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Sideri, Eirini; Hanna, John

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## ABSTRACT

This article investigates the spatial form and social functioning of Hermoupolis, a port city of the Greek island of Syros in the 19th century. It studies the historical development of Hermoupolis into one of the most important commercial and industrial centers and explores the role the port city played as a node in a larger network which extends beyond its physical boundaries. It examines the particular connection between land and sea, and the way that the island's people and visitors have perceived the multilayered city.

Through a systematic study of the local archive of the island, this research highlights the functions located near the waterfront during the 19th century and the complex network that formed and shaped the social functioning of that city.



## The Social and Spatial Development of Hermoupolis During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

Eirini SIDERI <sup>1</sup>, John HANNA <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSc Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences, Delft University of Technology, The Netherlands.

John HANNA <sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Lecturer, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, Delft University of Technology, The Netherlands.

## KEYWORDS

Hermoupolis, Island, Waterfront, Social functioning, Mapping

# The Social and Spatial Development of Hermoupolis During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

## Introduction

This research provides new insights into the evolution of the port city of Hermoupolis, in the island of Syros, Greece, during the 19th century. It reveals the social and spatial development of this port city since the 1820s through the exploration of a relatively under-researched set of historical sources from the city's local archive. These historical sources address the factors that formed the newly established Hermoupolis. They include information on the first informal settlement, the official urban plans, and the businesses that had been established in the center of that city during its early years.

The island of Syros serves as a case study that does not correspond to the typical Greek island but constitutes a unique example given the plethora of elements that determined the development of the city of Hermoupolis beyond local and national borders. As part of a global trade network, this port city was transformed into a transit harbor and an emerging industrial center until the end of the 19th century, when a downward trajectory started. Through this case study of Hermoupolis, the article explores the notion of the 'port-city', coupling it with notions of 'island' and 'social functioning' to understand and clearly illustrate the spatial imprint of the elements that defined the formation of Hermoupolis.

Islandness as a sociocultural form is derived from the isolation of an island territory, surrounded by "frightening and occasionally impassable bodies of water"<sup>1</sup>. This particular condition forces the island's local population to ensure their independence, while also maintaining a level of involvement in a community network. The sea is treated as a dynamic medium that both separates and connects groups of citizens around collective identities<sup>2</sup>. The port of an island is the spatial representation of a network which extends beyond the physical borders of its limited and bounded territory, merging the local with the one beyond that<sup>3</sup>. It is a palimpsest of every former social interaction between residents and travelers. Multiple factors contribute to forming this network in a way that determines the evolution of the port through history. This complex network is vital for the functioning of the whole territory, over history and in the contemporary times. As networks evolve, they influence the formation of the city. The port is continuously essential for the island, but under new circumstances and with new demands. To understand the spatial development of an island, it is crucial to carefully dive into the evolution of its port city, through the lenses of social production of space and social functioning.

Looking at Syros, this article first asks: How is a port city of an island established and designed? How do people appropriate and define a port city? To answer these questions, the article develops a conceptual framework that builds on several theories and concepts. First, the concept of *religioscape*, developed by sociologists and anthropologists, is applied as an analytical lens to synthesize the historical evidences and to understand the primary decisions, how they were developed around specific religious communities and nodes, and how they defined the city's later development. Additionally, the notion of *bluespace* as developed by architect and academic, Diane Brand, is used to connect the space with social activity in a coastal urban context<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Philip Conkling, 'On Islanders and Islandness' 2, no. 92 (2007).

<sup>2</sup> Aideen Foley et al., 'Understanding "Islandness"', 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2023.2193249/>.

<sup>3</sup> Carola Hein and Yvonne Van Mil, 'Towards a Comparative Spatial Analysis for Port City Regions Based on Historical Geo-Spatial Mapping', *PORTUSplus* 8, no. Special Issue (2019).

<sup>4</sup> Diane Brand, 'Bluespace: A Typological Matrix for Port Cities', *Urban Design International* 12 (2007): 69–85.

The article's methodology builds on Laura Vaughan's concept of social cartography. Vaughan applies this concept to understand the history of social mapping and to apply space syntax methods to investigate social patterns<sup>5</sup>. Social cartography is used here as a method to read the existing maps and generate comprehensive conclusions, in addition to archival research. A fundamental source for the history of the island of Syros is the General Archive of the State (GAS); where various archives give an insight into multiple aspects of the island's history from 1821 to 1949. This research aims to present a study of the formation of the city from 1821 until the end of the 19th century, by combining different types of archives. From the municipality archive, a set of official urban plans of Hermoupolis (1837, 1871), the index of embankments in Hermoupolis (1841), an index of streets and squares accompanied by the list of owners along every street (1864), and a business guide (1875) stood out, and were examined in detail. All these different types of archival material, created throughout the 19th century, complement each other and are combined in a way to present a coherent story about the proposed urban plans and eventually the development life of Hermoupolis, during that time.

This article is divided into three parts, each corresponding to a different approach of looking into the city's history and at a different period. Keeping the chronological order, the first section starts in 1821, when the first refugees arrived on the island and set the informal settlement. Since it was then when they started forming a database, the research on this part is based on secondary sources and existing literature, leaving space for topics that enriched the history of the city. The second section is based on primary sources such as the maps and drawings found in the GAS, in Syros, concerning the period from 1837 –the date of the first original urban plan of Hermoupolis. The third section starts from 1864—the date of the index of streets and squares—and provides an analysis of the collected data through digitalization and visualization techniques.

## The First Settlement

During the beginning of the 19th century, the population of Syros was mainly located on a hill, forming a protected enclosed medieval settlement called Ano Syros (Upper Syros)<sup>6</sup>. This was typical of many Greek islands, where the initial settlement was situated on a hill close to the port but always protected from the sea and its threats with a defense wall. The inhabitants were less than 4.000 at that time and their occupation was mainly farmers or seafarers<sup>7</sup>.

