Documents

1821

[573/5, *regarding the expulsion of Greeks from Istanbul*]
Mandate to the Kadı¹ of Istanbul and the Janissary Agha²
June 2, 1821

For some time now, vagrant and bachelor Greek³ infidels have been accumulating in Istanbul and performing such occupations as grocer and vine-grower. However, these infidels are not innocuous individuals who mind their own business, and it is obvious that they will seek to engage regularly in treachery and abominable deeds against Muslims. Currently, as the treason of the Greek infidels has become known to everyone, it is a necessity and the mandate of His Imperial Majesty to expel these grocer, vine-grower and other classes of Moreot⁴ and Agraftot⁵ infidels from Istanbul. You shall now appoint trustworthy clerks from the office of the *şeyhülislam*⁶ and officers from the janissary corps to find and make a register of all the grocer and vine-grower Moreot and Agraftot infidels living in and around Istanbul. The janissary officers shall bring them to the customs, where the chief customs officer shall put them on available boats and expel them to Izmit⁷ immediately.

- 1 *Kadı*: adjudicator of the Islamic holy law [sharia] and civil administrator of a town [*kaza*].
- 2 Janissary agha (Tr. *Yeniçeri Ağası*): the commander of the janissary corps. According to the accounts of contemporary European observers, he was the third most powerful man in the Ottoman administration.
- 3 Throughout this book, the Ottoman/Turkish word *Rum* is translated as “Greek.”
- 4 The Morea (Turk. *Mora*, Gr. *Μωριάς*): medieval name for the Peloponnese, the southernmost part of continental Greece.
- 5 Agrafta (Turk. *Agrafta*, Gr. *Ἀγρᾶφα*): mountainous region in mainland Greece, the southernmost part of the Pindus range.
- 6 *Şeyhülislam*: highest-ranking Muslim cleric and administrator of religious affairs.
- 7 Izmit (anc. Nicomedia): town in northeast Turkey.

[573/6, regarding the Fanariot kaymakams of Moldowallachia]

To the Castellan of Giurgiu¹ [Ismail Hakkı Pasha]

June 2, 1821

You have already been notified that Istefanaki² and Negri³—who have been appointed *kaymakams*⁴ of Moldowallachia⁵ by Iskerlet Bey,⁶ currently the voivode of Wallachia and resident in Istanbul—shall not be let out of the fortress for as long as circumstances require. The soldiers of the Sublime State⁷ are now being dispatched in companies to Moldowallachia, and, unless assurances are given for the safety of the innocent folk, this will create misery and fear among the people that they will altogether be put to the sword. Obviously, there will be great difficulty in managing the soldiers' rations. Hence, an imperial rescript has been issued, authorizing the temporary appointment of Istefanaki as the *kaymakam* at Iași⁸ until the designation of a voivode for Moldavia by the Sublime State, with the castellan of Brăila⁹ [Yusuf Pasha of

1 Giurgiu (Turk. Yergöğü, Gr. Τζιούρτζιου or Γκιουργχίου): town in south Romania.

2 Stefanos Vgoridis: prominent Fanariot of Bulgarian descent. He started his career under the patronage of Skarlatos Kallimaki. In 1812 he was appointed *kaymakam* of Craiova and Galatsi. In 1814 he was appointed *postelnik* [official in charge of foreign affairs] of Moldavia. He was the *kaymakam* of Moldavia when the Greek Revolution broke out. For his biography, see Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*.

3 Konstantinos Negris: *kaymakam* of Wallachia when the Greek Revolution erupted. He was executed in November 1822 in Istanbul on charges of secretly communicating with his brother, Theodoros Negris, who was the president of the Areopagus of Eastern Continental Greece. For the text of the placard to be hung on his corpse, see BOA/HAT 16805-A.

4 *Kaymakam*: *locum tenens*, one filling an office for a time or temporarily taking the place of another; in this case, deputy voivodes of Moldowallachia. In contemporary western bibliography generally written as *caimacam*.

5 Throughout this book, Moldowallachia, the anglicized version of the Greek term Μολδοβλαχία [Moldovlachia], will be used to correspond to the Ottoman term Memleketeyn: the Two Domains, i.e. Eflak [Wallachia] and Boğdan [Moldavia].

6 Iskerlet Bey: Skarlatos Kallimaki was known as Kalimakizade Sarı Bey at the Sublime Porte. He was appointed to the voivodeship of Wallachia in February 1821, on Alexandros Soutsos's death. He never left Istanbul to take up his post due to the outbreak of the Greek Revolution. Kallimaki was a close associate of Halet Efendi, Mahmud II's favorite and advisor. See also document 573/262 herein.

7 Sublime State: Ottomans never used the term "Ottoman Empire" for their state. The most common terms used for self-designation by Ottoman administrators for their state that we also encounter in the *Ayniyat* Registers were *Devlet-i Aliyye* [the Sublime State] and *Saltanat-ı Seniyye* [the Exalted Sultanate].

8 Iași (Turk. Yaş, Gr. Ιάσιο): town in northeast Romania, historic capital of Moldavia.

9 Brăila (Turk. İbrail, Gr. Μπράιλα or Βράιλα): port town on the Danube, eastern Romania.

Berkovitsa] installing him in his office. Negri shall retain his seat at Bucharest¹⁰ as the *kaymakam* until he is replaced by the governor of Silistra¹¹ [Benderli Mehmed Selim Pasha]. We have dispatched the necessary orders to this effect, as well as the pertinent details to the governor of Silistra. Likewise, the *kaymakam* of Oltenia¹² shall maintain his post, which was duly notified to the castellan of Vidin.¹³ Further, all functionaries were warned not to be overwhelmed by languor in their former duties due to the reasons mentioned above. With the present correspondence, Your Excellency has also been informed to this effect. Now that the aforementioned people have been appointed as *kaymakams*, you are asked to sustain your previous performance by striving to demonstrate your prudence and zeal.

Addendum: Although the *kaymakams* have thus been nominated and replaced, it has become known to everyone that the Greek infidels, lowborn and highborn alike, have all united to perpetrate all sorts of treachery and malice against [our] religion and state. As these cursed beings hold grudges and enmity against the Muslims, they can never be trusted in any way whatsoever. Thus, [you shall keep in mind that] there is a reason that we appointed Istefanaki to Moldavia and the others maintained their posts.¹⁴ They cannot be trusted fully, which was notified, by virtue of the issued imperial rescript, to the governor of Silistra, as well as the castellans of Vidin and Brăila. Hence, Your Excellency shall also be well-informed about the situation and act accordingly.

10 Bucharest (Turk. Bükreş, Gr. Βουκουρέστι): capital of present-day Romania, at this point the capital of Wallachia.

11 Silistra (Turk. Silistre, Gr. Σιλίστρα): Bulgarian town on the southern bank of the lower Danube.

12 Oltenia (Turk. Karaeflak, Gr. Ολτενία): historical province in southwest Romania, with Craiova as its capital. Ioannis Samourkassis (Samerkaşoğlu) was the *kaymakam* of Oltenia when the Greek Revolution broke out.

13 Vidin (Turk. Vidin, Gr. Βίντιν): port town on the Danube in northwest Bulgaria.

14 The document is referring to a possible conflict with Russia if the Sublime Porte opted to appoint non-Fanariots to the posts in Moldowallachia, which would constitute an infringement of the Treaty of Bucharest of 1812.

[573/8, regarding military mobilization in the Larissa region]

To the Commander-in-Chief [Hürşid Pasha]¹

June 2, 1821

We have received your letter in which you relate that, as pirate ships have appeared off Volos² and Almyros³ and engaged in abominable deeds, and that the sedition of the *reaya*⁴ has galvanized, His Excellency Mahmud Pasha,⁵ *Mutasarrıf*⁶ of Trikala,⁷ was dispatched to the region at the head of his soldiers. Moreover, 2,500 soldiers have been recruited for his command from the villages of Larissa.⁸ However, as it is understood that the sedition of the infidels will spread to the region of Thessaloniki, and as the *Mutasarrıf* of Kayseri,⁹ Hasan Pasha—who was recently appointed castellan of Nafplio¹⁰—cannot navigate to his post by sea, it has become necessary that he and the *Mutasarrıf* of Hüdavendigar,¹¹ Ibrahim Pasha, go to Larissa by way of the Via Egnatia,¹² recruiting soldiers along the way. We also learned from your letter that the rebellion of the traitor [Tepedelenli] Ali Pasha will soon be quelled.¹³ Although it has been established that the Greek infidels, without cause, have united, lowborn and highborn alike, in order to engage in treason and abominable deeds against the Sublime State of Islam and against anyone who calls

1 Hürşid Ahmed Pasha: Ottoman statesman of Georgian descent. He served as grand vizier between 1812 and 1815. He suppressed the Serbian revolt in 1813. In October–November 1819 he put down three sizable revolts in Baghdad, Diyarbekir, and Aleppo. In August 1820, when he was in Aleppo, he was appointed governor of the Morea. Before arriving at his new post, he was dispatched to Ioannina to quell Tepedelenli Ali Pasha's uprising.

2 Volos (Turk. Golos, Gr. Βόλος): coastal town in Thessaly.

3 Almyros (Turk. Ermiye, Gr. Αλμυρός): village 26 km southwest of Volos.

4 *Reaya*: tax-paying subjects of the Ottoman state. The term came to be used exclusively for non-Muslims by the early nineteenth century.

5 Sabit Mahmud Pasha: of Albanian descent, the son of a dynastic family from Drama, known as Dramalis in Greek historiography. In May 1820 he was appointed *mutasarrıf* of Trikala and remained in this post until October 1821. He was appointed governor of the Morea in June 1822 and served in this post until his death in December 1822.

6 *Mutasarrıf*: governor of a *sancak*.

7 Trikala (Turk. Tırhala, Gr. Τρίκαλα): town in northwest Thessaly.

8 Larissa (Turk. Yenişehir or Yenişehir-i Fenar, Gr. Λάρισα): capital of the Thessaly region.

9 Kayseri (Gr. Καισάρεια): town in central Turkey.

10 Nafplio (Turk. Anabolu, Gr. Ναύπλιο): coastal town in the eastern Peloponnese.

11 Hüdavendigar: historical province in northwest Anatolia. In the early nineteenth century, the province consisted of the region south of Bursa.

12 Throughout this book, the historical road's universally known name, the Via Egnatia, will be used to render the Ottoman usage, *Rumeli Sol Kol* [the left route of Rumelia]. The Via Egnatia connected Istanbul with the Adriatic Sea, via Edirne, Thessaloniki, and Durrës.

13 The crackdown on Ali Pasha began in January 1820 in consequence of the Sublime Porte's military and administrative project to reassert itself in the provinces. For the project, see the "Introduction" herein, pp. 2–4.

himself a Muslim, God will soon destroy those infidels and bestow victory on the nation of Muhammad. As has been reported to you earlier, Hasan Pasha could not navigate due to the activities of the pirate ships and was eventually appointed castellan of Izmir.¹⁴ The *Mutasarrıf* of the *sancaks*¹⁵ of Aydın¹⁶ and Saruhan,¹⁷ Behram Pasha, was dispatched to Larissa with an abundance of soldiers and he has already crossed to Gallipoli.¹⁸ Ibrahim Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Hüdavendigar, could not reach his post. Hacı Ebubekir Pasha, Governor of Karaman,¹⁹ who has been tasked with patrolling the region between Eceabad²⁰ and Mürefte,²¹ was also dispatched to Larissa. He was instructed to scorch the earth and implement the fatwa²² of enslavement without mercy.²³ Your Excellency shall also strive to quell the revolt of Ali Pasha the traitor as soon as possible and encourage functionaries to exert their best efforts.

14 Izmir (Gr. Σμύρνη): coastal town on the Aegean Sea in western Turkey. At the time of the Greek Revolution, Izmir was a major commercial hub with a flourishing Greek population.

15 *Sancak*: a district or a subdivision of an *eyalet* [province].

16 Aydın (Gr. Αἰδίτις): town and province in west-central Turkey.

17 Saruhan: old name of the province of Manisa, western Anatolia.

18 Gallipoli (Turk. Gelibolu, Gr. Καλλίπολη): peninsula and town with the same name in southeastern Turkish Thrace.

19 Karaman: in the nineteenth century, this province comprised most of south-central Anatolia, including the *sancaks* of Konya, Kayseri, and Alaiye.

20 Eceabad (Gr. Εμάδουτος): town on the eastern shore of the Gallipoli peninsula.

21 Mürefte (Gr. Μυριόφυτον): coastal village on the Sea of Marmara.

22 Fatwa (Turk. *fetva*): authoritative legal opinion of a Muslim jurist.

23 After the news of the uprisings in Samos, Ayvalık, and Cunda and the *feryadnames* [letters of cry for help] from Moreot Muslims arrived, the Imperial Council held long discussions on April 26, 1821: there was no money or regular army, only an abundance of people who sought their own benefit. It was impossible to enlist soldiers, and—based on previous experience—it was obvious that the troops would scatter on the slightest pretext. Some of the Ottoman ministers considered stirring up the soldiers by appealing to their religious sensibilities and offering them war spoils as a feasible way to forestall the crisis. Although several ministers noted that the situation was essentially a civil war and that such measures would provoke the devastation of the realm, it was decided that no other solution was at hand. The *Fetva Emni* [official who drafts the fatwa after consulting with the necessary authorities] Üryanizade Raşid Efendi was summoned to the council and asked for a religious opinion. It was stated that the insurgent *reaya* infringed the law of *raiyyet* [subjecthood] by “defying the authority of the ruler, daring to engage in combat, [and] killing many Muslims.” The insurgent *reaya* were now considered *harbî*; in other words, they were no longer under the safe conduct of the sharia rules laid down for non-Muslims. A fatwa was eventually issued sanctioning “waging war against the [insurgent] *reaya*, confiscation of their property, and enslavement of their women and children.” This was to be done immediately without asking for further permission. The insurgents would not be granted a pardon unless they inspired confidence. Loyal *reaya* were not to be touched. The following day a firman was dispatched to every Ottoman province to promulgate the fatwa. For the text of the fatwa, see Ilıcak, “A Radical Rethinking of Empire,” p. 148.

[573/9, regarding troops from Silistra and the appointment of Stefanos Vogoridis]

To the Governor of Silistra [Benderli Mehmed Selim Pasha]¹

June 2, 1821

In your correspondence, Your Excellency informed us about the arrival of the previously issued sultanic order, as well as the imperial orders containing certain instructions. Accordingly, Your Excellency reported that he is acting in accordance with these orders, and that the number of soldiers that have accumulated under your command, as well as the infantry and cavalry from among your household, altogether amount to eight thousand souls. Under the command of your steward² and fully equipped with artillery and ammunition, these troops crossed to Călărași³ on the 17th day of the month of *Şaban* [May 20, 1821] last Saturday. Afterwards, on Thursday, May 25, they set out for Bucharest, trusting in God the Victorious. Moreover, five thousand soldiers raised in the districts of the province of Silistra are now arriving gradually at their destination. Your Excellency also reported that upon their arrival, God willing, some of them shall be assigned to Bucharest and the rest to the defense of Călărași under the command of your armorer. Furthermore, the troops sent by the *mira-hur agha*⁴ from the districts of Ormenio⁵ have also arrived in Silistra. Only 105 cavalymen were selected among them and dispatched to the command of your steward, while the remaining infantry and cavalry were expedited to the castellan of Brăila [Yusuf Pasha of Berkovitsa]. You also mentioned the dispatch of the register indicating the number of the troops. Lastly, you reported that Istefanaki [Stefanos Vogoridis], one of the *kaymakams* of Wallachia who resides in Giurgiu, was summoned to the presence of Your Excellency, while Konstantinos [Negris] had to remain in Giurgiu due to his old age. The utmost care taken by Your Excellency in the display of your devoted spirit and proper performance of your duties are deemed pleasing and worthy of praise. As he was presented with your correspondence, His Imperial Majesty prayed for you with the following words: "His course of action is indeed agreeable. May God grant him victory." As was written in our previous letter, Istefanaki has been appointed to Moldavia in order to fulfill the duty of voivode until the designation of a permanent one and to administer the military rations, while [Negris]

1 Benderli Mehmed Selim Pasha: governor of Silistra from March 1819 until appointed grand vizier in September 1824; he served in this position until October 1828.

2 Throughout this book, the Ottoman word *kethüda* is translated as steward. A *kethüda* was second in command of a pasha's household.

3 Călărași (Turk. Kalaras, Gr. Καλαράσι): town in southeast Romania.

4 *Mirahur agha*: master of the imperial stables, chief equerry; at this point Ibrahim Agha.

5 Ormenio (Turk. Çirmen, Gr. Ορμένιο): the northernmost town in Greece.

was kept in his post as *kaymakam* in Wallachia as per a previous imperial rescript. Further, we also urge you not to neglect your duties and duly perform them in the best way possible. Although Your Excellency shall undoubtedly act so, note that it has become known to everyone that the Greek infidels, low-born and highborn alike, have all united to perpetrate all sorts of treachery and malice against [our] religion and the Sublime State, and these cursed people can never be trusted in any way whatsoever, as they hold grudges and evil intentions solely and exclusively against Muslims. We have our own reasons to appoint Istefanaki to Moldavia. [Keep in mind that] the people in question can never be trusted, and it is the order of His Imperial Majesty that [the reason for their appointment] should be explained in detail [to functionaries]. Hence, the present letter has been drawn up to inform Your Excellency accordingly and to ask you to exert the utmost efforts to fulfill the tasks required by your duty.

[573/14, regarding the defense of Izmir]

To Hasan Pasha, Castellan of Izmir

June 3, 1821

We received your letter confirming the arrival of the imperial decree regarding your appointment as castellan of Izmir, as well as the official correspondence containing certain matters to this effect. We have also been acquainted with the information from the writ of the *naib*¹ of Izmir and the petition of the local people that you took up your office. These documents were submitted to the imperial stirrup² and seen by His Imperial Majesty. As the entire public now knows about all sorts of treachery that the Greek infidels perpetrate against the Muslims, they, lowborn and highborn alike, can never be trusted in any way whatsoever. Since Izmir is a large town with a significant *reaya* population, you, as per the imperial rescript, shall cooperate with everyone [i.e. all functionaries in the town], so as to defend the town to the best of your capacity. Hence, the present document has been drawn up to remind you to take utmost care for the defense of Izmir and exercise your responsibility at all times, as required by the imperial rescript.

1 *Naib*: deputy *kadı*.

2 The imperial stirrup (Turk. *Rikâb-ı Hümayun*) was part of the outer services (Turk. *Bîrun*) of the imperial palace, in charge of such duties as transmitting messages between the sultan and various state offices.

[573/16, *regarding provisions for the imperial navy*]
To His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief [Hursid Pasha]
June 3, 1821

We have received the dispatches containing some news and the statements that were sent both to Your Excellency and to the *kapudana bey*¹ by the [British] consul in Corfu² and the British commander, as well as the *kapudana bey*'s letter to Your Excellency, together with the papers sent to the islands by the traitor Alexandros [Ypsilantis].³ Once we were fully and thoroughly acquainted with their contents, they were also submitted to the imperial stirrup and seen by His Imperial Majesty. Although the treason and malice of the infidels against the Muslims is well known, God, the most auspicious helper, shall soon grant victory to Muslims, as is evident from His blessing and mercy toward Muslims since the early times of Islam. It is apparent from your devoted spirit and endeavors that you shall procure hardtack and various other provisions from Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër,⁴ and from Ismail Pasha of Palasë and thus meet the request of the *kapudana bey* for the needs of the imperial navy. Hence, this letter has been issued to ask you to duly serve the Sublime State by providing him with the required assistance as proof of your valor.

- 1 *Kapudana bey*: admiral, second in command of the Ottoman navy after the *kapudan pasha* [grand admiral].
- 2 Corfu (Turk. Korfa, Gr. Κέρκυρα): one of the seven Ionian Islands.
- 3 Alexandros Ypsilantis is referred to as "the son of Ypsilantis" in many Ottoman documents. He was the son of an eminent Fanariot, Konstantinos Ypsilantis, who had served as dragoman of the Porte (1796–9), voivode of Moldavia (1799–1801), and voivode of Wallachia (1802–6) before he defected to Russia when the Russo–Ottoman War of 1806–12 began. His five sons grew up in Russian military-aristocratic circles, but only Alexandros rose rapidly in the military hierarchy. In 1820 Alexandros, then a 28-year-old major general, an aide-de-camp, and personal friend of Tsar Alexander I, and already a Greek celebrity, assumed the leadership of the secret Greek revolutionary organization, the Filiki Etaireia, and triggered the Greek Revolution. For details about the Ypsilantis family's ties with Russia, see G. L. Arsh, "On the Life in Russia of the Greek Patriotic Family Ypsilanti," *Balkan Studies* 26 (1985), pp. 73–90.
- 4 Shkodër (Turk. İşkodra, Gr. Σκόδρα): town in northwest Albania; at this point, the domain of the Bushati dynasty of Geg Albanians.

[573/19, regarding Russian vessels in the Bosphorus]¹

To His Excellency the Grand Admiral² [Abdullah Hamdullah Pasha]

June 4, 1821

A Russian vessel had previously been moored suddenly off the coast of the residence of the Russian ambassador at Büyükdere.³ Moreover, a brig under the Russian flag in the guise of a mail boat entered the Bosphorus yesterday. The *bostancıbaşı agha*⁴ and other officers reported that this vessel also dropped anchor in this location. The Russian ambassador has already been expressly warned against the entry of such vessels; likewise, the pertinent authorities have been cautioned about denying them access in case of any attempt, as per the rules of navigation. It is not acceptable for a vessel to sneak in by deceit. Having informed the Russian ambassador accordingly, we asked in writing for the permission of His Imperial Majesty to notify the functionaries, so as to ensure their banishment should they refuse to leave on their own volition. In response, His Imperial Majesty issued an imperial rescript, in which he wrote the following: "May God grant all of you [i.e. Ottoman functionaries] wisdom, conscience, and piety. Can you ever imagine that the infidel, enemy of [our] religion, would ever say 'I shall dispatch warships to lay siege on you?' They would, of course, send the ships one by one, under the guise of merchant vessels. I have told you to send orders to the officials in charge of the Bosphorus to deny them access; have you sent them? If you did, then why did they let that vessel in? All our endeavors are in vain. I cannot even make myself understood to the ministers; imagine the troubles we suffer to communicate our orders to the provinces. Of course the ambassador should send them back. The officers should banish them immediately. For God's sake, be reasonable. Is it the ambassador or our officers to be blamed? This has now turned into a game. Yet, I shall not always remain tolerant. Good God, [give me patience]!" Subsequently, the Russian ambassador was notified via the dragoman of the Porte to have the vessels removed from the Bosphorus. This memorandum has been drawn up to ensure due attention and care for the removal of these vessels by the pertinent officers as required by the imperial decree, unless the ambassador complies with the demand to send them back.

1 Following the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, tension between the Ottoman and Russian empires escalated rapidly and resulted in the departure of the Russian ambassador Alexander Grigoriyevich Stroganov from Istanbul on August 10, 1821, in protest of the Sublime Porte's treatment of its noncombatant Greek subjects. Improper entry of the Russian vessels to the Bosphorus led the Sublime Porte to take measures to monitor every single vessel passing through the Bosphorus, further escalating the diplomatic crisis.

2 Grand admiral: *Kapudan Paşa* in the documents.

3 Büyükdere (Gr. Βαθύρρακας): neighborhood on the Bosphorus.

4 *Bostancıbaşı*: officer responsible for policing a good part of Istanbul, Galata, and the villages along the Bosphorus. He was also in charge of the jails in which notable Greeks sent from the provinces were kept in custody during the Greek Revolution.

[573/21, *regarding the situation in Moldowallachia*]

To the Governor of Silistra [Benderli Mehmed Selim Pasha]

June 4, 1821

We have been notified that your steward, whom you dispatched to Bucharest, arrived there on the 26th of the month of *Şaban* [May 29, 1821], along with the soldiers in his retinue. He appointed the *ayan*¹ of Sliven² as the *beşlî agha*,³ who pitched his tent within the province. He gave assurances to the boyars⁴ who came to his side, as well as the Russian and Austrian consuls, thereby restoring law and order in the province. Your Excellency has given orders to your steward to defend Bucharest and storm the monastery where [Alexandros] Ypsilantis sought refuge and to arrest Todori [Tudor Vladimirescu]⁵ and other runaway bandits. The contents of the documents pertaining to the above-mentioned issues, along with others, asking for an imperial decree [as a guideline] for the internal administration of Bucharest, have become known to us. As Your Excellency has made utmost efforts for the liberation of Bucharest in the smoothest manner by entrusting the task to competent individuals, your efforts are considered to be worthy of recognition and commendation. Your dispatch and the enclosed documents were presented to His Imperial Majesty, who personally examined them. It is obvious that Your Excellency, as an astute man acting wisely, shall carry out the imperial orders by considering the essence of every matter and shall strive to serve [our] religion and state faithfully. As is well known to Your Excellency, the Russians aim at nothing but to bring damage to the Sublime State and practice all sorts of deceit. That is why your steward has entered Bucharest so easily; a few non-influential boyars offered their services, while those boyars and the metropolitan with the actual say over matters fled. Obviously, all these are maneuvers by the Russians, who commit unthinkable ploys by feigning ignorance until an opportunity presents itself. The *kaymakams* of Wallachia and Greeks in general have

1 *Ayan*: Muslim provincial power-broker.

2 Sliven (Turk. İslimiye, Gr. Σλίβεν): town in east-central Bulgaria.

3 *Beşlî agha*: commander of the troops [*beşlî neferatı*] in charge of securing Moldowallachia.

4 Boyar: Moldowallachian native aristocracy.

5 Tudor Vladimirescu: Wallachian warlord and the leader of the Pandur militia. He had been in Russian service during the Russo–Ottoman War of 1806–12 and apparently continued to enjoy some liberty of action in Wallachia as a Russian official. Taking advantage of the power vacuum created by the death of Alexandros Soutsos, Voivode of Wallachia, on January 31, 1821, Vladimirescu revolted. He enlisted soldiers by exploiting the anti-Fanariot sentiments among the Wallachians. His revolutionary proclamations declared his intention of redressing the grievances which had been brought about by the Fanariots' maladministration and of compelling the boyars to respect the privileges granted by the Ottoman government to the Wallachians.

proven themselves to be untrustworthy. As we wrote to Your Excellency yesterday, the appointment of one of the *kaymakams* to Bucharest and the other one to Iași serves a certain purpose. With their true character obvious now, one should not be lured by their display of good intentions. Likewise, the Russians are outwardly peaceful, but in reality belligerent, which one should also know and act accordingly. It is required both by the circumstances and the imperial rescript that your steward shall reinforce the town of Bucharest and the outlying monasteries with a large number of soldiers and then march on the brigands. Your Excellency is expected to work through the matter and decide on the best course of action, to send confidential orders to your steward, to reinforce the monasteries around Bucharest, and to march on the bandits with the vast army stationed there, with the ultimate aim of displaying the power of the state. The Russians should be monitored, and all actions should be based on prudence with the knowledge that the *kaymakams* of Wallachia, the boyars, and Greek infidels, lowborn and highborn alike, can never be trusted whatsoever. Hence, this confidential letter is dispatched to caution you against the pretended good will of these *kaymakams* in consideration of all of the above points.

