nicholas Stephanopoli in his chronicle writes so much and recounts with such self-sat-
isfaction the descent of the Stephanopoli from the Com-

Phardys (1888:34-35) describes the phenomenon in similarly scathing terms: καθαρόν κέρδος τῆς ματαιοφροσύνης ταύτης θὰ ὑπάρξῃ ποτὲ ἢ παντελῆς σύγχυσις τῶν ὀνομάτων [the only profit of this vanity shall be the complete confusion of their names]. That said, Comnène (1999 [1784]:22-23) implies the practice was routine for clan adherents.16

The pre-eminence of the clan leaders in Paomia—to the extent of banning other families from wearing purple and red, as legend has it (Comnène 1959:31)—is consistent with the clan structure of Outer Mani, where the colonists came from. Clans in the north-western Outer Mani are more strongly stratified than in the southern Inner Mani, with notions of chieftainship rather than elected leaders, and an agricultural system close to feudalism (Alexakis 1980:76-90).

The hereditary leadership of sections of the colony was another characteristic imported from Mani, which persisted for well over a century. On arriving in Paomia, there were four original chiefs (Capi Maggiori) of the colony: Apostolo Iorgacci Stefanopoli, Nicolo Stephanopoli (who left the colony shortly afterwards), Giovanni son of Poulimenos (= Giovanni Corfiotti?), and Costantino Teodoracci.17 The colony was split into nine chieftainships (capati), each chief responsible for 12 to 21 households; but the Capi Maggiori retained privileges above the others, such as exemption from taxation and the right to servants.18 Chieftainship among the Greco-Corsicans was hereditary, normally passed on to the first-born son; failing that, it passed to a brother.19

When the colony moved to Ajaccio, the chieftainships were gradually supplanted in importance by military companies—headed by Chief/Major Micaglia (grand-nephew of Apostolo Iorgacacci), Chief/Captain Giovanni Busacci (grandson of Costantino Teodoracci), and Captain Teodori Cozzifacci.20 A few Greeks resisted the new scheme at first, refusing to enter the command of those particular captains (SdC II:37). The retort of Chief Giovanni and Father Nicolo (the author of the chronicle) was that these were known troublemakers and had never been chiefs themselves—making the association of chieftainship with military companies explicit. The companies were dissolved in 1752, because of

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Genoa’s chronic lack of funds (SdC II:37, 49); but clan structure continued to dictate Greco-Corsican actions.

When Cargèse was founded, the French administration stipulated that it would be administered according to Corsican municipal law, with an elected Podesta, and that it had no right to hereditary leadership (SdC II:134-135). Elections took place in 1779, with Piero Damilacci elected Podesta (SdC III:38-39); but Georges-Marie and the Marquis de Marbeuf clearly continued to exercise control of the village until their death in 1786. And though Jean-Theophile, Georges-Marie’s son, no longer had any official status in the colony, the municipal authorities still named him procurator of the colony, to represent their interests in Bastia in 1791 (SdC III:50).

The ‘imperfect communication’ of the municipal status of Cargèse led to villagers complaining that they were in vassalage in 1787; the French administrator Souïris bemoaned that, even though a venture such as the foundation of Cargèse required firm leadership, “rien n’aurait pu être dit si les colons avaient été gouvernés par les lois municipales, si les opérations de cession avaient été faites par voie de délibération” [nothing could have been said (to complain of vassalage) if the colonists had been governed by municipal law, if the transfer had taken place through deliberation] (SdC III:40-41). So the transition from hereditary to elected leadership proved difficult.

4.3. Clan rivalries

There are some indications that the Maniot practice of feuding continued among the Greeks in Corsica. Vreto (1981 [1856]:55-56) mentions a Cargesian writing a petition in Greek for his brother to be pardoned for his involvement in a vendetta. The same may hold for Justine Voglimacci’s allusion to a current feud in Vayacacos (1964b:36, 1965c:63).

Once the Greeks settled in Cargèse, however, religious disputes split the community by clan. The establishment of a Latin parish in 1804 did not divide the village into Greco-Corsicans and Corsicans: the Corsican population of the village was still small, and Papadacci’s parish was comprised mainly of Greeks aligned with him through family ties (the Petrolacci family and some
members of the Dragacci family: http://www.corsica.net/corsica/uk/regajac/cargese/carg_egl.htm; Phardys 1888:135). The attempt to get Papadacci expelled from Cargèse in 1831 originated in his clash with the Greek rite priest Vouras; but it escalated through the enmity between Papadacci and the Garidaccis (SdC III:122). Likewise, the competition between Medourios and Ragazzacci for the office of priest (Phardys 1888:139; SdC III:134-135) pit the Ragazzaccis against the rest of the village.

Despite the presence of the Medici, the Stephanopolis' enemies, among the colonists, there is no record of rivalry between clans in the early colony. But there was rivalry between branches of the Stephanopoli clan even during the embarkation for Corsica, with disputes over which Stephanopoli was to be at the head of the colony (Phardys 1888:33-34). Conflict was intensified by the credal disputes in the colony, with Giovanni on the side of Roman Catholicism, and Apostolo against it; there are recorded complaints against both chiefs' machinations (SdC I:92-93). When for instance Giovanni announced he had adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1695, he complained that had the Genoese director of the colony helped him out, more might have taken the calendar up; but "ce dernier est l'ami de Capo Apostolo et de son gendre Teodoro" [the latter is a friend of Chief Apostolo and his brother-in-law Teodoro] (SdC I:97)

The conflict continued in 1708, when the issue of Chief Apostolo's succession needed to be resolved (SdC I:62); and by the time the Greeks moved to Ajaccio, two factions emerged within the Stephanopoli clan. One faction was Apostolo's descendants, which had the preeminent role in the colony. Apostolo's lineage passed to his nephew Chief Giorgio, named the first notary of Paomia (SdC I:33). Giorgio's son, Chief/Colonel Micaglia Stefanopoli, was the military leader of the Greek troops of Ajaccio, named soon after their arrival there (SdC II:37, 40). His son Captain Georges-Marie Stephanopoli was the founder of Cargèse.

The other faction of the Stephanopolis in Ajaccio were the descendants of another of the Capi Maggiori, Costantino Teodoracci, who died in 1678 (Comnène 1999 [1784]:138). Teodoracci's son and grandson, Teodori Busacci and Giovanni Busacci Stephanopoli, were also chiefs. Teodori Busacci was the relative of Apostolo that Giovanni complained had conspired with him against the Gregorian calendar. At that stage, the Busaccis were
still making common cause with Apostolo. In 1688, for example, the Director of the colony, Giovanni Tomaso de Passano, accused Teodori of putting Apostolo up to mischief, in objecting to the marriage of Apostolo’s daughter and Giovanni’s son (SdC I:123).  

Two generations later, Teodori’s grandson Captain Costantino Busacci Stephanopoli was continually at odds with Micaglia and his son Georges-Marie, seeking to establish his own supremacy over the colony. In 1744 Costantino’s promotion at the age of nineteen to captain, replacing his brother Teodori, was disputed in writing by 74 Greeks. This number is suspiciously close to the entire company under Micaglia’s direct command, though Micaglia himself did not sign (SdC II:44). Micaglia’s own repeated requests for confirmation of his primacy over the Greek troops (SdC II:41, 43) point to his ongoing dispute with the other troop leaders. Fear of such disputes led to Genoa refusing to promote the third company leader, Teodori Cozzifacci, to Major in 1745 (SdC II:45). In 1757, long after the Greek military companies had been dissolved, Costantino attempted to organise a Greek cavalry unit under French sponsorship. The unit was clearly a Busacci affair, its commanders being the three Busacci brothers (SdC II:50-51; Comnène 1999 [1784]:177-178). Georges-Marie refused to take part, for which Genoa (which imprisoned Costantino—for only a half hour, according to Comnène 1999 [1784]:178) was grateful (SdC II:52). But Georges-Marie’s refusal was as likely motivated by animosity against Costantino as by loyalty to Genoa (SdC II:53).  