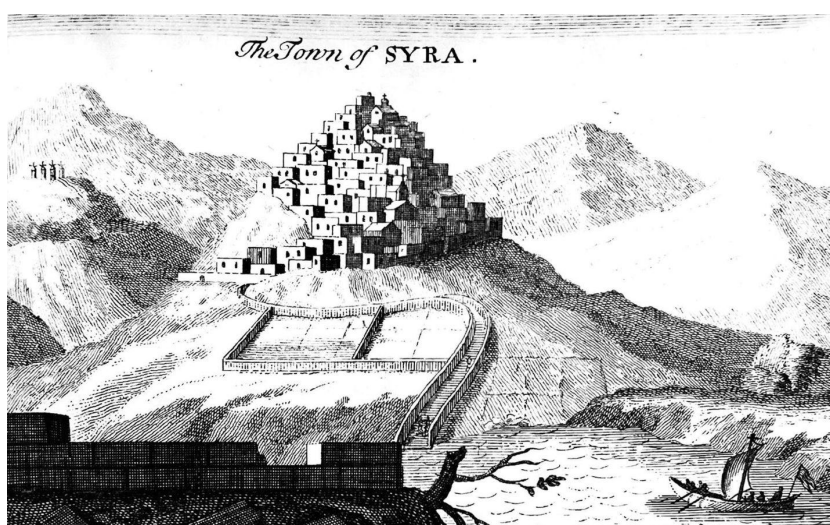


Figure 1. The Town of Syra. Source: Tournefort. *The Town of Syra*. 1700. In Ioannis Travlos and Aggeliki Kokkou, *Hermoupolis: The Creation of a New Town in Syros in the Start of the 19th Century* (Athens: Emporiki Bank, 1980), 237.

<sup>5</sup> Laura Vaughan, *Mapping Society: The Spatial Dimensions of Social Cartography* (London: UCL Press, 2018).

<sup>6</sup> Andreas Fragidis, *The History of Syros Island* (Athens: Association of Syrians in Athens, 1975).

<sup>7</sup> Ioannis Travlos and Aggeliki Kokkou, *Hermoupolis: The Creation of a New Town in Syros in the Start of the 19th Century* (Athens: Emporiki Bank, 1998).

In 1821, the first refugees arrived in Syros from Smyrna and Kidonia when the Greeks declared a revolution against the Ottoman Empire. Others from Chios and Psara followed the coming years<sup>8</sup>. This island was a safe option as a protected zone during the breakout of the Revolution. It already acquired the tolerance of the Ottoman Empire since the inhabitants did not participate in the Revolution and, at the same time, were protected by the French, since the majority of the population followed Catholicism<sup>9</sup>.

During the following years, until the 1850s, more people from the vast territory of the Aegean Sea and the hinterland settled in Syros. As a result, the increase of the orthodox population gradually influenced the position of Syros towards the Greek Revolution<sup>10</sup>. In 1824, Syros announced to the national assembly that their island would no longer be politically protected by the European Forces and declared allegiance to the Greek Authority. Thereon, they actively contributed to the Revolution by offering economic support and gradually attracted more and more people<sup>11</sup>.

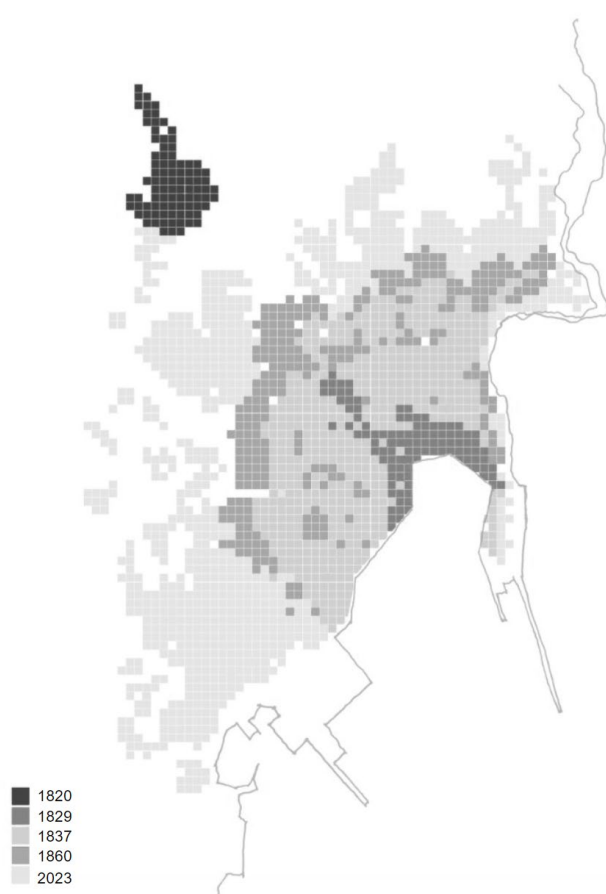


Figure 2. The expansion of the city of Hermoupolis. Map developed by Eirini Sideri, based on Ioannis Travlos and Aggeliki Kokkou, *Hermoupolis: The Creation of a New Town in Syros in the Start of the 19th Century* (Athens: Emporiki Bank, 1980). for 1820, 1829, and 1860. On Weber. *Plan de la ville d' Hermoupolis sur l'île de Syra*. Map. Hermoupolis, 1837. From General State Archive of Syros, Map Collection (accessed February 2023). for 1837. And on Google Maps. Hermoupolis, Syros, Greece, 2023. (accessed May 2023) for 2013.

The strategic position of the island in the center of the Aegean Sea and the naturally protected harbor were seen by the newcomers as an excellent opportunity for trade development since most of them used to be merchants. The refugees decided to settle in the port, at a distance from Ano Syros, the center of the Catholic population. They were not welcomed there since they were Orthodox and the locals were unwilling to share their city with the newcomers. The natural harbor was transformed into a new trade center which was realized some years later, and still today, it constitutes the island's center. Hermoupolis, during the first half of the 19th century, was an important transit node in the global network of major port cities in the Aegean Archipelagos, like

<sup>8</sup> Travlos and Kokkou, *Hermoupolis: The Creation of a New Town in Syros in the Start of the 19th Century*.