[573/22, *regarding enemy ships in the Eastern Mediterranean*]
*To the Grand Admiral [Abdullah Hamdullah Pasha]*¹

June 4, 1821

On its way from the island of Crete, a [Ottoman] vessel was attacked off the coast of Rhodes² by seventeen enemy ships, and during the ensuing battle the squadron of the governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha], consisting of twelve vessels, came to its rescue. In the end, the Cretan ship was saved, a couple of infidel ships fled with damage, and the Egyptian squadron dropped anchor off Rhodes unharmed. According to the reports sent from the authorities in Izmir, news has arrived on Chios³ that another eighteen vessels of the governor of Egypt are also on their way. Reports from other locations confirm that fourteen vessels belonging to the governor of Egypt have already reached Rhodes, with an additional fleet of eighteen vessels about to arrive. Presented with reports about this state of affairs, His Imperial Majesty issued an imperial rescript containing words to the following effect: "See, the ships of the governor of Egypt have arrived. Should the imperial navy at anchor in the Bosphorus set sail at once to join them, by the help of God, then enemy ships will certainly flee. If they in turn reinforce the *kapudana bey*, then a great force shall be mustered." As Your Excellency knows well, infidel ships sail freely in and around the Mediterranean, daring all sorts of villainy and infamy. Thus, the Sublime State is obliged to display its overwhelming might to vanquish them. Well-equipped imperial vessels are already on their way from Istanbul to the Dardanelles, thanks to the rigorous efforts of Your Excellency. If they leave the Straits to reunite with the imperial vessels under the command of *rîyala bey*⁴ in the Mediterranean and make a joint attack on the infidel ships, they will hopefully be granted divine assistance for the total devastation of the infidel fleet. The present letter has been drawn up to ask Your Excellency to inform the *patrona bey*⁵ about the details of this matter and to ensure that the imperial navy in the Bosphorus leaves the Straits to crush the infidel fleet with a *tour de force*.

1 Abdullah Hamdullah Pasha: appointed grand admiral in July 1819 and served in this post until November 1821. He was grand vizier between November 1822 and March 1823.

2 Rhodes (Turk. Rodos, Gr. Ρόδος): largest of the Dodecanese Islands in the southeast Aegean Sea, across from Marmaris, Turkey.

3 Chios (Turk. Sakız Adası, Gr. Χίος): Greek island in the north Aegean Sea, across from Çeşme, Turkey.

4 *Rîyala bey*: admiral of the lowest rank in the Ottoman navy.

5 *Patrona bey*: vice-admiral, third in command of the Ottoman navy after the *kapudana bey*.

[573/24, regarding military mobilization]

To the Mutasarrıf of Hüdavendigar [Ibrahim Pasha]

June 5, 1821

As required by circumstances, Your Excellency has already been ordered to prepare [your troops] to set out at any moment. From your previous acts of tenacity and strenuousness, it is evident that you shall do so. However, as the current uprising of the *reaya* has become known to all, this period is not comparable to any other. Thus, it is obligatory for all functionaries of the Exalted Sultanate to sacrifice their sleep and comfort to be vigilant at all times and to be ready to set out whenever necessary. Your Excellency is expected to be prepared to leave at any time and to keep an abundance of soldiers in Izmit, which is never to be demobilized. It is a requirement of the recently issued imperial rescript that you shall be notified about the place of your duty, here or elsewhere.

[573/26, *regarding sedition in Thrace*]

To the Sipahi Agha¹ Mehmed, in charge of the defense of Şarköy²

June 5, 1821

The *zimmi*³ named [illegible male name], son of Tanaş [Thanassis], a *reaya* of Semetli village in the district of İneçik,⁴ has been sent to Istanbul for interrogation. It has been verified that certain other infidel residents of the same village, namely Nikola Sarrafoğlu, Kostanti [Konstantinos], son of Kondiyanaki, Tanaş, son of Karakosti, and Manol [Manolis], son of Petri, were also involved in the sedition. Therefore, officials have been sent to summon them to court. Accordingly, you asked us to inform you about the orders to be issued concerning these individuals. As for Kostanti the Scribe and the above-mentioned infidels who were to be summoned to Istanbul, Kostanti was detained for a few days to ease the confiscation of weapons [in Christian villages], while the arrest of the others was postponed as required by the state of affairs.⁵ We have been made familiar with the contents of the petitions sent to us involving the request for an order concerning these individuals and other matters. You also write that a certain Seyyid Mehmed Şakir is capable of performing the duties of *ayan* of Şarköy, unlike the incumbent. Besides, the aforementioned Tanaş has also arrived here. As the treason of all Greek infidels against Muslims has come into the open, those involved in the sedition need to be arrested in any case. Thus, the present letter has been drawn up on the following matters: the above-mentioned infidels shall be arrested and dispatched to Istanbul, denying them any chance to desert en route; utmost care shall be taken to send the other summoned infidels in addition to the said Kostanti the Scribe, who shall be immediately sent back here following his response to the interrogation about weapons. Furthermore, as Şarköy is subordinate to the district of Ormenio, the *mutasarrıf* of Ormenio [Salih Pasha] has been informed and asked to duly handle the matter of the *ayan*'s position. You shall pay close attention to perform your duties by immediately sending the mentioned individuals here.

1 *Sipahi agha*: commander of the fief-holding cavalrymen stationed in the provinces.

2 Şarköy (Gr. Περίστας): coastal town on the north coast of the Sea of Marmara in Turkish Thrace.

3 *Zimmi*: non-Muslim subject of a Muslim state; mostly used in a judicial context.

4 İneçik: town in Turkish Thrace, 60 km northeast of Şarköy.

5 One of the largest operations carried out by the Sublime Porte following the outbreak of the Greek Revolution was to disarm its Christian subjects throughout the empire. Janissary commanders sent from Istanbul were put in charge of this operation, and wherever the Sublime Porte exercised its authority, from Moldowallachia to the fringes of the Morea, the weapons of all Christians were collected. See Ilıcak, "A Radical Rethinking of Empire," pp. 190–91.

[573/29, regarding unity among Muslims and military mobilization]

To the Kaymakam of Anatolia¹

June 5, 1821

As per the imperial writ, the soldiers recruited from the *kaza*² of Simav in the *sancak* of Kütahya³ have been sent to their place of duty fully equipped. These soldiers were followed by a group of volunteers consisting of 120 people who have unfurled their standards and are about to set out for Istanbul. As requested by the *naib* and voivode of Kütahya, this group of soldiers has been ordered to linger. We are now familiar with the contents of your dispatch, requesting an order for the mobilization of the soldiers. As is well known, Greek infidels, lowborn and highborn alike, have united in treason against Muslims. It is a religious duty for all believers from all classes to avoid saying, "I am this or I am that," and band together, uniting their hearts in order to do what is befitting of Muslims. Previously, such agreement and unity [among the Ottoman functionaries] were achieved in the presence of the *şeyhülislam*, which was announced to all, including you. Everyone, whether of janissary or other background, shall stand as one to contribute to causes uplifting the name of God. Hence, the present letter has been written to inform you about not prohibiting the use of such banners [under which volunteers unite].

1 Anatolia (Turk. Anadolu, from the Greek *ανατολή*, meaning east): at this point both the name of a geographical region (Asia Minor) and an *eyalet* [province] in west-central Turkey, with Kütahya as its capital.

2 *Kaza*: subdivision of a *sancak*, seat of a *kadi*.

3 Kütahya: district and town with the same name in west-central Turkey.

[573/30, *regarding inspections of vessels in the Bosphorus*]

To the Grand Admiral [Abdullah Hamdullah Pasha]

June 6, 1821

Certain paragraphs of His Imperial Majesty's recent imperial rescript read as follows: "When I heard the news of the arrival of the Russian vessel, I sent many undercover officials, but all state functionaries are deep in a sleep of negligence. The infidels are free to roam in and out of the vessels at their will and pleasure.¹ Why do shipmasters in the Bosphorus not stop these arriving vessels? Orders have been issued time and again. From now on, ships of all governments and all sorts of commercial vessels shall first give a sign and be examined before entering the Bosphorus, only after which they will be granted access. Who can oppose such a measure at a time when emissaries of all foreign powers are aware of the ongoing uprising of our *reaya*? Even if one raises an objection, he shall be provided with the required response in the case that he is a friend. Why does the grand admiral not perform on-site inspections in the Bosphorus? Have they equipped the commercial vessels that are to sail in the Mediterranean? What about the cockboats and shallops that are to navigate here? Where are the other ships already sent to the Mediterranean? Why do the heralds of the palace and the couriers not go to Izmir, the Bosphorus, and elsewhere by boat or overland to bring news? This present time is not like any other; it is not the time for negligence and laziness. Are we going to commission another vessel for the Bosphorus? They conceal the figureheads of the ships coming from the Black Sea by covering them with mats and sailcloth. Why is that so? The grand admiral should find out why." All the issues covered in the imperial rescript have been pondered in detail. It is most improper for the many officials in the Bosphorus to remain heedless, as correctly described by His Imperial Majesty, a state of affairs which should be put right. As required by the previous edict, no one should be allowed in or out of the infidel vessels, and all vessels of any government should be required to give a sign for inspection before entering the Bosphorus. Your Excellency shall start inspections in the Bosphorus and provide information as to whether the commercial vessels prepared for the Mediterranean have been equipped, as well as the condition of the cockboats and shallops to navigate here [the Bosphorus], and the reason why the figureheads are concealed on these vessels. In response to the question

1 Istanbul was the scene of incidents of public violence against non-Muslims, mostly Greeks, in the months following the outbreak of the Greek Revolution. Many Greeks tried to flee Istanbul in foreign vessels, mostly Russian, to avoid becoming victims of crowd action or state persecution. In response, the Sublime Porte introduced routine investigations of foreign vessels passing through the Bosphorus.

of His Imperial Majesty about commissioning another vessel for the Bosphorus, the matter should be investigated immediately. Heralds should be sent occasionally to deliver information from the imperial navy in the Mediterranean. All material obtained shall be sent to brief His Imperial Majesty. The present memorandum has been drawn up to ask Your Excellency to exert his efforts to this effect.

[573/37, regarding the destruction of churches in Palestine and Russian meddling in the Greek uprising]

To the Governor of Sidon [Abdullah Pasha]¹

June 6, 1821

We have learned from Your Excellency's messenger that you always view matters with an eye of prudence, thanks to your wisdom and insight. We also received the [intercepted] letters from the priest of the church in Acre addressed to the monks in the monasteries of Nazareth and the place called the Haifa Fortress, written in a Frankish [European] language, along with their translations. You informed us that the monastery located inside the Haifa Fortress is a stronghold in the form of a stockade, and that its presence poses a risk and should thus be demolished. We are now familiar with the contents of Your Excellency's correspondence on the above matter and others, as well as the contents of the enclosed documents, which were all presented to His Imperial Majesty. Since the demolition of the non-ancient, newly built monasteries and of the ancient churches that are detrimental to Muslims is permissible by religion, you are ordered by an imperial edict—pursuant to the issued fatwa—to destroy both the old and new churches. As Your Excellency has already been notified, the entire public now knows about all sorts of treachery and malice the Greek infidels perpetrate against [our] religion and the Sublime State and that they have embarked on bringing harm to Muslims. Therefore, the Exalted Sultanate exerts itself to carry out the necessary measures so as to vanquish and crush them. By the grace of God, it is expected that they will soon come to grief. Nevertheless, the treason of these infidels and the alliance among them suggest Russian meddling in these events, and perhaps [the sedition] is all their doing. Although the Russians deny allegations of any involvement, [their denial] is a trick serving to further their interests. The times and conditions require us to be aware of their deceits and act accordingly. Therefore, the Sublime State secretly informs its functionaries about such matters and is taking necessary precautions. Likewise, Your Excellency has been thoroughly informed to this effect, and as per the command of His Imperial Majesty, you are expected to understand their tricks and know how to deal with the Russian consul and others. Your Excellency should be aware that all Greek infidels are united against Muslims, and Russians can never be trusted. Hence, this letter has been written to ask Your Excellency to be alert, treat the Russian consul there accordingly, and exert your efforts to this effect.

1 Abdullah Pasha was the governor of the province of Sidon [*Sayda Eyaleti*] between 1820 and 1832, ruling over Palestine, Lebanon, and the Syrian coastline.

[573/45, regarding naval activity in the Mediterranean]

Instructions to be handed to Captain Ibrahim of Crete, who has been appointed as the commander of a total of thirteen commercial vessels, including five ships to set sail from Istanbul and eight vessels already dispatched that are about to receive their hardtack in Gallipoli

June 7, 1821

Growing in number day by day in the Mediterranean, bandit ships have been harassing Muslim vessels and daring all sorts of villainy and infamy. An imperial fleet had previously been sent from Istanbul under the command of Ali Bey, captain of one of the *riyala bey*'s ships, to vanquish and crush these bandits by the grace of God and carry out the fatwa which stipulates the enslavement of their offspring and seizure of their property as booty by the soldiers. A subsequent need arose to dispatch another fleet in order to embark on an attack. A ship from the imperial navy was assigned to command the eight commercial vessels that had been equipped and sent under your command, as well as the other five commercial ships just equipped and dispatched. In this regard, the imperial frigate *Înâyet-i Bâri* [Grace of God], under the command of Captain Mustafa, has been appointed as the commanding ship for this squadron of thirteen commercial vessels. As you are known to be a competent and loyal man, your commandership of these vessels has been endorsed, and the order of appointment sent to your side. God willing, once this frigate arrives in Gallipoli along with the abovementioned vessels, you shall board this frigate and, trusting divine assistance, set sail out of the Dardanelles commanding this thirteen-vessel squadron. Until joining the fleet of the *riyala bey*, you are to perform incessant attacks on the enemy ships you encounter in the Mediterranean. Exerting your piety and valor, you shall destroy all infidels found in such enemy ships, enslave their offspring, and distribute the booty among the soldiers. The present instructions indicate your duty to join the *riyala bey* and together massacre all rebellious enemies of [our] religion in the Mediterranean, enslave their offspring, confiscate their property as booty, and attack and destroy their bases, thereby vanquishing them all.

[573/46, *regarding the battle in Velestino*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Trikala [Sabit Mahmud Pasha]

June 7, 1821

We are now informed about the contents of Your Excellency's dispatch notifying us that, by the grace of God and thanks to the auspices of His Imperial Majesty, the infidels who entered the district of Velestino¹ were overcome and defeated by Muslim soldiers, leaving behind a vast number of prisoners, five hundred casualties, one cannon and twenty boxes of ammunition. Your Excellency displayed the proper Islamic rigor and zeal against the enemies of religion and proved the piety and valor expected of you. Your commendable efforts have also been notified to His Imperial Majesty, who issued an imperial rescript containing the following words: "He shall intimidate the infidels by immediately decimating them and meting out their properties and offspring among the soldiers. God willing, he will achieve many victories." The present letter has been written regarding the destruction of the infidels and distribution of their wealth and children among the soldiers, according to the orders of His Imperial Majesty, and asking Your Excellency to maintain the valor, rigor, and piousness expected of you.

¹ Velestino (Turk. Velestin, Gr. Βελεστίνo); town in east Thessaly, Greece.

[573/47, *regarding the wrongful use of firearms in Istanbul*]

To the Kadı of Istanbul

June 8, 1821

It has become known to everyone that Greek infidels openly seek to perpetrate all sorts of treachery and malice against our sublime religion and state. All our brothers in religion, who call themselves Muslims and affirm our glorious prophet in their hearts and actions, have been advised to obey the orders of His Imperial Majesty in arming themselves and remaining vigilant at all times.¹ However, some impertinent debauchees wantonly fire muskets and pistols from their homes and on the streets. Your Excellency had been sent an imperial order to prescribe the neighborhood imams to warn such individuals against firing muskets and pistols day and night and to turn them in to the officers if they continue to do so. Yet it seems that those individuals remain heedless of such warnings, still firing muskets and pistols round the clock. Since such acts involve obvious damage, preventing this will only be possible by punishing the perpetrators. From now on, those who dare to fire muskets and pistols from their homes and on the streets will be prevented from doing so, and those who do not obey will be reported to the officers. An order was sent in separate imperial orders to the *kadıs* of the Three Boroughs [Turk. *Bilad-ı Selase*, i.e. Galata, Eyüp, and Üsküdar] to this effect. Hence, you shall now summon the neighborhood imams and tell them to notify the people of their neighborhoods that whoever wantonly fires muskets and pistols in the streets will be informed upon to the officers. Also, you shall tell them to notify the officers about those who remain heedless and continue such acts. You shall also strongly warn the imams that those failing to inform the authorities will be subject to severe punishment.

¹ For the arming of the male Muslim population in major urban centers throughout the Ottoman Empire with reference to Ibn Khaldunian terminology and concepts, see the "Introduction" herein, pp. 4–7.

[573/65, *regarding the expulsion of Greeks from Istanbul*]
Mandate to the Grand Admiral [Abdullah Hamdullah Pasha]
June 11, 1821

The treason and malice of the Greek infidels against the religion of Islam and the Sublime State has become known to all, and the government has in turn taken domestic measures, attempting to secure civil order. Nevertheless, some vagrants and bachelors from among the Greek infidels of the Morea and Agrafta have for some time been growing in number in Istanbul, daring to incite the *reaya* and committing all sorts of malice. Therefore, as ordered by the imperial edict on this matter, officers are now in the course of arresting such bachelors and vagrant infidels, so as to expel them from Istanbul to Anatolia. Another imperial edict has been issued, commanding the relocation to Anatolia of all able-bodied Greek infidels, along with their households, in addition to all vagrants, bachelors, and those permanent-resident local tradesmen and artisans living in Beyoğlu,¹ Galata,² and other places in the vicinity. Salih Koç Agha, who is in charge of safeguarding the dams, and the chief cannoneer are entrusted with this task. An official from the Patriarchate has been ordered to accompany them in their thorough inspection of Galata and Beyoğlu on the opposite shore, during which they are to search everywhere and record everyone, leaving no corner unchecked. These officials have been commanded by separate imperial orders to carry out their duty. Likewise, Your Excellency is also expected to appoint functionaries to search in and around Beyoğlu and Galata thoroughly and to expel all such infidels from Beyoğlu and its vicinity.³

1 Beyoğlu (Gr. Πέρα[ν]): Pera[n], district on the European side of Istanbul.

2 Galata (Gr. Γαλατάς): district on the European side of Istanbul, on the shore of the Golden Horn.

3 Some of the population registers compiled in this period are preserved in the Ottoman State Archives, Istanbul. See, for example, BOA/A.DVNS.TZEI 29 for the register of the non-Muslims occupying various khans in Istanbul.

[573/70, *regarding the treatment of Greek prisoners*]

*To Yusuf Agha, Superintendent of Samakocuk*¹

June 11, 1821

We have examined and become aware of the contents of your letter informing us that, of those among the Greek *millet*² who had a great hand in the sedition, the *vladika*³ of Sozopol⁴ and four other priests have been arrested and sent to the gate of justice [of the sultan]. You state that investigations and interrogations against such traitors will be incessant in the future. You are also inquiring whether on-the-spot executions to make an example of such culprits require imperial authorization. It is an act worthy of commendation and proof of loyalty on your behalf to search for and capture such traitors betraying [our] religion and state and to send them to Istanbul. Your inquiry was also presented to His Imperial Majesty. The above-mentioned individuals were made an example of by hanging in the execution sites of the city. Although your petition contains a demand for authorizing on-the-spot executions for future cases of detention, His Excellency Ebubekir Pasha, Governor of Anatolia, was charged with the task of traveling through the region to ensure that the *reaya* of the region have bailsmen⁵ and to carry out executions for those deserving punishment. This letter has been written to remind you to display your tenacity and loyalty by taking utmost care of this important matter of religion, to interrogate and imprison such traitors at once, and to inform us about the state of affairs.

1 Samakocuk: now Demirköy in Turkish Thrace; it was the location of an important armaments foundry.

2 *Millet*: an officially recognized religious community; specifically, a non-Muslim religious minority subordinate to the Ottoman state, enjoying a certain degree of autonomy and represented by an official leader.

3 *Vladika* (Turk. *ladika*): Slavic title and address for bishops.

4 Sozopol (Turk. Süzöbolü, Gr. Σωζόπολη): town on the southern Black Sea shore of Bulgaria.

5 When the Greek Revolution broke out, every Greek male in Istanbul and other major urban centers under government control was obliged to have a Muslim bailsmen [*kefil*] who would vouch for his decency and trustworthiness. The ones who did not have a bailsmen were banished.

[573/73, *regarding the wrongful release of prisoners*]

To the Castellan of Lesbos¹ Reşid Pasha

June 12, 1821

While bandit ships were sailing off the Gulf of Saros,² a boat from Enez³ with a crew of eleven or twelve infidels left the other bandit ships behind and laid anchor in front of the fortress of Molyvos,⁴ located on the cape of Lesbos overlooking the strait. Seeing them, some local [Muslim] young men of Molyvos attacked the vessel and conducted a search inside. They found traces of blood in the storeroom, some [Muslim] pilgrim's clothes, and some boxes containing biscuits. They concluded that Muslims were martyred onboard the ship, so they executed four crew members. As they were about to execute the remaining seven, officers from Molyvos did not give consent, arrested the crew, removed the vessel's rudder, and dispatched the detainees to your office in chains. Yet, it has now been reported that these individuals were released in Lesbos and are freely roaming in and around the city. It is very disturbing to hear that you let loose those prisoners after it was corroborated by evidence that Muslims had been martyred on the ship and four of the perpetrators had been executed. Letting aside imprisonment, it is a necessity to put to death the infidels who are captured in suspicious vessels and elsewhere. Therefore, you shall execute the infidels you had released and such men [as you will capture in the future]. As per the imperial rescript of His Imperial Majesty, you should know that you shall be held accountable should you ever dare to [release such prisoners] again. You shall detain the said vessel in its current location and immediately report back to us.

1 Lesbos (Turk. Midilli, Gr. Λέσβος or Μυτιλήνη): Greek island in the northeast Aegean Sea, across from Ayvalık, Turkey.

2 Gulf of Saros: an inlet of the Aegean Sea in northwest Turkey, north of the Gallipoli peninsula; Muarız Körfezi in the documents.

3 Enez (Gr. Αίνος): coastal town in the southwestern corner of Turkish Thrace; İnöz in the documents.

4 Molyvos (Turk. Molova, Gr. Μόλυβος): village in northwest Lesbos.

[573/74, *regarding the rearrest of three clerics*]

To the Castellan of Lesbos [Reşid Pasha]

June 12, 1821

You had previously informed us that the bishop of Kalloni¹ and two monks hid a cannon in their church. Although we had ordered their detention and imprisonment, in your last letter you stated that you released them after a request from the bishop of Lesbos, the *reaya* of the island, and several Muslims, who vouched for them that they will not commit treason again. [Unclear sentence regarding the Patriarchate.] It was an unzealous and discouraging act on your behalf to release them haphazardly just because the bishop, the *reaya*, and several Muslims requested it, despite the fact that the treason of the Greek infidels has become known to everyone, that they have united [in their sedition], lowborn and highborn alike, that you found a cannon in their church, and that the Greek infidels navigating the Mediterranean execute the Muslims that they capture on the masts and other parts of their ships. The infidels are in unison and of course they would have requested the release of the bishop in order to save him. Yet, we do not understand what kind of Muslims are those who befriended them and requested their release. In short, you are ordered to detain them again and reprimand those Muslims who pled on their behalf. You should know that the infidels have united and cannot be trusted. You shall act accordingly and be alert at all times.

¹ Kalloni (Turk. Kalonya, Gr. Καλλονή); village in northwest Lesbos.

[573/75, *regarding the capture of Iași*]
To the Castellan of Brăila [Yusuf Pasha of Berkovitsa]
June 12, 1821

The contents of Your Excellency's communication have become known to us, informing us about how the Greek infidels who suddenly attacked the town of Focșani¹ tasted the fiery sword of Islam. You also notified us about the dispatch of ears and banners, as well as the ear and the calpac² of the cursed priest called Louka, all of which were seized during combat. Praise be to God for granting us such a victory this time, which is a sign of, God willing, more victories to come. Your efforts are deemed commendable, and your dispatch was presented to the imperial stirrup and seen by His Imperial Majesty. The ears, banners, and such were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to serve as an example. Due to the unprovoked malice and treachery perpetrated by these infidels against the Muslims, it is a religious duty for all Muslims to take revenge on them by relying on God's grace and to display to them the vigor and bravery of the people of faith. As His Excellency Salih Pasha³ must have arrived there by now, it is a necessity and the requirement of the imperial rescript that you immediately capture and fortify the town of Iași and to act in accordance with the instructions previously written to Your Excellency. This letter has been drawn up to remind you that you should boldly and ardently strive for the true religion, for the sake of our Sublime State and His Imperial Majesty; endeavor to capture and fortify the town of Iași as soon as possible; display the utmost effort to act in accordance with the instructions previously written to Your Excellency; and show the courage expected of you.

- 1 Focșani (Turk. Fokşan, Gr. Φωξάνη): town in eastern Romania located at the historical border between Moldavia and Wallachia.
- 2 Calpac: a high-crowned cap usually made of sheepskin or felt.
- 3 Salih Pasha: castellan of Varna. When the Greek Revolution broke out, he was appointed as commander of the vanguard in Moldavia.

[573/77, *regarding the non-Muslims of the southwestern coast of the Black Sea*]

To the Governor of Anatolia Ebubekir Pasha, currently in charge of Babadag¹
June 12, 1821

Your Excellency has notified us that you have received the imperial writ commanding you, upon your arrival in Varna² by land due to the unfavorable conditions off the Mediterranean coast, to visit the places inhabited by the *reaya*, seize their weapons and entrust them to bailsmen, hold some of them hostage, and execute those who are proven to have engaged in the sedition. Your Excellency reported that you followed the coastline, investigating the state of the *reaya* in the towns and villages on your way. You state that up to Kırklareli³ you entrusted the aforementioned duties to Mehmed Agha, commander of the cavalry corps, while Yusuf Agha, superintendent of Samakocuk, was charged with the same task for the regions extending from Aheloy,⁴ Pomorie,⁵ and Nesebar⁶ up to Varna. As the *reaya* evidently constitute the majority, while the Muslims are outnumbered in the region, Yusuf Agha was further assigned with the task of safeguarding the coastal area from Midye⁷ up to Varna. Your Excellency explains the above matters and talks about the necessity to secure these regions with an abundance of soldiers. Your Excellency, with your foresight and tenacity, is indeed comparable to no other and obviously one of the reliable viziers of the Exalted Sultanate. Further, as the sedition and malice that erupted among the *reaya* have become known to everyone, it is not permissible to trust any of the *reaya*. It is of utmost importance to observe the required caution and vigilance and find the means to seize the weapons held by the *reaya*, as well as to control and discipline them. As the imperial rescript was previously issued for the commissioning of Your Excellency, and while the weapons in the hands of the *reaya* of the mentioned localities had been sequestered and delivered to the trustees, the necessary steps to this effect are now to be taken by Your Excellency. In the meanwhile, Yusuf Agha has been delegated with the task of protecting the coastal area from Midye up to Varna. The present document has been issued to remind Your Excellency to perform his commanding duties in accordance with the imperial writ.

1 Babadag (Turk. Babadağ): town in eastern Romania, approximately 15 km inland from the Black Sea coast.

2 Varna (Turk. Varna, Gr. Βάρνα): port town on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast.

3 Kırklareli (Gr. Σαράντα Εκκλησιές): town in Turkish Thrace; Kırkilisa in the documents.

4 Aheloy: town on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast between Burgas and Nesebar; Ahyolu Bergosu in the documents.

5 Pomorie (Turk. Ahyolu): town on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast.

6 Nesebar (Turk. Misivri, Gr. Μεσημβρία): town on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast.

7 Midye (Gr. Μύδεια): village on the Black Sea coast of Turkish Thrace, now Kiyıköy.

[573/83, regarding the rumors about Greek revolt in Ayvalık]
 To Ebubekir Pasha, Governor of Karaman, appointed to Larissa
 and its environs

June 12, 1821

As information had arrived regarding the revolt of the *reaya* of Ayvalık,¹ an imperial order was issued, entrusting Your Excellency with the task of storming the district and putting the rebellious infidels to the sword. Arriving in the town of Bergama,² written orders were dispatched to recruit soldiers for the command of Your Excellency from the *sancak* of Hüdavendigar and the neighboring regions. However, at this point, the revolt of the *reaya* of Ayvalık is nonexistent, and it is reported that they abide by the requirements of subjecthood.³ Also, the *mutasarrıf* of Hüdavendigar dispatched soldiers and functionaries for the protection of Ayvalık. Due to the abundance of the rebellious bandits in the Morea, an imperial order was later issued assigning Your Excellency to the region of Larissa, together with an imperial writ indicating your duty. Hence, Your Excellency shall not demand soldiers from the province of Hüdavendigar and its vicinities and shall cross immediately to Rumelia⁴ and arrive in Larissa, so as to take up your post swiftly.

1 Ayvalık (Gr. Αἰβάλί or Κυθωνίες): town on the northern Aegean coast of Turkey.

2 Bergama (Gr. Πέργαμος): ancient Pergamon, town located north of Izmir, western Turkey.

3 Throughout this book, the Ottoman word *raiyyet* is translated as subjecthood.

4 Rumelia (Turk. Rumeli): in the early nineteenth century, the *eyalet* [province] of Rumelia encompassed most of what is today Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania, continental Greece (excluding the Morea), and eastern Serbia.

[573/85, regarding the rumors about Greek revolt in Ayvalık]

To the Mutasarrıf of Hüdavendigar [Ibrahim Pasha]

June 12, 1821

As it was reported that the *reaya* of Ayvalık rose up in revolt, your arms bearer was committed to the execution of the imperial writ that charged you and certain other functionaries with the task of capturing and enslaving the *reaya* of the region. Subsequently, however, we have been informed that the intelligence on the *reaya*'s revolt is faulty. Thus, another imperial writ was sent, advising you to protect the *reaya* [from the rebels] if they are not in rebellion and to assault and repress them in case the news of the rebellion proves to be true. In your subsequent response letter, you indicate that the *reaya* are not in rebellion and at the moment they are well within the circle of obedience. You also write that the *reaya* vouched for one another as sureties and you strive to protect them. Your letter also informs us about the dispatch of the letters, statements, and other documents by your arms bearer and steward. After examining the documents, we presented them to the imperial stirrup for His Imperial Majesty's review. However, not only is the content of your arms bearer's letter the exact opposite of that sent by the *riyala bey*, but the day-to-day conduct of the *reaya* also contradicts these documents. It is likely that your arms bearer was deceived by the trickeries of the infidels. In accordance with the imperial decree, you shall continue to pay attention to their protection. Should you sense even the slightest sign of deceit, you shall strike and eliminate them. You shall reiterate this order to the functionaries under your command.

[573/86, *regarding the uprising on the island of Cunda*]

To the Grand Admiral [Abdullah Hamdullah Pasha]

June 12, 1821

In a letter sent to Your Excellency by the *Riyala* Seyyid Ali Bey, commander of the imperial navy, which had previously been dispatched to the Mediterranean, it was stated that the entire *reaya* population of the island of Cunda¹ has taken up arms. The imperial navy's inaction is inappropriate, despite the fact that the *riyala bey* was instructed to display might and inflict terror in case he observed disobedience on the islands and in the coastal towns, and that the people of Cunda did not admit the yawl he sent to shore. Given that the *reaya* have been impudent enough to kill Muslims in various places, it is not permissible to show leniency toward them under any circumstances. Hence, as discussed in the Imperial Council, mentioning the *riyala bey's* letter, he shall not show any leniency and should use every means at his disposal to demonstrate the imperial navy's might and, without wasting time for approval, repress and destroy the *reaya* wherever they rebel and intimidate them wherever necessary. He shall carry out his assignment with the knowledge that he will not be held accountable in any way whatsoever by the Sublime State for occasional complications. The property of the rebels will be granted as booty to Muslims, and their offspring will be given as slaves to whoever captures them. An imperial writ has been issued and sent to the commander [the *riyala*] along these lines. You shall also promptly dispatch a mandate to him to that effect. Upon asking His Imperial Majesty about the matter of sending a letter of reiteration for the [deployment of] ships of the Barbary Regencies² [in repressing the revolt] that are presently in Izmir, an imperial writ was issued, ordering that the matters be executed as previously discussed and decided. Now that you are informed about the orders sent to the *riyala bey*, you shall also prepare and send him a mandate along those lines, as well as a letter of reiteration regarding the Barbary ships in Izmir.

1 Cunda (Gr. Μοσχονήσι): island across from Ayvalık; Yunda or Yund in the documents.

2 Barbary Regencies (Turk. Garb Ocakları): regencies of Libya, Algeria, and Tunis, formally vassals of the Ottoman Empire.

[573/87, *regarding the misuse of firearms in Istanbul*]

To the Grand Admiral, Janissary Agha, Bostancıbaşı, Chief Armorer, Chief Gunner, and Chief Sapper

June 12, 1821

It has become known to everyone that Greek infidels openly seek to perpetrate treachery and malice against our sublime religion and state. All our brothers in religion, who call themselves Muslims and affirm our glorious prophet in their hearts and actions, have been advised to obey the orders of His Imperial Majesty and form themselves into one body, unanimous in making every exertion befitting Islam. They have been advised to bear arms at all times and remain vigilant. However, there exists a set of thoughtless and ignorant individuals, such as boys and youngsters of various descriptions and impertinent debauchees—incapable to judge why they carry arms and why they were licensed to do so. They do not understand the character of true zeal on the score of Islam, neither manners nor the law. They have made it their business to fire muskets and pistols wantonly day and night from their homes and on the streets. You have been reminded once or twice to take the necessary precautions to prevent such occurrences. However, since the beginning of the holy month of *Ramazan*, they have been randomly firing rifles and pistols, and there have been instances of people getting hit with stray bullets and of looting of shops. It is obvious that these unlawful and inappropriate acts, unbefitting of the sacred law, have been taking place only due to the negligence of the officers. It is mandatory for all Muslims to work for religion and state and avoid disagreeable acts incongruous with both sacred and state laws. All Muslims shall bear arms at all times; however, they shall not fire them. An imperial order has been issued for the imprisonment of those who fire their rifles or pistols despite this warning, and they shall be reported to His Imperial Majesty. The grand admiral and other officers have been cautioned about this matter in separate orders. You shall also communicate with the officers [under your authority] and ensure that everyone acts decently and that nobody fires his weapon nor usurps other people's property. You shall announce that those who fire their pistols will not be warned, but will be punished. You are hereby ordered to pay your greatest attention to prevent the occurrence of instances contrary to this warning.

[573/94, regarding instructions for conduct in insurgent regions]
 To the Mutasarrıf of Saruhan [Behram Pasha]¹

June 14, 1821

We have learned from the letter you sent to your agent² [in Istanbul] that although you are currently on your way to Larissa recruiting troops [along the way], you inquire about the nature of the matter for which you have been appointed, so that you may make the necessary arrangements. Also, you wish to be informed whether a commissary officer³ will be assigned to the troops under your command. As has become known to everyone, the Greek infidels, lowborn and highborn alike, have united and revealed their treason and malice against the Mohammedan religion and the Sublime State of Islam, and are mercilessly martyring all Muslims whom they can lay their hands on. In accordance with the fatwa issued by the office of the *şeyhülislam*, an imperial rescript has been released for the treatment of such rebellious infidels as *harbî*;⁴ namely, they are to be executed, their offspring are to be enslaved, and their properties are to be seized and distributed among Muslim warriors as bounty. In your letter of assignment, we had ordered you to proceed to Larissa, correspond with His Excellency Hurşid Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Ioannina⁵ region, and act accordingly. Also, in the previous imperial order, it had been emphasized that if you encounter any rebellious *reaya* during your march, you shall attack and put them to the sword, capture and enslave their offspring, and loot their property, thus fulfilling the obligations of ghaza and jihad.⁶ Those who ask for pardon shall be refused, unless their obedience

1 Behram Pasha: mistakenly known as Bayram or Beyran Pasha in Greek historiography. He had previously served as governor of Trabzon, Diyarbekir, and Erzurum.

2 Throughout this book, the Ottoman word *kapukethüda* is translated as agent. Each provincial functionary had an agent at the Sublime Porte who handled his affairs and correspondence with the central administration. A *kapukethüda* generally had several provincial functionaries as clients. In the French diplomatic correspondence of the period the *kapukethüdas* were referred to as *agents politiques*.

3 Throughout this book, the Ottoman title *nüzül emini* is translated as commissary officer, the official in charge of overseeing the purchase and delivery of supplies to the army.

4 *Harbî*: enemy; a person not under truce or safe conduct of the sharia rules laid down for non-Muslims.

5 Ioannina (Turk. Yanya, Gr. Ιωάννινα or Γιάννενα): town and province in Epirus, northwest Greece.

6 Ghaza and jihad: the struggle to defend and extend Islam; war to achieve these goals. By the early nineteenth century, these terms came to be used interchangeably—but mostly together as a formula—in the documents produced by the Ottoman civil and military bureaucracy. For a succinct discussion of the terms in historical context, see Gábor Ágoston, “Ghaza,” in Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2009), pp. 231–2.

and submission are adequately evident and their trustworthiness is ensured through the taking of hostages and appointing bailsmen. You are advised and reminded to make every exertion to strike and destroy those infidels who rose up in enmity against [our] religion and state. Upon arrival of intelligence regarding the revolt of the infidel *reaya* around Volos, we sent an order to Your Excellency for your immediate march to Larissa and beyond, executing the rebellious infidels. Separate commissary officers and chief butchers have been assigned to the retinues of the viziers in charge [of quelling the uprising]. Şahin Hüseyin Agha, one of the servants of the Sublime Porte, had previously been appointed special commissary officer and chief butcher to manage the provisions of the troops amassed under your command. Your Excellency shall exert himself to proceed promptly to Larissa and beyond and carry out your instructions as set forth in the imperial writs, paying particular attention to vanquishing the rebellious infidels, thereby displaying the comprehension and bravery expected of you.

[573/95, *regarding the dispatch of ships from Egypt to the Morea*]

To the Governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha]

[*originally dispatched on May 31, 1821; forwarded again on June 14 with an addendum*]

We had communicated the following to Your Excellency in our past correspondence: “Thanks to our previous dispatch, in which we related the sedition and strife that erupted in Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as the statements made by the Russians and the measures we began to take concerning the matter, Your Excellency must have become familiar with the state of affairs [in Wallachia and Moldavia, and regarding Russia]. The Greek infidels have been sowing seeds of sedition for a long time in service to their evil cause of, God forbid, putting out the light of Islam completely. As a fruit of their effort, the *reaya* in the Morea revolted, and as the revolt spread to the nearby districts, the *reaya* of Athens, Livadeia,¹ and Amfissa² joined in and blocked the roads. Presently, His Excellency Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, former grand vizier and current Governor of Rumelia and Commander-in-Chief of Ioannina, is dispatching troops to the Morea by land. Due to the *reaya*’s rebellion, the venerable sharia necessitates that they are treated as *harbî*, and that their blood shall be spilled, and they shall be enslaved. Wherever the *reaya* fails to submit to their lawful ruler, be it in the Morea or any other place in Rumelia, the soldiers of Islam are licensed to capture and enslave them, and seize their property as booty, in compliance with the fatwa of the *şeyhülislam*. Imperial writs were issued and sent to relevant functionaries announcing the fatwa. Thus, we have begun the effort toward the restoration of order and safety through the suppression of the rebellious *reaya*, in reliance on the power of God Almighty and the assistance of the conqueror spirit of our prophet. Given that the infidels—who are the enemies of [our] religion—rise up for their false religion and engage in all sorts of treacherous and abominable deeds against the nation of Muhammad, it is incumbent on all of us as Muslims to unite in alliance and spare no efforts in the name of our religion and state. Our religion is the Mohammedan religion, and our state is the Mohammedan state under God’s providence; it is time for us, the comrades in the service of our glorious master in Istanbul, to demonstrate our loyalty to the Exalted Sultanate by rendering good service. The loyalty and industry of Your Excellency for the cause of His Imperial Majesty is evident by the deeds you performed for the sake of the

1 Livadeia (Turk. Livadya, Gr. Λιβαδειά): town in southern mainland Greece, southeast of Amfissa.

2 Amfissa (Turk. Salona, Gr. Ἀμφισσα; Σάλωνα in the Ottoman period): town in southern mainland Greece.

Two Holy Cities [Mecca and Medina]. Since this issue concerns not only our Sublime State and His Imperial Majesty but also our religion, it is clear that you will spend maybe five times the effort expected of you. We have already sent out orders concerning the measures to be taken for the reinforcement of the Morea by land, along with the decision for enslavement of the rebels. However, it is also imperative that we demonstrate to the enemies of religion the might of the Sublime State of Islam on the sea, stemming from deep unity and concord among Muslims. Thus, a number of ships have been ordered from the squadron of the *Kapudana* Ali Bey patrolling the Albanian coast to the coasts of the Morea. However, it is necessary that we properly demonstrate our wrath and power along the coasts of the Morea, since the infidels of Hydra³ and Spetses⁴ have the potential to attack the ships carrying provisions to Istanbul, as well as those transporting troops from Anatolia to Rumelia, for they have ships that are similar to English corvettes. This letter is to inform you about the imperial order that you should immediately prepare an appropriate number of ships from your own [fleet], since Your Excellency has many ships, and dispatch them to the Morea under an able commander with the instructions to maintain communication with the aforementioned *Kapudana* Ali Bey for further collaboration. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that you also dispatch a few suitable ships north of Rhodes and replicate also in this matter of religion your deeds and services as we witnessed with the issue of the Kharijites."⁵

Subsequently, we have sent you another letter to reiterate His Imperial Majesty's will: "You shall dispatch a fleet to the Morea immediately to demonstrate our might to the traitors rebelling in the Morea. We waged war on them, as it was inconceivable to let them rule in the Morea, and, praise be to God, the winds of victory are blowing for Islam with the infidels being put to the sword and exterminated. Recently, the governor of the Morea has informed us that he slayed many infidels in battle around Lamia⁶ and Ypati⁷ and emerged victorious. In our opinion, this revolt of the *reaya* of the Morea and the insolence of the *reaya* of Hydra and Spetses in fitting ships against us is likely to be a sedition agitated by outsiders, with Russia to be suspected in this matter. Hence, besides arranging for the departure of the imperial navy from Istanbul, we deemed it proper to invite the provinces of Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripoli to

3 Hydra (Turk. Çamlıca, Gr. Ὑδρα): island in the Saronic Gulf, Aegean Sea.

4 Spetses (Turk. Suluca, Gr. Σπέτσες): island at the entrance of the Argolic Gulf, Aegean Sea.

5 Referring to several Wahhabi uprisings in Hejaz suppressed by the governor of Egypt in the 1810s.

6 Lamia (Turk. İzdin, Gr. Λαμία; Ζητούνι in the Ottoman period): town in central Greece.

7 Ypati (Turk. Badracık, Gr. Υπάτης; Πατρατζίκι in the Ottoman period): town in central Greece, west of Lamia.

place as many ships as possible in the service of the imperial navy. His Imperial Majesty decreed that you shall deliver to the governors of these provinces the relevant letters written from our side. Thus, we sent these letters and our correspondence addressed to you through your agent at the Sublime Porte."

However, your agent has recently informed us that the couriers who were in possession of the said correspondence could not reach beyond Rhodes, as the heinous rebels had blocked the strait of Rhodes. The treachery and betrayal of the Greek infidels against the Mohammedan religion and state has thus become apparent. Some ships of the imperial navy have been dispatched from the capital, and some are currently being prepared for service. However, the bandit vessels in the Mediterranean are yet to witness the might of Islam, and hence they have gradually intensified their seditious and abominable deeds. To the dismay of all believers, they have committed unspeakable treacheries toward the Muslim pilgrims on their voyage to the Holy Land. Moreover, the governor of the Morea has reported that a few of their accursed vessels appeared off Lamia and engaged with a ship patrolling in the vicinity. Although the coast was immediately reinforced by land, the ship caught fire in the stern and burned down. The scenery raised the spirits of the rebels and the *reaya* on the shore to increase their mutiny. The governor has requested immediate dispatch of the imperial navy. Based on His Imperial Majesty's writ that any delay in the disposal of the rebels in the Mediterranean will add to their strength and courage and that Your Excellency would not approve of any delay in such circumstances, we have dispatched to you an imperial order for summarizing the situation. It is not acceptable that our religion and our Sublime Mohammedan State, which has achieved a great many victories and conquests with the help and providence of God since the inception of Islam, be a victim to the treason and betrayal of these infidels. It is imperative on us that we, too, unite in alliance and inflict vengeance upon them, which makes rest and sleep a forbidden luxury for all the servants of the state. Since we expect great services for our religion from Your Excellency, we write to ask you to expend the utmost effort to do whatever is in your means and dispatch an appropriate number of ships to the Morea, bring down the sails of those pirates in the Mediterranean and smash their league, capture and enslave their offspring, distribute their property among the soldiers. and hence do service to our religion and state.

[573/96, *regarding the dispatch of provisions from Egypt to Istanbul*]
Addendum [to a previous letter] to the Governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha]
 July 29, 1821

We had previously written to Your Excellency that, due to the uprising in the Danube region, the provisions sent to the imperial capital have decreased, and the amount of grain that you raise and send each year from Egypt for the needs of the imperial capital ought to be doubled in this year [12]36 of Hegira [1820–21].¹ We had also communicated to you the dire need for provisions in the imperial capital, as well as the imperial rescript prohibiting the sale of even an ounce of grain to the *reaya* inhabiting the Mediterranean, who, given the fact that they would not be able to procure grain from Rumelia, shall seek to do so from Syria and Egypt. The imperial rescript stipulates that the grain you would sell [to the *reaya*] shall instead be sent to the imperial capital, for which the current market rate will be paid. Following that, we had explained to Your Excellency in a private letter that in the storehouses of the imperial capital there were enough supplies for one month only, and should the grain that you are to send be delayed any longer than that length of time, God forbid, the residents of the imperial capital will face dire consequences. We also related that our minds are preoccupied with anxiety that the attention Your Excellency devotes to the execution of other important affairs of religion [i.e. suppression of the Greek uprising] will be divided because of this matter. It is our utmost wish that you work toward dispatching grain to the imperial capital within one month by whatever means possible. However, we came to the understanding that our letters did not reach you. Evidently, had you received our communications, you would have provided the provisions due to your loyalty and zeal. Just like working toward the suppression of the bandits [Greek revolutionaries] is incumbent upon all functionaries of the Exalted Sultanate, the matter of provisioning the people is also imperative. God forbid, serious difficulties will arise unless the provisions arrive soon. You shall demonstrate your loyalty and zeal by shipping more provisions than formerly demanded to Istanbul by any means necessary. You shall also take whatever precautions necessary to protect the ships carrying the provisions from the mischief and depredation of the enemy. We expect Your Excellency to rush to sustain your best efforts.

1 Moldowallachia had become the “granary” of Istanbul since the Russian annexation of the Crimea in 1783. Following the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, the region was physically devastated, and, due to the elimination of the Fanariots and the flight of the native boyars to Austrian and Russian territories, the transfer of provisions to the Ottoman capital could not be organized. The second most important source of provisions for Istanbul, the Black Sea trade with Russia, also stagnated between 1821 and 1824, after the introduction of strict screening of vessels passing through the Bosphorus.

[573/101, regarding the provisioning of ships]

To the Commander-in-Chief [Hurşid Pasha]

June 16, 1821

We received your dispatch in which you presented the letter of Captain Hüseyin, who was assigned to the environs of Corinth¹ by the *kapudana bey*. The said captain, in turn, reported that Mustafa Bey, presently steward of Mehmed Pasha, Governor of the Morea, marched on Corinth after capturing Aigio² and engaged with the infidels besieging Corinth, routing them and capturing their cannons before heading to Tripolitsa.³ You also relate that you expect the governor [of the Morea] himself to proceed inland, by the grace of God, through the isthmus [of Corinth] after capturing Amfissa and Livadeia, where the bandits have agglomerated. You report the arrival of our letter, in which we responded to your question asking whether the *kapudana bey* should join the imperial navy—which has already set sail from here—or remain in that area. Since his stay off the shores of Preveza⁴ would be dangerous due to the plenitude of islander vessels,⁵ we had written to him to retreat to the area between the Castle of Rumelia and the Castle of Morea,⁶ if it is deemed appropriate. In his letter the *kapudana bey* reported that he is currently in the vicinity of Sagiada,⁷ and you report that it would be beneficial if he joined the imperial navy. We closely examined your communication, as well as the documents you forwarded. As the victories in Aigio and Corinth are sources of great happiness, we also presented your dispatch to His Imperial Majesty, who prayed for the victory of the Muslims and the destruction and withering of the traitors. Also, several ships of the imperial navy have been dispatched from the imperial capital one after another. As the *kapudana bey* asked for provisions in his letter, we first considered hiring ships from foreign states. However, the bandit ships in the Mediterranean do not allow foreign ships to pass without checking their cargo thoroughly. Even if we engage in such deception, they might figure out who the receiver of the cargo is and capture it, which would obviously

1 Corinth (Turk. Gördüs, Gr. Κόρινθος): town and isthmus with the same name, connecting the Peloponnese with mainland Greece.

2 Aigio (Turk. Vostıça, Gr. Αἴγιο; Βοστίτσα in the Ottoman period): town in the northern Peloponnese.

3 Tripolitsa (Turk. Traboliçe, Gr. Τριπολιτσά in the Ottoman period): capital of the Ottoman Morea, now Tripoli.

4 Preveza (Turk. Preveze, Gr. Πρέβεζα): coastal town in Greek Epirus.

5 Probably referring to the Greek ships sent from Spetses and Hydra.

6 Castle of Rumelia (Turk. Rumeli Kasteli) and the Castle of the Morea (Turk. Mora Kasteli): now Antirrio and Rio, two castles facing each other at the narrowest part of the Gulf of Corinth.

7 Sagiada (Turk. Sayada, Gr. Σαγιάδα): village in Greek Epirus, on the Greek-Albanian border.

only reinforce the infidels. Instead of adopting such unreliable methods, it is deemed appropriate for the time being that you task the *mutasarrıf* of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha Bushati] with arranging the baking and dispatching of two thousand *kantars*⁸ of hardtack from the places close to the coastline where the *kapudana bey* is currently sailing. An imperial rescript has been issued to that effect and sent to Your Excellency.

8 *Kantar*: weight unit. 1 *kantar* equals 56 kg.

[573/102, *regarding insurgents in Drăgășani*]
To the Castellan of Vidin [Derviş Mustafa Pasha]
June 16, 1821

We have received your letter¹ stating that your armorer, who is tasked with [putting down the uprising in] Wallachia, after capturing the town of Craiova,² dispatched a regiment against the bandits hiding in the monasteries on the slopes of the thickly wooded mountains and another regiment to the Olt River basin. When they arrived in the village of Drăgășani,³ they found there five to six hundred bandits under the chief bandits Solomon and Anastasios Mihaloğlu. In your letter, we read about how you chased these bandits and destroyed them, and also about the ears and the flag you captured during the battle, all of which you sent to Istanbul. You proved the piety and zeal expected of you by exerting yourself to the destruction of these traitors. Your communication was also presented to His Imperial Majesty, and the flag and the ears you sent were displayed publicly to serve as an example. Your Excellency is one of the indefatigable and loyal viziers of the Sublime State, and it is evident that you will exert your best efforts in the service of the true religion. Since the infidels openly perpetrate malice against our sublime religion and state, Your Excellency is expected to prove his piety and valor also in the future by exerting your best efforts.

- 1 This letter is located in the Ottoman State Archives, BOA/HAT 45835. There was a series of battles between the Ottoman and Greek revolutionary forces in Moldowallachia before Alexandros Ypsilantis's final defeat in Drăgășani. This document narrates one of those battles.
- 2 Craiova (Turk. Krayova, Gr. Κραϊόβα): town in southwest Romania, capital of the historical region of Oltenia.
- 3 Drăgășani (Turk. Dragaşan, Gr. Δραγάτσάνι): village in Oltenia (southern Romania), near the right bank of the Olt River.

[573/110, *regarding caution toward the kaymakams of Moldowallachia and foreign consuls*]

To the Governor of Silistra [Benderli Mehmed Selim Pasha]

June 17, 1821

We received your correspondence that contains the report compiled by your steward and submitted it to His Imperial Majesty. According to the report of your steward, his victorious troops joined in battle with the disillusioned force of the son of Ypsilantis [Alexandros Ypsilantis] near the town of Târgoviște,¹ where the latter had taken refuge. After some battles, unable to withstand the overwhelming might of Islam, Ypsilantis fled to the village of Kimpolik² in the thickly wooded mountains and executed the wretch who goes by the name of Todori [Tudor Vladimirescu].³ We appreciate your praiseworthy attentiveness and efforts in overpowering those traitors and capturing Târgoviște. Your steward remarks in his report that Major Savvas⁴ asked for quarter together with Kitso, Michail, and some seven to eight hundred men in his retinue, and, upon receiving it, came to pledge allegiance. However, as it has been written time and again to you, the Greek infidels, lowborn and highborn alike, all united to perpetrate all sorts of treachery and malice against the religion and state of Islam. The evil intention of these accursed ones is nothing but to commit treachery against the nation of Muhammad. Thus, they are never to be trusted. We indeed informed you that we had our own reasons to appoint Istefanaki [Stefanos Vogoridis] to Moldavia and [Theodoros] Negri to Bucharest as *kaymakams* and leave the *kaymakam* of Craiova in his position. As we have indicated, they are not otherwise trustworthy either, and we need to use them without losing sight of this fact. It follows that granting official mercy to Savvas

1 Târgoviște (Turk. Tîrgoviște, Gr. Τίργχόβιστε): town in southeast Romania on the right bank of the Ialomița River.

2 Kimpolik: probably referring to Rimnik in Romania.

3 When the Russian government declared its renunciation of the Greek revolutionary movement, Vladimirescu sought to come to terms with the Sublime Porte and distance himself from Ypsilantis. Vladimirescu sent a letter to the castellan of Giurgiu begging for the forgiveness of the sultan and offering his assistance to stop Ypsilantis from entering Bucharest. Vladimirescu claimed that he did not want to be considered a bandit like Ypsilantis; his revolt was against the Fanariots, not the Ottoman state (see BOA/HAT 38413). When Ottoman forces captured Bucharest, he lost control of his troops. After a plot hatched by the Etairists, he was executed by them on May 28, 1821.

4 Savvas Fokianos: Sava Binbaşı in the documents. He was a Greek Etairist mercenary leader, and his troops were among the occupation forces in Bucharest, along with those of Vladimirescu. He was also desperate to seek pardon from the Sublime Porte when things went wrong. Ismail Hakkı Pasha, Castellan of Giurgiu, told Savvas that he would beg for the sultan's forgiveness if he got rid of Vladimirescu, and Savvas "implied that he was seeking an opportunity." See Ilıcak, "The Revolt of Alexandros Ipsilantis," p. 233.

is not a felicitous deed. One should crush and uproot such men with the formidable might of the Sublime State. Similarly, nor are the consuls and vice-consuls of Christian states to be trusted in any matter. The present state of affairs dictates taking an astute stand and dealing with those traitors accordingly. Such is also His Imperial Majesty's will and decree. We have written this letter to invite you to comprehend firmly that the appointment of those *kaymakams* is based on certain considerations, and you should not put trust in them; nor should you trust the consuls of Christian states. You shall explain thoroughly and secretly to your steward that these are days that require the exercise of utmost caution. You shall exert yourself duly to perform your duty and render good service.

[573/113, regarding the deployment of ships]

To the Grand Admiral [Abdullah Hamdullah Pasha]

June 17, 1821

As is known to Your Excellency and as discussed previously in the Imperial Council, Captain Muhtar, one of the captains under the *patrona bey*, was appointed commander of a fleet comprising five ships, including the galleons *Fatih-i Bahri* [Conqueror of the seas] and *Burc-ı Zafer* [Bastion of victory], anchored off Beşiktaş,¹ the frigates *İzz-i Nusret* [Glory of victory] and *Fevz-i Nusret* [Victory], which are among the ships [patrolling the entrance] of the Bosphorus, and the frigate *Bahr-i Zafer* [Sea of victory], which is currently at the imperial arsenal. We also agreed in the Imperial Council meeting to offer higher pay to make up for the deficiency in crew that was short of the two thousand men required for the fleet. Finally, with the help of God, the fleet will be ready in a week with all fittings, supplies, and rations, as well as relevant imperial orders for the captains. When we submitted the decision of the Imperial Council to His Imperial Majesty for his approval, he returned the memorandum with his imperial rescript inscribed on it. One of the articles of the imperial rescript reads: "Let the galleons anchored off Beşiktaş and the frigate at the imperial arsenal sail under the command of the *patrona bey*. However, the ships at the Bosphorus should stay, since the entrance to the Black Sea has not been fully secured. Find other ships in their stead and have them fitted promptly." Also included in the same imperial rescript is the exhortation that imperial orders be prepared, instructing local officials along the coasts to fulfill all requests that will be made by the *patrona bey*. We ask of you by this missive to negotiate the matter with the custodian of the imperial arsenal and other functionaries there, to find substitutes for the ships patrolling the entrance to the Black Sea, and to equip them promptly following His Imperial Majesty's will. You shall pay attention to keeping us informed immediately.

1 Beşiktaş: district on the Bosphorus.

[573/116, *regarding the defense of Chalkidiki*]

To the Naib and Mütesellim¹ of Thessaloniki² [Yusuf Bey]

June 18, 1821

We received your joint letter reporting that you will start recruiting soldiers for the defense of the peninsulas of Mount Athos³ and Kassandra,⁴ with the condition that their salaries should be paid at the end of the affair [i.e. suppression of the Greek uprising]. The necessity of defending these peninsulas is evident. Accordingly, we authorized the recruitment of an adequate number of soldiers and the assignment of an appropriate commander, the salaries of whom will be paid by the [residents of these] peninsulas. It is His Imperial Majesty's order that you recruit enough troops to defend Mount Athos, Kassandra, and Sidirokafsia⁵ properly, and should you notice the slightest attempt [at insurrection] on the part of the *reaya*, you should strike them immediately, enslave their women and children, pillage their properties and goods, and burn their dwellings to the ground. An imperial writ to that effect has been issued and sent to you and other officials. Therefore, you shall pay the greatest attention to act according to your orders.

1 *Mütesellim*: majordomo, deputy, or interim governor and collector of taxes.

2 Thessaloniki (Turk. Selanik, Gr. Θεσσαλονίκη): town in Greek Macedonia, northeast Greece.

3 Mount Athos (Turk. Aynaroz, Gr. Ἁγιο[ν] Όρος): peninsula in northeast Greece, the easternmost part of the Chalkidiki peninsula. It is an important center of Eastern Orthodox monasticism and home to twenty monasteries. Mount Athos enjoyed an autonomous status under the Ottoman administration.

4 Kassandra (Turk. Kesendire, Gr. Κασσάνδρα): westernmost part of the Chalkidiki peninsula in northeast Greece.

5 Sidirokafsia (Turk. Sidrekapsi, Gr. Σιδηροκάυσια): silver and gold mine in the northeast of the Chalkidiki peninsula.

[573/119, *regarding troop recruitment and provisions for the imperial navy*
To the Commander-in-Chief [Hurşid Pasha]

June 18, 1821

It has become known to all that the infidels inhabiting the Mediterranean islands have thrown themselves to the forefront, equipping ships, and thus revealing their revolt and treason against the Muslims. Also clear is the fact that not even a minute is being wasted in devising the means to overpower such infidels with the help of God, such as dispatching the imperial navy and taking other necessary precautions. It has been adequately established that the malice and treason of these infidels is solely against the Sublime State of Islam and Muslims. The *kapudana bey* has been in your vicinity with an assignment for some time now. As the duration of his assignment has been extended, most of his sailors have suffered death, and some others have deserted. Our initial consideration was to recruit soldiers from Ulcinj,¹ Bar,² and other places in the vicinity, place them under his command, and order him to join the imperial navy, which has already been dispatched from here. However, taking into account that currently there are no combat-ready ships under the *kapudana bey*'s command, this course of action was not authorized. It is His Imperial Majesty's order that Your Excellency provide assistance to the *kapudana bey* in matters of troop recruitment and provisions. An imperial order has been dispatched to that effect, and you shall act accordingly.

¹ Ulcinj (Turk. Ülgün, Gr. Ούλτσιν or Ολκίνιο): southernmost town on the Montenegrin coast.

² Bar (Turk. Bar, Gr. Μπαρ or Θηβάριο): town on the southern Montenegrin coast.

[573/120, regarding insurgents in Volos and Makrinitisa]

To the Mutasarrıf of Trikala [Sabit Mahmud Pasha]

June 18, 1821

Your Excellency's letter has reached us through your agent in Istanbul, along with the petition signed by the local council in Volos. You relate the attack you carried out against the *reaya* of certain villages in the *sancak* of Trikala who rose in rebellion and describe how you brought destruction and death upon them with God Almighty's help. You also report that you executed some of the infidels who dared lay siege to the fortress of Volos and captured some of them alive. After seizing their cannons and effectively raising the siege, you set out to deliver due punishment to the infidels of Makrinitisa,¹ who persisted in their brigandage, and since then you have been working relentlessly to subdue the rebels in the neighboring villages. We examined your letter, as well as the petition of the locals you forwarded from Volos. The efforts you made to crush and uproot the bandits are proof of the piety and dignity expected of you. When we presented your pleasing letter with praiseworthy news to His Imperial Majesty, he inscribed his imperial rescript with royal blessings for you: "Well done to Mahmud Pasha! May God bless him. He shall devastate them and seek to overawe them by enslaving their offspring." You are one of the diligent viziers of the Exalted Sultanate, endowed with perfect bravery and zeal. We thus expect you to render good service and make relentless efforts. The unification and collaboration of the infidels, lowborn and highborn alike, in the treachery against the Sublime State is evident. Thus, it is clearly incumbent upon all believers to be bent on uprooting the infidels without procrastinating or showing mercy. We ask of you by this letter to demonstrate your prowess through dealing a fatal blow to those malignant rebels and overawing them by enslaving their offspring, as required by the imperial decree. Trusting none of the infidels, you shall exert yourself to wipe the districts under your administration clean of those rebels and to show the deeds of bravery expected of you.

1 Makrinitisa (Turk. Makriniça, Gr. Μακρινίτσα): village near Volos, Thessaly.

[573/121, *regarding the execution of the metropolitan of Crete*]

*To the Castellan of Irakleio*¹ [Mehmed Şerif Pasha]

June 18, 1821

We received intelligence and verified that the infidel who is presently the bishop of Irakleio² attempted to incite the people and stir up sedition and malice. It is necessary to vanquish such infidels who partake in the sedition. Hence, this secret correspondence has been drawn up to order you to round up the bishop immediately and to interrogate and execute him. You shall then promptly send here his testimony and the confirmation that the execution took place.

¹ Irakleio (Turk. Kandiye, Gr. Ηράκλειο): Candia, capital city of the island of Crete.

² The Metropolitan of Crete, Gerasimos Pardalis, was executed along with five bishops on July 6, 1821. For details, see Yannis Spyropoulos, "Κοινωνική, διοικητική, οικονομική και πολιτική διάσταση του οθωμανικού στρατού. Οι γενίτσαροι της Κρήτης, 1750–1826," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Crete, 2014), pp. 299–300.

[573/123, regarding a dress code and preparedness]

Mandate to the Grand Admiral, Deputy Grand Vizier, Reisülkütab,¹ Chief Accountant, Agha of the Janissaries, Chief Armorer, Bostancıbaşı, Chief Sapper and Miner, and the Chief Gunner²

June 19, 1821

As it has become known to everyone, the Greek infidels have united against the Muslims, and no place is secure from their evil. Thus, we have already announced His Imperial Majesty's decree that all Muslims must abandon *hazariyet* and adopt *seferiyet* for war in unity and alliance. Since the brigandage of the *reaya* bandits is mounting with each passing day, it is incumbent upon all Muslims to put an end to infighting and enter into a sincere alliance with all due Islamic diligence in response to the insolence of the infidels. A decision was taken unanimously [at the Imperial Council], according to which: "From now on, our illustrious ulema, jurists, scholars, high dignitaries of state, and servants of the Sublime State shall all drop official uniforms and wear loose outer cloaks and don forked turbans instead. They shall all equip themselves with a pair of pistols, a purse containing the surah al-Enam,³ and swords or scimitars in addition to the daggers they currently carry. Everyone shall acquire any means of transportation necessary to make it to the battlefield and be in a state of preparedness. The aghas in the inner service and the wardrobe masters in the households of those listed above shall also completely drop their peacetime dress, such as the robe of honor and dolman, and wear, instead, baggy pants, equipping themselves with a pair of pistols, a purse containing the surah al-Enam, and swords or scimitars in addition to the daggers they currently carry. Although all the janissaries have armed themselves following our previous instructions, their officers shall also take off their peacetime garments and shall arm themselves and their retainers. Chief scribes and imperial chamberlains, veterans, and servants shall all carry weapons all the time. In sum, until the complete suppression of this revolt and restoration of order,

1 *Reisülkütab* or *reis efendi*: Ottoman official functioning as the equivalent of a minister of foreign affairs since the eighteenth century.

2 The Sublime Porte introduced a dress code as a part of its social engineering project inspired by Ibn Khaldunian concepts (see the "Introduction" herein, pp. 4–7). Clothing was the most conspicuous expression of class distinction in a pre-capitalist society, and flamboyant garments were thought to spoil solidarity among Muslims. Uniformity in clothing—all Ottomans wearing the same military clothes—might call forth a behavioral change. If state officials attended such public gatherings as prayers in simple clothes, class distinction would be less visible, the secluded state elite would establish organic ties with the common people, and there would be less resentment against the state.

3 Surah al-Enam: the Quranic verses announcing the ultimate demise of the idolaters who out of sheer obstinacy chose to confront the Prophet Muhammad.

everyone shall remain in a state of preparedness in this time of mobilization, except on the following customary days of celebration: religious festivals, the birth of the Prophet, royal trips, royal birthdays, departure of the royal gifts to Kaaba, announcement of the annual formal appointments, and the distribution of the janissary salaries. Moreover, dignitaries of state and their household members shall not waste their money on such extravagancies as shawls and rather buy saddle beasts for themselves and their retinues. They shall keep themselves and their retinues properly armed and keep their saddle beasts ready to ride." Upon His Imperial Majesty's approval, we have sent out separate relevant imperial orders containing these instructions to all concerned. We write this letter to instruct you to announce this imperial order to those concerned and warn them to mobilize and remain in a state of preparedness, as set out in the order, until this sedition is completely rooted out.

[573/126, regarding inter alia *the imperial navy, Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, and troops*]

To the Commander-in-Chief [Hurşid Pasha]

June 19, 1821

We received your correspondence along with the appended documents and after close examination submitted them to His Imperial Majesty for review. You inform us that Mahmud Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala, whom you had dispatched to the vicinity of Volos and Almyros against the bandit boats that were spotted there, accomplished his task, by the grace of God. You forwarded his report to us along with the baleful heads and banners, in addition to the communication of the deputy judge of Volos and the petition of the locals. You mention your correspondence with the *kapudana bey* about our previous orders for his joining the imperial navy with his letter enclosed. You point out several potential drawbacks of this decision, suggesting instead the dispatch of a strong navy from Istanbul. We understand from your correspondence that you are collaborating with our consul at Corfu for the purchase of grains for the fortresses of Methoni,¹ Koroni,² and Navarino.³ Relating your efforts in capturing and demolishing Litharitsia⁴ and Demirkale [?] in front of the fortress where the traitor Ali Pasha [Tepedelenli Ali Pasha] has sought refuge, you assure us about your full commitment and attentiveness in performing your duties as commander-in-chief with full discretionary powers. Finally, stating the need for Turkish lads⁵ at your army camp, you express your decision to replace your Albanian troops with the troops under the command of Hasan Pasha, who had formerly been responsible for the defense of Nafplio, upon his arrival in Larissa. Mahmud Pasha's victory, based on your due care and attention, earns our appreciation, and we are pleased with your effort in making grain purchases for the three aforementioned fortresses. Moreover, the severed heads and banners were displayed in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to make an example. There is no question that you are gifted with the mind of Plato,⁶ seeking to distinguish what is commendable from what is not in every matter to the best interest of our exalted religion and everlasting state.

1 Methoni (Turk. Moton or Modon, Gr. Μεθώνη): castle and town in southwest Messinia in the Peloponnese.

2 Koroni (Turk. Koron, Gr. Κορώνη): castle and town in southeast Messinia in the Peloponnese.

3 Navarino (Turk. Anavarin, Gr. Ναυαρίνο): now Pylos, town in Messinia in the Peloponnese.

4 Litharitsia (Turk. Litariç, Gr. Λιθαρίτσια): bastions built by Tepedelenli Ali Pasha on a rocky hill across from the Castle of Ioannina.

5 Turkish lads: ethnic Turkish mercenaries; *Türk uşağı* in the documents.

6 In Ottoman official correspondence and literature, this simile—likening a person to the ancient Greek philosopher Plato—was used to refer to the wisdom of the addressee.

Your correspondence with the *kapudana bey* is another proof of the impossibility of his joining with the imperial navy for the time being. Nor is it likely [for us] to enter into an alliance with other states to receive ships from them. Hence, it is obvious that we need to equip and dispatch ships from here. Based on His Imperial Majesty's will, we are currently deliberating on this matter. In the meanwhile, we expect you to continue to render distinctive services as required by your diligence and piety. It is evident that you have been serving meticulously to deal with the trouble caused by Ali Pasha of Ioannina since your assignment. His Imperial Majesty has no doubt about your excellent service and selfless devotion to the execution of your task and never accuses you of laxity for the present delay in the completion of the task. In fact, he inscribed his royal script atop of your relevant correspondence as follows: "The effort of His Excellency is impeccable. Yet, the revolt of the *reaya* has caused delay in his duty. May God rid us of these troubles and bring salvation to the nation of Muhammad." Such is the manifestation of royal confidence in you. Given the current state of affairs, you should not be troubled with this delay while exerting yourself to bring it to a favorable end as soon as possible. We sent a communication to you about the reassignment of Hasan Pasha from Nafplio to Izmir as the castellan of the town and the appointment of Behram Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of the *sancaks* of Aydın and Saruhan, to be detailed to Larissa to join in the punitive expedition. However, we understand from the content that you sent your correspondence before receiving ours. Behram Pasha has left the Dardanelles and he is currently en route to Larissa with five to six thousand Turkish lads under his command. His Imperial Majesty willed you to correspond with him and exchange the Turkish lads in his command with your Albanians if possible.

Postscript: You plead with us to send an imperial decree to Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, that he should burn the houses and allow his troops to loot the goods and properties of Hasan Bey of Debar and those known men from among the people of Mat,⁷ as they are currently serving with Ali Pasha of Ioannina at the castle. Since their estates fall within his zone of jurisdiction, you suggest to us to instruct Mustafa Pasha to confiscate their farms on behalf of the fisc and keep their children and dependents under arrest at some other location. Based on the relevant royal writ, we have put your suggestions in the form of an imperial decree and sent them to you for your convenience.

⁷ Mat: district in north-central Albania.

[573/128, regarding the ban on horse riding for non-Muslims]

To the Grand Admiral, Janissary Agha, Chief Armorer, Chief Cannoneer, Chief Sapper, and Bostancıbaşı

June 20, 1821

Although since ancient times the *reaya* are forbidden to ride on horseback, due to the liberties given for some time, both the notables and the commoners from among the Greek, Armenian, and Jewish *millets* keep horses and beasts of burden in their dwellings, and most of them obtained licenses to ride their horses within the city walls [of Istanbul]. Now it has become a necessity to ban this unlawful practice and caution the *reaya* to act according to the rules of subjecthood. From now on, you shall disregard the old licenses obtained by the *reaya* and allow only the imperial dragoman to ride on horseback. Those *zimmi* and Jewish moneylenders working for the state who are not able to walk shall ride on mules and donkeys with frameless saddles. The rest—whether they are Greek, Armenian, or Jewish—out of deference to ancient practices are strictly forbidden to ride on horseback by imperial decree. The Greek and Armenian patriarchs and the chief rabbi were cautioned that the *reaya* shall not keep horses and beasts of burden in their dwellings and must sell the ones they possess to Muslims. Now you shall promulgate this ban and prohibit those Greeks, Armenians, and Jews who ride on horseback in Istanbul, with the exception of the imperial dragoman and those who work for the Sublime State, such as the diseased and elderly moneylenders who had renewed their licenses.

[573/130, regarding the ban on horse riding for non-Muslims]

To the Greek Patriarch, Armenian Patriarch, and Chief Rabbi

June 20, 1821

Although since ancient times the *reaya* are forbidden to ride on horseback, due to the liberties given for some time, both the notables and the commoners from among the Greek, Armenian, and Jewish *millets* keep horses and beasts of burden in their dwellings, and most of them obtained licenses to ride their horses within the city walls [of Istanbul]. Now it has become a necessity to ban this unlawful practice and caution the *reaya* to act according to the rules of subjecthood. From now on, you shall disregard the old licenses obtained by the *reaya* and allow only the imperial dragoman to ride on horseback. Those *zimmi* and Jewish moneylenders working for the state who are not able to walk shall ride on mules and donkeys with frameless saddles. The rest—whether they are Greek, Armenian, or Jewish—out of deference to ancient practices, are strictly forbidden to ride on horseback by an imperial decree. The Armenian patriarch and the chief rabbi were cautioned that the *reaya* shall not maintain horses and beasts of burden in their dwellings and must sell the ones they possess to Muslims. Now you shall promulgate this ban to your flock and warn those moneylenders, artisans, and others who are natives [of Istanbul] and live in Üsküdar, Galata, Beyoğlu, and in the regions up to Büyükdere not to maintain horses and beasts of burden in their dwellings and sell the ones they possess to Muslims at their worth.

[573/132, regarding Serbia]

To the Castellan of Belgrade¹ Ali Pasha

June 20, 1821

In your letter you state the anxiety and fear of the Serbian *millet* caused by His Excellency Hüseyin Pasha's assignment to Niš.² You report that upon receiving our response, you sent out mandates to assure and accommodate the Serbian *millet*, and the [Serbian] *reaya* are now minding their own business and are obedient to the state. You also report that you forwarded the letter from Milosh³ to the Serbian representatives in Istanbul.⁴ Your dispatches [including all the above matters] have been presented to His Imperial Majesty. Your efforts in assuring and accommodating the Serbian *millet* are a testament to your wisdom. Yet, the accommodation of the Serbian *millet* is only by force of circumstances and due to His Imperial Majesty's decree. It is necessary that in future you continue to pay particular attention to the Serbian *millet's* behavior and take the necessary measures for their accommodation.

1 Belgrade (Turk. Belgrad, Gr. Βελιγράδι): town founded at the confluence of the Danube and Sava rivers. Capital of present-day Serbia, Belgrade was at this point the seat of the *sancak* of Smederevo.

2 Niš (Turk. Niş, Gr. Νις or Νίσσα): historic town in southeast Serbia.

3 Milosh Obrenovich: Serbian leader, organizer of the Second Serbian Uprising. In 1817 he was recognized as the chief knez (Turk. *baş knez*) by the Sublime Porte. When the Greek Revolution broke out, he was the leader of the virtually autonomous Serbian principality.

4 Right before the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, a committee of Serbian knezes and priests went to Istanbul to negotiate with the Sublime Porte on several issues regarding the autonomy of the Serbian administration. When the revolution erupted, they were kept hostage for several years in order to prevent possible Serbian support of the Greek insurrection.

[573/133, regarding Patras]

To the Castellan of Euboea Yusuf Pasha [of Serres]¹

June 20, 1821

We received your correspondence confirming the arrival of our letter containing instructions and exhortations on a number of issues. You recount that upon reaching the Castle of the Morea [Rio] you ran to the aid of the people of Patras² besieged by the *reaya* bandits and succeeded in crushing them. You also report that you had communicated with the commander-in-chief to demand troops from him and explain the way in which you requested the *kapudana bey* to strike the Galaxidi³ ships. We are pleased with the demonstration of diligence expected of you through brave and faithful deeds. Previous reiteration of the order of your assignment was the result of our desire to deal a blow to the *reaya* of Euboea, who had risen up in revolt. Then we received your communication that you had succeeded in beleaguering Patras. In our response letter, we asked of you to persevere in demonstrating your vigilance, since His Imperial Majesty appreciated your zealous efforts as a confirmation of your lineage. We understand that you sent this present correspondence before receiving our response. We ask of you by this letter to bear in mind that the Greek infidels, lowborn and highborn alike, have united against the nation of Muhammad and that none of them are to be trusted. You should exert yourself to demonstrate zeal in the name of religion by crushing the *reaya* bandits, enslaving their offspring, and let your troops share their goods and belongings as booty.

- 1 Yusuf Muhlis Bey/Pasha: son of Ismail Bey, the *Ayan* of Serres/Siroz; referred to as Sirozî Yusuf Pasha in the documents. In December 1820 he was appointed *mutasarrıf* of Euboea and Acarnania with the rank of vizier and ordered to join the command of Hurşid Pasha in his campaign against Tepedelenli Ali Pasha. According to the 19th-century historian Ioannis Filimon, who characterized Yusuf Pasha as extremely haughty, Hurşid Pasha could not bear Yusuf Pasha's arrogance and manners (see Ioannis Filimon, *Δοκίμιον Ιστορικών περί της Ελληνικής Επανάστασεως* [Athens: Soutsas and Ktena, 1860], vol. 3, p. 163). Hurşid Pasha and the spies of the Sublime Porte accused him of setting the functionaries at the siege of Ioannina against each other, thus delaying Tepedelenli's subjugation (see BOA/HAT 19297-B). He was removed from the army camp in Ioannina and sent to his domain in Euboea through Acarnania. On his way, having learned about the siege of Patras, he crossed to the Morea via the Castles of Rumelia and the Morea and lifted the siege of Patras on April 15, 1821, where he stayed until his discharge from office in November 1825.
- 2 Patras (Turk. Badra, Gr. Πάτρα): town in the northern Peloponnese; Balya Badra (from Παλαιά Πάτρα) in the documents.
- 3 Galaxidi (Turk. Galakşidi or Galakşa, Gr. Γαλαξίδι): town on the north coast of the Gulf of Corinth.

[573/135, *regarding compensation requested by the consuls in Izmir*
To the Castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha]

June 21, 1821

You report that you are acting in accordance with the imperial order regarding the sealing by the court of the dwellings and stores of those *reaya* who fled to Samos¹ from Izmir and joined the bandits, and the confiscation and survey of their estates on behalf of the fisc. However, you report that the foreign consuls residing in the town will make claims for debt and demand compensation [on account of the runaway merchants]. The aforementioned are Ottoman subjects, yet they took flight without cause and joined the rebellious bandits, thus revealing their enmity against the Sublime State. As such, their correction and punishment, as well as the confiscation of their property, are the business only of the Sublime State. It is obvious that friendly foreign states should not intervene on their behalf, and it is a well-known fact that the issue of “protection” [i.e. protection of the *reaya* by foreign consulates] has long been forbidden entirely. If foreign consuls in Izmir attempt to shield the sealed dwellings and stores of the fugitive *reaya*, Your Excellency shall say in a friendly manner: “These people are the *reaya* of the Sublime State; however, they have intentionally and without cause joined the rebels who have revealed their treason against their benefactor, the Sublime State. Investigation of the *reaya*’s property and their punishment is a necessity incumbent upon the Sublime State. Protection claims [by the consulates] are banned entirely by agreements between [our] states.” If they make claims for debt, you shall say: “Although all merchants and your subjects are entitled to this claim according to the agreements between [our] states, you should file pecuniary claims with Istanbul, where your ambassador will pursue the issue through the state. When it is time, it will be settled. As you know well, the Sublime State makes great efforts to provide protection for your merchants and subjects in general.” Your Excellency shall pay particular attention to carrying out the provisions of the previous imperial order discerningly and gracefully.

¹ Samos (Turk. Sisam, Gr. Σάμος); island in the east Aegean Sea, across from Kuşadası, Turkey.

[573/152, regarding the beginning of the uprising in Thessaloniki]

To the Mutasarrıf of Ormenio [Salih Pasha]

June 22, 1821

We received your letter reporting the revolt of the infidels of the village of Polygyros¹ in the districts of Kalamaria² and Langadas³ in Thessaloniki, where they martyred the voivode and seventeen Muslims. The *reaya* of Kassandra followed their lead and revolted. You also report that, based on your conviction that the *reaya* of the villages of Has and Maden will also rebel, you dispatched to Thessaloniki one of your commanders at the head of a contingent of five hundred men who had arrived at Edirne⁴ from the *sancak* of Kastamonu.⁵ The fact that you sent reinforcements to Thessaloniki even though it is not under your jurisdiction is evidence of your diligence and the zeal expected of you. We are much pleased with your vigilant conduct, which also earned the appreciation of His Imperial Majesty. We have no doubt that you will selflessly serve in the name of [our] religion and the Sublime State in this present time since you are a loyal vizier of the Sublime Sultanate. We ask of you by this letter to persevere in demonstrating your inherent attributes of piety and comprehension in your deeds.

1 Polygyros (Turk. Beliroz, Gr. Πολύγυρος): town in the Chalkidiki peninsula.

2 Kalamaria (Turk. Kelemerye, Gr. Καλαμαριά): suburb of the town of Thessaloniki.

3 Langadas (Turk. Langaza, Gr. Λαγκαδάς): town in north-central Greece.

4 Edirne (Gr. Αδριανούπολη): town in Turkish Thrace; the Ottoman capital before Istanbul.

5 Kastamonu (Gr. Κασταμονή): town in the Turkish Black Sea region.

[573/153, regarding *Behram Pasha's misconduct*
To Behram Pasha [Mutasarrıf of Aydın and Saruhan]
 June 22, 1821

We have received your letter forwarded by your agent in Istanbul, which indicates that you have been busy with building up a sizable retinue by recruiting volunteers and Kirdzhali troops¹ as you proceeded to your post of assignment. You point out that, upon receiving the news of the rebellion of the *reaya* in the region of Thessaloniki, you rushed reinforcements in response to the pleas for help. Finally, you request us to restate the imperial orders for raising troops from the *sancaks* of Aydın and Saruhan and attach them to your command. We reiterated orders for rushing troops from these *sancaks* prior to your current correspondence. Having kept you regularly informed about the instructions regarding your task, we expect you to stop dragging your feet on the march with the pretext of troop recruitment and go to Thessaloniki immediately as ordered in the imperial decree. After all, we sent you this imperial decree twice with two different couriers upon receiving the news of the rebellion and ordered you to go to Thessaloniki, assuming it would not jeopardize your initial task in Larissa since you were still on the road. Besides, as a vizier endowed with loyalty and courage and enjoying royal favor and confidence, we have selected you from among the viziers of Anatolia and appointed you to Larissa to suppress the rebellious *reaya*. We supposed that you would strive to serve with selflessness and loyalty without oppressing the poor subjects on your way to Larissa in such delicate times. It was thus incumbent on you to serve our religion and state by observing the standards of justice and righteousness in the localities along the marching route, without abandoning the path of salvation in both this world and the hereafter. Yet, you engaged in such vices as staying for two or three nights in villages and towns and exacting money, food, and fodder despite the protests of the poor locals—as narrated in the petitions sent from these localities. We are astonished by your misconduct, given that you are a vizier of three horsetails [vizier of the highest rank], who should comprehend the necessity to win over our *reaya* by avoiding oppression and dispensing justice. How would you justify your attitude if, God forbid, His Imperial Majesty heard about it? My sincerity obliges me to warn you that you should contemplate on this period we are passing through and realize such misconduct is never permissible, particularly in these delicate times. We write this letter to instruct you to pay utmost attention to prevent your retinue and troops from oppressing the locals and to stay no longer than one night in any place during the march.

1 Kirdzhali (Turk. *Kırcaali*) troops: ethnic Turkish freelance mercenary troops from the Kirdzhali region, southeast Bulgaria.

[573/160, regarding the rebellion in Ayvalık and on the island of Cunda]
 To the Governor of Karaman [Hacı Ebubekir Pasha]

June 24, 1821

As you had previously been informed on your way to your assigned post, in case the [news of the] rebellion of the *reaya* of Ayvalık and the island of Cunda was verified, you were ordered to carry out the imperial order regarding their suppression and enslavement of their offspring in pursuance of the holy fatwa issued on the matter. We received your letter in which you indicate that upon receiving intelligence that the *reaya* of Ayvalık had dared to rebel, troops were dispatched by you and the *mutasarrıf* of Hüdavendigar [İbrahim Pasha], who sent his steward, and Osman Agha of Tavas. You report that the soldiers drew their swords on the *reaya* and crushed them, proving their bravery by executing the imperial order.¹ By divine grace, you happened to be in the vicinity and came to the aid of the functionaries appointed to Ayvalık. Your efforts and attentiveness have confirmed exactly the courage and determination that are expected of you. His Imperial Majesty was also informed about your deeds and expressed his satisfaction. The *reaya* of Ayvalık have thus met their due punishment and faced destruction with the help of God Almighty and the crushing might of His Imperial Majesty. In appreciation of their service, we have

1 According to the historiographers Şanizade and Cevdet, the Ayvalık massacre was the result of the personal grudge Halet Efendi held against Dürriyade Abdullah Efendi, a former *şeyhülislam* and descendant of a remarkable ulema dynasty. Şanizade and Cevdet maintain that Ayvalık was Dürriyade's *mukataa*; in other words, he collected the tax-farm revenues of the town. In order to deprive his rival of this revenue, Halet Efendi manipulated the Sublime Porte and the local authorities and arranged the massacre of the insurgent *reaya* of Ayvalık (see Şanizade Mehmed Ataulah Efendi, *Şanizade Tarihi* [1808–1821], ed. Ziya Yilmazer [Istanbul: Çamlıca, 2008], vol. 2, pp. 1186–90; Ahmed Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* [Istanbul: Matbaa-yı Amire, 1891], vol. 11, p. 207). As a result, the entire male population of Ayvalık was massacred, the women and children were sent into slavery, and the town was burned to the ground. Mahmud II's imperial rescripts disprove the historiographers and suggest that many violent measures were taken by his orders. When the sultan learned that the insurgents had attacked a vessel sailing off Çeşme and killed more than one hundred Muslim passengers, he ordered an assault on Ayvalık, where some of the local Greeks had taken up arms: "So many innocent Muslims have been killed. It is not the time to sit back. Whatever it takes, find a solution. See to sending ships and intimidating them by decimating [the people of] one of the islands or the *reaya* of Ayvalık" (see BOA/HAT 52379). On receiving the news of the massacre in Ayvalık, the sultan offered the punitive forces under Tavaslızade Osman Agha, Voivode of Denizli, a congratulatory *aferin* [bravo] and ordered his grand vizier to encourage them to "do the same in Cunda," saying: "Wherever the *reaya* made the slightest movement [of rebellion], they had to be destroyed without showing leniency." (see BOA/HAT 40679). For details about the Ayvalık incident, see Zeki Arıkan, "1821 Ayvalık İsyanı," *Belleten* 52/203 (1988), pp. 571–601.

sent ten robes of honor as rewards for your commanders who participated in the operation. We ask of you by this letter to present these robes to those whose services in this duty of religion stand out; to hurry to reach your assigned post immediately; and to display your zeal and strive to execute the requirements of your office, as instructed in your order of appointment.

[573/161, regarding the rebellion in Ayvalık and on the island of Cunda]
 To the Mutasarrıf of Hüdavendigâr [İbrahim Pasha]

June 24, 1821

As you had previously been informed, in case the [news of the] rebellion of the *reaya* of Ayvalık and the island of Cunda was verified, you were ordered to carry out the imperial order regarding their suppression and enslavement of their offspring in pursuance of the holy fatwa issued on the matter. You relate that you sent your steward to that coast at the head of a force to understand the state of the *reaya* of Ayvalık. We received the letter sent by your steward, who reported that while he was in the town several bandit boats appeared on the horizon and attacked [the soldiers]. Upon this, the *reaya* of Ayvalık joined them in rebellion. In response, the troops under the command of your steward and those sent by the governor of Karaman [Hacı Ebubekir Pasha], who was on his way to his assigned post, and the troops from Aydın under the command of Osman Agha of Tavas drew their swords on the *reaya* and crushed them. You relate that you instructed your steward to look out for the defense of the coasts, and that you sent reinforcements to his aid. The complete suppression of the rebellious *reaya* as an outcome of your deeds and your efforts for the protection of the coasts are all pleasing and commendable. Your reports were also presented to His Imperial Majesty, and your diligence in this duty of religion has earned his appreciation as well. A letter from Ebubekir Pasha on the issue has also arrived. As the rebellion of the *reaya* of the island of Cunda is evident and they deserve their due punishment, just like the suppression of the *reaya* of Ayvalık with the help of God Almighty and the overwhelming forces of His Imperial Majesty, you are instructed by an imperial order to fall upon the *reaya* of the island without undue delay. You shall now proceed to suppress and enslave the *reaya* of the island of Cunda with the help of God Almighty, by dispatching your steward or an equally competent man in your retinue.

[573/162, regarding military recruitment]

To the Governor of Sivas¹ [Hacı Süleyman Pasha]

June 25, 1821

As has become known to everyone, the sedition and treason perpetrated by the malicious Greeks in unity and alliance as a *millet* against the Sublime State of Muhammad has been intensifying day by day. Recently, some bandit boats have started to appear in the Mediterranean and they attack the Muslims they chance upon at sea and on land. As a consequence, a fatwa was issued for the suppression, enslavement of the offspring, and plunder of the property and goods of the rebellious *reaya* to serve as an example to others. Numerous functionaries have been deployed to carry out the order, including His Excellency Behram Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Saruhan, who was dispatched to the region of Larissa with an abundance of soldiers. However, currently the fire of malignancy and sedition of the infidels is ablaze, and it has become necessary to dispatch a substantial number of troops to the Larissa area. An imperial order has been issued instructing you to raise three thousand elite and robust mounted troops from the province of Sivas as an additional force to your household troops and lead them in person to Larissa, after leaving a competent deputy in your place. This should by no means undermine the execution of the previous mobilization order by which you are to recruit 2,500 men from the province of Sivas with the exception of the district of Canik,² whose soldiers are to serve under the governor of Erzurum.³ You shall act upon the order without delay or slackness and strive to carry it out at once.

1 Sivas (Gr. Σεβάστεια): town and province in central Anatolia.

2 Canik: town and district in northern Anatolia.

3 Erzurum: town and province in eastern Anatolia.

[573/165, *regarding forced labor*]¹

To the Bostancıbaşı

June 25, 1821

An imperial order has been issued regarding the survey and employment of five hundred *reaya* from among the Greek boy waiters and boatmen in certain services. While the Greek patriarch has been warned by an imperial order to compile and speedily submit a register of the aforementioned number of individuals, you are hereby ordered to communicate with him and hasten to draft five hundred Greek boy waiters and boatmen in the following days and deliver them to the imperial arsenal along with their ledger.

¹ Forced labor was imposed on many Ottoman Greek subjects during the Greek Revolution, mostly in the imperial gun foundry, imperial arsenal, and several mining towns in Anatolia.

[573/173, regarding Greeks fleeing Istanbul]

To the Superintendent of the Gunpowder Factory

June 27, 1821

The idle folk among the Greek infidels residing in Istanbul have started to flee to Rumelia, claiming that they will go to their hometowns. More than two hundred such fugitive infidels were captured at the Halkalı farmstead in the Çatalca¹ district. We received a letter from the *avcibaşı*,² who inquiries about the course of action to be adopted regarding these fugitives. Allowing them to go back to their hometowns is not free of inconveniences and thus cannot be deemed to be expedient. A special imperial order has been sent to the former grand vizier and castellan of Karaburun³ [Seyyid Ali Pasha], instructing him to transfer the captured Greek infidels—or those who will be captured in the future around Istanbul during a flight attempt—to the gunpowder factory [*baruthane*], whence they will be sent to the Anatolian side by boat. Now that you are informed about the situation, you shall hurry to transfer those fugitive infidels sent by [Seyyid Ali] Pasha to Anatolia by boat.

1 Çatalca (Gr. Τσατάλτζα): town in Turkish Thrace on the ridge between the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea.

2 *Avcibaşı*: a janissary commander.

3 Karaburun: small cape on the Black Sea coast of the European side of Istanbul.

[573/175, regarding the island of Cunda]

To the Mutasarrıf of Hüdavendigar Ibrahim Pasha

June 27, 1821

We have received your letter in which you informed us that, by the grace of God, the brigands from among the *reaya* of Ayvalık have been crushed, and their houses and dwellings were burned to the ground. You relate that you subsequently dispatched your steward along with Osman Agha of Tavas to the island of Cunda, and that when his soldiers advanced inland, the *reaya* brigands took flight with pirate ships, and their houses and the monasteries on the island were burned down. Your letter and that of your steward, which you forwarded here, were also presented to and seen by His Imperial Majesty. As the union of the infidels in treason and abominable deeds has become known [to all], it is duly necessary to overcome the infidels and make sure that they will not return to resettle in the places they deserted and [eventually] engage in banditry. Since the *reaya* of the island of Cunda took flight hoping that they will come back at a more convenient time, His Imperial Majesty's imperial rescript instructs you to write to your steward to destroy the dwellings on the island to the point that they will no longer be habitable in the future. Moreover, your steward's letter regarding Osman Agha of Tavas and his troops was presented to the imperial stirrup, and consequently an imperial order was issued for his deployment at a remote post. The matter on the island of Cunda and in Ayvalık having thus been settled, and since your steward will remain in the region, Osman Agha and all of his soldiers are placed under the command of Behram Pasha, who has been appointed to the Larissa area. The imperial order regarding his mobilization has been sent with a *haseki*.¹

1 *Haseki*: sergeant at arms in the bodyguard of the sultan; an attendant of the imperial court.

[573/176, regarding a reprimand to local administrators]

*To the Voivodes of Mihaliç, Gemlik, and Bandırma; and the Ayans of Yalova, Kapıdağ, Malkara, and Keşan*¹

June 27, 1821

In this day and time, the primary duty of the *ayans* and voivodes of a district consists of striving for the good administration of their districts at all times and avoiding inflicting harm on its local poor and residents without cause. Executing the orders of His Imperial Majesty and taking the most important matters forward are also among the local administrators' duties. As is known to everyone, under the reign of His Imperial Majesty, those who have disregarded these principles, inflicting cruelty and displaying procrastination in government, have faced severe consequences. Specifically, in such a time, when the infidels—who are the enemies of the religion of Muhammad—have rebelled, it is a duty upon everyone to avoid harming the local poor and residents of the country and to unite with all Muslims. Yet, not only have you forgotten this way of conduct and are currently harming the underprivileged, we have also received complaints and verified that, because of your greed and corruption, you have engaged in behavior unsuitable to true zeal, such as avoiding the confiscation of the infidels' arms and not allowing Muslims to go around armed. In fact, you deserve to be punished for your inappropriate behavior in such a time as this. However, you are forgiven just this once only for the sake of the Holy Days [*Ramazan*]. However, if we hear that you continue in your ill behavior and harm someone without cause, you should keep in mind that I [the grand vizier] will deal with you, and your remorse will be to no avail. You shall come to your senses and behave accordingly, so as to secure your salvation. No person shall be oppressed, and you shall pay attention to that end; strive to execute the orders of His Imperial Majesty and avoid unzealous behavior.

¹ All of the towns listed above are located on the southern and eastern shores of the Sea of Marmara, northwest Turkey, except for Malkara and Keşan. The latter two are located in Turkish Thrace.

[573/178, *regarding a Greek captain*]

To the Grand Admiral [Abdullah Hamdullah Pasha]

June 27, 1821

The skipper named Panagiotis from the *reaya* of Nesebar had previously loaded wine onboard and sailed for Odessa. He aided the bandits during the incident on the Prut River.¹ This time, fearing identification, he loaded wood, took a certain Mustafa onboard as a security guard and entered the Bosphorus. According to verified reports, the vessel is currently being unloaded at Ortaköy,² and the aforementioned Panagiotis fled his vessel yesterday. You shall deploy trustworthy men from the imperial arsenal to seize the vessel of the treacherous Panagiotis and its cargo silently and transfer it from Ortaköy to the imperial arsenal without allowing the plunder of even a single tool, iron-ware, or other fittings aboard.

¹ Possibly referring to an incident at the very beginning of the Greek Revolution, when Ottoman merchant vessels on the Prut River were burned down by Alexandros Ypsilantis's associates.

² Ortaköy (Gr. Μεσοχώρι): district on the Bosphorus.

[573/186, regarding the Battle of Drăgășani]
 To the Castellan of Vidin [Derviş Mustafa Pasha]
 June 28, 1821

We received your letter relating that the soldiers you dispatched across [the Danube] met the troops of the traitor called Ypsilantis in battle and, by the grace of God, they proved victorious.¹ Many enemies of religion were put to the sword, and many were taken prisoner; in addition, six artillery detachments sent by Ypsilantis were captured by our warriors. You also state that the ears that had been taken in the previous battle have been sent [to Istanbul], and the cannons, prisoners, and heads that were taken in the last battle are going to be dispatched soon. You are also requesting that the troops urgently be returned to Vidin, as it is necessary to keep an abundance of troops there. Your efforts toward the suppression of the despicable infidels are the proof of the loyalty and vigor that are expected of you for the sake of our religion and Sublime State and an occasion for appreciation and praise. Your letters were presented for His Imperial Majesty's review, and the ears you sent were displayed to make an example. His Imperial Majesty prayed, saying: "May God grant victory to Muslims as a courtesy to his Beloved Prophet!" As Your Excellency, thanks to the zeal and sagacity with which God has endowed you, is one of those viziers who would sacrifice himself in the service of the Exalted Sultanate and especially in such a matter of religion, it is obvious that it would never be necessary to warn you regarding [the execution of the duties] entrusted to your care. The infidels who, without any cause, committed such treason against [our] religion and the Sublime State will obviously face their due punishment, by the grace of God. According to His Imperial Majesty's orders, the twelve commanders whose efforts and zeal stood out in battle shall be rewarded with formidable cloaks; and your arms bearer with a zibeline robe of honor. You shall present these rewards to the aforementioned functionaries and strive to fulfill the requirements of your duty without delay. The tax inspector Çayırzade Ahmed Bey was appointed to recruit and transfer troops to Vidin from the districts of Rumelia. However, he got ill on the way and returned back. The former *haseki agha* was appointed in his stead. Orders have already been issued for the transfer of the remaining troops. In addition, in accordance with Your Excellency's letters, orders have been issued for the arrangement of two thousand mercenaries,

1 The document relates the Battle of Drăgășani, which was fought on June 19, 1821. The remaining troops of Alexandros Ypsilantis dispersed after the battle, bringing to an end the revolutionary upheaval in Moldowallachia. Ypsilantis sought refuge in Austria, where he was kept in custody until 1827.

one thousand each from the *sancaks* of Ankara² and Çankırı.³ With the help of God, as these troops are expected to amass in Vidin around these days, Your Excellency is expected to display the deeds of zeal and vigor that are required of him.

2 Ankara (Gr. Ἀγκυρα): town and district in central Turkey.

3 Çankırı: town and district in central Turkey.

[573/191, regarding the uprising in the region of Thessaloniki and Chalkidiki]
 To the Mutesellim of Thessaloniki [Yusuf Bey]

June 29, 1821

We have been informed by Your Excellency that the *reaya* of the villages around Thessaloniki have rebelled one after another and about how they have been dealt with by the troops sent onto them. We have also received your letters indicating that you sent [to Istanbul] the ears and flags captured in the battles that took place around Kalamaria and Apollonia;¹ and that the village *kocabaşı*² and the priests of Kassandra who had been arrested were executed; and that you need an artillery battalion and ammunition. The fact that you collaborated with all [the other functionaries] and made great efforts to suppress these infidels—who are the enemies of our religion and Sublime State—prove your noble ancestry and zeal, which are intrinsic to your nature. Your letters were presented to His Imperial Majesty, and the ears and flags were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to serve as an example. May God sharpen the swords of those who work for the true religion and keep them free from disgrace both in this world and the other. As these infidels, lowborn and highborn alike, without any cause, have united in order to engage in treason and abominable deeds against our religion and state, it is imperative that you crush these infidels without showing leniency. The various measures you have pointed out, such as immediate execution of the captive *kocabaşı* if rebellion erupts in their villages, are appropriate. It is the imperial order that you strive to crush these rebels immediately without mercy, enslave their offspring, and plunder their property. The artillery battalion and ammunition you had requested have been dispatched, and it is obvious that from now on there will be no shortage of ammunition or supplies. We urge you to demonstrate your competence to the best of your ability. You shall prove your vigor, zeal, and nobility by uniting and allying with everyone and crushing the rebels without mercy, enslaving their children, ordering your warriors to plunder their property, and afterwards girding your loins for fulfilling the imperial order by transferring troops to [the region of] Mount Athos to plunder there as well.

1 Apollonia (Turk. Pazargah or Bazargan, Gr. Απολλωνία): town in Greek Macedonia located along the Via Egnatia.

2 *Kocabaşı* (Gr. προεστός or κοτζάμπασης): primate, head of a self-governing local Christian community who was responsible for his community before the state.

[573/194, regarding Alexandros Ypsilantis's captured associates]

To the Governor of Silistra [Benderli Mehmed Selim Pasha]

June 29, 1821

We have received your correspondence in which you relate that your steward had sent troops for the infidel [Alexandros] Ypsilantis upon discovering his place of refuge, a town called Dukal [uncertain reading]. Convinced of his incapacity to withstand our victorious troops, he fled to the Austrian border. The warriors of Islam pursued him and received prisoners, heads, ears, and banners, among other bounties. You state that you sent them all [to Istanbul] together with the report of your steward. The deeds you relate are the fruits of your effort, zeal, and prudence and they gave rise to joy and pride. Upon learning your news, His Imperial Majesty prayed in the following words: "Thank God, there have been many conquests. May God Almighty bless the Muslims with victory and glory!" Of the captives sent, we have imprisoned two men for interrogation for the time being, as we understand from your letter that they are close associates of Ypsilantis. We have summarily executed the remaining four, and the severed heads, ears, and other bounties were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to serve as an example. May God Almighty grant salvation both in this world and the other to those [functionaries] like Your Excellency who strive to serve the Sublime State and religion, amen. It would be rather redundant to reiterate, particularly to Your Excellency, that the treachery the Greek infidels have committed against [our] religion and state without any cause have made it a religious obligation for every believer to join the holy war. The struggle should continue until these infidels are eliminated, by relying upon the might of God Almighty and the assistance of the conqueror spirit of our prophet. Your Excellency attends to all matters with altruism and especially serves the Sublime State heartily; the victories attained by your steward are but the deeds of your acumen. We have sent a sable fur for him as a royal gift in appreciation of his service and we ask you by this letter to forward it to him. We encourage you to continue to demonstrate your comprehension and determination by seeking the means of crushing and annihilating these infernal infidels, who are the enemies of our state and religion.

[573/200, *regarding a petition about Chiots*]
To the Tax Collector and Deputy Judge of Chios
July 1, 1821

The Chiot broadcloth makers and woodsmen who reside in Istanbul have presented a petition in which they mention the letters that were written in the Greek language and sent to the *reaya* of Chios, warning them against failing to act according to the requirements of subjecthood due to the sedition that broke out among the Greek *millet*. Although no action offending the imperatives of subjecthood had taken place, the *reaya* [of Chios] volunteered to send fifty reputable men to stay within the fortress as hostages in order to make the Muslims feel secure. They also stood surety for each other and took an oath that no incidents will take place; hence, they did not renounce subjecthood. However, the petitioners complained that the authorities treated the voluntary hostages as convicts, locking them up together in a somber place and reprimanding them. Furthermore, the troops dispatched from Anatolia set about committing such actions as ravishing and slaying the *reaya*. Although currently there are enough provisions for two years stored in the fortress of Chios and it is necessary to sell some of them to the impoverished *reaya*, all supplies arriving at the island are being carried to the fortress, thereby leading the *reaya* to starvation. The petitioners ask for His Imperial Majesty's permission that the authorities shall either keep the hostages in the fortress on a weekly rotation or transfer them from that somber place to somewhere else and keep them as guests. They plead for the prohibition of the current oppression and for the sale of adequate daily provisions. It has become necessary to suppress the sedition and brigandage among the Greek community, and accordingly the rebellious infidels are being brought into line. However, it is also equally a praiseworthy Muslim disposition to show the ultimate care for the protection of those who do not divert from the path of subjecthood. As the *reaya* of Chios have so far not engaged in rebellion and banditry or breached [the conduct of] subjecthood, it obviously runs contrary to the divine law and His Imperial Majesty's will that the hostages who have volunteered to reside within the fortress are harassed to such an extent that they are refused daily provisions even against payment, or that the incoming troops harm their lives and property. We send this letter to instruct you that, if such is the situation as reported in the petition, you shall relocate the hostages to a more spacious location and treat them as guests. You shall prevent the troops from oppressing the *reaya* at any rate and allow the sale of an adequate supply of daily provisions. As long as they do not breach [the conduct of] subjecthood, it is incumbent on you to guard and protect them.

[573/205, *regarding sedition in Cyprus*]

To the Tax Collector of Cyprus

July 1, 1821

We have received your correspondence in which you communicated to us all the documents and translations, including the testimonies of the traitor called Dimitri and Mihal [Michalis], son of Yanaki, captured in the district of Dağ.¹ The letters written in Greek and addressed to Yorgaki [illegible surname] of Cyprus and forwarded by him to the archbishop of Cyprus and the abbot are also included in your correspondence, along with their translations. Moreover, you sent us the testimony of the priest of the church in Nicosia where a store of gunpowder was discovered. Your letter indicates that you executed sixteen infidels after establishing their treason, and that the local [Muslim] notables petitioned for the elimination of the man called [illegible name], the archbishop, and three metropolitan bishops. Finally, you mention the number of troops, gunners, and cannons, as well as the amount of gunpowder sent by the governor of Sidon,² requesting permission for obtaining gunpowder and cannons from Sidon. We submitted your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty and are pleased by your manifest carefulness in implementing the necessary measures and performing your duties. As the infidels, lowborn and highborn alike, are in open betrayal against our sublime religion and state, it was appropriate to execute the sixteen infidels whose malignancy was proven. In line with His Imperial Majesty's will manifested on this occasion, you shall continue to exercise prudence in performing your duties by immediately investigating those men of prominence who cause sedition among the *reaya* and execute all those who partake in it. Similarly, you shall search thoroughly the monasteries, churches, and fortified *reaya* houses in Cyprus for gunpowder, ammunition, and arms. In addition, you shall do your best to level the *reaya* houses inside the fortress of Cyprus, so that they cease to be a potential threat. We have sent to you and other relevant functionaries the orders to hang the archbishop and the three metropolitan bishops in order to make an example for others. We have also written to the governor of Sidon to send the ammunition on the understanding that it would be replaced later on, as well as the remainder of the requested troops for the garrison of Cyprus. This letter is to instruct you to pay utmost attention to execute your office prudently at all times. You shall demonstrate your diligence and piety

1 District of Dağ: district in north-central Cyprus, with Nicosia as its capital.

2 Sidon (Turk. Sayda, Gr. Σιδώνα): the province encompassing the territories of modern-day Lebanon, Palestine, and Israel.

by carrying out the present orders in coordination with other authorities and exchange correspondence with the governor of Sidon for obtaining the necessary ammunition and troops. You shall seal and protect the properties and belongings of the infidels you will execute, so that they will not be wasted, and inform us about the situation.

[573/208, *regarding harassment of the Greeks in Istanbul*]

Order to the Bostancıbaşı

July 3, 1821

It has been reported that under the pretext of the sedition that emerged among the Greek *millet*, some disgraceful individuals have been harassing and violating the peace and security of the *reaya* in the subdistricts of the Üsküdar grove, such as Kartal, Gebze, and Beykoz, and in the farmsteads of the imperial grove.¹ Harassing the *reaya* who have no involvement in the sedition is by all means against the consent of God and His Imperial Majesty. Such abuses of the riff-raff against harmless *reaya* in the environs of Istanbul originates from a lack of attention and care [on the part of functionaries], and it is obvious that it is you who is required to attend to this matter. You shall now dispatch a man to the agha of the imperial grove and instruct him to recruit an abundance of troops and patrol the area day and night. He shall make sure that no one harasses the innocuous *reaya* of the imperial grove and, if anyone dares to do so, immediately prevent them.

1 The abovementioned districts are suburbs on the Anatolian side of Istanbul.

[573/214, regarding the olive groves of Ayvalık]

*From the Deputy Grand Vizier [Seyyid Ahmed Erib Efendi] to Ibrahim Pasha
[Mutasarrıf of Hüdavendigar]*

July 4, 1821

As is known to Your Excellency, as per the imperial order issued due to the rebellion and malevolence of the *reaya* of Ayvalık, they were crushed, and their houses and shelters were burned and destroyed. For this reason, the olive groves in Ayvalık shall be seized and surveyed by Your Excellency. In accordance with His Imperial Majesty's order, Said Bey, the former Conductor of the Pilgrims [*surre emini*], has been elected and sent there to attend to the matter. As the seizure and survey of the olive groves is of utmost importance, you shall write to your warden in that region, so that assistance of all kinds is provided to Said Bey.

[573/220, *regarding the Ionian Islands and the Morea*]

To the Commander-in-Chief [Hurşid Pasha]

July 4, 1821

We have received your correspondence, along with the letters addressed to you by the *kapudana bey*, Halil Bey of Lamia, and the [Ottoman] consul at Corfu, and submitted them to His Imperial Majesty after a close review. The British general at Corfu¹ wrote to the *kapudana bey* that the *reaya* of Zakynthos,² Kefalonia,³ Lefkada,⁴ and other islands within the Ionian Islands that are under British protectorate are soon to rebel. The general declared that he is expecting British mariners and land troops in order to prevent sedition on those islands. Similarly, the [Ottoman] consul who was previously in Corfu indicated in his letter that the *reaya* of Kefalonia fitted out four ships and joined the infidels of Hydra and Spetses. You state in your correspondence that all the functionaries who were appointed from Anatolia to the Larissa area should rush to the Morea with substantial forces, because the Morea is the real locus of the sedition of the infidels, who are attacking it by land and sea. It is clear from your correspondence that the ominous attacks of the infidels focus entirely on the Morea, which requires us to appoint a vizier [of three horsetails] immediately to this region at the head of a sizable force. We send this letter to inform you that we will deal with this matter at once and keep you informed about our decision. In the meantime, we ask you to serve with zeal and vigor.

- 1 Referring to Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Maitland, who served as Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands between 1816 and 1824.
- 2 Zakynthos (Turk. Zanta, Gr. Ζάκυνθος): one of the seven Ionian Islands; referred to as Zanta in the documents after the island's Italian name, Zante.
- 3 Kefalonia (Turk. Kefalonya, Gr. Κεφαλονιά): the largest of the seven Ionian Islands.
- 4 Lefkada (Turk. Ayamavra, Gr. Λευκάδα): one of the seven Ionian Islands; referred to as Ayamavra in the documents after the island's Italian name, Santa Maura.

[573/223, *regarding the uprising in Euboea*]

Addendum to the Castellan of Euboea [Hacı Ali Pasha]

July 4, 1821

The nationwide treason dared by the Greek infidels against the true religion and eternal Sublime State has become known to everyone. As the *reaya* of the towns in the *sancak* of Euboea¹ have also rebelled in their entirety, a fatwa has been issued authorizing their suppression, plunder of their property, and enslavement of their offspring. You shall immediately leave wherever you are located with your household [soldiers] and, in compliance with the imperial order on this matter, you shall recruit an abundance of troops, announcing on your way that you have been ordered to crush the rebellious *reaya*. You shall pass to Rumelia from Çardak² and reach Euboea as soon as possible with full force and speed. In cooperation with the functionaries who are already there, by the grace of God, you shall strive to clean your district of the dirt and torment of the malignant bandits by properly suppressing the rebellious *reaya*, enslaving their offspring, and plundering their property. You have recourse to the holy law at all times and are expected to implement the imperial order and thereby display the deeds of courage and zeal expected of you.

1 The *sancak* of Euboea (Turk. Eğriboz, Gr. Εύβοια) encompassed the island of Euboea and the *kazas* (subdistricts) of Athens, Livadeia, Thebes, Amfissa, Atalanti (Turk. Talanda, Gr. Αταλάντη), Lamia, and Mendenitsa (Turk. Modoniç, Gr. Μενδενίτσα).

2 Çardak: village on the Anatolian side of the Dardanelles.

[573/225, *regarding the appointment of a castellan to Euboea*
To the Commander-in-Chief [Hurşid Pasha]

July 5, 1821

We have received your letter indicating that the infidels of Euboea have also risen up in rebellion, and that Yusuf Pasha [of Serres], the former Castellan of Euboea, stayed in Patras with the troops you had dispatched. As the defense of Euboea requires the presence of a vizier, you state that it is necessary that you should either confer the *sancak* of Euboea to Hasan Pasha, former castellan of Nafpaktos, on the condition that another castellan is appointed to Arta,¹ or another vizier is sent to Euboea. It is obvious from your correspondence that the presence of a vizier [of three horsetails] is essential for the defense of Euboea, as the infidels of that island have also taken the path of disobedience by revolting. Thus, we have conferred the *sancak* of Euboea on the former *mutasarrıf* of Alanya,² Hacı Ali Pasha, in the latest annual imperial appointments and promotions and firmly ordered him to hurry to Euboea with an abundance of troops. We have also sent Ali Rıza Bey, one of the imperial chamberlains, to incite and accompany him as our special agent during the voyage from Alanya to Euboea to forestall any delays along the route. Finally, we have explained to Yusuf Pasha that revoking his position in Euboea was due to no particular reason other than the present state of affairs, and that this should not affect the execution of his duties, for we will shortly reward him with the bestowal of a higher position. We ask of you by this letter to persevere in demonstrating your zeal and bravery.

¹ Arta (Turk. Narda, Gr. Ἀρτά): town in Greek Epirus.

² Alanya: coastal town in southern Turkey; Alaiye in the documents.

[573/232, *regarding the uprising in northeast Greece*]

To Behram Pasha

July 5, 1821

We have received your letter in which you relate that, when you halted in the town of Eleftheroupoli¹ on the way to Thessaloniki, you received the imperial order reiterating that you should build up your forces and hurry to Thessaloniki in order to crush the sinful infidels. There you learned that the infidels had rebelled, setting their eyes on Thessaloniki and Serres,² because there was not a single [official] in this region who knew how to fight against the enemy. Thus, you sent ahead Memiş Pasha and the *ayan* of Eleftheroupoli at the head of a substantial force, who, passing through the Dizen [uncertain reading] Defile, encamped in Apollonia. You also remark that you recruited to your service more than one thousand mercenaries whom you came across in the vicinity. We are much pleased with your sense of duty. When your correspondence was presented to His Imperial Majesty, he prayed, saying: "May God Almighty bestow victory!" As is known to Your Excellency, because of the collective treason perpetrated by the Greek infidels against the Muslims, a fatwa has been issued authorizing their suppression, enslavement of their offspring, and plunder of their property and belongings. Since the infidels insist on invigorating their rebellion and kill Muslims through all sorts of cruelty and torture wherever they seize them, it has become a religious obligation to anyone who calls himself a Muslim to fall on them and root them out. We have put you in charge of suppressing the bandits with the expectation of good service and a demonstration of bravery, for you are one of the great viziers endowed with determination, courage, and loyalty. It is incumbent on you to spare no efforts in this struggle for the true religion and render the kind of good service that will be embroidered in the pages [of history]. This letter is thus to encourage you to recruit more troops and crush these rebellious infidels as a proof of your courage and piety.

1 Eleftheroupoli (Turk. Pravişte, Gr. Ελευθερούπολη): town in northeast Greece.

2 Serres (Turk. Serez or Siroz, Gr. Σέρρες): town in northeast Greece; Siroz in the documents.

[573/244, regarding the uprising in the area from Ioannina to the Morea]
 To the Commander-in-Chief [Hürşid Pasha]

June 7, 1821

In response to your previous request that we urge the viziers assigned to the Larissa area to hurry to their posts and follow your directions and that we immediately dispatch a vizier [of three horsetails] to the Morea at the head of a substantial force, we replied to you a few days ago that we are taking due measures. We also instructed Behram Pasha, who is among the viziers assigned to the Larissa area and currently stuck in Thessaloniki, to go to the Larissa area and enter your command once the disorders in that region are quelled. In your present letter, you wrote about the appointment of Mustafa Pasha [Bushati],¹ *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, at the head of a large number of troops to the Morea for crushing the rebellious *reaya* in the region between Ioannina and the Morea. You point out that it is necessary to appoint a commissary officer in his service and have all the functionaries assigned to the Morea report to their posts at once. After reviewing it carefully, we presented your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty, who perused it as well. Based on your report, it is imperative that we rush a sizable force to the Morea immediately and dispatch other functionaries and troops to crush and suppress the rebellious *reaya* all the way from Ioannina to the Morea. Accordingly, we have changed the commission of Hacı Bekir Pasha, Governor of Karaman, from Larissa to the Morea. We have also transferred the assignment of Ali Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Çorum,² from Niş to the Morea and assigned Ali Şefik Pasha, former castellan of the Dardanelles, to the Morea as well. We have dispatched a strict imperial decree that orders all Muslims living along the Via Egnatia to serve under the governor of the Morea with the appended fatwa authorizing the enslavement of the rebels and their offspring. Although you suggest the appointment of the *mutasarrıf* of Shkodër in person, to deal with the rebellious *reaya* in the area from Ioannina to the Morea, he is likely to excuse himself from the assignment on the pretext of fighting the rebels in Montenegro. Thus, we have ordered Mustafa Pasha to

1 Mustafa Pasha: Buşatlı or Bushati Mustafa Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër and patriarch of the most prominent Geg Albanian dynasty. Throughout the Greek Revolution, he controlled the districts to the north of Berat, where the extent of the Sublime Porte's authority was only nominal. His unwillingness to follow through the Sublime Porte's orders played a determining role in the outcome of the Greek Revolution, especially during the sieges of Missolonghi. See documents 574/140, 574/300, 1713/179, 1713/180, 1713/200, 1713/201, 1713/203, 1713/204, 1713/206, 1713/229, 580/155, and 581/85 herein.

2 Çorum: town in central Anatolia.

dispatch a large number of troops from the *sancaks* of Ohrid,³ Elbasan,⁴ and Shkodër under an equally able and suitable commander to suppress the *reaya* who rose in rebellion in the *sancaks* of Acarnania,⁵ Nafpaktos,⁶ and Euboea, in the region lying from Ioannina to the Morea. We have assigned Süleyman Agha, former voivode of Veliko Trnovo,⁷ as commissary officer to serve under the commander of the force to be sent by Mustafa Pasha. Lastly, we have sent out strict orders for mobilizing men from the Muslim populace living in the provinces along the Via Militaria⁸ in order to reinforce the Ioannina army. We ask of you by this letter to stay vigilant and demonstrate your competence by persevering in your duty.

3 Ohrid (Turk. Ohri, Gr. Οχρίδα): town in southwest North Macedonia.

4 Elbasan (Turk. Elbasan or İlbasan, Gr. Ελμπασάν or Ελβασάν): town in central Albania.

5 Acarnania (Turk. Karlılı, Gr. Ακαρνανία): region in west-central Greece.

6 Nafpaktos (Turk. İnebahtı, Gr. Ναύπακτος): Lepanto, town in western Greece, on the north coast of the Gulf of Corinth.

7 Veliko Trnovo (Turk. Trnovi, Gr. Τίρνοβο): town in north-central Bulgaria.

8 Throughout this book, the historical road's universally known name, the Via Militaria, is used to render the Ottoman usage *Rumeli Orta Kol* [the middle route of Rumelia]. The Via Militaria connected Istanbul with Belgrade, passing through Edirne, Plovdiv, Sofia, and Niš.

[573/247, *regarding the capture of fugitives in Chalkidiki*]

From the Deputy Grand Vizier [Seyyid Ahmed Erib Efendi] to the Mutesellim of Thessaloniki Yusuf Bey

July 2, 1821

His Excellency Behram Pasha had been assigned to the Larissa area because of the uprising of the *reaya* of several villages in the province of Thessaloniki, around Langadas and the Sidirokafsia mine. Behram Pasha put most of the rebels to the sword, but some fled to Mount Athos. Although it is necessary to crush those fugitives, Behram Pasha has been assigned to the Morea due to the vehemence of the uprising of the *reaya* there. Hence, an imperial order has been issued assigning Your Excellency to deal with the infidels that fled to the region of Mount Athos and Kassandra. Since you would need a large number of troops in your retinue, separate orders have been sent to the *mütesellims* and officers in Eleftheroupoli, Drama,¹ Gotse Delchev,² Serres, Sidirokastro,³ [Palaio] Gynaikokastro,⁴ Melnik,⁵ [Nea] Zichni,⁶ and Razlog⁷ for the recruitment of soldiers to be dispatched directly under able officers. As immediate suppression of those infidels is entirely expected of Your Excellency, if you need more troops or if you need the service of other functionaries, you should know that we will assign and dispatch them as soon as you write to us. Your Excellency shall prove your piety and zeal by gathering these soldiers under your command, striking the aforementioned infidels of Mount Athos and Kassandra, crushing them by dividing their property and belongings among the soldiers and enslaving their offspring.

1 Drama (Turk. Drama, Gr. Δράμα): town in northeast Greece.

2 Gotse Delchev (Turk. Nevrekop, Gr. Νευροκόπι): town in southwest Bulgaria.

3 Sidirokastro (Turk. Demirhisar, Gr. Σιδιρόκαστρο): town in north Greece.

4 [Palaio] Gynaikokastro (Turk. Avrethisar, Gr. Γυναικόκαστρο): town in north Greece.

5 Melnik (Turk. Menlik, Gr. Μελένικο): town in southwest Bulgaria.

6 [Nea] Zichni (Turk. Zihne, Gr. Ζίχνη): town in northeast Greece.

7 Razlog (Turk. Razlık, Gr. Ραζλόγκ): town in southwest Bulgaria.

[573/251, regarding reassignment to the Morea]

To the Governor of Karaman Ebubekir Pasha

July 7, 1821

We received your letter reporting your arrival in Lapseki¹ on the 23rd day of the Holy *Ramazan* [June 24, 1821] and in Gallipoli the day after, thus displaying the diligence required by your assignment. Your correspondence was presented to His Imperial Majesty, who was particularly pleased with your swiftness and assiduity. His Excellency Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, current Governor of Rumelia and Commander-in-Chief of the Ioannina army with full discretionary powers, has reported that the infidels in the Morea, owing to their great numbers, have been invigorating their seditious activities day by day, and that it is imperative that the viziers assigned to the Larissa area march to the Morea at the head of large numbers of soldiers. Although His Excellency Behram Pasha was also assigned to the Larissa area, he is currently battling the infidels who rebelled in [the region of] Thessaloniki. Hence, it is His Imperial Majesty's will that Your Excellency immediately leaves wherever you are located and march swiftly to the Morea. The imperial order regarding your assignment has been dispatched. This is not a matter to be taken lightly or to dawdle. Since the Morea is the locus of the seditious activities of the infidels, it is imperative that you reach there immediately. Your Excellency shall leave your current location without wasting a minute, march to the Morea, correspond with the aforementioned commander-in-chief, and follow his command, thus proving your zeal and piety.

1 Lapseki (Gr. Λάμψακος): town on the Anatolian side of the Dardanelles.

[573/252, *regarding the Battle of Drăgășani*]¹

To the Commander-in-Chief; Governors of the Morea, Trabzon, Karaman, Egypt, Sidon, and Sivas; Mutasarrıfs of Ormenio, Aydın, Trikala, and Alanya; Castellans of Izmir, Karaburun, the Dardanelles, and Nesebar; the Kapudana and Patrona Beys; Tax Collector of Cyprus

July 7, 1821

The treason and malice of the Greek infidels against the true religion of Muhammad and the eternal state of Islam have become more conspicuous with each passing day. Their real ringleader, the traitor called Alexandros—son of Ypsilantis, his brother-in-crime, the cursed Nikolas,² and his collaborator Yorgaki³ had set up their camp on Tuesday, the 19th day of the Holy *Ramazan* [June 20, 1821], across from the village of Drăgășani in Oltenia with seven to eight thousand infantry and cavalry, eight cannons and various military equipment. Nikolas equipped with six and Alexandros himself with two cannons respectively, and with an abundance of soldiers, haughtily dared to charge two times the two thousand victorious soldiers of His Imperial Majesty, who were in the said village. Our glorious soldiers drew their swords on the enemies of religion and responded with a counter-attack. By the grace of God, the cursed infidels were unable to withstand the overwhelming might of the soldiers of Islam. The infidels who survived the sword fled toward the town of Rîmnicu⁴ on the outskirts of the thickly wooded mountains. Six cannons, bayoneted rifles, trumpets and bugles, and various other materials were captured along with seventy-four prisoners. Many of them tasted the sword of the Muslim warriors. While the enemy's loss was very heavy, thanks be to God, only three soldiers of Islam were martyred, and ten were wounded. All these were recorded in the dispatch of His Excellency Derviş Pasha, Castellan of Vidin. The arrival of God's judgment, the victory of Islam, and the withering of so many traitorous infidels recruited by the ringleader Alexandros—all have given great joy to many people [here]. With the news of the capture of Bucharest and Iași by Muslim soldiers having arrived as well, we wished Your Excellency to be informed about this victory and share our elation.

1 For the Battle of Drăgășani, see document 573/186 herein.

2 Nikolas Ypsilantis: brother of Alexandros Ypsilantis. He was the commander of the Sacred Band [*Ἱερός Λόχος*] in the battle. He was kept in custody in Austria until 1827, together with his brothers, Alexandros and Georgios. In 1828 he was allowed to return to Russia, where he died in 1833. See Arsh, "On the Life in Russia of the Greek Patriotic Family Ypsilanti."

3 Georgakis Olympios: Greek militia commander of Aromanian descent and a member of the Filiki Etaireia.

4 Rîmnicu (Turk. Rimnik, Gr. Ρίμνικ): town in Oltenia, south-central Romania.

[573/259, regarding the dispatch of ships]

To the Governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha]

July 9, 1821

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence, which proves your loyalty and tireless efforts in the service of [our] religion and the state, and submitted it to His Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency confirms the arrival of our letter which contains the imperial decree ordering you to equip and dispatch an adequate number of ships to the Morea under a suitable commander in order to overwhelm the rebellious *reaya* on the sea and quell their rebellion. You inform us that you went to Alexandria at once upon the arrival of the imperial decree and equipped eleven ships. You also point out that these ships would bring crew and ammunition to Your Excellency's ship, currently in Rhodes. You suggest that this fleet might sail to the islands beyond Rhodes for operation, since the imperial navy and the officer appointed from Istanbul would have arrived there by the time the fleet reaches those waters. Thus, they might join forces to attack the bandits. After dealing with them, you maintain, the Egyptian fleet might sail back to Alexandria along with two ships from the imperial navy, so that you could replenish their crew and ammunition and send them all back to the imperial navy along with a few additional merchant vessels for crushing the infidels of Spetses and Hydra. Your suggestion constitutes a separate measure in itself. The flame of revolt in the Morea is currently growing day by day, and the imperial navy in the Morea under the command of the *kapudana bey* has been left isolated in the harbor of Mourto¹ between Parga² and Igoumenitsa.³ Therefore, it is necessary first to repress the *reaya* of the Morea, for which the imperial navy dispatched from Istanbul under the command of the *patrona bey* should meet at Rhodes with the fleet you will dispatch. Then, the combined fleets should set sail for the Morea immediately. Upon His Imperial Majesty's will to this effect, we have communicated the decision to both the *kapudana bey* and the *patrona bey*. We ask of you by this letter to demonstrate your loyalty and services to [our] religion and state by dispatching at once the ships you have fitted for the *patrona bey's* command.

1 Mourto (Turk. Murto limanı, Gr. Σύβοτα): coastal village in Greek Epirus, now Syvota.

2 Parga (Turk. Parga, Gr. Πάργα): coastal town in Greek Epirus.

3 Igoumenitsa (Turk. Gomanice, Gr. Ηγουμενίτσα): coastal town in Greek Epirus.

[573/262, *regarding the custody of Skarlatos Kallimaki*]

*To the Mütesellim of Bolu*¹

July 9, 1821

An imperial order has been issued commanding Iskerlet [Skarlatos Kallimaki], Voivode of Wallachia, who is currently in the capital, to reside in Bolu with his family and dependents until law and order are reestablished. He and his retinue have been sent to that town together with an assigned guardian. However, due to the treachery and malice perpetrated by the Greek infidels, they, low-born and highborn alike, cannot be trusted. Although we have ordered Iskerlet to reside in Bolu, it is necessary that he is also kept in custody during his residence there. When the voivode, his family, and his retinue arrive in Bolu, you shall place him in a secure mansion in the Muslim district of the town. You shall not let anyone visit him, nor allow him to mingle with anyone, particularly with the *reaya*. He will be exchanging letters through you, and he himself, his retinue, and family shall be kept in custody, so that they cannot have contact or exchange letters with anyone in anyway. You should know that, God forbid, if he or any member of his retinue flees, you will be held responsible. Hence, the present letter has been drawn up, so that you exert your utmost efforts for keeping him in custody.

¹ Bolu: town in northwest Turkey.

[573/270, *regarding the assignment of Behram Pasha*
To the Commander-in-Chief [Hurşid Pasha]

July 10, 1821

We have received your letter in which you relate that when you wrote to Behram Pasha to hurry to Larissa immediately, he replied that he was assigned to the Thessaloniki area by an imperial order. You point out that there is an abundance of troops in the Thessaloniki area, while on the other hand the flame of rebellion of the bandits has been growing in the Morea and Euboea each passing day. You plead with us to order Behram Pasha and Hacı Ebubekir Pasha, Governor of Karaman, to hurry to the Morea by way of Larissa. Moreover, you state that a good many soldiers are needed in the Morea and Euboea. We submitted your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty after reviewing it closely. You had written previously about the necessity of appointing and hurrying a vizier [of three horsetails] to the Morea. In response, we informed you that His Excellency Ebubekir Pasha, Governor of Karaman, Ali Şefik Pasha, the former castellan of the Dardanelles, and Ali Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Çorum, have been appointed to march on the Morea at once. In addition, a *haseki* has been dispatched with mobilization orders for the Muslim populace living along the Via Egnatia for the reinforcement of the governor of the Morea. Finally, His Excellency the *mutasarrıf* of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha Bushati] has been ordered to dispatch a large number of troops from the *sancaks* of Ohrid, Elbasan, and Shkodër under an able and suitable commander to suppress the *reaya* who rose in rebellion in the regions of Acarnania, Nafpaktos, and Euboea, all the way from Ioannina to the Morea. However, we have understood from your most recent communication that the infidels are in great numbers and strong around the Morea and Euboea. As Your Excellency also points out, there is not much need for troops around Thessaloniki. According to the report of the *mütesellim* of Thessaloniki [Yusuf Bey], thanks be to God, the *reaya* who rebelled in 131 villages in the region were not able to withstand the might of Islam; most of them have perished, and some have fled. Although Behram Pasha had been ordered to march to Larissa after the suppression of the disorders in the region of Thessaloniki, based on these recent conquests there, an imperial order has been issued ordering Behram Pasha to leave the Thessaloniki area at once and march on the Morea. A special *haseki* has been sent to deliver the order of his appointment and escort his march from Thessaloniki to the Morea via Larissa.

[573/288, *regarding requests for amnesty in Volos*]

From the Deputy Grand Vizier [Seyyid Ahmed Erib Efendi] to Mahmud Pasha, Mutasarrif of Larissa

July 12, 1821

Your agent at the Sublime Porte conveyed your letter relating that the traitors from three or four villages in the region of Volos had been put to the sword, and the rebels in eighteen to twenty villages hence asked for amnesty. However, Volos raised the flag of rebellion once again after the arrival of eighteen infidel vessels, and their commanders entered battle. The severed heads and prisoners taken around the village of Argalasti¹ were sent to His Excellency the commander-in-chief [Hurşid Pasha], and some troops were sent for the retinue of your steward, whom you had dispatched to the region of Agrafta. It is unnecessary to remind you of the genuine affection I cherish for Your Excellency, and your success will be a source of great pride for us. Nonetheless, the *reaya* who ask for amnesty are to be pardoned on the condition of not rebelling again, as the special conditions regarding the matter require vigilance, and as it is understood from Your Excellency's correspondence, the *reaya* who had formerly asked for amnesty [in Volos] gained strength and rebelled once again after the arrival of the rebel vessels. Prudence requires that this sort of *reaya* bandits should be given no quarter or pardon when they are attacked, and they should be punished in such a way that it would be impossible for them to rebel again. Since it is my duty to warn [you] about such issues, from now on you shall disregard the pleas for mercy of the rebellious *reaya* who leave the circle of obedience and suppress them in such a manner to make it impossible for them to revolt again. It is my hope that Your Excellency will take the utmost care in performing this duty.

¹ Argalasti (Turk. Argalaştı, Gr. Αργαλαστή): village in Thessaly, southeast of Volos.

[573/290, *regarding appointments to the Morea and Ioannina*]

To the Commander-in-Chief [Hurşid Pasha]

July 13, 1821

We have received your correspondence and the papers forwarded to you by the *kapudana bey* and submitted them to His Imperial Majesty after a close review. You mention the appointment of Behram Pasha and other functionaries to the Morea since the *reaya* of Ioannina, Delvinë,¹ Preveza, Arta, Acarnania, and Nafpaktos all rose up in full rebellion and cut off the governor of the Morea [Seyyid Mehmed Pasha] from behind. Likewise, following your suggestion, Ismail Pasha,² *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, was sent against the rebellious infidels in Ioannina, while Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, was put in charge of crushing the rebels in the region from Ioannina to the Morea. Finally, you request us to send you money and ammunition. Although you had previously suggested us to order Mustafa Pasha to lead his force in person to the Morea, we were concerned about the possibility that he might excuse himself due to the situation in Montenegro. Instead, we sent you the imperial order which commands him to assign a competent and strong commander at the head of the troops from Shkodër, Ohrid, and Elbasan. To the Morea, we assigned Behram Pasha, Ebubekir Pasha, Governor of Karaman, Ali Şefik Pasha, the former castellan of the Dardanelles, and Ali Pasha, Governor of Çorum. Moreover, we sent out mobilization orders for the Muslim populace living in the provinces along the Via Egnatia for the Morea and those living in the provinces along the Via Militaria for Ioannina. Finally, we sent you one thousand purses and another five hundred purses to your commissary officer. We had written about all these matters to you two days ago and also dispatched the requested ammunition afterwards. We understand from your current correspondence that you had written to Mustafa Pasha [of Shkodër] to lead his force in person, considering the dire situation reigning in the region. In response, Mustafa Pasha did not plead any excuses and reported that he has dispatched his commissary officer in advance and that he was about to set out. Now that there is no question about his acceptance of personal command and based on His Imperial Majesty's rescript, we sent him a new imperial order embellished with powerful language and appended the fatwa [authorizing the enslavement of the insurgents' offspring and plunder of their property]

1 Delvinë (Turk. Delvine, Gr. Δελβίνο): district and town in south Albania.

2 Ismail Pasha: Ismail Paşo Pasha, Albanian provincial magnate. An assassination attempt against Ismail Paşo while he was in Istanbul provided the Sublime Porte with a pretext for suppressing Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, who was held responsible for the attempt. Ismail Paşo was appointed *mutasarrıf* of Ioannina and sent on to Tepedelenli. He served in this position until October 1821.

without mentioning the matter in Montenegro. We also ask you to send him a complimentary and motivating letter. Moreover, we have sent a skillful *haseki* to Mustafa Pasha in order to make sure that he sets out on his way promptly. Considering Mustafa Pasha will need artillery once he reaches Acarnania, we have dispatched a company of gunners with full equipment and reiterated the appointment orders to compel our functionaries to hurry [to their assigned posts]. We wrote to you a few days ago that we had assigned the imperial navy to the Morea and reiterated the order to the *patrona bey* to rush to your side. We expect the money and the ammunition to reach you in a short while. We ask of you by this letter to strive to demonstrate your vigilance and resolution.

[573/308, *regarding fraternization among Greeks and west Europeans*]
From the Deputy Grand Vizier [Seyyid Ahmed Erib Efendi] to the Grand
Admiral, [Chief] Customs Officer, and the Chief Butcher
July 17, 1821

Although socialization between Greek women and the Franks [west Europeans] has been forbidden, we hear that the Franks and Greek women are seen together in public. It is known that the current sedition has occurred due to the increasing fraternization between the Greeks and the Franks, and it is imperative that we pay particular attention to this matter. Hence, you shall warn the relevant officials, so as to prevent the socialization of the Greeks and Franks in the districts along the Bosphorus and ban those Greeks who intermingle [with the Franks].

[573/309, *regarding a ban on women from gathering in recreation grounds*
To the Grand Admiral, Janissary Agha, Bostancıbaşı, Chief Gunner, and the
Kadıs of the Three Boroughs [Eyüp, Galata, and Üsküdar]

July 18, 1821

In past times, on summer days, everybody strolled around freely and walked to the recreation grounds [of Istanbul], and nobody intervened. However, this year is comparable to no other. Due to the sedition and treachery of the infidels—may God damn them—all Muslims have taken up arms. Istanbul and the Bosphorus are in a warlike state, and it is inappropriate to convene in recreation grounds as in previous years. These [activities] had earlier been banned by an imperial decree. Since it is unfitting for chaste women to wander around or rest in recreation grounds in such times as these, women are once more warned by an imperial decree not to visit the recreation grounds this summer, neither on foot, nor by carriage, nor by boat. Men are not forbidden to wander about anywhere they like, either on animals or by boat or carriage, or to watch the imperial riding in state [*biniş-i hümayun*]. Likewise, women are not forbidden to go from one place to another by boat or carriage. This imperial ban forbids women only from gathering in recreation grounds and intends to protect the people from the sedition [of the Greeks]. You shall thoroughly inform the officers and others in charge that they should pay attention not to allow women to gather at recreation grounds as before. They shall be allowed to visit each other's houses or waterside residences by carriage or boat and go from one place to another when necessity arises. However, for example, if it proves inevitable for women to pass through recreation grounds by carriage or boat while they are traveling from one place to another, it is not necessary to bar them. If they stop or rest in the area, then the ban shall be made known to them, and they shall be turned away. You shall pay attention to act accordingly.

[573/314, regarding preemptive measures in the event of rebellion in Serbia]
*To the Governor of Bosnia*¹ [Celal Pasha], and the Castellans of Vidin [Derviş Mustafa Pasha] and Niš [Hüseyin Pasha] (in response) in an abridged version as needed

July 19, 1821

Hüseyin Pasha, Castellan of Niš has written that Şehsuvar Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Kruševac,² reported some recent suspicious and potentially seditious activities among the Serbs. The Serbian representatives are currently in Istanbul, and one of them is of equal standing to Milosh [Obrenovich]. Hence, it is unlikely that the Serbs will revolt while their representatives are here. Nevertheless, based on the revolt of the Greeks, who had been obedient for so long, it is not impossible that the Serbs may also engage in sedition and treachery. Thus, they are never to be trusted, and it is necessary to stay alert at all times. In case they rebel, we thought it appropriate to dispatch secretly to you, the castellan of Vidin and the castellan of Niš, the necessary imperial orders that are in line with the fatwa authorizing their suppression and enslavement [of their offspring]. As is known to Your Excellency, the Sublime State already suffers considerable disturbances, and it is not permissible to provoke another one now. In the absence of obvious signs of revolt on the part of the Serbs at this point, it is His Imperial Majesty's order that you refrain from frightening or provoking the Serbs. You shall not reveal the relevant imperial decree to anyone and give [the Serbs] clues. You shall stay alert at all times. Should the Serbs foment strife, then you shall announce the aforementioned imperial decree and set out to crush them at once without having to wait for further orders. We have explained the situation confidentially to the aforementioned castellans as well. This order is merely a preemptive measure to forestall a possible delay in striking against them in case of a revolt. We ask of you by this confidential letter to keep the imperial decree to yourself, unless the Serbs show signs of rebellion. You shall prudently refrain from provoking an incidence; nevertheless, if they revolt, then you shall take the necessary measures without wasting time by asking for authorization to quell it.

1 Bosnia (Turk. Bosna, Gr. Βοσνία): at this point an *eyalet* [province] with Travnik as its capital, encompassing the *sancaks* of Bosna (Bosnia), Hersek (Herzegovina), Kilis (Klis), İzvornik (Zvornik), and Bihke (Bihać).

2 Kruševac (Turk. Alacahisar, Gr. Κρούσεβατς): town in south-central Serbia.

[573/317, *regarding Samos and the diversion of the imperial navy to the Morea*]

*To Ilyas Agha, Mütesellim of the Sancak of Sığla*¹

July 19, 1821

You were previously charged with the task of striking the island of Samos. We have received and are familiar with the contents of the correspondence you sent to the grand admiral, informing him that at the head of the existing troops you departed from Kuşadası² on the 2nd day of this month of *Şevval* [July 3, 1821] and have set up your military camp in the village named Çiğli, right across from Samos, awaiting the arrival of the imperial navy. Although the destination of the imperial navy was previously set as Samos, the *reaya* of the Morea later on rallied to cause disturbances, hence making it indispensable to crush and destroy them at once, a situation which was reported by His Excellency Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, Governor of Rumelia and extraordinary Commander-in-Chief of the Ioannina army. Therefore, the vessels of the imperial navy under the command of the *patrona bey* were assigned and set sail to contact and join with the ships dispatched by His Excellency the governor of Egypt, so as to unite with the imperial navy under the command of the *kapudana bey* with the aim of punishing and crushing the rebels in the Morea. Due to the reasons stated above, the destination of the imperial navy was shifted to the Morea and, God willing, shall very soon return victorious after punishing and crushing the rebels. The present letter has been drawn up to inform you that you shall, as required by your duties, firmly remain bound to your duty without leaving your deployment site, together with the troops in your retinue, and duly display your vigor and zeal.

Postscript: Although the place of duty of the imperial navy was shifted to the Morea—as required by the present circumstances—soon enough it shall return victorious, God willing, by crushing and punishing the rebels in the Morea, a blessing expected of God's grace. Hence, you, too, obviously need to remain at your current post and adhere firmly to your duty. Besides, as soon as the opportunity presents itself, infidel bandits wandering in the Mediterranean will definitely disembark troops on the coast and commit malice; this may be anticipated based on previous events. Thus, you are expected to stay at your post and watch over the vicinity, and, should Greek pirates ever land troops on the coast or the infidels of the neighboring villages ever revolt, to march

1 Sığla: in the early nineteenth century, the *sancak* of Sığla encompassed the districts around Kuşadası, on Turkey's Aegean coast.

2 Kuşadası: coastal town in southwest Turkey.

immediately to put them all to the sword, thereby displaying your astuteness and zeal. Likewise, you shall also inform the relevant functionaries that the imperial navy is to set sail to the Morea and to return thereafter. As for the *reaya* who do not rebel in anyway whatsoever by remaining loyal, you shall prevent any oppression and injustice unto them by the soldiers, ensuring their protection and safety.

[573/323, regarding fugitive Greeks from Izmir and the seizure of vessels]

To Hasan Pasha, Castellan of Izmir

July 20, 1821

News had previously arrived about the existence of a two-masted Greek pirate vessel in the locality named Közağzı [?], on the coast of Menemen.¹ It was later confirmed that the ship indeed belonged to Greek pirates. In accordance with government procedures, the ship was raided, and forty-two fugitive *reaya*, nine sailors, one captain, one Greek woman, and her child were captured and incarcerated. You have informed us about your expectation of an imperial edict about what to do with these captives. Furthermore, government officials, as per the relevant imperial edict, have been sealing the properties and belongings of the *reaya* who fled from Izmir to the island of Samos. However, it later emerged that some of those fugitives actually took refuge in *müstemen*² ships merely out of fear, and some of them are in the neighboring villages and on the island of Chios, and currently they have been returning to Izmir upon hearing about the events. In addition, an order had previously been sent concerning the seizure and furnishing of five to ten of the merchant vessels found in the harbor of Izmir due to the then-ongoing disturbances in the city, which were quelled later on. No functioning merchant ship currently exists in the service of the imperial navy; thus, from among the *reaya* ships, the owners of which had previously fled and were thus seized, five of those fit for battle were selected and restructured, with their captains assigned and equipment repaired. Furthermore, you inform us that you will also be able to arrange and dispatch the vessels that were later captured, in case they are required. The contents of your correspondence pertaining to the above matters have become known to us. The care taken by Your Excellency to seize the said vessels is deemed pleasing and worthy of commendation, and your correspondence was presented to and personally seen by His Imperial Majesty. In order to make an example to others, Your Excellency shall publicly execute in Izmir the captive bandits, that is, the nine sailors and the captain. Likewise, all forty-two fugitive *reaya* shall be executed by some means or other, [such as] by drowning in the sea. However, you shall release the woman and the child. It is required by imperial edict for the fisc to seal the properties and belongings of the *reaya* who fled from Izmir to the island of Samos; but in case there are people among them who fled here and there and came back later on, it is prescribed by justice not to bring harm to their belongings. Thus, no injury shall be

1 Menemen (Gr. Μενεμένη): town in west Anatolia.

2 *Müstemen*: foreigners, mostly merchants, who were granted safe conduct in the Ottoman Empire.

done unto the respectable and honorable ones among these returnees. As for the furnishing of the vessels, the captain and the money dispatched from the imperial arsenal as per the imperial edict are now en route. Hence, upon their arrival, the abovementioned five vessels are to be joined by the ones that were later captured, and all of them are to be furnished. Their munitions shall be replenished, so that they can join as soon as possible the imperial navy headed toward the Morea. An imperial edict has been issued about the above matters, and the present letter has been drawn up ordering Your Excellency to take the necessary steps accordingly.

[573/325, *regarding war trophies from Drăgășani*]

To the Castellan of Vidin [Derviş Mustafa Pasha]

July 20, 1821

By the grace of God and thanks to the auspices of His Imperial Majesty, the traitor called Alexandros—the son of Ypsilantis—has been routed in the battle that took place in the village of Drăgășani. During the battle, six cannons, seventy-four prisoners, decapitated heads, and mutilated ears, as well as such war instruments as drums and bugles, were captured and dispatched by the courier master Hasan Agha. The contents of Your Excellency's correspondence pertaining to the above matters have thus become known to us and we have submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty for review. Indeed, the zeal and ardor displayed by Your Excellency is a quality that befits your personality, with which you have proven your loyalty and valor. This pleasing state of affairs, worthy of commendation, was presented to His Imperial Majesty. As per the imperial rescript issued to this effect, the dispatched cannons were delivered to the imperial arsenal, the ringleaders were executed, with the rest registered in the book of prisoners, and the mentioned instruments were ceded to the imperial armory. The heads and ears, as well as the drums and bugles, were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to serve as an example. We are fully confident that Your Excellency shall continue to serve bravely and devotedly for the sake of [our] religion and the Sublime State, and you shall verily be of further great services. Hence, the present letter has been drawn up commanding Your Excellency to exert utmost efforts in the performance of his duties.

[573/331, regarding the battle on Mount Athos and orders for Thessaloniki and Chalkidiki]

To the Mutesellim of Thessaloniki [Yusuf Bey]

July 21, 1821

The *reaya* bandits that gathered in the peninsula of Mount Athos attacked and tried to engage in combat with the troops deployed in the vicinity under the command of the seal keeper of His Excellency Behram Pasha. By the grace of God, Muslims emerged the victors. The news of the victory arrived with the letter of the said pasha. He also informed us about the rallying of some rebels in Mount Athos. However, since the state of affairs in the Morea is deteriorating, he was ordered to head to the Morea, while you are to be entrusted with extraordinary powers to crush and punish the rebels in your region. With an imperial writ also issued, ordering Behram Pasha to march on the Morea, it is obvious that you shall duly perform your duties. Nevertheless, with Behram Pasha dispatched to the Morea, you are now required by an imperial edict to notify us swiftly as to whether you are solely capable of crushing, God willing, the infidels who have revolted in the vicinity of Thessaloniki and the peninsulas of Mount Athos and Kassandra, or whether there will be a need to appoint another official. Hence, the present letter has been drawn up for you to clarify as soon as possible whether you alone will be capable of punishing the rebels in the mentioned locations, or another official will be needed for this purpose.

[573/334, *regarding Ioannina, the Morea, and the suppression of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha*]

To His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief [Hurşid Pasha]

July 23, 1821

In light of the state of affairs in Ioannina and the Morea reported by Your Excellency, it is now required that His Excellency Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, be appointed [to quell the uprising in the region from Ioannina to the Morea], and that His Excellency Behram Pasha, Hacı Ebubekir Pasha, and other functionaries swiftly head to the Morea. Although a sum of one thousand purses previously granted to Your Excellency has already arrived, you report the need for ammunition and a large sum of money for the salaries of the soldiers you currently employ, as well as for other costs as per the account book you presented. You relate that the Commissary Officer Hacı Edhem Agha requested us to dispatch money, and we should take necessary actions as His Excellency Hasan Pasha, Castellan of Arta, also asked for some money from Your Excellency. The contents of Your Excellency's correspondence on these matters have become known to us. Your letters were also submitted to the imperial stirrup and seen by His Imperial Majesty. As has already been stated in the correspondence sent to Your Excellency, with the strictly admonished orders dispatched previously and currently with *hasekis*, viziers of three horse-tails and of two horsetails assigned to the Morea by way of the Via Egnatia and to Ioannina by way of the Via Militaria were urged about the swift preparation of troops. In addition, for those two routes, the *Kapıcıbaşı*¹ Salih Koç Agha and Ahmed Agha, former *mütesellim* of Biga,² have been appointed as recruiters. From now on, we shall pay utmost attention to dispatching [soldiers] swiftly and without any interruptions. The requested ammunition is also being dispatched in consignments. Mustafa Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, has already been charged with the task of crushing the rebellious *reaya* all the way from Ioannina to the Morea, with a special order issued for his urgent departure being sent by a *haseki*. Yet, as you have reported that the state of affairs has become more pressing in that region [Albania], a forceful imperial writ to encourage Mustafa Pasha has also been sent immediately by a *haseki*, along with the pertinent imperial rescript. Furthermore, as per the imperial rescript, a sum of two thousand purses for Your Excellency, five hundred purses for Hasan Pasha, Castellan of Arta, and another five hundred purses for the Commissary Officer Hacı Edhem Agha, which amounts to a total of three

1 *Kapıcıbaşı*: lit. chief gatekeeper [of the sultan's palace]. In the early nineteenth century this title was mostly honorary, given even to provincial notables.

2 Biga: the *sancak* which comprised the Anatolian side of the Dardanelles.

thousand purses, have also been sent in cash. Henceforth, Your Excellency shall lose no time in duly performing your duties. You shall display your valor and zeal and use your best endeavors to end the turmoil caused by the pernicious Ali Pasha, by the grace of God, and also to report immediately the long-awaited news [of the suppression of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha]. Hence, the present letter has been drawn up to request Your Excellency to take care of the above-mentioned matters.

[573/336, *regarding the recruitment of Turkish mercenaries*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Ormenio [Salih Pasha]

July 23, 1821

As His Excellency Hurşid Pasha, Governor of Rumelia and Commander-in-Chief of the Ioannina army, is presently dealing with the insurgent infidels in that region, as well as with the traitor [Tepedelenli] Ali Pasha, it has become indispensable to recruit Turkish lads [ethnic Turkish mercenaries] for his retinue. Hence, a correspondence has been received from Hurşid Pasha, notifying us about the need for a competent commander and four to five thousand Turkish lads from the region of Edirne. In addition to the turmoil stirred up by [Tepedelenli] Ali Pasha, the state of affairs in the vicinity of Ioannina has become even more pressing due to the uprising of the infidels in the region, which has made it all but indispensable to send troops for [the army of] Hurşid Pasha urgently. Your Excellency is a vizier who is well informed about these matters and characterized by ardor and loyalty. Hence, the present letter has been drawn up to ask you to exert your best efforts for these matters by appointing a capable commander and immediately recruiting and sending four to five thousand Turkish lads from that region to join the said pasha, thereby proving your loyalty and tenacity.

[573/340, regarding the Russian harboring of fugitives, merchants in Galați, and cannons]

To the Castellan of Brăila [Berkofçali Yusuf Pasha]

July 23, 1821

Currently there are not many Greek bandits left in Moldavia, with only forty to fifty outlaws roaming in and around the mountains and forests. There are still some soldiers in the region, making ongoing attempts at punishment. It is a simple matter to drive out the band of around 150 sick and injured infidels who fled to the estuary of the Prut River in commercial vessels. However, these vessels are anchored together with Russian ships at the Russian pier, and you requested an order as to what to do about the matter. As the Greek bandits who fled to the estuary of the Prut River inside the mentioned vessels were about to run away these days, the Russians in Reni¹ welcomed and accepted them, under the pretext that they had received a new order to do so. Subsequently, the bandit called Deli Petros [?] took five of the ships [incomprehensible sub-sentence], and they moored the remaining nine to the Russian quarantine dock. Since the town of Galați² had previously been burned to the ground, some Austrian *süddids*³ requested from Your Excellency—through the Austrian vice-consul—licenses to open shops, a request which was denied on grounds of various inconveniences. Therefore, you requested an imperial writ ruling that from now no one among the *süddid* community shall be granted licenses to construct shops and houses in the town of Galați, unless they accept Ottoman citizenship, present warrants, and register themselves in the court of Brăila. In addition, it is also noted that a total of twenty small and large cannons have so far been captured in battles, requesting an order as to what to do with these. The contents of Your Excellency's correspondence pertaining to the above matters have become known to us; your communication was also submitted to the imperial stirrup and seen by His Imperial Majesty. Russia's acceptance of the *reaya* bandits anchored in the estuary of the Prut River is contrary to their recent seemingly unbelligerent stand. However, as is known to all, no one among the Russians can be trusted. Especially, it seems that Russians are at the bottom of this [Greek] sedition. Obviously, the Sublime State is vigilant at all times, taking all the precautionary measures required. Evidently, the *müste-men* community is forbidden by treaties to acquire real estate and land within the Ottoman territories, which is also against our sovereignty. Therefore, as

1 Reni (Turk. Timarabad): town in southern Ukraine, on the left bank of the Danube.

2 Galați (Turk. Kalas, Gr. Γαλάτσι): port town on the Danube, in Romania.

3 *Süddid*: Austrian *müstemmen* merchants operating in Moldowallachia; the word originates from the German *Schützling* [protégé].

you have rightly noted, an imperial writ referring to the international treaties should be sent, clarifying that they shall not be allowed to acquire estates and construct buildings in Galați, unless they prove their Ottoman subjecthood and register themselves in the court of Brăila. As for the twenty cannons captured from the bandits, they should be kept in the Fortress of Brăila for the time being, later to be sent to other localities if need be. An imperial edict of His Imperial Majesty has been issued, commanding that you shall send a survey, indicating the qualities and exact calibers of those cannons, including detailed information as to whether they are made of bronze or iron, which are to be recorded in the daybook of the imperial arsenal. The pertinent imperial order has also been sent to Your Excellency. Hence, the present letter has been drawn up to order you to dispatch the register indicating the qualities and calibers of the said cannons, keep them in the Fortress of Brăila for the time being, and take utmost care in the performance of your commanding duties by remaining vigilant at all times.

[573/349, *regarding the registration of properties on the island of Cunda*]

To Said Bey, who is charged with the land survey of Ayvalık

July 23, 1821

Just like the *kaza* of Ayvalık for which you serve as the survey officer, this time the *reaya* of the island of Cunda have entirely fled from their lands, with their houses and estates being burned down by functionaries. Therefore, it is necessary to appoint a clerk to register the olive groves, lands, crops, etc., officially on behalf of the fisc on the said island. Due to the proximity of your post to the island of Cunda, you have been appointed by an imperial edict to register the aforementioned estates. The pertinent imperial writ to this effect, describing your duties, has been issued and sent to you. Hence, the present letter has been drawn up to ask you to display your loyalty by duly performing your duties.

[573/352, regarding the replacement of Neapolitan sailors with Muslim seamen]

To His Excellency the Grand Admiral [Abdullah Hamdullah Pasha]

July 26, 1821

Since the Greek infidels, especially the *reaya* of the Archipelago, can never be trusted in any way whatsoever, Your Excellency threw the Greek topmen and sailors, employed on the imperial three-decker galleon moored off Beşiktaş, in the dungeon. It was agreed to replace them with Neapolitan sailors through the vouching of the dragoman of [the embassy of] the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.¹ Each Neapolitan will be paid 300 piasters until *Kasım*.² The honorable efendi, intendant of the imperial arsenal, had presented a memorandum to release their pay according to the agreed rate. The Greek topmen so far employed in the imperial arsenal had always received 40 piasters of pay each month, according to the imperial code. Since there are still three months until *Kasım* 1,300 piasters for each Neapolitan sailor will mean 100 piasters per month, and this bears the danger of affecting [negatively] other topmen in the imperial navy as the difference between a 100- and a 40-piaster salary will appear too great. Besides, although the Neapolitans, being from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, technically appear as subjects of just another neutral nation, it must be remembered that the late rebellion in their country was pacified through Russian mediation, which means that they are essentially pro-Russian. Therefore, employing them in the imperial navy might pose even a greater danger than employing Greeks. In the present situation, it is obvious that the wisest course would be to recruit and employ topmen from among Muslim sailors. The majority of the people of the Alexandrian, Egyptian, and Damascene coasts, of the islands of Crete and Rhodes, and of the Trabzon area are all renowned for their seamanship. The sailor fellahin of Arabia are more skilled in the art of seamanship even than the Franks. Thus, drawing upon these facts, we wrote to the aforementioned and other relevant locations about the issue. In contemplation of getting rid of the infidels [in the imperial navy], we considered that Your Excellency could write to Rhodes and other islands about procuring Muslim sailors and also demand [Muslim sailors] from various merchant ships [in Istanbul] after obtaining their consent, to be employed at the imperial arsenal. When His Imperial Majesty's permission regarding the issue was requested, he replied: "After the sedition of the Greeks, it is by

1 The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Turk. Sicilyateyn): kingdom created after the Congress of Vienna of 1814, by uniting the Kingdom of Sicily and the Kingdom of Naples.

2 *Kasım*: now November in Turkish. In the Ottoman period the day of *Kasım* fell on November 8 and symbolized the arrival of winter.

no means permissible to employ [non-Muslims] on the imperial [war]ships, and it is imperative to recruit Muslims sailors. You shall proceed to recruit them at once. However, in his memorandum, the intendant of the imperial arsenal relays that the grand admiral has already made an agreement with the Neapolitans and that he requests money. So, discuss with the grand admiral and decide if the Neapolitans will stay until *Kasım*, in case Muslim sailors cannot arrive in time, or whether you will recruit Muslim sailors promptly and dismiss the Neapolitans." Hence, you shall discuss this matter with those who are in charge and report about the course to be taken.

[573/370, *regarding Mount Athos*]

To Behram Pasha, who is assigned to repress the bandits [in the Thessaloniki area]

July 30, 1821

As the rebellious infidels of Mount Athos were reported to possess large amounts of property in the districts of Gotse Delchev, Razlog, Sidirokastro, and Melnik, Your Excellency has already dispatched Abdülkadir Agha to search and register them in survey books. Through a letter which was then forwarded to us, Abdülkadir Agha reported that he found some five thousand sheep in Gotse Delchev, and there also exist around fifteen thousand sheep in other districts. These people also have certain estates in the Serres area; however, as you shall depart for the Morea, you notified us about the need to appoint a clerk to seize them. God willing, once Your Excellency arrives in the Morea, you are expected to render services much better than your previous work. You also report that you sent troops and put to the sword those who were captured from among the "leftovers of the sword" [those who escaped slaying], who had fled to the mountains following the [re]conquest of Makriplagio,¹ and the rebels of the village of [illegible place name], and that their severed heads and mutilated ears were dispatched. The contents of Your Excellency's correspondence pertaining to the above matters have thus become known to us. As Your Excellency is characterized by resolution and valor and is one of the viziers duly performing his duties, your dispatching an official for seizing the possessions of the said rebels in these districts and your efforts in punishing the captured bandits are all testimony to the zeal expected of you and are indeed worthy of commendation. As per a previously issued imperial edict, a clerk was sent by the Sublime State to the said locality. Hence, the present letter has been drawn up to ask Your Excellency to hurry to the Morea as soon as possible, so as to crush the Moreot rebels, thereby demonstrating once again your tenacity and devoutness.

¹ Makriplagio (Turk. Ravna, Gr. Μακρυπλάγιο): village in Drama, Greece.

[573/372, *regarding the recruitment and payment of Turkish mercenaries*
To the Mutasarrıf of Ormenio [Salih Pasha]

July 30, 1821

Your Excellency confirms the arrival of the correspondence about the recruitment and dispatch of four thousand Turkish lads [ethnic Turkish mercenaries] from the Edirne area, paid monthly, headed by a capable commander and to be employed under the command of His Excellency Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of Ioannina. In your response letter, you report that it will be impossible to raise such a massive army promptly; and thus, around three thousand men are currently being recruited, while some eight hundred are about to set out. However, you also note that whoever pays their salaries should provide their commanders with vouchers, and also some portion of their salaries should be paid in advance. The contents of your correspondence on these matters have thus become known to us and were also submitted to and seen by His Imperial Majesty. At this point, the state of affairs is quite pressing in the Ioannina area, and the *reaya* of certain villages around Trikala also rose in rebellion. Hence, there is obviously an urgent need for troops in those localities. Thus, you are expected to exert utmost care to dispatch the said troops as soon as possible. The soldiers need to be provided with vouchers, stipulating that their salaries henceforth are to be paid by the commander-in-chief [Hurşid Ahmed Pasha]. However, as per the issued imperial order, considering the urgency of the matter, a sum of 200,000 piasters was procured from the imperial mint and dispatched to Your Excellency. The two-monthly salaries of those three thousand soldiers are to be paid from this amount, whereas Your Excellency should provide them with vouchers, indicating that their later stipends will be paid directly by the commander-in-chief. It is required by the imperial order of His Imperial Majesty that you swiftly dispatch these troops to the command of the commander-in-chief. The present letter has been drawn up to ask Your Excellency to exert utmost care to pay the two-monthly salaries of the abovementioned three thousand soldiers from this amount, provide them with vouchers indicating that their later stipends shall be undertaken by the commander-in-chief, and dispatch them as soon as possible to the said commander, as required by your assiduousness and your zeal, as well as by the pertinent imperial edict.

[574/1, *regarding conditions for amnesty*]

Copy of the Imperial Rescript¹

For their treachery, the *reaya* truly deserve whatever difficulty they find before them. However, due to the current circumstances, these conditions [laid down below] would suffice. Should any of the rebellious *reaya* beg for amnesty, they shall be pardoned and granted safe conduct, provided that they agree to the terms.

As for the rebellious infidel *reaya*, should any among them wholeheartedly repent and ask for forgiveness for the rebellion they dared to commit, then, on the condition that they act according to the conventions of subjecthood and loyally abide by their word without any trick or deceit, the holy law applies in any Muslim land, thereby granting them safe conduct as regards their properties, honor, and lives. However, as they left, without incitement, the circle of obedience by taking up arms and shedding Muslim blood, the amnesty which is to be granted must contain the following terms, acceptance of which will prove that they will never again dare to betray Muslims or commit such acts, will remain in their place of origin, and act according to the conventions of subjecthood, as has been done since time immemorial, thereby regaining the trust of the Muslims. First and foremost, their houses and other suspected places will be searched and inspected by officials; whatever they possess in terms of munitions, such as cannons, pistols, knives, gunpowder, cartridges, and all such materials shall be surrendered to the officials without exception; the pertinent register book will be drawn up by the court, and the weapons will be delivered to the imperial armory in the imperial capital. Secondly, until all disturbances have simmered down and law and order are restored, two notables

1 The British ambassador, Percy Smythe, 6th Viscount Strangford, presented this amnesty as his success, underlining his influence in its proclamation. He suggested the issue of a *hatt-ı şerif* [imperial rescript], “declaratory of its resolution to separate the innocent from the guilty—and to extend an amnesty to those of its rebel subjects, who shall, within a certain time, have recourse to the sultan’s clemency [...] Every method but this, of an appeal to their vanity, has already been tried to engage the Divan to proclaim principles, which would be consoling and satisfactory to Europe. The British embassy was in fact the only mission which could venture upon this new experiment, because it is the only one which could truly say to the Porte, that its recommendations, in individual cases had been attended to—the only one, in short, which had reason to applaud any part of the conduct hitherto pursued by the Ottoman government. I learn that my note has excited considerable attention. Two councils have been held upon it.” See Strangford to Canning, 10 August 1821, TNA/FO 78–100/9. In all likelihood, the Sublime Porte accepted to issue this amnesty in order to maintain good relations with Great Britain after the departure of the Russian ambassador Stroganov from Istanbul on August 10, 1821, in protest of the Sublime Porte’s treatment of its Greek subjects. The stipulations of the amnesty remained the same throughout the revolution.

among them, such as priests and *kocabaşıs* shall be sent to the imperial capital to be held as hostages. Thirdly, they shall be made to pay whatever outstanding amount has accumulated over the period of their revolt, such as taxes and other responsibilities arising from their subject status. Fourthly, in accordance with the sharia, the required *jizya*² shall, from now on, be collected per capita [i.e. as opposed to per local community] and delivered by hand. Those who agree to the terms outlined above and act accordingly shall be trusted, depending on their behavior, and will be granted both pardon and security; whereas, those who refuse to comply and act accordingly will be considered false, both in word and deed. Unworthy of pardon and safe conduct, they will face the overwhelming power of Islam, utterly humiliated and deprived of mercy.

² *Jizya* (Turk. *cizye*): tax paid by the non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim state.

[574/5, *regarding a pressing request for troop reinforcements in the Morea*]
To the Governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha]; to the Mutasarrıf of Ormenio
[Salih Pasha] in an abridged version

September 29, 1821

As a consequence of the treason and abominable deeds perpetrated in unison by the Greek infidels against Muslims, the infidels of the Morea have raised the standard of rebellion. Consequently, the imperial navy was prepared and sent on a punitive expedition against them, and Your Excellency dispatched a certain number of ships to its suite. Yet, due to the ferociousness of the Moreot infidels' rebellion, the Muslims, trapped in castles, engaged in skirmishes repeatedly and have until now inflicted many losses upon the unbelievers. Nevertheless, the infidels, God forbid, with the vicious intention of putting out the light of Islam completely, sacrifice their malicious lives in the name of their fallacious religion. Though many functionaries have been sent to the Morea by land, and Yusuf Pasha of Serres—who is currently in Patras—has spared no effort in fighting against the infidels, the number of soldiers under his command is not sufficient. He was therefore unable to provide any succor to those Muslims who are trapped in the castles of Tripolitsa, Methoni, Koroni, and Navarino; consequently, there is a possibility that, God forbid, the whole of the Morea will be lost. In as much as this situation is the result of the rebellion and, in a way, has been taking place due to God's will of administering divine punishment on his servants [Muslims], God willing, Muslims will soon triumph, with the help of God's beloved prophet. In any event, we are required to fulfill our duty and take the necessary measures as ably as possible, extending our helping hand to the Morea, by land or sea. No expense has been spared in this endeavor, and both salaried soldiers and volunteers have once again been deployed, to be dispatched to the Morea under the command of our functionaries. Ammunition, supplies, and money have been sent for the fulfillment of the needs and encouragement of those who are presently in the Morea and of the functionaries. Nevertheless, many *sayyids* and *sayyidas*,¹ dignitaries, children, and women are being restrained and oppressed day and night in the Morea by the infidels, who are the enemies of our religion and state, and, God forbid, face the danger of being taken prisoner. We have also heard that, upon capture, the infidels inflict all sorts of torments on their prisoners. Due to this pitiful situation, those who have zeal have run out of patience and lost their peace, and we pray day and night for God's mercy and favor. Being peerless, an ornament of the Sublime State, a brave and pious vizier who spares no expense

1 *Sayyid* (m.), *sayyida* (f.) (Turk. *seyyid*, *seyyide*): honorific title for descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.

in the name of religion and state, Your Excellency has previously dispatched many ships to the imperial navy and was consequently appointed to manage the affairs of Crete. It is also anticipated that you are presently preparing several ships in Alexandria, destined for Crete. However, as you have been made aware, the situation in the Morea presents a more pressing concern. Hence, we thought such a loyal friend of the Sublime State as yourself should, if possible, send some land troops to relieve our brothers in religion, who remain trapped in the Morea, and exact revenge on the infidels with the help of God Almighty. Such is also the imperial writ. Hence, the plight of the Morea having been made known to you, this letter has been written to compel you to help the Morea, if possible, by sending land troops.

[illegible]

FIGURE 7 Behram Pasha's letter reporting the defeat at the Battle of Vasilikon.

BOA/HAT 38584-H

[574/16, regarding the aftermath of the Battle of Vasilikon and the Morea]
 To Behram Pasha

October 1, 1821

Your Excellency's dispatch concerning the several precautions you have deliberated upon—such as your and Halil Bey of Lamia's deployment, the appointment of a commissary officer, and the delivery of the deserters—has been noted. In response to your previous communication reporting the defeat¹ suffered at the Fontana Defile,² we have written to you that Commissary Officer Şahin Agha was removed from office, and Ibrahim Bey, the former superintendent of Skopje,³ was appointed commissary officer of your army. Furthermore, funds were sent on credit, and Your Excellency also received an imperial bounty of 100,000 piasters, along with some ammunition. A *haseki* has been dispatched, carrying some money and the imperial order for the enlistment of two thousand salaried soldiers in Gotse Delchev. We have also written to you that His Excellency the governor of Sivas [Süleyman Pasha] was ordered to rush [to the region] as soon as possible, and former grand vizier Seyyid Ali Pasha was appointed, along with his current retinue and household, to oversee the transportation of a considerable number of troops to the Morea. Apparently, your current letter was sent before the arrival of our response. As our response indicates, due to the current conditions, it is obvious that the departure of the functionaries whose deployment you have suggested from their current positions is not feasible. Besides, on the 10th day of the past month of *Zilhicce* [September 8, 1821], the imperial navy, thanks be to God, reached the Morea and, with the aid of God Almighty, rescued the besieged castles of Koroni and Methoni. News has also reached us that the *kapudana bey*, the vessels of Algeria, and the imperial navy have joined forces and are to sail to the shores

- 1 Referring to the Battle of Vasilikon (Fthiotida), which took place on September 7, 1821. Ottoman troops under Behram Pasha suffered heavy casualties. It was a major turning point in the history of the Greek Revolution. The Ottoman forces sent to lift the siege of Tripolitsa and put down the uprising in Attica and the Morea were defeated by the Greek revolutionaries under the command of Ioannis Diovouniotis and Yiannis Gouras. The Sublime Porte was unable to organize another expedition until the summer of 1822, giving the revolutionaries the opportunity to regroup. In his letter of defense (fig. 7), Behram Pasha argued that he had tried to pass the defile only due to the repeated and threatening orders of the Sublime Porte (see BOA/HAT 38584-H and 38584-I). Although Behram Pasha reported the Fontana Defile as the scene of engagement, the battle actually took place at the Vasilika Defile, which is approximately 10 kilometers to the east of the Fontana Defile.
- 2 Fontana Defile (Turk. Fondana Derbendi): the defile was the shortest and easiest way from Lamia to Tourkochori (Esedabad), forming the main military route connecting mainland Greece with Attica and the Morea.
- 3 Skopje (Turk. Üsküp, Gr. Σκόπια): town in North Macedonia.

of the Morea. May God grant that the disturbances in the Morea will be dealt with before winter comes. As an imperial order was issued for the restitution of deserters, it is of utmost urgency that the appointed functionaries attend to their obligations at once. Your Excellency shall place your trust in the help and grace of God, and do your best to exact revenge from the infidels, as this writ commands.

[574/19, *regarding full discretionary powers to act*]

To Ali Bey, Captain of the Kapudana Bey and Commander-in-Chief of the Navy

October 2, 1821

In your previous communication, you informed us about the arrival of the imperial bounty, the appropriations for the imperial ships, and expressed your gratitude. You also reported that on the 13th day of the last *Zilhicce* [September 11, 1821] the imperial navy, dispatched under the command of the *patrona bey*, and the ships from Egypt had reached the coast off the Castle of Koroni and, with the help of God Almighty, rescued the castles of Koroni and Methoni from siege. As the inhabitants of these castles had suffered severely due to lack of supplies, nine thousand bushels of grain which arrived in an Austrian ship were purchased by them. A few of the ships sent to the imperial navy in order to make contact with you were joined by Algerian ships as well, on the 19th and 20th days of the same month. They immediately procured water and sailed from Morto Bay¹ harbor to the shores of the Morea and joined forces with the imperial navy at the port of Patras. You reported that you are about to proceed with the fulfillment of your duty. You also conveyed that the hardtack and various other supplies previously sent on an English merchant ship to the castles of Methoni, Koroni, and Navarino have not yet arrived. The imperial navy under the *patrona bey's* command has unavoidably wasted much time on the way there; all now have supplies sufficient for thirty-five to forty days, and the hardtack prepared by Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrif* of Shkodër, has yet to arrive. Finally, you report that the imperial ships are in dire need of supplies and hardtack. We have also received the communications you sent to the Commander-in-Chief Hürşid Pasha. It was a great relief to us to learn that the imperial navy reached its destination unscathed and, thanks be to God, saved the Muslims of both castles. We immediately informed His Imperial Majesty as well. The fact that no news regarding the imperial navy had reached us was a cause of great concern and apprehension. However, thanks be to God, the imperial navy and the Algerian ships managed to reach their destinations, and you have arrived on the Moreot shores. May God grant that you will tend to the affairs in the Morea in the desired fashion. The siege has been lifted from the castles of Methoni and Koroni as well, by the grace of God, and the Austrian ship previously referred to was dispatched at once to sell supplies, so as to ease the pain of the beleaguered. The English ship sent previously should arrive soon. Another ten thousand bushels of wheat were sent to Patras and six thousand bushels to Nafplio on English merchant ships as further supplies for these

1 Morto Bay: seaport on the Gallipoli peninsula.

castles. The arrival of the English vessel loaded with hardtack and supplies for the needs of the imperial navy under your command must be imminent. In accordance with the recently issued imperial order, no expense has been spared in sending, at once, additional hardtack, ammunition, and other supplies to the imperial navy. May God grant that these cargoes will reach you, so you will not suffer from scarcity.

The imperial navy is presently united under your command, and, although it is apparent that Your Excellency will be the commander of all, an imperial writ has been issued to help strengthen your influence on all other captains and commanders, enforcing all superiors and inferiors to comply with your orders and to exert the utmost effort to fulfill properly the duty you have been charged with. To that effect, an imperial order assuring your absolute command has been issued and sent on, along with a formidable sable coat and a gift of one hundred purses [of piasters]. We sent sable coats to the commander of the Algerian ships and to Topuz-zade Mehmed Agha, Commander of the Egyptian ships. The *patrona bey*, *riyala bey*, and Captain Kara Ali each received a sable coat as well, and other captains were gifted with shawls to wrap their heads with. In addition, a number of coats of honor were also sent to you, to be granted to those whom you judge to be deserving of them. To prevent confusion, *patrona bey* has also been informed by the grand admiral that, from now on, Your Excellency is the commander-in-chief of the navy and that you possess the right to send reports signed by your seal alone; the coats of honor and shawls mentioned above are to be presented to those who in your sight are deserving of them. Your office also dictates that you operate independently in all matters, taking immediate action and issuing commands to the navy without the necessity of first requesting our permission; by extension, you are to exert every effort in waging jihad, as your faith and imperial duty demand, thus proving yourself worthy of salvation and prestige, in this life and the next.

Initially, the imperial navy, sent to campaign under the command of *patrona bey*, united with the ships equipped and dispatched by His Excellency the governor of Egypt, and together they were ordered to launch an attack against the island of Samos. However, as the situation in the Morea grew increasingly precarious, the attack on Samos was postponed, and instead the navy was sent to unite with your forces in the Morea, so that you could rid those regions of the bandits. Thanks be to God, then, that all the ships in question reached the Morea and united their forces; however, as the marine forecasts are not clear, no news has reached us here, making it thus impossible for us to form any decisions. Therefore, as winter approaches, and only by the grace of God may any accomplishments and victories be granted, should the imperial navy be required to take action, you are advised to operate with expediency, as

circumstances dictate, without requesting our permission. For example, when the issue in the Morea has been dealt with in the desired fashion, with the help of God, you should set sail to crush the rebellious islands in the Archipelago or to strike against the island of Samos. You have been granted absolute authority and full license to act in whatever manner you see fit whether to grant pardon to the rebellious infidels who ask for quarter and re-establish the pre-existing order, or to refuse their plea, should it prove false, and carry out the fatwa which stipulates their destruction and enslavement of their offspring. You are to do what is required, as circumstances dictate. You are to cooperate with all functionaries at once in fulfilling your duty by exacting vengeance from the enemies of our religion and state. Your Excellency is expected to serve the faith and state in such a way as shall be worthy of their prestige, thereby demonstrating your loyalty, and achieve greatness by reporting the happy news that we are expecting.

[574/27, regarding Seyyid Ali Pasha becoming commander-in-chief of the Morea]

To the Commander-in-Chief [Hurşid Pasha]

October 3, 1821

You have previously reported that, God forbid, the Morea is on the verge of falling to the infidels. You now inform us that His Excellency Yusuf Pasha [of Serres], who is currently in Patras, had requested troops from Your Excellency so as to succor Tripolitsa. Funds were therefore sent to the *kapudana bey*, with the command to recruit one to two thousand soldiers from Chameria¹ to be transported to Patras. Funds were also sent to His Excellency Yusuf Pasha and the soldiers agglomerated under his command; however, it is uncertain whether the *kapudana bey* can recruit the specified number of soldiers. Moreover, His Excellency Behram Pasha failed to capture the Fontana Defile and suffered a defeat there. His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, Governor of the Morea, and Ömer Pasha [Vrioni] had previously captured Livadeia, and Ömer Pasha then continued to Athens and saved the city from siege. The infidels, however, launched a counter-attack on Livadeia, and you have received the news that Mehmed Pasha sent Ömer Pasha to transport the beleaguered Muslims to Thebes.² You reported that the current locations of both Mehmed and Ömer Pashas remain unknown, and if no help reaches the peninsula, it will, God forbid, be lost to the enemy. We have thus received Your Excellency's communication requesting that a large number of troops and a competent commander-in-chief be sent to the Morea. Your letter was also presented to His Imperial Majesty. It was in response to this request that the governor of the Morea set forth, but he was cut off at the rear, and the troops under Behram Pasha's command were routed. Consequently, a capable commander-in-chief had to be chosen immediately from among the viziers, to take command of the troops in the region. Former grand vizier Seyyid Ali Pasha, who was previously dispatched to the Morea, is a competent and compliant vizier of the Sublime State.³ Hence, an imperial

1 Chameria (Turk. Çamlık, Gr. Τσαμουριά, Alb. Çamëria): historical region associated with Cham Albanians [Τσαμῆδες], corresponding to contemporary Thesprotia, Preveza, the southern extremity of Albania's Sarandë district, and several villages in eastern Ioannina.

2 Thebes (Turk. İstifa, Gr. Θήβα): town in Boeotia, Greece.

3 Seyyid Ali Pasha of Isparta: grand vizier between January 5, 1820 and March 29, 1821. He was a close associate of Halet Efendi. In the eyes of Mahmud II, he was the incarnation of the Ottoman state's troubles, originating from indulging in a life of ease and sinking into luxury and plenty. He was deposed and banished to Gallipoli on March 29, 1821, and replaced by the *Mutasarrıf* of Çirmen [Ormenio] Benderli Ali Pasha. See Mahmud II's imperial rescript (BOA/HAT 51077): "He [Seyyid Ali Pasha] is inconsistent in his thought and always cares about his appearance and comfort and is not appropriate [for office], according to the necessity of the time."

writ has been issued appointing him commander-in-chief of the Morea. He is charged with the task of recruiting as many soldiers as possible along the way and to return all the deserters he comes across. Proceeding thus, he is to waste no time in joining his forces with those of the governor of the Morea and gathering all the other viziers, both those of three horsetails and of two horsetails, and all soldiers into active service in the region. May God grant that with these measures the Morea will be saved from the hands of the infidels. It is to this end that former grand vizier Ali Pasha was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, in accordance with the will of the sultan. May God grant that he will succeed in completing his mission, for which we pray fervently. This letter was written so that Your Excellency may be informed of these proceedings. We trust that you will not fail to exert your best efforts and take heed of this resolution to the matter.

[574/29, *regarding the recruitment of soldiers from Chameria*]
To the Commander-in-Chief [Hurşid Pasha]

October 4, 1821

Following the request of Yusuf Pasha, who is currently in Patras, to Your Excellency, we had previously written to you to enlist and dispatch immediately an additional three to four thousand troops for the succor of Tripolitsa and to be deployed in the Morea as required. As we take this issue very seriously, after extensive discussions and in accordance with His Imperial Majesty's writ, we consulted certain men of knowledge. It transpires that the region known as Chameria is composed of four *kazas*, namely Delvinë proper, [illegible place name, most probably referring to Filiates],¹ Paramythia,² and Mazaraki.³ It was formerly inhabited by a large population; however, after the tumult and oppression caused by Tepedelenli [Ali Pasha], the population has dispersed.⁴ At present, some functionaries in the Morea and other places have managed to gather a large number of Cham troops [Muslim Albanian mercenaries from Chameria] under their command. Consequently, these four districts themselves can provide about three thousand troops altogether. Nevertheless, the *kazas* of Paramythia and Margariti have long been on good terms with the *kapudana bey*, among whom he wields great influence. The *kapudana bey* has demanded 1,500 salaried soldiers from these two *kazas*, though we do not yet know whether these troops have reached him. Given their good relations with the *kapudana bey*, however, it can be assumed that they will arrive soon. Therefore, both districts will have reached the limits of their capacity and cannot be expected to provide any more soldiers. It is improper to request more soldiers from them again by an imperial order. However, according to the register, if the former two *kazas*, namely, Delvinë proper and [illegible place name, most probably referring to Filiates], can provide soldiers under eleven beys and aghas who would contribute at their own expense, as opposed to salaried

1 Filiates (Turk. Filyat, Gr. Φιλιάτες): district and town in Thesprotia, northwest Greece.

2 Paramythia (Turk. Aydonat, Gr. Παραμυθιά): district and town in Thesprotia, northwest Greece.

3 Mazaraki (Turk. Mazarak, Gr. Μαζαράκη): district in Thesprotia, northwest Greece. In Ottoman registers often mentioned together with Margariti (Turk. Margaliç, Gr. Μαργαρίτι), which was the administrative center of the *nahiye* [district] of Mazarak. For Ottoman Chameria, see Evangelia Balta, Fehmi Yılmaz, and Filiz Yaşar, "Tsamouria—Nineteenth Century Ottoman Thesprotia," in Björn Forsén (ed.), *Thesprotia Expedition I: Towards a Regional History*, Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens, vol. XV (Helsinki: Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens, 2009), pp. 245–73.

4 After being forcibly expelled by Tepedelenli Ali Pasha in 1804, the Muslim Albanian dynasties of Chameria sought refuge in the Ionian Islands. See Balta, Yılmaz, and Yaşar, "Tsamouria—Nineteenth Century Ottoman Thesprotia," p. 257.

soldiers, a total number of 1,150 soldiers can be recruited. It would not be suitable to appoint a commander or a *mir-i miran*⁵ for these troops from among the beys and aghas or to provide this commander with a salary. Thus, it is necessary that they be employed by imperial orders, which have been issued separately to every bey and agha in the register, demanding their personal participation and a specified number of retainers. In addition, a blank imperial order has been sent to Your Excellency requesting that you appoint a commander of all these troops. It will not be necessary for the Sublime State to provide payment for them; however, should any among them be in poor condition and in need of treatment, Your Excellency is reminded that you may make the necessary expenditures at will. As Your Excellency enjoys great fame and prestige in those regions, their recruitment and transportation should present no difficulty. Should more troops be required, their own districts along the shore will be devoid of soldiers; hence, the specified number will suffice. His Imperial Majesty has again been informed of these conditions, and the ensuing imperial writ was issued: by imperial command, the aforementioned people [beys and aghas of Chameria] are to be appointed, and a blank order for the appointment of a commander will be issued and sent, with a copy of the register book mentioned above attached. In accordance with the imperial orders, the number of soldiers specified will be recruited from the *kazas* in question; a suitable person will be appointed their commander, and all will be rushed to Yusuf Pasha. Those among the soldiers with greater need will be supplied with assistance at your own expense; for this, this letter commands that great care must be taken.

5 *Mir-i miran*: pasha of two horsetails. Viziers were pashas of three horsetails.

[574/50, regarding Agios Efstratios and Athonite metochions on Lemnos]
 To the Castellan of Lemnos¹ [Nurullah Pasha]

October 11, 1821

We have received your correspondence along with the appended documents, including the testimony of Lazkari, a *zimmi* boatman from Lemnos, and submitted them to His Imperial Majesty for review. Accordingly, Your Excellency had sent Lazkari to the island of Agios Efstratios² with a mandate announcing the conditions of the amnesty on the occasion of the distribution of the *jizya* certificates to the infidels of Agios Efstratios. Lazkari then brought back a letter written in Greek, the content of which is in disagreement with his oral report. Your Excellency points out that you sent him in the company of your seal keeper after interrogation, together with the aforementioned letter and the oral report in written form of the *zimmi* named Karakulak, whom you had previously sent to Mount Athos. You request the immediate dispatch of the troops, ammunition, cannoneers, and bombardiers demanded previously and now. We understand from your correspondence that you have detained in Lemnos the offspring and belongings of four skippers and a captain named Rizo, who had escaped from the island and joined the infidel brigands operating on the sea. Moreover, five metochions³ belonging to the Athonite monks were sealed and registered by the court, along with all agricultural tools, crops, and other equipment, while the monks and some of the servants found in the metochions were put in prison. You have appended to your correspondence the relevant register and the court's decree and asked for an imperial decree that indicates the proper course of conduct to be followed in the case of the abovementioned fugitive skippers and on the matter of the metochions. Since, due to its location, the protection of the island of Lemnos is of paramount importance, we will send the cannoneers and the ammunition in a few days. Furthermore, we have received confirmation that five hundred troops ordered from the *sancak* of Karesi⁴ will leave for Lemnos shortly. However, following His Imperial Majesty's imperial writ, we have urged His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Hüdavendigar, to send a mandate expediting the dispatch of these troops. We have also asked the castellan of the Dardanelles to transport these troops to Lemnos at once by any means upon their arrival. Lastly, we passed on to the *kapudana bey*, who is currently in command of the navy,

1 Lemnos (Turk. Limni, Gr. Λήμνος): island in the north Aegean Sea.

2 Agios Efstratios (Turk. Boz Baba, Gr. Άγιος Ευστράτιος): island in the north Aegean Sea, 30 km southwest of Lemnos.

3 Metochion (Turk. Metuh): monastic establishment, usually in the form of a property, subordinate to a larger independent monastery.

4 Karesi: historical province in northwest Anatolia, now Balıkesir.

the intelligence that Lemnos was the obvious target of the rebellious brigands and indicated to him that he should improvise his course of action as necessitated by the future state of affairs. We write this letter to inform you that His Imperial Majesty approved of our suggestions about the other subjects you have brought to our attention. Thus, by the relevant imperial decree, you shall make a register of the estates and belongings of the fugitive and deceased brigand *reaya* and send the register to Istanbul, while keeping their offspring under custody in their hometowns. You shall also keep the Athonite metochions on Lemnos sealed and their priests imprisoned, which you actually did prudently. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to demonstrate your zeal and diligence in carrying out your task and protecting the island.

[574/55, regarding a ban on the oppression of the Serbians]

To the Castellan of Belgrade [Abdürrahim Pasha]

October 11, 1821

According to the dispatch sent by His Excellency Celal Pasha, Governor of Bosnia, following the death of his predecessor, Ali Pasha, certain soldiers publicly executed one or two innocent *reaya* at the marketplace. This action scared many *reaya*, and some fled to the interior of Serbia. Even the Austrian merchants opted to flee, but they were accommodated and cajoled through their dragoman. The governor further reported that the inhabitants [janissaries residing in the castles] of Belgrade and Šabac,¹ and in particular the *sipahis*,² will go to the interior of Serbia, as they did in the past, and arbitrarily torment and oppress the *reaya*. Furthermore, as the dispatch reports, it is heard that they will frighten the *reaya* by spreading false rumors. Also, His Excellency Hüseyin Pasha, Castellan of Niš, reported that in response to the letter he wrote to Milosh [Obrenovich] in order to probe the Serbs' current situation, Milosh stated that he stood firm in his obedience. However, the man who delivered the letter reported that he observed some preparatory measures. From this, as his report suggests, it is obvious that the inhabitants and *sipahis* of Belgrade and Šabac have long been oppressing the Serbian *reaya*; it is also clear that, so long as the *reaya* remain in the circle of obedience, it is unacceptable that they be allowed to suffer any kind of molestation. Therefore, having reached Belgrade, Your Excellency should make concentrated efforts to forbid all activities which defy the imperial will by taking wise measures to prevent any unjust molestation from taking place, lest it prompt the Serbs to rebel and turn to banditry. Having been informed of the situation, and in compliance with this order, you are expected to exert the greatest efforts to this effect. Given the present circumstances, with the Greek infidels causing general unrest and tumult, allowing any other problem to arise would be highly unacceptable. By order of the imperial writ, you shall exert the necessary efforts to ensure that both the inhabitants and soldiers should be forbidden from molesting or assailing the Serbs without cause and also pay attention to the previous orders regarding the Serbs.

1 Šabac (Turk. Böğürdelen, Gr. Σάμπας): town in west Serbia, on the right bank of the Sava River.

2 *Sipahi*: fief-holding cavalryman stationed in the provinces.

[574/58, *regarding the execution of the metropolitan of Larissa*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Trikala [Mahmud Pasha]

October 12, 1821

We have received Your Excellency's communication reporting that, upon receiving the imperial decree, you executed the priest named Polykarpos,¹ who had been deposed from the diocese of Larissa and detained there due to his treason, and sent his severed head [to Istanbul]. We have presented your letter to His Imperial Majesty, and the severed head was tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace]. Henceforth, Your Excellency will without doubt continue in his worthy service and exert himself to take necessary measures.

¹ Polykarpos of Darda: originating from Darda (Albania), he had served as the metropolitan of Larissa since 1811.

[574/61, regarding the sending of decapitated heads]

To the Mutasarrıf of Trikala [Mahmud Pasha]

October 13, 1821

We are now informed about the contents of your dispatch to your agent in Istanbul, in which you mention that you sent the severed heads of four bandits eliminated in the region of Agrafa and inquire whether you should also send [to Istanbul] the heads of the occasionally [captured and executed] rebels. We have presented your letter to His Imperial Majesty, and the severed heads were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace]. As Your Excellency is aware, the purpose is to crush and exterminate those infidels who are in rebellion, not [to display] decapitated heads. Therefore, it is His Imperial Majesty's will that, if the severed heads are very numerous you shall send them, and if not, you shall not send them. Thus, this letter is written to inform you that, God willing, if you succeed in exterminating an abundance of bandits, you shall send their inauspicious severed heads; and if not, you shall not.

[574/63, *regarding instructions after the Battle of Vasilikon*]

To Behram Pasha

October 14, 1821

Due to the defeat¹ suffered at the Fontana Defile, His Excellency the commander-in-chief [Hurşid Pasha] has ordered the *derbend aghas*,² Halil Bey of Lamia, and other functionaries, to move Your Excellency away from the defile. The commander-in-chief therefore dispatched Your Excellency's and the said functionaries' reports. We are informed about the contents of these reports and we have also presented them to His Imperial Majesty. The summary of the excuses and objections in your communication arise from lack of money, supplies, and troops. Due to the financial hardship you suffered, you had requested that your moneylender should send money, upon which he sent you 150,000 piasters. Subsequent to the defeat at the defile, you wrote again about your need for money, supplies, and troops. