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IBRAHİM PAŞA OF EGYPT IN THE MOREA (1825-1828): WHAT WENT ON BEHIND THE SCENES ?

MISIRLI İBRAHİM PAŞA MORA'DA (1825-1828): PERDE ARKASINDA NE OLDU?

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Abstract

The expedition of Ibrahim Pasha, son of Egypt's ruler, Muhammad Ali, constitutes the most dramatic chapter of the Greek War of Independence. According to the established scholarship, Greeks' revolutionary war against the Ottomans nearly was over in favour of the Porte. From the close consideration of the available sources, nonetheless, is quite a different conclusion that emerges: Ibrahim Pasha was already preparing his war against the Sultan Mahmud II, and accordingly he was trying to find potential allies.

Keywords: Ibrahim Pasha, Theodōros Kolokotrōnēs, the Morea (Peloponnese), Prastos, Russia, Great Britain, U.S.A.

Öz

Mısır Hidivi Mehmet Ali Paşa'nın oğlu İbrahim Paşa'nın askeri seferi Yunan Bağımsızlık Savaşı'nın en dramatic kısmını oluşturur. Bilinen malumata göre Osmanlı aleyhindeki Yunan isyanı neredeyse Bab-ı Ali'nin lehine sonuçlandı. Bununla birlikte eldeki kaynakların daha dikkatli incelemesi İbrahim Paşa'nın II. Mahmut'a karşı savaşa hazırlanıyor olduğunu ve bu amaca matuf olarak müttefikler bulmaya çalışmış olduğu şeklinde oldukça farklı bir sonuç ortaya çıkarıyor. Bundan dolayı onun Yunanistan'a karşı seferi gerçek bir komedi idi.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İbrahim Paşa, Teodoros Kolokotronis, Mora (Peloponnisos), Prastos, Rusya, Büyük Britanya, ABD.

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In 1826, Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt, then at the head of the Ottoman troops that tried to put an end to the Greek War of Independence, wished to have conquered Tsakonia, i.e. the mountainous region along the eastern coastline of the Morea (= Peloponnese). Powerful units of his army, therefore, modelled according to European standards, overran Tsakonia during the summer of that year and burned down Prastos, the latter's capital town². Nonetheless, that very campaign failed; and further:

I. The Ottoman troops reached Prastos after they were unsuccessful to seize Kastanitsa, another important town. For the dwellers proved to be indomitable³. What is more, during their advance on Prastos, the Ottoman troops suffered an important loss, namely that of their leader⁴.

II. It was a matter of course, thereafter, the Egyptians, bulk of Ibrahim Pasha's army, not to be in the mood to attack Prastos. For they were not expert in street fighting⁵, whilst the inhabitants of Prastos were ready for war⁶. Yet the moneyed ones convinced the needy people to flee Prastos⁷. And so was done. The worthies took shelter on Spetses island, but the impoverished withdrew in Leonidion, a seaside town⁸.

III. After Prastos was evacuated, the Ottoman (: Egyptian) troops entered the town without striking a blow and set fire to it. Nonetheless, the notables' houses were left intact. That is why it is, even today, rumoured that "Prastos' elders had played their "fellow villagers false"⁹.

IV. And now the crux point: As early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, the town of Leonidion was an important maritime centre¹⁰. That is why the core of Tsakonia's economic life was not agriculture any longer but shipping. Prastos' well-to-do ones, therefore, were now bound by common interests with the ship-owners of Spetses and Hydra islands and not with Tsakonia's peasantry.

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² Spyridōn Trikoupēs, *Historia tēs Hellēnikēs Epanastaseōs* (= A History of the Greek Revolution), vol. IV (Athens: Panagiōtēs Aslanēs, 1888³), p. 23.

³ Michalēs Xydias, "Ho Prastos stis Phloges" (= Prastos in Flames) in *Chronika tōn Tsakōnōn* (= Tsakonians' Chronicles). Proceedings of the Seventh Congress on Tsakonia, vol. XXII 2/ 3 (Athens, 2014), p. 230.

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 240-241 (note 20).

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 230.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 231.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 233ff.