The other show of rivalry between the two factions were the separate colonisation initiatives they organised. Costantino headed a colony to Sardinia in 1754 (see below). After that venture failed—in part because he had overcommitted himself as representative of the Greco-Corsicans—Costantino organised the French cavalry unit in the hope of facilitating Greek migration to France (SdC II:52). After that attempt also failed, Costantino entered into negotiations with Tuscany in 1767 to settle the Maremma (SdC II:80-81)—the same region settled by the Medici of Vitylo in 1671. Georges-Marie was in negotiation with Spain at the same time to move the Greco-Corsicans there (SdC II:81-82), and was the sole representative on the Greco-Corsican side through the protracted negotiations for the establishment of Cargèse (SdC II:83-160). Georges-Marie was confirmed by the
French as head of the Greek colony as early as 1769 (SdC II:83); the repeated confirmations of his leadership in French correspondence, just as with his father Micaglia, reflects ongoing dissension in the community (SdC II:85, 119, 139)—including an unsuccessful attempt by the priesthood to circumvent him as negotiator (SdC II:94-95).

Once the plans for Cargèse were well under way in 1774, Costantino Busacci and his son Demetrius began a protracted campaign against the venture (SdC II:133-160). The claim they made consistently was that Cargèse was unsanitary (SdC II:140-141)—a claim that Costantino had frequently used in Sardinia to reject settlement sites proposed by the government there.27 (Ironically, Costantino himself had negotiated for a move to the swamps of the Maremma, which truly were unsanitary.) The Busacci branch refused to move to Cargèse: 55 signatories in January 1775 (SdC II:191), 110 in April out of 423 Greeks (SdC II:194-215)—although several signatories had changed their mind by the end of the year (SdC II:160).

The reason behind the Busacci campaign was the longstanding issue of control over the colony. This was made clear in a letter where Costantino and his sons, Demetrius and Apostolino, complained that Georges-Marie was acting like the head of the colony when he was not; that he was deciding housing and land arrangements himself; and that he was obviating the old chieftainship system in appointing his own church prior, rather than allowing one prior from each clan (SdC II:134). In other words, Georges-Marie was eliminating the traditional chieftainships in favour of his own exclusive command of the village. Intendant Pradine's response was that the colony had elected Georges-Marie as their representative, and that he enjoyed the minister's confidence. But in declaring the unacceptability of hereditary leadership, Pradine confirmed the Busaccis' fears. The uproar that ensued was so great that, shortly afterwards, Pradine asked Georges-Marie to direct any correspondence not concerning the establishment of Cargèse to sub-delegate Armand in Ajaccio, rather than directly to him (SdC II:136-138).

The rivalry between the two branches of the Stephanopoli did not erupt frequently into violence; it was even possible for Georges-Marie and Costantino to act as witnesses to the same wedding in 1771 (Vayacacos 1970b:§141). But in March 1752,
Costantino’s brother, Apostolino, attempted to force Georges-Marie’s sister, Maria, to marry Apostolino’s friend at knifepoint (SdC II:29). Despite the families signing an agreement to keep the peace that April, there was further violence in September, involving Georges-Marie’s brothers—though not the Busaccis. Violence also accompanied Costantino’s clan-based departure for Sardinia: Costantino was said to have bayoneted a rival (SdC II:74). And in February 1775, when the Greco-Corsicans were preparing to leave for Cargese, there was talk of the Busaccis burning the village down—as well as conspiring with the Corsican villagers to demand more money for their land and to claim the site was unsanitary (SdC II:143-144).

Although the Busacci ringleaders were temporarily expelled from Ajaccio in the late 1770s, as punishment for their intrigues against Georges-Marie (SdC II:159), they remained prominent members of Ajaccio society, where they remained. Demetrius was Napoleon Bonaparte’s sponsor at Brienne, and his uncle, Costantino’s brother Dimo, was Napoleon’s emissary to Mani. The Busaccis’ pride in their primacy also led them to exploit genealogy: it was Demetrius who obtained in 1782 recognition from Louis XVI of his descent from the Comneni (Comnène 1999 [1784]:14-34; Kalonaros 1944:146-151). Shortly afterwards, Demetrius was able to show off his new title in the Cargese registry books, sending his brother and mother, Georges and Alexandra, to be godparents on his behalf to Dimitrios-Kostandis Corizzacci:

Δ' Ψηλότατος και πολυδύναμος κύριος Δημήτριος κόντες τῆς Κομνένου, ἀρχηγὸς τῆς Τραπεζούντας, Περιτόμερος τῆς Λακεδαιμονίας, ἐκατόνταρχος τῆς καβελλαρίας τοῦ πολυχρονιμένου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ χριστιανοκτάτου βασιλέως τῆς Γαλλίας [The High and Mighty Sir Demetrius Count of Comnène, Lord of Trebizond, Elder of Lacedaemonia, centurion of the cavalry of the long-lived, most pious and most Christian King of France] (Vayacacos 1978:§1854)

Demetrius may have been bearding Georges-Marie on his home turf; but the baptism did take place, so Ajaccio Stephanopolis were not banned from setting foot in Cargese: Alexandra after all was Georges-Marie’s sister. (The enthusiasm with which Cargesians took up the Comnène name shows that the traffic of ideas
at least continued between the two branches.) Demetrius' efforts redoubled in 1787, after the death of both the Marquis de Marbeuf and Georges-Marie: he demanded to be recognised as chief of the colony, and that the marquisate of Marbeuf be granted him in compensation for the loss of Busacci lands (SdC III:24-25). This venture provoked considerable agitation in Cargèse, but came to nought, as the settlement remained loyal to Georges-Marie's son, Jean Theophile. The Ajaccio Stephanopolis' request for land was again rejected in 1794 (SdC III:54)—with the Cargesians making clear their resentment at urban Greeks wishing to deprive them of their land—and again in 1810 (SdC III:59-60).

5. Demography

The following population counts for the colony are recorded:

1675 730 colonists embarking from Mani
1676 606 colonists arriving in Genoa in January (possibly closer to 520); 520 colonists in a census from June/July (SdC I:19)
1678 475 (SdC I:19)
1683 398 in 113 households (SdC I:19)
1685 450 (SdC I:27)
1710 700 (SdC I:103)
1718 600 (SdC I:111)
1729 182 households taxed (SdC I:19)
1729 "siete cientos familias Griegas" [700 Greek families] (clearly misunderstood for "700 persons"), reported in 1743 as having fled from Paomia in the Greco-Minorcan petition for a Greek priest from Corsica (Sanz 1925:375)
1731 700 in 240 families in Ajaccio, out of a total population of 3200 (SdC II:11)
1740 812, 200 able to bear arms (Vayacacos 1965b:38; SdC II:43)
1756 600, 180 able to carry arms (SdC II:31)
1769 147 families (SdC II:55)
1773 428 Greeks (SdC II:184-188)
1775 423 Greeks, of which 281 had decided to move to Cargèse, 110 had decided to stay in Ajaccio, and the remaining 32 were undecided or could not be found; four of those counted were permanently living outside Ajaccio (SdC II:194-215)
1778 315 Greeks in Cargèse (SdC III:155)
1782 312 (SdC III:158-163)
1784 386 (SdC III:149-154). The appendix to the 1784 census gives different counts for "la collonia": 315 in 1778, 379 in 1782, 413 in 1784. The reason for the discrepancy is unclear.
1786 420 (SdC III:168-173)
1792 465 (SdC III:115)
1796 114 families in Cargèse, around 500 people during the British rule of Corsica (1794-96) (Blanken 1951:9; SdC III:55)
1797 1200 in Ajaccio, of which 800 returned to Cargèse (Blanken 1951:9)
1826 500 (SdC III:66)
1837 600 (Valery 1837:102)
1868 1200 (Lear 1870:122)
1872 1078 (Bartoli 1975:122)
1876 849 (Bartoli 1975:122)
1887 1001, of which 400 were Greeks (Phardys 1888:95)
1900 1100 (Blanken 1951:12)
1946 846 (Blanken 1951:12), of which 140 were Greeks
2000 983, of which 300 are Greek rite parishioners28
The Greek colony underwent frequent attrition, initially because of the hardships of the new settlement (SdC I:19-32), then later as Greeks engaged in warfare with the Corsicans, and started to abandon Corsica. This is despite the fact that Greeks were initially banned from leaving Paomia by the Genoese, after the departure of Chief Nicolo Stephanopoli (SdC I:36). The drop in population between 1740 and 1773 is the most precipitous; it is to be explained by colonists killed in hostilities with Corsicans (as Phardys 1888:79 speculates), and leaving Corsica for Sardinia, Minorca, Florida, and metropolitan France.

Since it predates the departure for Cargèse, the 1773 census represents a high point for a single community of Greco-Corsicans; the 1778 count shows a quarter of the population staying behind in Ajaccio. The counts up to 1784 show Ajaccio and Sardinian Greco-Corsicans slowly trickling into Cargèse, although Georges-Marie was not rushing to allow his rivals in (SdC III:8). We know of 14 new arrivals in the colony by 1783 (SdC III:15): three from Sardinia, five from Mani, and presumably the remainder from Ajaccio; more arrivals continued through the 1780s (SdC III:19-20). (We have no evidence that any Greeks returned from Florida.) On the other hand, 24 families had abandoned Cargèse for Ajaccio by 1792, selling their property to Latin rite Corsicans (SdC III:98); Stephanopoli de Comnène dates the Corsican presence in Cargèse to that time. (The large number of Greeks reported in Ajaccio in 1797, when the Cargesians had fled there, is anomalous given the 1775 count, and is likely to be inaccurate.)

The demographic balance of the community was altered in 1874 by yet another migration—this time to Sidi-Merouan in Algeria. The colonists were a substantial proportion of the Greek-speakers of Cargèse, and accelerated the assimilation of the remainder (Dawkins 1926-27:376). Blanken (1951:12) estimates that the colonists were some 400 out of the 700 Greek-speakers, accounting for 79 families; Tozer’s (1882:355) count of 400 Greeks in Cargèse in 1872 already represents the onset of that attrition. Bartoli (1975:122) counts 185 colonists from Cargèse preparing to leave in 1872, and over fifty more preparing to leave in 1876, by which time the population had already dropped by 20%—all departures being Greek; she counts 41 families settling in Sidi Merouan. (Bartoli 1975:121 notes that there were also Greek colonists from the adjacent villages of Piana and Vico—the
old enemy of the Greco-Corsicans—and from Ajaccio.) There was also an abortive attempt at another colony in Algeria in 1881. The massive drop in Greek numbers in the village was compensated for by an even greater influx of Corsicans.

Throughout the 19th century Greeks were intermarrying with Corsicans, and Corsicans were settling in Cargèse; so distinguishing Greeks from Corsicans becomes problematic. Once language attrition set in, the only easy way of determining Greek identity has been creed, transmitted patrilinearly—with Greek rite Cargèsiens called Greeks to this day. Vayacacos (1964a:550) found 170 "Ελληνικός καταγωγής μόνιμοι κάτοικοι τοῦ Καργέζη [permanent residents of Cargèse of Greek descent]. He noted that during the summer there were over five hundred Cargèse Greeks, as Cargèsiens living in metropolitan France returned to spend their holidays. (Vayacacos 1965b:43 revises those counts to 150 and over 300.)

6. RELIGION

The agreement with Genoa required that the Greco-Corsicans acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, and follow the Greek rite as prescribed by Rome; it added that Rome would appoint the successors to their current clergy. The colonists themselves were in denial about this: Apostolo Stephanopoli confidently wrote home in May 1677 that the colonists would maintain their rite "absolument comme à Vitylo" [absolutely like in Vitylo], and that after the death of their bishop, they would ask permission from the Pope to choose their own bishop in Venice (Comnène 1959:18, 21)—a prospect Apostolo attempted to follow up for himself in 1696. Confident in their religious entitlements, the colonists set to building no less than seven churches, including a monastery dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin (Comnène 1959:20; Phardys 1888:35, 46-47; SdC I:81).

For the first couple of years of the colony, Genoa left the Greeks to their own devices. But after complaints from the local Catholic bishop, Genoa sent the Chiot Benedictine monk Odorisio Maria Pieri in March 1679 to carry out the required doctrinal work among the Greeks—fresh from a similar mission among the Maniots colony in Tuscany (Moustoxydes 1965 [1843-53]:269; Hasio-
tis 1969:141; Comnène 1959:38; see also SdC I:80). After seven months of negotiations, backed up by the authority of Genoa, Pieri acknowledged the acceptance by the Greek bishop and chiefs not only of Catholic authority but also of Catholic doctrine, including the *filioque* and Purgatory (Hasiotis 1969:140; Comnène 1959:38; SdC I:86-87). In this, Pieri had gone beyond the requirements of the agreement with Genoa, under which the Greeks would have the same ecclesiastical status as the Greek community of Leghorn—under Roman authority but not Roman doctrine.

Bishop Parthenios continued to defy Pieri after his doctrinal acquiescence; in June 1680 for instance he sanctioned Gianucco Stephanopoli's trigamy, under terms unacceptable to Catholicism (Comnène 1959:40-41; SdC I:88). Pieri, for his part, described Parthenios as “le plus barbare, le plus superstitieux, qu’il ait jamais rencontré” [the most barbaric, the most superstitious person he had ever met] (SdC I:87). Parthenios did dictate his will to Pieri in 1682 (Phardys 1888:117-120; Kalonaros 1944:167-169; SdC I:117-120), but this need not be taken as an act of reconciliation: Pieri ensured that Parthenios did not have a successor (SdC I:120-125). Though the local Roman Catholic bishop of Sagona was eager to take control of the parish (to the extent of issuing death threats to the Chiefs), Paomia remained under the direct ecclesiastical control of Rome, through Apostolic Vicars sent to administer the colony.

The relations between the colony of Paomia and the various Apostolic Vicars and Chaplains appointed to it were stormy (SdC I:83-116). The chiefs ended up requesting the removal of most vicars, and in the most egregious instance—Pieri himself, who had placed the colony in ecclesiastical lockdown over its refusal to accept the Gregorian calendar (SdC I:93-99)—their request was granted in 1696. And the chiefs felt they could have their way against the Roman Catholic authorities: when disrepair forced the two congregations to share a Greek rite church in 1704, the village chiefs petitioned Genoa objecting to the £300 the apostolic vicar had requested to repair his church (SdC I:24; Genoa did fund the £300, but not the remaining £220 that the repairs actually cost).

The clashes between the Greek and Latin authorities of Paomia were not always religiously motivated. The animus against the last vicar there, Tommaso Maria Giustiniani, concentrated on his
lack of piety—but the underlying reason appears to have been his consorting with the neighbouring hostile villages (SdC I:116). Nonetheless, the major religious crises of Paomia, in 1694 and 1715, were caused by Greek religious intransigence in the face of demands made by Latin clergy. These demands were not doctrinal: clergy rarely had much specific to complain about the colonists' doctrine, to the extent that the colonists understood it at all. Rather, the contentious issues were ritual: the maintenance of the Julian calendar, and the use of Greek church books with content unacceptable to Rome (SdC I:108-109). In the latter case, the content may have been doctrinally suspect, but such subtleties cannot explain the popular uproar on their confiscation. The books were more potent as symbols of a separate identity.

The dispute on the calendar started early: on leaving Paomia in 1686, Pieri's replacement Father Catalano reported the colonists saying that they would abandon the Julian calendar only when the Genoese Magistrate gave them a good reason (SdC I:74). Pieri, who resumed office in Paomia, reported difficulty in 1689 in getting the Greeks to follow the Gregorian calendar—the one outstanding demand from the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith (SdC I:92). The matter came to a head in 1694 (SdC I:93-97): after fulminating against all and sundry holdouts in his correspondence, Pieri assembled the clergy and chiefs repeatedly to demand adherence to the calendar. When the Greeks asked that the decision be deferred to their children, Pieri suspended all confessors, the prior of the monastery, and the administration of sacraments, and closed down all but one church. The Genoese governor reopened the churches and set up an enquiry; the recriminations between Pieri and the colonists continued (including accusations of elderly monks being beaten), and in 1696 Genoa had Pieri removed.

Once the Greeks moved to Ajaccio, their religious history was uneventful, and the Catholic hierarchy left them alone. Disputes recommenced once the Greeks moved to Cargèse. In 1804 Abbot Elie Papadacci, a native of Cargèse, was named Latin rite priest of the village, a function he carried until his death in 1854. The Greeks not aligned with Papadacci through family ties remained faithful to the Greek rite, refusing to have traffic with "Corsican priests". This remained so even though their remaining priest Elie Souglis, who had died in 1822, was not replaced by the ecclesias-
tical authorities, in an attempt to do away with the Greek rite (SdC III:118). The Greek rite Cargesians improvised their own church rituals (Phardys 1888:136) until 1829, when Joseph Vouras, an archimandrite from Chios, arrived in Cargèse (Phardys 1888:136-138; Kalonaros 1944:170; Valery 1837:104-105). Relations between Papadacci and Vouras were particularly acrid (SdC III:119-131); the upheaval makes it understandable that the Greek rite registries for Cargèse (Vayacacos 1970b, 1978, 1983b) were not maintained from Papadacci's appointment as curate in 1817 until the appointment of Vouras' successor in 1845. The most violent phase was the three years after Vouras' arrival:

• In 1830, Vouras was accused by the mayor of Cargèse and his brother of being a schismatic, not recognising papal authority, and performing void marriages. The mayor sought to shut Vouras' Greek school down, claiming that he interfered with the students learning French; the school intendant had accordingly prevented him from teaching more than three students. Vouras described his two adversaries as "pires que les Turcs . . . deux tyrans plus cruels qu'Ali Pacha" [worse than the Turks . . . two tyrants more cruel than Ali Pasha]. (SdC III:121)

• In a reversal of what took place with the Paomia Latin church in 1704, Papadacci in March 1831 attempted to block the funding of 500 francs towards the construction of the Greek church: to his mind the Greek church only needed 192 francs, and the rest should be diverted to the Latin church (SdC III:124). (When Vouras petitioned Valery for a thousand francs for church construction, by contrast, he included the Latin church in his request: Valery 1837:104-105.)

• The Easter celebrations of April 1831 were marked by death threats by Papadacci's nephews and brother, throwing stones during Easter service, and pulling a gun on a Greek rite parishioner. Calm was not restored until the mayor himself intervened; the gendarmes who rushed to the scene were ignored (SdC III:124-125). When the two priests were asked to explain themselves to the prefect in Vico, their recriminations were as one would expect, although
Papadacci was rather less diplomatic than Vouras. By this stage, the mayor of Cargèse was happy to blame both priests for the troubles (SdC III:125-126).

- In May 1832, three gunshots were fired into Vouras’ house at 2:00 AM (Phardys 1888:137; SdC III:127); Vouras temporarily fled Cargèse. Nicolas Stephanopoli, an opponent of Papadacci in Paris, named Papadacci as the prime suspect in his correspondence with French officials, a suspicion Phardys echoes. Both Nicolas and Phardys were biased; but given the prevailing acrimony, the allegation is not implausible.

After 1832, no further violence is recorded between the rites, although relations remained tense. This was exacerbated by the two rites being forced to share a church. When Cargèse was founded, the Marquis de Marbeuf had a personal chapel built, which eventually served as the village’s common church. While the chapel continued in use for another century, the Latin rite villagers had already decided to build their own church in 1817 (Stephanopoli de Comnène & Manceau 2002:9). The building of the church of Sainte-Marie took place between 1826 and 1850, with no less than fourteen requests for financial assistance lodged with the French government. (Vouras had already handed Valery (1837:105) a petition on his visit for a thousand francs, to help towards both the repair of the old Greek church and the construction of the Latin church.)

The Greek rite parishioners eventually resolved to build a new church of their own. Building of the Greek rite church of St Spyridon, across a small gorge from Sainte-Marie, commenced in 1852, but the church was not consecrated until 1872, and the belltowers were built in 1895 (Stephanopoli de Comnène & Manceau 2002:19). The villagers only worked on building the church on Sundays after Mass, without any civic assistance; as late as 1868, Lear (1870:125) found it to be “a mere shell, standing unfinished for want of funds”, and in the same year the Greek priest complained to the minister of religion that he had no church to officiate in (SdC III:106).

After Joseph Vouras was replaced in 1846 (SdC III:131), all Greek rite priests of Cargèse have been trained as Greek Catholic priests. His successors Michel Medourios Stephanopoli (1845-
1865, 1880-1882), Stefano Ragazacci Stephanopoli (1865-1867), and César Coti (1882-1935) were natives of Cargère, trained at the Greek rite Gymnasium of St Athanasius in Rome. Medourios was replaced by Ragazacci, when the bishop of Ajaccio objected to Medourios serving as both government-appointed Greek teacher and curate. This move was greeted by agitation in the village between Ragazacci’s family and Medourios’ party—including cutting the church bell ropes, to prevent Ragazacci from conducting mass (Phardys 1888:138-139; SdC III:134-135). The troubles led to short gaol sentences for the more hotheaded parishioners. After Ragazacci was sent to St Athanasius as an instructor, to calm village tempers, he was succeeded by two non-native priests: Nicholas Franco from Piana de’ Greci, an Albanian settlement in Sicily (1867-1878), and Father Dimitriadis from Constantinople (1878-1880) (Phardys 1888:141), before Medourios resumed office.

As Dawkins (1926-27:375-76) reports, the Cargesians hoped to replace Coti with Nicolas Frimigacci, the priest of the Sidi Merouan colony and a native Greek-speaker. Frimigacci did not succeed Coti, and at any rate was advanced in years himself. But although Coti’s eventual successor Maurice Chappet was a Savoyard from Annecy, the Cargère Greeks were well served by him: he preserved Greek ritual assiduously and spoke Greek fluently, having been a Greek teacher in Constantinople and having lived in Athens. The current priest of Cargère, appointed in 1964, is Florian Marchiano, an Albanian-speaker from Calabria. Indicative of his own multiple identities, Marchiano is also named in the literature with his Italian name Fiorenzo, and his Greek name Anthimos.

7. CORSICAN OFFSHOOTS

There is a long history of Greco-Corsicans leaving Corsica in hope of finding a more peaceful abode. Initial attempts were infrequent, as they were frowned upon by Genoa after the departure of Chief Nicolo Stephanopoli (SdC I:36); but 15 Greeks are recorded as having left Paomia by 1693, and a further six new arrivals from Mani had moved on to Sardinia (SdC I:204). In 1714 George Stephanopoli left Paomia for Grosseto of Tuscany, where he had descendants into the 20th century; one of these was Bernard Stephanopoli, Catholic bishop of Antioch in partibus (Kalonoros
1944:152). The 1738 Stephanopoli chronicle also mentions families moving to Ajaccio while the colony was still in Paomia (Stephanopoli 1865:61).

After the establishment of Cargèse, the Ajaccio community could not remain distinct from the Corsican townspeople. Demetrio Stephanopoli, Costantino Busacci’s brother, asked permission to return to Ajaccio in 1772 as a Latin rite priest (SdC II:36); so some of the Ajaccio Greeks may have converted to the Latin rite early. The numbers of the Ajaccio community was dealt a further blow by their participation in the Sidi Merouan colony; it is not mentioned as a recent Greek community in the literature, and presumably has long been assimilated.

Once Genoa started losing control of Corsica, the Greeks suffered for their association with them. Genoa stopped paying the city guard regularly in 1744 (SdC II:21), and the military companies which kept the Greeks salaried were dissolved in 1752. The violence of April 1745 made it impossible for the Greeks to practice agriculture, and destroyed much of their livestock and harvest. As a result, Greeks began to abandon the island. Already in October 1745, 11 Greeks deserted to the Swiss officers’ quarters, and it was feared they would soon leave the island (SdC II:27). Over the next two decades, Greeks entered into negotiations with Spain (Phardys 1888:79-80; SdC II:81-82), Tuscany (SdC II:80-81), Sicily, France (SdC II:52), and Sardinia to establish colonies; and some Greeks did migrate to Minorca, Leghorn (alluded to in SdC II:86-87, 137), the Kingdom of Naples (alluded to in SdC II:97) and Sardinia. The negotiations ceased when France took control of Corsica: the Marquis de Marbeuf put an end to Georges-Marie’s Spanish project on his own initiative, without even consulting the French court (SdC III:81).

7.1. Sardinia

The first Greco-Corsican settlement in Sardinia was in 1692, when Maestro Elia de Scio, newly arrived from Mani with his family, had moved on to that island (SdC I:204). As Manno (2001 [1826-27]:Book XIII) notes, another colony from Vitylo to Sardinia was also being negotiated in the 1750s, by the priest George Casara; this attempt foundered on the usual requirement that the
Greeks convert to Catholicism. Earlier on there were negotiations in 1738 led by Chief Giovanni Mundano to establish a colony of sixty Greco-Corsicans (SdC II:57); but Mundano was successfully talked out of his plan by Genoa. The Greco-Corsican colonies to Sardinia that were actually realised date from the 1750s.

Two colonies were established, in Montresta (also known as San Cristoforo), and San Antioco, an island off the Sardinian coast. Montresta was first colonised by Greeks from Greece in 1746, but the colony proved unsuccessful (Manno 2001 [1826-27]: Book XIII). Once the Vitylo Maniots negotiating a colony in Sardinia refused to convert to Catholicism, Casara turned to their compatriots in Ajaccio as recruits. 29 Greeks had already left for Sardinia in August 1749, and 52 families were involved in the negotiations. The Montresta colony ultimately numbered 72 in 17 families, after Genoa managed to dissuade more from leaving (SdC II:57-58). The colony did not prosper, and was in conflict with both the Sardinian authorities and the neighbouring villagers—who, just as in Paomia, considered them interlopers. There was an attempt to massacre the Greeks in the 1750s, and from the 1760s through to at least the 1780s the Greeks abandoned the colony and returned to Corsica (SdC II:118; SdC III:15); there was also an unsuccessful attempt of the Montresta colony to resettle in Fluminargia (Manno 2001 [1826-27]). In 1786 only 18 out of 217 inhabitants of Montresta had a Greek name, and in 1836 only two remained (SdC II:64). Stephanopoli de Comnène believes the colony failed because of the hostility of the Sardinian villagers encountered there, but also its lack of a clear leader and religious authority.

The second colony did not lack for leadership: it was the project of Costantino Busacci Stephanopoli, in 1754 (SdC II:64-79; Comnène 1999 [1784]:173-176). The site of the colony was subject to protracted dispute between Costantino and the Sardinian secular and ecclesiastical authorities (SdC II:65, 70-72). While Sardinia wanted Busacci’s colonists to settle the already depopulated Montresta, Costantino insisted that Montresta was unsanitary, and settled San Antioco instead. Costantino pledged Sardinia 240 families, made up of 640 colonists; this was almost the entire population of Greeks in Corsica, so Costantino was presuming to speak for the entire colony. (Costantino was to do the same with his later proposal of a Tuscan colony, pledging 400 to 500
colonists.) Georges-Marie's faction obviously stayed clear of the project, but Costantino still mobilised substantial numbers: chiefs representing 477 Greeks agreed to the colony (SdC II:71), and 286 colonists—the upper limit of what San Antioco could actually sustain—arrived at the end of the year (SdC II:74). (A few others agreed to join Montresta instead.)

Despite the arrivals, the Sardinian authorities took Costantino's failure to deliver as a breach of contract; a simultaneous accusation of counterfeiting money shows that Sardinia had lost confidence in Costantino. The authorities demanded that the Greeks relocate to Montresta or Fiume Santo, or go back to Ajaccio. Two months after landing in San Antioco, in February 1755, the Greeks decided to return. When time came for them to embark in April, Costantino and his fellow leaders refused—claiming that both Genoa and the Corsicans were hostile to them, and demanding that they be taken to Nice or Antibes. Imprisoned, the leaders changed their minds soon enough, and left for Ajaccio shortly afterwards (SdC II:77-79). Humiliatingly for Costantino, Genoa refused to allow the Sardinian colonists back: Georges-Marie had to intervene to allow them in.33

7.2. Minorca

The Greek community of Minorca, which flourished during British dominion over the island (1709-1756, 1763-1783) was connected with the Greco-Corsicans. The first Greek priest approached to serve the Minorcan community was George Casara (Sanz 1925:331-332), who we have just seen was active with the settlement of Sardinia. Casara was approached in Ajaccio in 1743 by the Greco-Minorcan Marcos Vatica, and left with him secretly from Corsica, given the Genoese ban on Greeks leaving the island. As Casara arrived in Minorca without the requisite paperwork, he was forbidden by the Vicar General from officiating in Minorca. A letter written in 1755 confirms the presence of Greco-Corsicans there, among the other Greeks (Svoronos 1956-57:326). Georges-Marie Stephanopoli referred to secret departures in the past from Ajaccio to Sardinia, Leghorn and Mahon (SdC II:137). Georges-Marie was also in correspondence with a "compatriot" from Mahon in 1776, to arrange the migration of Greek sailors to Cargèse (SdC III:9).
We do not know much about the extent of Greco-Corsican presence in the Minorcan colony, or their fate. In particular, we do not know whether the Greco-Corsicans were included in the expulsion of the Greeks and Jews of Minorca by the French in 1756 (Svoronos 1956-57:339), or whether their Catholic creed spared them. By the time the Greek colony was expelled for a second time by the Spanish, in 1782, half the Greeks who stayed behind declared themselves Catholics (Sanz 1925:360); but none of their surnames seem to be Greco-Corsican (Ladico, Chiesa, Ciro, Riva, Calerico), and we know Ladico and Riva to have been from Corfu and Cephallonia.

One interesting datum on relations between Greco-Corsicans and the other Greco-Minorcans, however, is suggested by mentions of Greco-Corsicans joining the colonial ventures in Sardinia. The Montresta colony of Greco-Corsicans was joined in 1754 by nine families of 32 Greco-Corsicans from Mahon, Minorca (SdC II:61). A contemporary source refers to 22 families from Minorca, seeking to join the San Antioco colony (SdC II:74);

The Montresta families' claimed to be fleeing religious persecution as Catholics in Minorca at the hands of the British; but this is implausible. Minorca was full of Catholics under British rule, and the British themselves were in negotiation with the Catholic Greco-Corsicans in 1755 for a colony "où les Anglais offraient des conditions avantageuses" [where the English were offering them advantageous conditions] (SdC II:80). The Greco-Minorcans who had already settled Minorca by 1743 had likewise been welcomed by the British, who used them as privateers against the French. If the British suspected the Catholic Greco-Corsicans in Minorca of preferring the French through shared creed, they would not have been negotiating with their compatriots still in Corsica. The Greco-Minorcans were driven out once France took control of Minorca, and are known to have moved to Leghorn; we also know that the founder of the Minorcan colony was in negotiation with Sardinia to establish a colony there (Svoronos 1956-57:326). But France did not take control of Minorca until 1756; so the Montrestans cannot have been fleeing France for Sardinia in 1754.

The real religious persecution in Minorca was of the Greek Orthodox colonists. We already noted the rejection by the Minorcan clergy of the Greek Catholic Casara in 1743. By 1749 the Greco-Minorcans still could not build a church, despite explicit
permission granted by the British in 1745: the Minorcan Catholic clergy threatened with excommunication any Minorcan assisting in its construction (Marshall 1932-33:101-103; Sanz 1925:336-337). By 1752 the situation had been resolved, with the Orthodox church built by the British, and a Greek priest on his way to the colony (Svoronos 1956-57:324). So this could not have been the persecution referred to by the Montrestans. Any sense of religious persecution likelier arose from conflict with the Orthodox Greco-Minorcans—already embattled by Catholicism, and unlikely to be charitable toward even nominally Catholic arrivals. The Greco-Minorcans were only 15 families strong in 1752, according to Svoronos (1956-57:324-25), but already 600 strong in 1754. (Sanz 1925:342 infers a count of 2000 from 1749-1754 lists of merchants.) Moreover, the colony was under Russian ecclesiastical jurisdiction (in the vain hope that Russia would protect them from a Catholic sovereign), and its Greek priest, Theocletus Polyeides, was active in propagandising an Orthodox alliance of Greeks with Russia (Svoronos 1956-57:331-32). The combination of an influx of Orthodox Greeks and a new, aggressively Orthodox priest by 1754 may have made the Greco-Corsicans unwelcome in Minorca.

7.3. New Smyrna

The Scottish entrepreneur Andrew Turnbull (Panagopoulos 1966; Corse 1967) went around the Mediterranean in 1767, recruiting indentured servants for his plantation of New Smyrna in Florida (then under British control). The colony included around 70 Greco-Corsicans (Panagopoulos 1966:51), most of a young age, embarking in March 1768; the Greco-Corsican surnames of Medici, Stephanopoli, Drimarachis [Drimaracci], and Cosifachis [Cozzivacci] figure among the colonists.34 (The government of Genoa was told only a dozen Greco-Corsicans had left: SdC II:37. But this may have been intended to allay Genoa’s concerns mid-crisis—France assumed control of Corsica two months later.)

The Greco-Corsicans joined 100 Italians from Leghorn, around 500 Greeks mainly from Mani, and around 700 Minorcans (including some Greco-Minorcans). The settlers in New Smyrna were ill-treated, ill-provisioned, and the Maniots in particular ill-acquainted to malaria. Half the original 1400 colonists died in the
first three years of the colony—148 on the initial voyage, and 450 in the first year; in 1778, there were 291 colonists left alive (Panagopoulos 1965:174). A rebellion soon after the settlement was put down; the Greco-Corsican Elia Medici, who had killed a cow to provision the rebels' flight to Havana, was spared—but forced to execute two rebel leaders (Panagopoulos 1965:59-62). The plantation was commercially bountiful from 1771 onwards (Panagopoulos 1965:72-77), mainly producing indigo dye. But Turnbull became involved in a protracted feud with the British governor of Florida, Patrick Tonyn. When ninety colonists walked from New Smyrna to St Augustine, to petition the governor to free them from their indentures (often extortionately prolonged), Tonyn was happy to oblige them, and the plantation was dissolved. The remaining colonists resettled in St Augustine, though they were just as neglected by Tonyn; most of them remained in place after Florida was transferred to Spain in 1783, although a few left for the British Bahamas (Panagopoulos 1965:175). The descendants of the colonists still live in St Augustine, and have long identified themselves as Minorcan.35

7.4. Sidi Merouan

After the settlement of Cargèse, Greco-Corsicans continued to leave the village, this time for metropolitan France; in this they have followed their Corsican neighbours. Vayacacos (1965b:41) reports Cargèsiens settling in Paris, Marseilles, Nice, Montpellier, Toulouse, and Toulon; Papadopoulos (1864:414) mentions earlier migrations to Genoa and Lyon; and Kalonaros (1944:175) places his Cargèsiens fellow students in France, Algeria, and στις μακρινές άποικίες τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Αφρικῆς [the distant colonies of Asia and Africa].

The major colonial venture of Cargèse, however, was to Algeria in 1874-76. The Sidi Merouan colony (Phardys 1888:105-108; Bartoli 1975; SdC III:70-79) had its own Greek rite church, and started with a greater Greek population than was left behind in Cargèse: of the 700 Greeks of Cargèse before 1874, 79 families, around 400 people, according to Blanken (1951:12)—although only 41 families according to Bartoli (1975:123), and 30 families in the initial settlement according to Phardys (1888:106).
community did not remain stable; many Greeks left Sidi Merouan to return to Cargèse, or settled elsewhere in Algeria\textsuperscript{36} or in metropolitan France.

The population of Sidi Merouan reached 660 by 1881 (around 100 families according to Phardys 1888:107), which stretched the agricultural resources available to the settlement. This led to the gradual abandonment of the village, combined with the unavailability of brides for marriageable young men; the French administrators’ growing impatience with the colonists’ requests for financial aid; and the colonists’ failure to adapt their agriculture to the new terrain. Algerian Arabs, who rented farmland from the Greeks and were more adept at farming it, increasingly settled the village. The non-Arab population of the village had already fallen to 431 by 1884, 286 in 1900, 136 in 1918 (against 1751 Arabs in the village itself and 3815 in the broader area), 125 in 1931, and 65 in 1946. The few remaining colonists abandoned Sidi Merouan in 1962 with Algerian independence, resettling in metropolitan France (Vayacacos 1964a:549).

8. CONCLUSION

The Greek colony in Corsica is in many ways an anomaly. Although there have been many mercantile colonies from Greece throughout Europe in modern times, the number of settled, agricultural colonies has been quite small. And though the Corsican colony was only one in a series of colonial ventures from Mani following the fall of Crete, it is the only such colony to have prospered, and to have survived as identifiably Greek. In fact the resistance of the Greco-Corsicans to assimilation for so long is quite remarkable—all the more given how hostile their environment was to them maintaining a distinct creed, and the centrality of religion to their identity as Greeks. I explore elsewhere the subtleties of the processes underlying this resistance, and how the Greco-Corsicans ended up forging their own identity (Nicholas forthcoming).

Although the most remarkable aspect of the Greco-Corsican experience is how it remained Greek for so long, the history of the settlement also offers an intriguing early look at cultural contact between Greeks and Western Europe. The early history of the
colony was marked by overt rejection of such contact, as seen both in the violence with the Corsicans and with the Greco-Corsicans’ rejection of Roman Catholicism. This rejection, as well as the dire living conditions in the 1750s, drove many Greco-Corsicans to take that most Greek of ways out, migration. But migration did not lead to repatriation in Greece: this shows that the Greco-Corsicans had made ‘Frankia’ their home.

The violent relations of the Greco-Corsicans, both with each other and with their Corsican neighbours, shows them adhering to the modes of behaviour formed in Mani. By happenstance, the Corsicans had formulated similar modes; this, of course, did not bring the two populations together. And even when the populations did start to merge, and assimilation was well under way, a sizeable portion of the settlement still rejected the process. That resistance has long since been done away with, and the Greco-Corsicans adapted much earlier than Greeks in Greece to life in a modern European state, with no hereditary leadership and a division between church and state. Yet the Greek identity of Cargèse remains cherished, however tenuous the connection with Greece has become.

References


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Notes

1For their material assistance I wish to thank Jackie Dutton, John Hajek, Io Manolessou, and especially Genevieve Czarnecki. Thanks also to Camilla Russell for her comments and encouragement.

2In his interview with the Genoese authorities, Bishop Parthenios justified the Corsican colony in 1676 as follows (Kalonaros 1944:134):

Οἱ λόγοι ποὺ τοὺς ἀναγκάζουν ν’ ανάφησον τὸν τόπο τοῦ εἶναι ὁ φόρος πέντε
The reason forcing them to leave their country is the tax of five coins of 8 reals which each boy is obliged to pay the Turks, on top of the tax of those who have left for Naples, Leghorn, and other places in Christendom. That tax burdens the families remaining in the country, and if they do not pay it, the Turks take their children despotically and force them to convert. To escape such tyranny and live in their creed, they have petitioned Pier Giustiniani to intercede on their behalf with the Most Serene Republic of Genoa.

"Toutefois parmi les Magnottes cette réputation ne fait pas un grand effet sur ceux qui sont ennemis des Turcs, & qui pour retenir les autres qui chancel- lent, leur font entendre que les Infidèles ne laisseront plus qu'une seule Eglise dans chaque Ville, ce qui est la menace ordinaire qui fait trembler les Grecs."

[At any rate, this reputation (for Ottoman generosity) made no great impression on those who are enemies of the Turks—and who in order to steady those who were wavering, impressed on them that the infidels would leave only one church in each village: a threat which made the Greeks tremble.]

Phardys dates the start of the feud around 1640; but Liberakis was active in the 1670s and 1680s. In 1663 the request for permission to settle in Tuscany was signed by seven Medici and five Stephanopouli (Lambros 1905:401): although the Medici clan was claiming a Tuscan colony as their birthright, at the time they welcomed the Stephanopouli to join them. Kalonaros (1944:127-128), who points out that there were also Medicis in the Stephanopoli colony to Corsica, thinks it likelier that the clans had initially agreed to go together, and only later split up.

Kalonaros (1944:129, 135) also mistrusts the traditional account of the three-way feud, noting that Bishop Parthenios, who accompanied the Stephanopolis and identified with their interests, had nothing uncomplimentary to say about Liberakis when interrogated by the Genoese. Comnène (1999 [1784]:140) claims that Liberakis' perfidy remained proverbial among Greco-Corsicans, although he is not a reliable source.

Iatrani is derived from the Greek for 'doctor', and many clan members at the time went by the surname Medikos—including Don Demetrio de Medici, who negotiated both the Brindisi and the Tuscan colonies (Hasiotis 1969:136) and also set the Corsican colony in motion in 1671 (SdC 1:3). Mostoxydes (1965 [1843-1853]:267-8) is scathing about the claims that the Iatrani/Yatri/Yatraki family is the same as the Medici family, and Hasiotis (1969:129) is also sceptical. After the 17th century migrations there have been no Medici recorded in Mani, whereas there are still Stephanopouli in Mani.

The clan members signed their names on arriving in Corsica as Stefanopulo, even when writing in Italian. But by the time of 1738 chronicle, they were calling themselves by the italicised form Stephanopoli even in Greek. The most comprehensive history of the Corsican colony, Stephanopoli de Comnène
(1997, 2000, 2002), uses Italian and French names for the colonists, in accordance with the Italian and French documents and correspondence he has relied on; I use those forms here.

In his 1738 chronicle, Stephanopoli (1865:20) as published by Papadopoulos describes the colony as οἱ Στεφανόπολιοι οἱ πλέον διαλεκτικοι καὶ ἄξιοι σὺν ταῖς συμβίαις καὶ τέκνα αὐτῶν καὶ ἑπήγαν μαζί τους καὶ μερικές φαμελίες ἀπὸ τοὺς πτωχοὺς, τὸν ἀρχιμόν δλοί Στεφανόπολιοι καὶ πτωχοί φυγές ἐπηαχόες τριάκοντα [the most choice and worthy Stephanopolis with their spouses and children; and some families of paupers went with them, Stephanopoli and paupers numbering seven hundred and thirty souls]. Vayacacos (1965b:28; 1970a:1) cites the chronicle as saying 430 Stephanopolis of Stalextoi ἀπὸ τοὺς πτωχοὺς, 300 ἀπὸ διάφορα ἄλλα χωρία, τὸ δλοί ἐπηαχόες τριάκοντα φυγές [430 of the most choice and worthy Stephanopolis with their spouses and children; and some families of paupers went with them, 300 from sundry other villages, 730 souls in all].

7Vreto (1981 [1856]:54) believes the Corsican colony was later than the Tuscan because it was motivated by the destruction of their crops by an unreasonably strong wind. Vreto has circumstantial evidence for this in the preservation in Mani of the expression “we're for Corsica” [“Nous sommes pour la Corse”], whenever the winds look like destroying their crops. But his account is inconsistent with the protracted negotiations for settlement in Genoese territory, and Genoa would not have welcomed Greek settlers only on the basis of a one-off humanitarian crisis.

8So counted in the 1738 Stephanopoli chronicle (Stephanopoli 1865:20). Michel Stephanopoli de Comnène (SdC 1:8) counts the arrivals at Genoa at 510-530 people, since 100-120 people died en route and 100 others were unable to embark for want of room; the ship captain’s report was of 606 arrivals.

Demetrius Stephanopoli de Comnène (1999 [1784]:133-144) speaks in his account of 4000 settlers. But Demetrius’ version, which seeks above all to privilege the role of his great-great-grandfather Costantino Teodoracci, is at odds with the history given by Phardys (1888), Comnène (1959) and Stephanopoli de Comnène, and quite unreliable.

9Excluding Genoese officials (Vayacacos 1978:§6, 1694), the first recorded instance of Corsican godparents is from 1715, when our regular records of baptisms commence (‘Ἰγνάτιος τοῦ Μαστροσουμώνη [Ignatius son of Master Simeone], §20), followed in 1716 by ἡ συνόρα Μαδαλένα ἱεράτικα [signora Madalena the doctor’s wife] (§39), Λαυρέντιος Γενναδίου [Lawrence the Genoese] (§42), Καζανόβας Νιολίτης [Casanova from Niolo] (§49), and ὁ Ἀντών Μπατίστα απὸ τὸ Σάλικα [Anton Battista from Salice] (§59).

10After the unrest over the confiscation of Greek religious books in 1715, Genoa banned intermarriage without the bishop’s consent (SdC I:109), to prevent further disorder between the communities, and to safeguard the Greek rite community. But there is no reason to think this was a response to an extant reality. By contrast, the French administration encouraged intermarriage in the newly-founded Cargèse, as a means of smoothing over the long-running enmity with the Corsicans (SdC III:10).

The first two mixed marriages are recorded in 1727 and 1728, involving
the children of Giovanni Lumio: Caterina married to Dimas Vlaccacci, son of Vasilis, celebrated by Dimo Stephanopoli and recorded in Greek, followed by Elia married to Ciriaci Pacciacucia, daughter of Dimitrio, celebrated by the Latin priest Tommaso Maria Giustiniani, and recorded in Italian. Both weddings had the approval of the bishop of Sagona, as stipulated by Genoa (Vayacacos 1970b:§75). The first recorded offspring of a mixed marriage was in 1736, when Dimitris Soultadakis and Filiciola Balestrina had a daughter Paola-Maria—followed by Bernardo in 1738, Antonio in 1740, and an unnamed daughter in 1741 (Vayacacos 1978:§628, 685, 772, 815). Nonetheless, intermarriage was infrequent until the move to Cargèse in 1775: in the 1740s, 4 of the 76 weddings (5%) were mixed (two of them involving soldiers from Bulgaria and Dalmatia), and 2 of the 52 weddings in the 1770s (4%); two more Greco-Corsican women had married residents of Vico and Rocca and were living there in 1775 (SdC II:206). By contrast, 8 of the 27 weddings from 1800 to 1809 were mixed (30%).

Indiscipline was also a problem outside Ajaccio: the sailors transporting the Greco-Corsicans to the San Antioco colony in Sardinia in 1754 needed a military guard to protect them. The Greco-Corsicans in turn threatened to throw the guard overboard (SdC II:76).

Corsican Carghjese, Greco-Corsican Kaøëtica, written in the registry books as Kaøëtica and Kaøëtica. Phardys' (1888:82-3) hellenisation as Karyai 'Walnuts' is fanciful.

Galetti's (1863, cited in Lear 1870:125) and Stephanopoli de Comnène’s (SdC II:65) dating of the reconciliation between the communities to 1814, ignoring the 1830 attack, appears to be more accurate. It also indicates that the reconciliation did not occur instantaneously.

The first attestation of the insult, in Stephanopoli's (1865:80) chronicle, refers explicitly to shepherds, and is so glossed by Vayacacos (βοσκοῦς): Οι δὲ Ρωμαῖοι οὕτως ἔπειρικῶλωσαν τοὺς βάλχους τῶν ἀποστατῶν καὶ ἔπηραν ὡς χίλια πρόβατα καὶ μὲ τὴν ξυκὴν ἐγύρισαν τὸ βράδυ εἰς τὸ Ἀγιάτζο [The Greeks then surrounded the vlachs of the rebels and took up to a thousand of their sheep, and returned victorious in the evening to Ajaccio]. The contemptuous epithet φασαφόροι 'poncho-wearing', applied to the leaders of the 1729 rebellion, moves along the same lines, the φάσον being a shepherd's cloak. The term βάλχος was still used in 1964 (Vayacacos 1964b:49, 78, 84, 118, 127; 1965c: 69, 115, 147, 178, 198), and is defined as "shepherd, mountain Corsican". Since there is no attestation of Romance-speakers in the Peloponnnesus, the Maniot usage is likelier in line with the general use of the Indo-European *walh-stem to denote foreigners (cf. Welsh, Welsh, Walloon, Wlochy).

Phardys (1888:1-24) spends a good deal of time evaluating the conflicting claims to Comnenan ancestry, and rejects them. Alexakis (1980:173-174) cites this among the 'establishing myths' of the various clans, but does not think it impossible.

If Comnène (1999 [1784]:18-19), the document establishing the Comnenian claim, is to be trusted, the leaders of the colony were originally referred to as protogeroi, elders (or sénateurs, as Comnène prefers to render it).

Even before the mass adoption of the surname, the profusion of Stephanopolis in the colony caused confusion. The original solution was the use of
patronymics instead of surnames; of the initial chiefs of the colony, Apostolo Stephanopoli is named in the 1676 census as Apostolo Iorgacci—Apostolo's father George Stephanopoli had initiated the colony, and died in Genoa (Phardys 1888:33). Chief Costantino Stephanopoli was recorded in the census as Costantino Teodoracci, his father having been Theodore (Théodore III in Comnène's 1999 [1784]:130 dynastic scheme). And Apostolo's grand-nephew Micaglia Stephanopoli is named in the Greek church registries as Mεχάλης Γεωργιακάκης—his father being Giorgio Stephanopoli.

The alternative was to adopt a nickname for the branch of the clan, as appears to have occurred with the Busaccis.

17Nicolo was replaced by his brother Giovanni, who might be the Giovanni named as an original chief in the sources; but the reference (SdC I:61) is to four distinct chiefs at the time of settlement. Admittedly, earlier references are to only three chiefs, omitting Nicolo (Phardys 1888:33; Comnène 1999 [1784]:15). The chiefs corresponded to branches of the clan, and protesting Georges-Marie's contempt for the clan system in 1774, Costantino Stephanopoli names four clans in Ajaccio: the Falzei, the Novachiani, the Stefagniani and the Popolani (SdC II:134), which corroborates the presence of four original Capi Maggiori. Phardys (1888:33) cites earlier historians (Limperani, Cambiaggi) as placing Apostolo in the Stephanaioi, Giovanni in the Novakaioi, and Costantino in the Fatsei. (Comnène 1999 [1784]:15 identifies Giovanni only as 'de Polimene'—i.e. son of Poulimenos—and a relative of Costantino Teodoracci.) Assuming Giovanni Novakaios was distinct from Nicolo's brother, we can thus identify the four original chiefs as Apostolos Stephanopoulos son of Georgios, of the Stephanaioi branch; Nikolaos Stephanopoulos of the Popolanoi branch (?); Ioannis Korfiotis son of Poulimenos, of the Novakaioi branch; and Konstantinos Stephanopoulos son of Theodoros, of the Fatseoi/Busacci branch.

18Apostolo had a maid in the 1676 and 1678 censuses. Costantino gained a maid in the 1678 census. Nicolo had a manservant in 1676. By the 1678 census, when his brother Giovanni had taken over the chieftainship, this manservant, Teodori Gianuccacci, was counted as head of his own household.

19Father Giovanni took over from his brother Nicolo, who abandoned the colony in 1678. (SdC I:33 claims that Giorgio Stephanopoli succeeded Nicolo, but that is inconsistent with the 1676 and 1683 census.) Apostolo's chieftainship passed to his nephew Giorgio after Apostolo became a monk in 1696: Apostolo's sons had died (SdC I:118, 123: Ilias en route to Paomia, Dimo murdered in Paomia in 1688), and Giorgio's father Michael had died in Vitylo (SdC III:91). Teodori Busacci relinquished his command to his younger brother Costantino on entering the priesthood in 1744 (SdC II:44; Comnène 1999 [1784]:170).

20Stephanopoli de Comnène (SdC II:37) names him as Teodori Stefanopoli, but he is identified as κατετάν Θεοδωρής Κοζζιφάκης in the baptismal registry in June 1732 (Vayacacos 1978:§513), and as κατετάν Θεοδωρής Κοζζιφάκης, Στεφανόπουλος in 1746 (Vayacacos 1978:§1043). Teodori was not a chief, but was presumably the son of Chief Costantino Cozzifacci. Cozzifacci's chieftainship appears from the censuses to have been a continuation of Chief Dimo Stephanopoli's—a minor chief in 1676.

21Michel Stephanopoli de Comnène is Apostolo's descendant, and one
might suspect him of bias against the other faction, the Busaccis. But the historical incidents he mentions confirm this preeminence, as does the greater deference accorded that faction in the registry books. Further confirmation is given, oddly enough, in Comnène 1999 [1784], an account written by Demetrius Stephanopoli of the rival faction. Apostolo is mentioned only in a footnote (Comnène 1999 [1784]:15-16), disputing that he was a real Stephanopoli. Apostolo's descendants are not once mentioned in Demetrius' history, nor indeed is Cargése—which was the initiative of Apostolo's line.

Apostolo's father George was identified as the leader of the colony from Mani, and Apostolo was the main beneficiary of Bishop Parthenios' will (SdC I:118). Much of the early correspondence written on behalf of the colony is signed by either Apostolo (a fact Demetrius grudgingly admits) or Giovanni, Nicolo's brother. Apostolo even sought to extend his control of the colony to the ecclesiastical level: he became the monk Athanasius in 1696, in the hopes of ending up the next Greek rite bishop of Paomia (SdC I:123-125).

All of Micaglia's children, born between 1722 and 1738, had as a godfather a member of the Corsican elite—aristocratic, military, or religious (Vayacacos 1978:§196, 307, 386, 464, 544, 597, 686). This was not the case for his contemporary rival Giovanni Busacci (Vayacacos 1978:§169, 397, 561, 686, 883)—only Costantino had a Corsican noble godfather (Vayacacos 1978:§348), and though Maria-Madalena's godfather Signor Mario may have been Corsican (Vayacacos 1978:§620), he does not appear to have been a nobleman. So Micaglia made a point of being better connected, even before the move to Ajaccio.

The genealogical record has been confused over the years. Phardys (1888:33) was told that this faction, which stayed in Ajaccio, was descended from Michael, Apostolo's brother; in fact, Michael was Chief Giorgio's father (SdC I:118), and the progenitor of the faction that went to Cargése. Stephanopoli de Comnène (SdC II:9) identifies Costantino Teodoracci as the cousin of Apostolo's father, George. He does not identify the faction leader Captain Costantino Stephanopoli with the descendants of Costantino Teodoracci or with the Busacci name; but that identification is abundantly confirmed in the registry books, and in Comnène (1999 [1784]).

Commène (1999 [1784]:147-149) alludes to a priest's plot against Teodori, accusing him of murder after his primacy was not recognised. The reference to a priest excludes Apostolo, who became a monk in 1696; but it shows that the Busacci were just as embroiled in clan conflict as Apostolo's line.

This is despite the fact that Georges-Marie—or as the Greeks knew him, Κωνσταντίνος Τεόρακης—was married to Costantino's sister Theodora, and Costantino to Georges-Marie's sister Alexandra, within a fortnight of each other (Vayacacos 1970b:§204, 206)—an arrangement which looks like a dynastic alliance. As with many other dynasties, marital pacts did not avert future hostilities.

The extensive surviving correspondence shows that Georges-Marie was engaged in his task to the point of micromanaging. This is alluded to in de Sonolet's enquiry on Cargése just before the Greeks moved there (SdC II:149): Georges-Marie had "toutes les qualités nécessaires à une bonne compréhension des questions corses et grecques dans tous les domaines, mais 'il est mauvais physicien et bien mauvais architecte'" [all the qualities necessary to a good
understanding of Corsican and Greek issues in all domains; but "he is a bad physician and a worse architect". (De Sonolet recognised that Georges-Marie was working under budget constraints, however.)

27 There was suspicion that Demetrius supplied the spoiled wine which caused the food poisoning of the Cargèse garrison, used to prove the unsuitability of the site (SdC II:158).


29 The Maniots had a history of being unrealistic about remaining Greek Orthodox in Italy. Preparatory to their settlement in Brindisi, they extracted a commitment on Orthodoxy from Spain in both 1641 (Hasiotis 1969:120) and 1644 (Hasiotis 1969:124, this time admitting Roman authority); but the Holy See expressly ruled this out in 1678 (Hasiotis 1969:141). Pressure to convert forced the colonists of Mottola, near Taranto in Puglia, to flee to Tricarico, over 100 km inland (Hasiotis 1969:135)—although within two years, the Tricarico colonists had to adopt Catholicism anyway (Tsirpanlis 1979). Likewise, the preliminary draft of the 1663 request by the latrani to settle in Tuscany contains the expectation that the Maniots would have their own bishop, reporting to the Greek Orthodox bishop of Venice (Lambros 1905:409). But the request ultimately lodged with Tuscany accepts Greek rite Catholicism—"il rito della Chiesa Greca unito alla Latina nella forma che si pratica in Livorno" [the rite of the Greek Church united with the Latin, in the form practised in Leghorn] (Lambros 1905:403).

30 Although Pieri did not report his success until October, bishop Parthenios and the Stephanopolis had already consented in June; the lead-up to the concession appears to have been trying (SdC I:86). The religious recusance ("ligereza") of the Maniots was notorious enough that, when in 1678 Spain asked permission of the Vatican for a Maniot settlement in the Kingdom of Naples, the Holy See stipulated that the Greeks were not to bring their own clergy (Hasiotis 1969:141).

31 Blanken (1951:22) suspects from his surname that Medourios was not native to Cargèse; but the surname Medourakis is attested in Corsica in the 18th century, and the first settlers of Cargèse include "Cagli q. Medurio" [Kali, the widow of Medourios] (SdC II:149).

32 Father Medourios and Mayor Frimigacci had already clashed in 1860, including another disruption of an Easter service—this time through the off-key chanting of the mayor's party, rather than firearms (SdC III:134).

33 Costantino's son, of course, presents a rather different version of events (Comnène 1999 [1784]:174-176), and blames the Viceroy of Sardinia for stirring trouble against him. In Demetrius' version, Costantino was received back in Ajaccio "avec de grandes marques d'empreusement" [with the greatest show of eagerness], and Costantino was immediately entrusted with a mission against Paoli's insurrection. This may well be true: the Genoese could not afford to be picky during the Corsican insurrection.

34 The Greek surnames of New Smyrna have been much hispanicised and changed since the settlement; already during their lifetimes, the colonists were recorded as Estanople, Madrari, and Cocifacio (Panagopoulos 1965:50).

36 Etienne Gay-Lugaro (http://membres.lycos.fr/suzegranger/MILA.html), a descendant of the Sidi Merouan colonists, lists the cities of Lacroix, Levasseur, Yusuf, Catinat, Oran, and Bône. At some stage, a few families moved to Chemora/Lutaud (SdC III:79).