<sup>9</sup> Christos Loukos, *The Hermoupolis of Syros (1821-1950)* (Athens: University Publications of Crete, 2022).

<sup>10</sup> Travlos and Kokkou, *Hermoupolis: The Creation of a New Town in Syros in the Start of the 19th Century*.

<sup>11</sup> Travlos and Kokkou, *Hermoupolis: The Creation of a New Town in Syros in the Start of the 19th Century*.



Constantinople, and Smyrna, while also supplying the nearby islands of Andros, Tinos and Mykonos<sup>12</sup>.

The rapid development contributed to the transformation of this anonymous settlement. The nomenclature of the new city took place in 1826 in the newly built orthodox church of Metamorphosis. The religious territory of the church was, at the same time, a social, cultural, and political space, as it happens during the phenomena of refuge<sup>13</sup>. It was a carefully considered decision that affirmed the establishment of this newly created community in the local environment.

The chosen name was Hermoupolis, which reads as “the city of Hermes, the messenger of the gods, and the god of trade, thieves, travelers, and sport”<sup>14</sup>. Undeniably, the chosen name was closely related to the shared vision for this newly established city. Having as a primary focus the goal to actively participate in the international trade network, the city also put much effort into cultivating a prosperous environment for its citizens through education and culture. It was clear that the structure of the whole city should evolve. At that time, the dense settlement network extended from the seafront—the embankments that immigrants created—to the hillsides just above the port. Already in 1832, the general council of Hermoupolis, constituted by locals, asked the citizens to refrain from the informal appropriation of streets and public spaces to limit the uncontrolled expansion of the city, but everything stayed the same<sup>15</sup>.



Figure 3. Hermoupolis and Ano Syros from the sea. By Eirini Sideri.

Within this context, the region of embankments was one of the most important in terms of economy and trade due to the proximity to the seafront and the variety of functions aligned with commerce<sup>16</sup>. This land was created illegally since the structures were built into the sea, so the State decided to legalize it<sup>17</sup>. A law in 1834 declared this land national, triggering many changes<sup>18</sup>. The State formed a detailed list with each owner's name, the plot's area, and the annual income to sell the plots to their current owners and to eventually legalize them<sup>19</sup>. Despite the strong reaction, the plan of the national land was realized, forcing people to repurchase their land. It was a long process that displeased the local population and only in 1858 a law was enacted, exempting them from paying additional interest on late payments<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Maria-Xristina Xatzioannou, 'Syros, Liverpool of Greece', in *Syros and Hermoupolis, Suggestions in the History of the Island, 15th- 20th Century*, by Christina Agriantoni and Dimitris Dimitropoulos (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2008), 135-42.

<sup>13</sup> Danièle Hervieu-Léger, 'Space and Religion: New Approaches to Religious Spatiality in Modernity', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26, no. 1 (2002): 99-105.

<sup>14</sup> 'Hermes', in *Cambridge Dictionary*, n.d.

<sup>15</sup> Travlos and Kokkou, *Hermoupolis: The Creation of a New Town in Syros in the Start of the 19th Century*.

<sup>16</sup> Loukos, *The Hermoupolis of Syros (1821-1950)*.

<sup>17</sup> Dora Monioudi-Gavala, *Urban Planning in the Greek State 1833-1890* (Arginio: University of Western Greece, 2012).

<sup>18</sup> Aggeliki Fenerli, 'New Evidence from the First Refugee Settlement in Hermoupolis', in *Syros and Hermoupolis, Suggestions in the History of the Island, 15th- 20th Century*, by Christina Agriantoni and Dimitris Dimitropoulos (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2008), 77-86.

<sup>19</sup> Monioudi-Gavala, *Urban Planning in the Greek State 1833-1890*.

<sup>20</sup> 'Gazette of the Government of the Kingdom of Greece', Pub. L. No. 12, FEK (1858).

## The Proposed Plan

The reorganization of the city was of utmost importance for the local community to properly support the vision for the city. The aim was to improve the hygiene conditions and provide the best possible ground for future expansion of the city<sup>21</sup>. The process started in 1835 when the Ministry of Military Affairs of Greece assigned lieutenant engineer Ludwig von Weber to map the city of Hermoupolis. In 1837, the Bavarian military engineer, Wilhelm von Weiler, composed a plan for the new city based on the research of von Weber, as it is indicated in the copy of “Plan de la ville d’ Hermoupolis sur l’île de Syra. Both engineers were part of the “Corps of Officers Responsible for Constructing Fortresses and Buildings” established in 1829 by the first Greek governor; an initiative to lay the foundation for the country’s reconstruction<sup>22</sup>.



Figure 4. Plan de la ville d’Hermoupolis sur l’île de Syra, 1837. Weber. Plan de la ville d’ Hermoupolis sur l’île de Syra. Map. Hermoupolis, 1837. From General State Archive of Syros, Map Collection (accessed February 2023).

Looking at the plan of 1837, different line colors indicate the actual plan of the city with dark yellow, the areas which must be conserved with a light color, and the new plan with red –as it is visible in the upper part of the plan. The existing and new national buildings are indicated with a solid blue and red color accordingly. As mentioned, this plan is a palimpsest of two states, the existing and the proposed one, allowing an understanding of how the old determined the new and

<sup>21</sup> Timoleon Ampelas, *History of Syros Island from Ancient Time until Today* (Syros: Printezis, 1874).

<sup>22</sup> Dimitris Malesis, ‘Military Policy and Infrastructure: The Role of the Engineer Corps in Nineteenth-Century Greece’, *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 16 (2019): 235–48.



what stayed intact. Concerning the existing settlement which is marked with the black color—it is clear that there were no general directions during its formation, but it was an emergent system. As Vaughan explains in her book *Mapping Society*, the urban environment depicts the complexity of society; so even if there is an intention of forming and organizing space and behavior—unlike the case of Syros—in the end, cities are “evolving slowly as the result of piecemeal decisions made by individuals”<sup>23</sup>. The general characteristics of plots and streets change from the littoral zone toward the hillsides, following the different qualities of landscape, but always as fragments of individual will.

In more detail, in the coastal zone and towards the North, the plots are more extensive, and the streets are continuous following the significant flows; in the coastal zone and parallel to that, but also from the seafront to the main square. Although the plots are significant, it is visible that they are not even since the outline is not straight, not even in the coastline where the coast forms a continuous line indicating the land-sea interaction. Towards the two hillsides, the street network becomes denser, and the plots become smaller. In any case, the region’s topography determined the settlement’s development. Even without needing to see contour lines, it is clear that two hills surround the port city of Hermoupolis.

In general, the plan is mainly annotated in French, referring to the legend and notes like the “Port”, “Torrent” (torrent), “Basis trigonometrique” (trigonometric base), “Direction du mole projete 120m” (direction of the proposed jetty), and “nouveau quai” (new quay). However, scarcely all around the plan there are notes in Greek, like “Πλατεία Δημαρχείου” (City Hall Square) and “Θέατρο” (Theater). Additional written dates on the plan -1868, 1894, and 18 August 1910- are evidence of the constant process of designing a new city. It is possible to classify the notes according to the color and the direction of the text; indicatively, the original notes of the design are in French with black color, and the text follows the shape it defines, for example, “Magazin de Transite”, “Chantier”, and “Direction du mole projete 120m”. On the other hand, the texts in Greek, written in different colors and styles, follow different directions each time. All these notes attempt to clarify and identify the not well-defined points, since the implementation of this design coincided with the informal development of the settlement for more than 30 years.

On the other hand, the plan under the name of “Reseau trigonometrique pour servir au plan de la ville d’Hermoupolis” (Trigonometric network to serve the plan of the city of Hermoupolis) was surveyed and erected by the engineer Jurssigne, signed on 17 July of 1871, provides a great insight into the process of the implementation of the original plan, since it was produced 37 years after the first Plan of Hermoupolis by Webber, to facilitate the process. Unlike the rest of the plans in the General Archive of the State in Syros, this plan does not show a coastline, blocks, or any orientation sign. It only illustrates points and distances between them. Those nodes are connected through straight lines.

The combination of those two plans reveals the process of building the city of Hermoupolis; the second one was produced almost 40 years after the first one. During all those years, some nodes remained fundamental for the local community and still are today. Two of those points are the Orthodox churches of Metamorphosis and St. Nicolas. We overlayed the two plans above each other to highlight how the plan trigonometrique defined the plan of 1834. It is possible to identify overlapping points, like the square, the quay, the transit, and the two mills, but also the position of nodes that are not visible on the other plan due to erosion, like the fish market.

<sup>23</sup> Vaughan, *Mapping Society: The Spatial Dimensions of Social Cartography*.



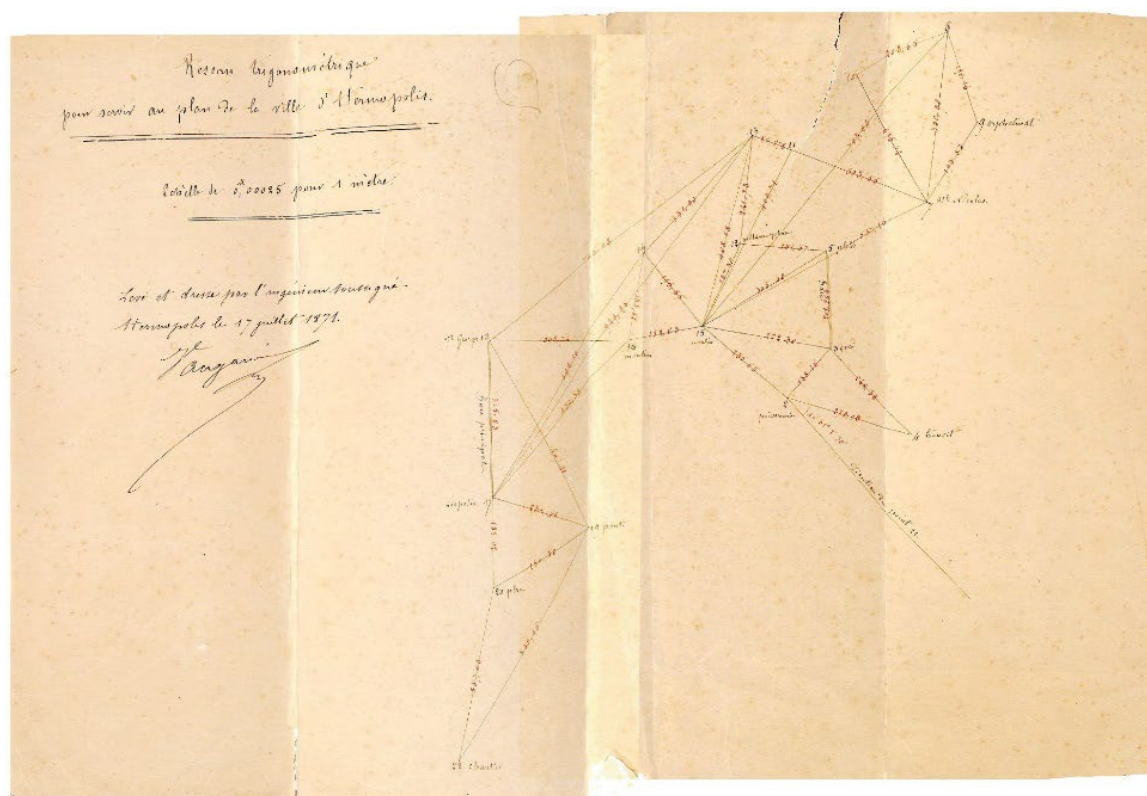


Figure 5. Réseau trigonometrique pour servir au plan de la ville d' Hermoupolis, 1871. Jurssigne. Réseau trigonometrique pour servir au plan de la ville d' Hermoupolis. Map. Hermoupolis, 1871. From General State Archive of Syros, Map Collection (accessed February 2023).



Figure 6. Combination of Webber's and Jurssigne's plans. By Eirini Sideri.

The network of nodes extends beyond the frame of the 1834 plan. From the extent of the city of Hermoupolis today, it is clear that those were the directions towards which the city expanded—always in relation with the landscape. The trigonometric plan was probably a proposal for a future city expansion that the first one did not consider. The nodes 17, 18, 19, 20, and 22 go beyond the proposed plan of Weiler but are indeed part of the city today.

The plan was implemented many decades later; some parts were built as designed, like the Leotsakou square where the City Hall is located, while others, mostly concerning smaller streets, changed in order to solve the problems that arose throughout the years. Therefore, the city is the spatial footprint of its social functioning and not just the realization of a design; the way people live in the city forms the city itself, and Hermoupolis is not an exception.

## Everyday Life at the Waterfront

The land was formed by internal—local, and external forces, composing a complex network. By looking closely into that region, it is possible to understand the social functioning of the whole city and reveal the complexity of that region, as a sample of how this port city was functioning to all its extent. By identifying the functions of the center of the city, we can get an image of how everyday life looked like during the development of Hermoupolis as a transit and industrial center within the Aegean Archipelagos<sup>24</sup>. Across the 19th century, Syros was characterized not only by the maritime trade, but also by shipbuilding, tanning, and afterwards textile industry<sup>25</sup>.

After declaring the region of the embankments as national land, the State formed a detailed list with each owner's name, the plot's area, and the annual income to legalize them eventually. In detail, the index is separated into seven primary columns; the number, the owner's name, the area (of the plot, of the street, total), the class, the value (per square meter, of the plot, total), type of the plot (house or warehouse) and notes. According to the area, every property was characterized as class A, B, or C, each entailing the selling price.

№	Όνομα του ιδιοκτήτη	Εμβαδόν Πλ.	Εμβαδόν Στ.	Σύνολο	Κλάση	Τιμή
1	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
2	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
3	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
4	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
5	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
6	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
7	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
8	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
9	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
10	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
11	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
12	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
13	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
14	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
15	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
16	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
17	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
18	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
19	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
20	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00
21	Ανδρέας Βασιλείου	43.50	43.50	87.00	A	6.425.00

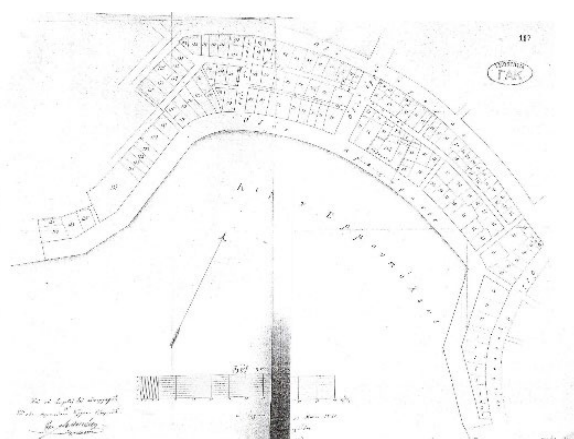


Figure 7. Index of embankments in Hermoupolis, 1841. Index of embankments. Hermoupolis, 1841. From General State Archive of Syros, Map Collection (accessed February 2023).

Figure 8. The plots of embankments, 1841. Plan of the National Land. Map. Hermoupolis, 1841. From General State Archive of Syros, Map Collection (accessed February 2023).

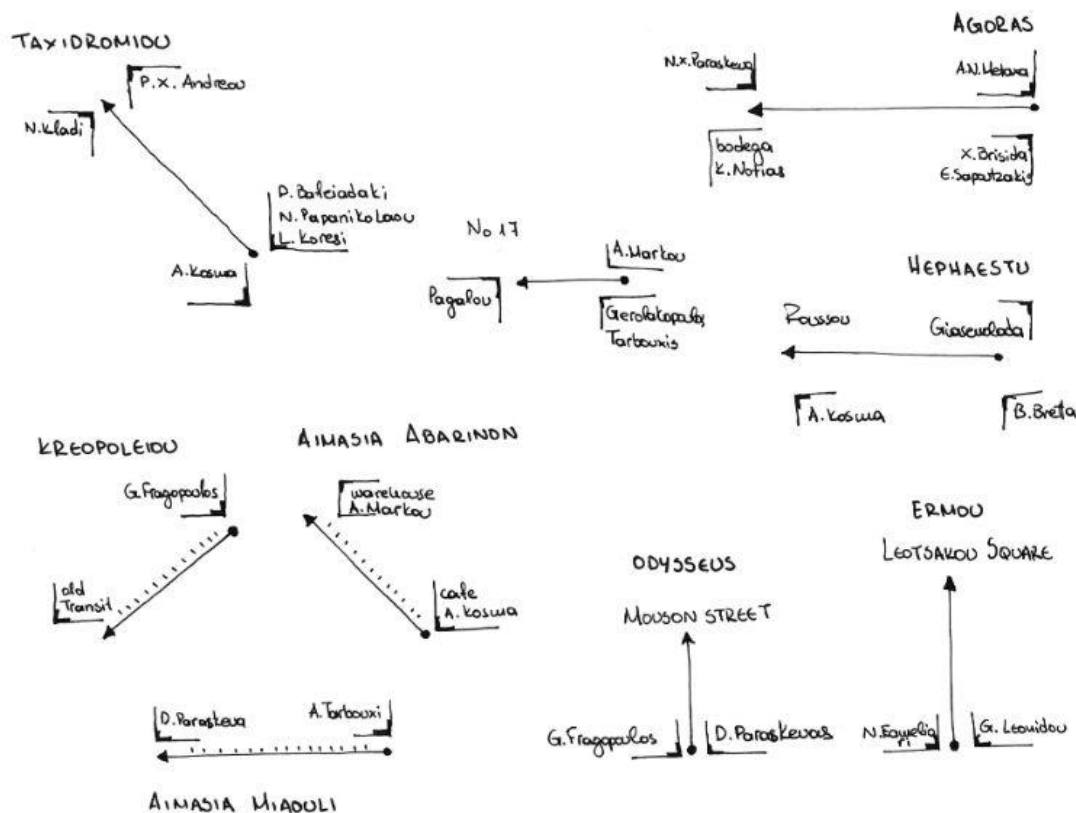
<sup>24</sup> Christina Agriantoni, 'Adjustments of the Business World of Hermoupolis during the Second Half of 19th Century', in *Syros and Hermoupolis, Suggestions in the History of the Island, 15th- 20th Century*, by Christina Agriantoni and Dimitris Dimitropoulos (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2008), 143–54.

<sup>25</sup> Xatzioannou, 'Syros, Liverpool of Greece'.

With the combination of the index and the plan of 1841, it is possible to develop an insight into the size of properties, the variety of owners, and the total cost of the national land. Unfortunately, in the index, the column concerning the type of plot is not completed, so the information is limited to the characteristics of every plot without going into the uses existing in that region.

However, the index of streets and squares of 1864 covers the missing piece of information. In that list, every property is enumerated in a different way than the abovementioned plan, providing the owner's name and the type of uses of every street of the city. The GAS provided this list in a digital format, which facilitated the management of all this data more effectively. Through this extended list, it is possible to indicate the street names, the function (house or warehouse), the names of the owners, and the actual house number. This index is composed of three primary columns: the first for the number of the street, the second for the name of the street, and a third one, occupying only the first line. There is an extended description of where the current street starts and ends, and two sets of columns. Every set comprises three columns, one for the owners' name, one for the house number, and one for the function. The first set corresponds to the right side of the street, and the other one to the left.

At first, this extended list was narrowed down to shed light only on a small part of the city, which is the national land. On top of that, the names of the streets had changed since 1841, so the first task was to find the street names. There was an attempt to identify the new names one by one to combine the two sources, the plan of 1841 and the index of 1864. By translating the information derived from the index of 1864, individual lines floating in between were created as an abstract representation of every street. Every line's starting and end points had two names: the names of the plots' owners on both sides of the street. In this way, the relation of the streets is revealed by the repeated name, which helped us compose the network of streets in the national land.



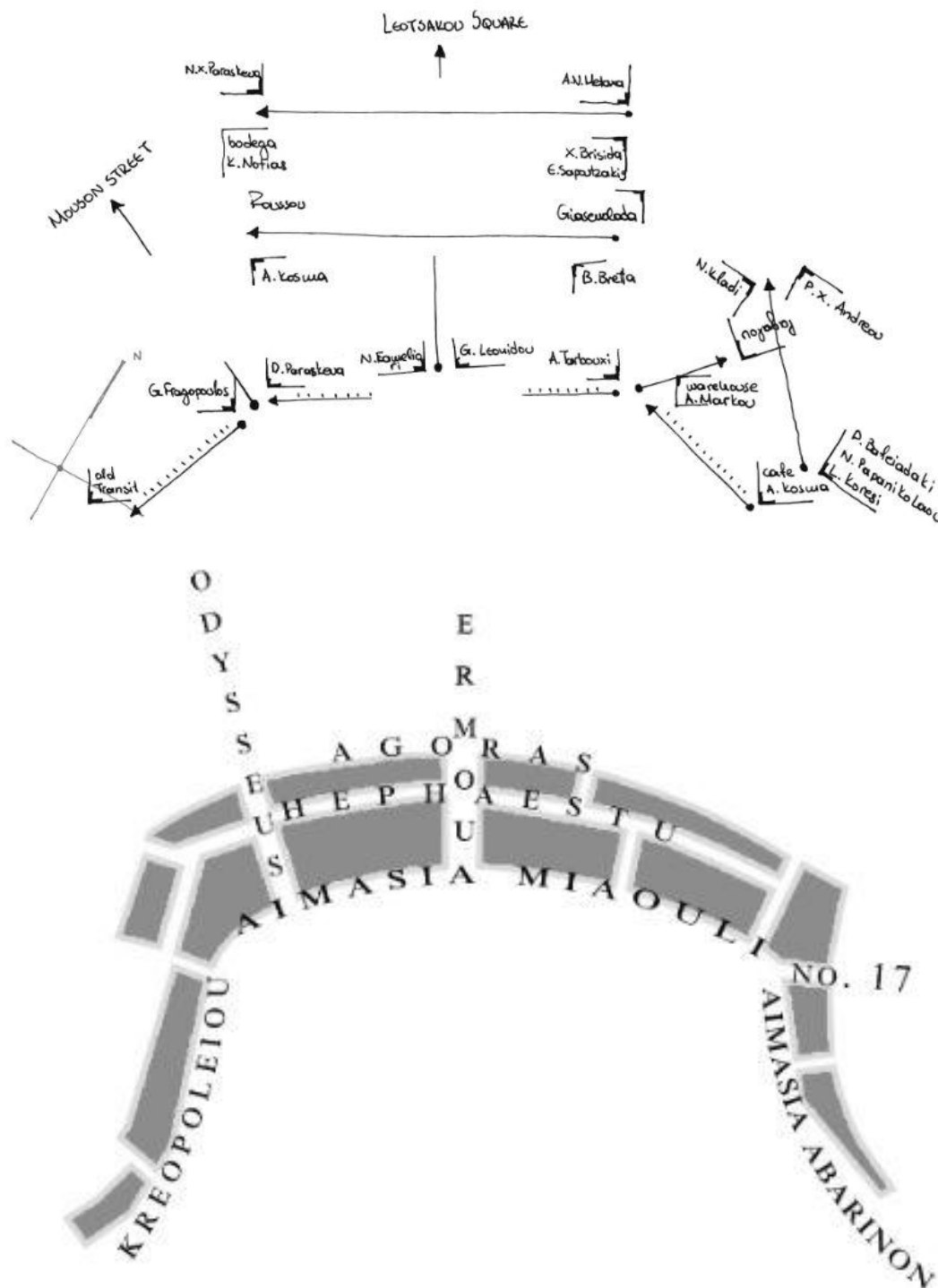


Figure 9. The street names. By Eirini Sideri.

Through the composition of the street names, the 'borders' of the national land could be identified as follows: Teloneiou (Transit) and Agora Street, while the seafront is formed out of three streets Abarinon -Posidonos street, Aimasia Miaouli, and Kreopoleiou (Meat market) street. In between there are Hephestou street, Odysseus street, street No17 (with no name, maybe due to its small length), and Ermou street, linking the seafront with the main square where the city hall is built.

Regarding the functions detected in that list, even though there is a separation to either houses or warehouses, the list does not provide sufficient information to understand the nature of everyday life of the city's center since multiple uses fall under the category "warehouse." A quick look at the



list shows that most national land uses are warehouses. Only 11% are households, which underlines that this region is the heart of the port city, where the goods arrive, are processed and stored. At the same time, typical to many historical port cities, it is the local commercial center, filled with shops that meet the everyday needs of the residents, since typically, these regions provide unique benefits, from double access to both sea and hinterland to local businesses<sup>26</sup>.

The gap in the abovementioned source, concerning the types of warehouses located in the national land, is filled by a business guide of 1875, a medium used during that time to provide detailed documentation of functions across the city. It consists of a detailed list of every shop in the city. It was a valuable tool during that time—and still today—as it provides great insight into the type of businesses, accompanied by the owners' names. The first guide in Greece was the annual Business, Geographical and Historical Guide of the Major Cities of Greece, published in 1875 and composed by M. Mpouka; and Hermoupolis was one of the cities on that list.

Through this business guide, a classification of functions and the main categories can be observed. In detail, Local Authorities, Agencies and Offices, Foreign Nations Authority, Educational Institution, Music Teacher, Dance Teacher, Newspapers, Scientists, Artists, Companies and Agencies, Bank and Banker, Moneylenders -Brokers -Suppliers, Order holder, Pastry shop, Breweries, Coffee place, Club -Hotel, Merchant, Industrial factories, Industrialists, Craftsmen are the categories were every function located in Hermoupolis fits, except housing.

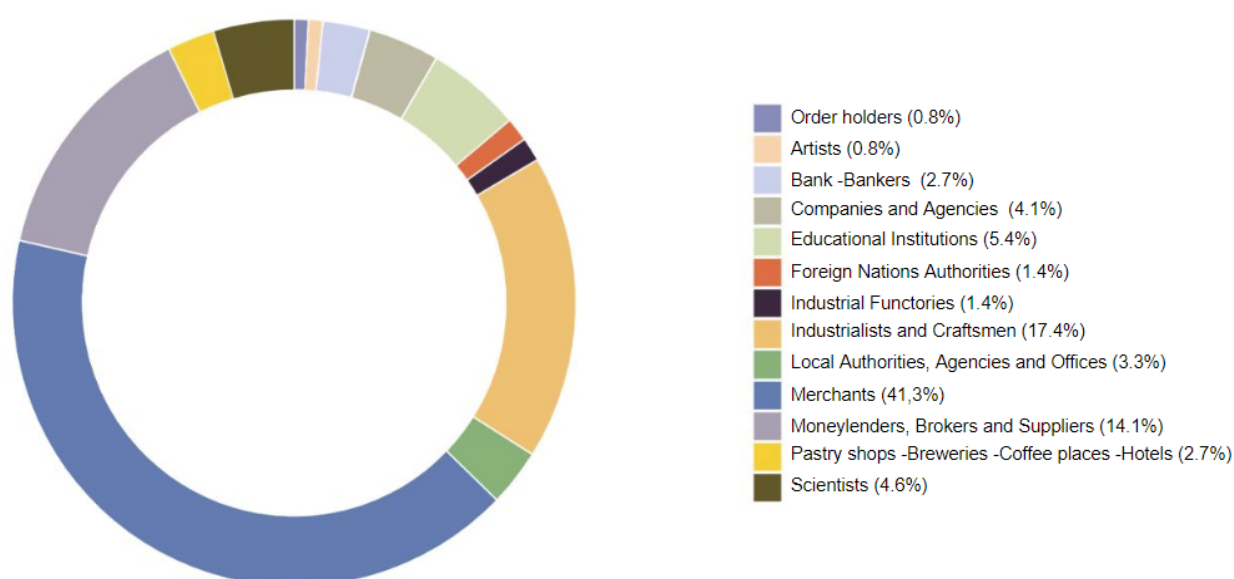


Figure 10. Functions across the national land. By Eirini Sideri.

Through this list, the functions located in the national land were marked one by one and then digitized and visualized, forming a new business guide only for that area. After processing this data, it became clear that the principal functions were the Merchants, Industrialists, Craftsmen, and Moneylenders, Brokers and Suppliers. Located in the heart of the port city, those were the functions closely connected to the trade and economy on a bigger scale and at the same time supplying the local network. Additionally, Bank and Bankers, Companies and Agencies, Local Authorities, Foreign Nations Authorities, Educational Institutions, Industrial factories, Pastry shops, Breweries, Coffee places, Clubs, Hotels, and others shaped the city center. Those places are the spatial fulfillment of Hermoupolis' entity.

<sup>26</sup> Carola Hein, 'Port City Porosity: Boundaries, Flows, and Territories', *Urban Planning* 6, no. 3 (2021): 1–9.

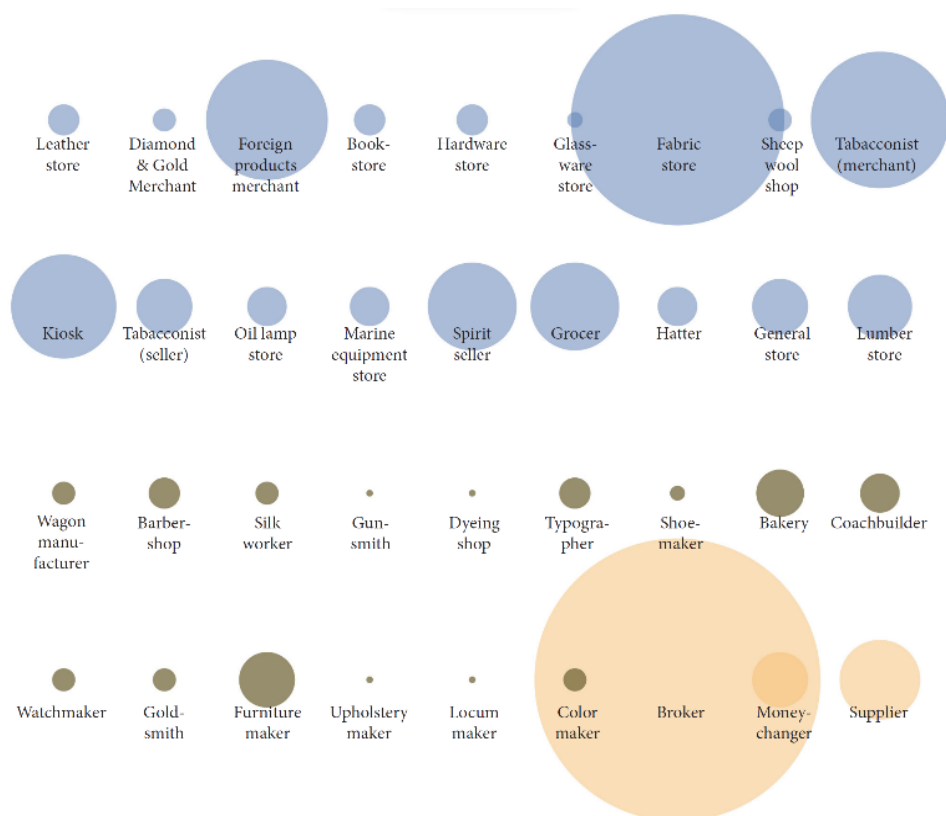


Figure 11. Businesses across the national land. By Eirini Sideri.

Zooming into the three prevailing categories, it is interesting to underline that there are specific types of shops that are all located in that area, and which cannot be found outside that region. This includes: Bookstores, Tobacconists (both merchants and sellers), Oil lamp shops, Marine equipment stores, Spirits store, Grocer, and Hatters, Wagon manufacturers, Silk workers, Coachbuilder, Color makers, Brokers and Suppliers.

The functions do not only form their immediate area, but a sphere of influence which extends towards the sea, hinterland, or both directions. Each shop, office, or warehouse creates its network contributing to the overall network of Hermoupolis. Under that lens, there are three types of functions: the first of which is restricted inside the physical borders of the island, using local raw materials, processing them in a workshop or a small factory, and providing them to the local market, like the shoemaker. The second one is based on importing foreign products to the local market, like the Supplier or the Shop of Foreign Products. The last one is the export, regarding local raw materials processed on the island and provided to a broader market, like the Tobacconist seller. Each function on its own reinforces the hinterland -sea connections. Often, the bigger trade networks are analyzed by scholars working on port cities, assuming it is a general principle applying to every small shop. However, it becomes very important to understand the specificity of every shop, where every piecemeal decision, creates its own network beyond the physical borders of Hermoupolis, which finally shapes this port city as an agglomeration of all these networks and flows in a significant trade center.

## Conclusion

The national land of Hermoupolis, the border area which connects the sea and the land, stimulated the transformation of the whole city throughout the years. Taking into account a plethora of factors that contributed to this evolution, this research is looking closer at a settlement that was created from scratch and to a city that was established and thrived on a small island in the middle of the Aegean Sea, in an attempt to understand the spatial imprint of the social functioning of the

city. Hermoupolis constitutes a distinctive case study in multiple layers, as a city that was formed organically, a city that was structured according to a plan, and a city that was created from its people, each one of them and all together composes the complex entity of this port city.

This careful study of plans and business guides provides a broader understanding of the city's social structure and offers an insight into its everyday spatial practices. By looking at the evidence, and indicators of everyday retail and commercial experiences, like the chosen functions, it is possible to understand the spatial imprint of intangible values lying everywhere, determining the cultural and social development of the whole. The region of embankments, in the case of Hermoupolis, constitutes an indicator of how this port city functioned through benefitting from and contributing to a network which extends beyond the physical borders of the island of Syros.

There, the spatial imprint of decisions made by individuals, and actors of different scales and hierarchies, who contributed to the formation of the city, intentionally or not, is visible. Those decisions of often invisible planning actors are sometimes ignored in studying planning history. The users of the space, whether coming individually or as part of collectives formed around shared identities are in fact the ones that shaped the development of Hermoupolis. People, through their daily life, form their spaces and adjust their surrounding environment according to emerging and changing needs. It is a process that takes time, and it is only possible to reveal it through systematic research into the city's and people's history.

Currently, where multiple redevelopment projects take place on islands, very often completely transforming their waterfronts, it is urgent to understand that these entities, the seafront, and the island itself, are an outcome of land-sea interaction along specific historical paths. The complex network extended beyond the finite borders of an island is built up through the years, indicating the transformation of this vital interaction. The transformation of waterfronts has large impacts on land, sea, the estuary of one into the other, and the socioeconomic and sociocultural flows that shaped such entities over many years. Any intervention in the waterfront, will inevitably impose a degree of distortion to this network, influencing the social functioning of the local and the broader community.

Throughout history, the interaction of land and sea triggered by people, their needs, and everyday practices defined the form and functions of port city, in most cases extending into the present. This research underlines the importance of a close analysis of historical sources (and narratives where possible) to generate knowledge about the complexity of the social functioning of the port city and the role the port and its multiple networks play in such functioning. On every scale, the waterfront and the surrounding area are vital components of this network, as shown by historical evidence. These areas are often at the core of the historical development of the island, and they contribute to the formation of a city's multiple communities. In this sense, the waterfront area, through its characteristics, becomes emblematic of the city's history and its everyday life.

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