¹⁰ Vasileios D. Siakōtos, "Symvolē stēn Historia tēs Tsakōnias" (= A contribution to Tsakonia's History), in *Chronika tōn Tsakōnōn*. Proceedings of the Fifth Congress on Tsakonia, vol. XVIII (Athens, 2004-2005), p. 270.

Considering, therefore, all the above, it is raised the following key query: What actually occurred at Prastos in summer 1826? It is a sell-out that took place? And if truly this is the case, why?

This very question is of great significance; for the Prastos affair was only a part of the Greek Drama during that time. The query concerning the Prastos events in fact was condensed in the question that Gawen Hamilton, commodore of the (British) Royal Navy addressed to the Executive of Greek Provisional Government in July 1825, i.e. only a couple of months after Ibrahim Pasha's army had landed on Morea's shores: "Why", the commodore asked, "whilst Mahmud Dramali Pasha, with a 30,000-strong soldiery¹¹, came to nothing, Ibrahim Pasha, with on 15,000 Arabs, is making havoc of the Peloponnese with impunity?"¹²

Hamilton's question was of primordial importance. For the army of Ibrahim Pasha was by no means 50,000 or even 70,000 strong, as it is believed nowadays in Greece¹³, but much feebler¹⁴. As a matter of fact, his soldiery did not amount more than 20,000 men¹⁵. What is more, during the summer of the year 1826 the Pasha commanded merely 8,000 effective men¹⁶, of whom 1,500 were either wounded or sick¹⁷; and those effective men, though staffed not only by Arabs but by Frenchmen as well¹⁸, remained ill-disciplined¹⁹ and were in pain to carry the bayonets and cannon-balls that had to bring with them²⁰. As a result, they could not be regarded as soldiers better than the

¹¹ Cf. Theodōros Rēgopoulos, *Apomnēmoneumata apo tōn archōn tēs Epanastaseōs mechri tou etous 1882* (= Memoirs from the beginning of the Revolution down to the year 1881). Edited by Athanasios Th. Photopoulos (Athens, 1979), p. 24.

¹² *Hellēnika Hypomnēmata, ētoi epistolai kai diaphora engrapha aphorōnta tēn Hellēnikēn Epanastasin apo 1821 mechri 1827, syllegenta men hypo tou hypostratēgou Iōannou Th. Kolokotrōnē [kai] ekdothenta hypo Ch. N. Philadelphēōs* (= Notes on Greece, i.e. Letters and Various Documents concerning the Greek Revolution during the Years 1821-1827, gathered by the major genera Iōannēs Th. Kolokotrōnēs and edited by Ch. N. Philadelphus (Athens: Ch. Nikolaïdēs Philadelphus, 1856 [photostatic edition by "Kagiaphas", Kyparissia, 2011]), p. 173 (a letter addressed by the Executive to Theodōros Kolokotrōnēs, generalissimo of the Greek Armies in the Morea, Nauplion, June 21, 1825).

¹³ See for instance Amvrosios Phrantzēs, *Epitomē tēs Historias tēs Anagenētheisēs Hellados* (= An Epitome of Regenerated Greece's History). Edited by Iōanna Giannaropoulou. Prologue by Geōrgios P. Kournoutos, vol. II (Athens: Society of Studies on the Peloponnese, 1975), p. 324.

¹⁴ *Hellēnika Hypomnēmata...*, p. 183 (letter of the Executive to Theodōros Kolokotrōnēs, Nauplion, June 25, 1825).

¹⁵ Phōtakos, *Apomnēmoneumata peri tēs Hellēnikēs Epanastaseōs* (= Memoirs concerning the Greek Revolution). Edited by G. Kournoutos (Athens: "Philologika Chronika", 1960), p. 437.

¹⁶ Archives of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs (hereafter: AYE), 1827, A.A.K., 1c, (circular letter by Alexandros Maurokordatos on the situation of Greece).

¹⁷ Douglas Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence, 1821-1833*. Translated into Greek by Rena Stauridē-Patrikiou (Athens: The Cultural Foundation of the National Bank, 2010), p. 236.

¹⁸ Phōtakos, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, p. 548.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 467.

²⁰ *Hellēnika Hypomnēmata...*, p. 168.

born and bred Turks²¹. This is why the question grows acuter: What was going really on?

The relevant answer should be relied on the following facts:

A) As soon as the Greek naval leadership got wise to the landing of Egyptian troops to the Morea, the fleets of Hydra and Spetses islands sailed jointly in order to destroy Ibrahim Pasha's vessels. During the course they captured ships of neutral Powers, that were hired out to Mehmed Ali Pasha, viceroy of Egypt and Ibrahim's father. And then they did not keep on sailing against the Egyptian fleet: they returned to Hydra and Spetses instead, in order to sell out their capture²².

B) The tragi-comical battle at Kremmydi, Messenia, on April 7, 1825, where 3,250 Greeks suffered defeat at the hands of only 3,400 Ibrahim Pasha's Arabs²³. The one to blame for the debacle was Geōrgios Kountouriōtēs, chairman of the Executive and generalissimo of the Greek military forces by then²⁴, who avoided the battle and sent instead as leader of the Greek troops a... mariner from the island of Hydra²⁵.

C) The non-demolition of the fortifications of the Tripolitsa, capital city of the Morea. It is noteworthy that Th. Kolokotrōnēs, once more commander-in-chief of the Greek forces in the Morea, had strongly advised the pulling down of Tripolitsa's walls²⁶. Greece's political leadership, nonetheless, turned down his intimation²⁷. Thus, Tripolitsa was easily conquered following the Kremmydi battle, and Ibrahim Pasha made of it his main military base.

D) The failure, later on, of Kolokotronēs' attempt to take back Tripolitsa; and it was clear that the failure was due to treachery²⁸.

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²¹ D. Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence...*, pp. 233-234.

²² Panagiōtēs Christopoulos, *Hē Historia tēs Epanastaseōs tōn Hellēnō. Hena emmetro chroniko (1821-1827) tou Athēnaiou notariou Iōannou Laganē* (= An Account of the Greek Revolution [1821-1827]. A Metrical Chronicle by Iōannēs Laganēs, Athenian notary), Athens: Society for Studies on Mainland Greece, 1989, p. 95 (verses 1648-1666).

²³ Sp. Trikoupēs, *Historia tēs Hellēnikēs Epanastaseōs* (= A History of the Greek Revolution), Athens: Panagiōtēs Aslanēs, 1888³, p. 149.

²⁴ Anastasios Orlandos, *Nautika, ētoi tōn kata ton hyper anexartēsiās tēs Hellados agōna pepragmenōn hypo tōn triōn nautikōn nēsōn, idiōs de tōn Spetsōn* (= A Naval History of the Struggle for Greece's Independence, chiefly the History of Spetses Island), vol.II (Athens: Ch. N. Philadelphus, 1869), p. 183.

²⁵ Ibidem; *Hellēnika Hypomnēmata...*, p. 171· A. Phrantzēs, *Epitome...*, vol. II, p. 332.,

²⁶ Theodoros K. Kolokotrōnēs, *Apomnēmoneumata, 1770-1836* (= Memoirs, 1770-1836). Edited by Tasos Ath. Gritsopoulos (Athens: Society for Studies on the Peloponnese, 1981), pp. 145-146.

²⁷ *Hellēnika Hypomnēmata...*, p. 131.

²⁸ Th. K. Kolokotrōnēs, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, p. 169; Phōtakos, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, pp. 510, 515.

E) To these may be added the anaemic effort to supply the besieged by Porte's troops town of Missolonghi. For it is obvious that Greece's political leadership embarked quite unwillingly to that attempt²⁹; and as it is known, Missolonghi at last fell to the Ottomans.

Notwithstanding, the demolition of Davia flour mills³⁰, the rebuilding of the Karytaina fortress, in Arcadia³¹, and above all the successful conduct of a guerrilla warfare³² (modelled on that of the Spaniards against Napoleon's army³³) brought about the so-to-speak annihilation of Tripolitsa as the operational centre of Ibrahim Pasha's army³⁴. That is why the following paradox was produced: Ibrahim Pasha, though winning every pitched battle, was not actually able to conquer territory; for he did advance on a wide front, but his rear was constantly jeopardised³⁵. And, of course, such a situation caused eventually amazement even to the Porte³⁶.

The strange thing, nonetheless, about it was that even Ibrahim Pasha himself seemed to be in keeping with the circumstances. Although he was running all over the Morea for two years, he occupied steadily only the fortresses of Messenia. The outstanding paradox, moreover, was that up to the summer of the year 1826 he avoided hitting the main resources of the Greeks, namely the raisin crop³⁷ (and only secondarily the olive one). By all means, his patience had run out finally, and he ordered the olive trees of Messenia to be completely cut; and as it is known, his refusal to revoke this very order was the pretext of the Navarino battle, on October 20, 1827³⁸.

Here is, therefore, that the anguished question emerges once more. What, at length, was the matter with Ibrahim Pasha?

²⁹ Phōtakos, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, p. 489; Spyromēlios, *Apomnēmoneumata tēs deuterias poliorkias tou Mesolongiou* (= Memoirs on the second Missolonghi's siege), Edited by Iō. Vlachogiannēs (Athens, 1926), pp. 113-114, 125.

³⁰ *Hellēnika Hypomnēmata...*, p. 227.

³¹ Th. K. Kolokotrōnēs, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, p. 192.

³² *Hellēnika Hypomnēmata...*, pp. 226, 241.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 199.

³⁴ *Monophylla tou Agōna. Thespismata-Diatagmata-Prokēryxeis, 1821-1827* (= One Leaves published during the [Greek] War of Independence, 1821-1827. Enactments-Decrees-Proclamations). Edited by I. K. Mazarakēs-Ainian (Athens: Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, 2012), document no. H-20; *Archeia tēs Hellēnikēs Palingenesias mechri tēs enkatastaseōs tēs Vasileias* (= Archives of Greece's Regeneration up to the Establishment of Kingship), vol. V (Athens: Library of the Greek Parliament, 1974), p. 419, document no. 1204.

³⁵ *Ta kata tēn kēdeian tou Makaritou Th. Kolokotrōnou... thanontos tēn 4 Fevrouariou 1843* (= Documents concerning the funeral of late Th. Kolokotrōnēs... who passed away on February 4, 1843. Edited by Nikolaos Pappadopoulos (Athens: N. Pappadopoulos, 1843), p. 77.

³⁶ A. Phrantzēs, *Epitomē...*, vol. II, pp. 421-422.

³⁷ Th. K. Kolokotrōnēs, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, pp. 177, 178.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 207-209.

Apart the rumours that were going around by then, concerning the “betrayal” of the Executive (= Government) and the “concert” of the latter’s head with Ibrahim Pasha himself³⁹, the solution of the enigma is provided by Phōtakos, i.e. the aide-de-camp of Theodōros Kolokotrōnēs. As a matter of fact, Phōtakos made reference in his *Memoirs* to a letter addressed by Andreas Zaīmēs, notable of the Achaia district, to Anagnōstēs Deligiannēs, one of Arcadia’s elders. The letter in question was written before the troops of Ibrahim Pasha reached the Morea. A. Zaīmēs, nevertheless, notified in advance the invasion of the Egyptian troops into the Peloponnese. Yet the Achaia’s notable reassured his counterpart in Arcadia: Ibrahim Pasha’s expedition would be a “futility”. For the resolution “in favour of an independent Greece” was already made⁴⁰. Further, it was Dēmētrios Hypsilantēs, brother of Alexandros, the in fact chief of Philikē Hetaireia, that shared wholeheartedly the view of Zaīmēs⁴¹. In other words, the devastation of the Morea by the Arabs of Ibrahim Pasha was nothing more than a bloody and lachrymose slapstick.

Why?

The answer is to be found in documents published long ago; and according to these documents the target of Ibrahim Pasha’s “slapstick” was Theodōros Kolokotrōnēs, the emblematic figure par excellence of the Greek War of Independence. Kolokotrōnēs as well as Iōannēs Kapodistrias (<Jean Capo d’Istria), first President of Greece, and the brothers Alexandros and Dēmētrios Hypsilantēs, and Kōnstantinos Kanarēs, the famous captain of fire ships, were overtly Russophile. And Russophile was almost the whole of the Morea’s population, who regarded the Russians not as allies but something more: as brethren⁴². That is why the Philikē Hetaireia, that was founded long before the year 1814⁴³, had as leaders I. Kapodistrias and A. Hypsilantēs – but only seemingly. The virtual head was most likely Alexander I, Emperor of All Russia⁴⁴. As a result, the Hetaireia did not aim solely at establishing an independent Greek statehood, but also at

³⁹ D. Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence...*, p. 173.

⁴⁰ Phōtakos, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, p. 338.

⁴¹ *Hellēnika Hypomnēmata...*, p. 320.

⁴² Phōtakos, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, p. 25.

⁴³ AYE, 1825, A, Testimonial of Iōannēs Th. Stephanou’s “[political] catechism”.

⁴⁴ «Anōnymou: Anekdotο hypomnēma. Philikē Hetaireia-Kapodistrias-Kolokotrōnēs- D. Rōmas” (= Anonymous: Unpublished memorandum on Philikē Hetaireia-Kapodistrias-Kolokotrōnēs- D. Rōmas), in *Heptanēsiaka Phylla* (= Documents on the Seven Islands [= the Islands of the Ionian Sea]), vol. VI (1968), pp. 19-31.

making of this statehood a sort of Russia's "elongation" into the Balkans and the Near East⁴⁵. It was thanks to Klemens von Metternich⁴⁶, Austria's Foreign Minister, that Karl Nesselrode was at last substituted for I. Kapodistrias as Foreign Minister of Russia; and that very replacement produced the drastic enfeeblement of Russophile Greeks; for Alexander I was now interested in Spain⁴⁷.

Kolokotrōnēs' foes, nevertheless, did not have peace. They murdered one of Th. Kolokotrōnēs' sons, and, further, sent Morea's generalissimo in prison and sentenced him to death⁴⁸. Kolokotrōnēs finally escaped out of the jaws of death thanks to his numerous friends and followers, who remained on the map⁴⁹.

What happened next is well known. Th. Kolokotrōnēs was a good and often credulous personage⁵⁰. What is more, one of his brothers was reportedly the Grand Admiral (Kapudan Pasha) of the Ottoman Navy⁵¹, whilst his sister married to an Albanian imam⁵². Thus he aimed solely at making of the Morea the very core of an independent Greek statehood. He could not bear up, therefore, his beloved Fatherland to be ravaged by Ibrahim Pasha's Egyptian troops⁵³, and subsequently he consented to sign not only a "Request for Protection" addressed to the government of Great Britain⁵⁴ but also an "Appeal for Aid" to the President of the United States of America⁵⁵. Needless to say, that shortly afterwards he dispatched (more or less) covertly one more "Petition" to the Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia, now⁵⁶, modelled on another one he had sent to Tsar Alexander I as early as 1804⁵⁷.

⁴⁵ Thomas Gordon, *History of the Greek Revolution*. Translated into Greek by Phrixos Vrachas, vol. I (Athens: "Byron", n.d.), p. cviii.

⁴⁶ Henry A. Kissinger, *A World Restored. Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812-1822*. Translated into Greek by Dēmētrēs Michalopoulos (Athens: Papazēsēs, 2003), p. 487ff.

⁴⁷ D. Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence...*, p. 189.

⁴⁸ Phōtakos, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, p.404.

⁴⁹ Ibidem.

⁵⁰ Giannēs Vlachogiannēs, *Klephtes tou Moria, 1815-1820* (= Klephts of the Morea, 1715-1820), Athens, 1935, p. 31; Stratēgos Makrygiannēs, *Apomnēmoneumata* (= Memoirs). Edited by Giannēs Vlachogiannēs, vol. I (Athens: E. G. Vagionakēs, 1947²), p. 197; Theodōros Rēgopoulos, *Apomnēmoneumata apo tōn archōn tēs Epanastaseōs mechri tou etous 1881* (= Memoirs from the Beginning of the Revolution up to the Year 1881). Edited by Athanasius Th. Phōtopoulos (Athens, 1979), p. 14.

⁵¹ Th. Rēgopoulos, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, p. 15.

⁵² Ibidem.

⁵³ Th. Kolokotrōnēs, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, p. 157.

⁵⁴ Phōtakos, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, pp. 446-448. Th. Rēgopoulos, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, pp. 65-66.

⁵⁵ Phōtakos, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, p. 547

⁵⁶ D. Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence...*, p. 210.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, p. 48.

Yet the damage was done. For the “Request for Protection” was rejected⁵⁸ but in appearance only. For the very fact of Request’s submission was the pretext found by the British Government for starting, on an international scale, the “exchange of views” in order a “free Greek statehood” to be established⁵⁹. Still, far more important was that, thanks to the submission of the above “Request...” the U. K. Government succeeded, during the year 1827, in substituting British for Greeks as military and naval leaders of Greece’s Armed Forces; and because of that replacement Sir Richard Church was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Greek land armies⁶⁰, whilst Thomas Cochrane nominated Admiral of the [Greek] Fleet⁶¹. Thus, the whole of the Greek Armed Forces was put under British leadership.

Th. Kolokotrōnēs, nevertheless, stuck to his colours, and accordingly was the prime mover of Kapodistrias’ invitation to undertake the governing of Greece⁶²; and he remained to the end faithful to the first President of Greece as well as K. Kanarēs⁶³. It goes without saying that Kapodistrias’ assassination, untraceable up to the present day, brought about, once more, the political enfeeblement of Kolokotrōnēs. Thus, he was sentenced to death in May, 1834.

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Now, it was quite unlikely that the ex-generalissimo of the Peloponnesian Army could be rescued from the guillotine. Yet a *deus ex machina* interposed at the last moment and saved his life. The *deus* in question was Nicholas I, Emperor of All Russia, who instructed his minister plenipotentiary at Nauplion, capital of Greece by then, to inform the “relevant authorities” that “he [= the Tsar] would be deeply displeased, if Kolokotrōnēs head were cut”⁶⁴.

Nonetheless, our point remains the 1825-1827 Ibrahim Pasha’s expedition to the Morea. In brief, the Pasha by no means aimed at conquering the Peloponnese on behalf of the Sublime Porte. As a matter of fact, he was driving at bending the

⁵⁸ Phōtakos, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, pp. 498-500.

⁵⁹ AYE, 1827, A.A.K., Stratford Canning, British Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Foreign Minister of the Sublime Porte, Constantinople, February 4, 1827.

⁶⁰ AYE, 1830, 98. 2b, documents I-5, I-8 and I

⁶¹ AYE, 1830, 98. 2b, document I-6.

⁶² Th. Kolokotrōnēs, *Apomnēmoneumata...*, pp. 186-188.

⁶³ AYE, 1831, 98. 2d, «Rapport du commandant Lalande à Son Excellence le ministre de la Marine», Nauplion, August 9, 1831.

⁶⁴ AYE, 1834, 98.2b, memorandum of the talk between Gavriil Antonovich Katakazi, Russian minister at Nauplion, and Alexandros Maurokordatos, Foreign Minister of Greece.

resistance of the Greeks⁶⁵, in order that the latter accept the steering of their foreign policy by the “Western Powers” and chiefly Great Britain. What is more, Ibrahim Pasha was latently preparing his campaign against the Porte; that is why he had suggested the compulsory migration into Egypt of almost the whole of Morea’s Christian population, trying, simultaneously to enter into a veiled alliance with Greek luminaries⁶⁶. And when his “mission” was fulfilled, he had to return to Egypt, after the Ottoman Fleet had been destroyed at Navarino Bay.

⁶⁵ *Hellēnika Hypomnēmata...*, p. 141 (Gennaios Kolokotrōnes’ letter to his father, Theodōros, Souli, May 28, 1825).

⁶⁶ Michaël Ch. Gkētakos, *Monē Agnountos* (= Agnounta Monastery), Athens, 1972, pp. 19-20.

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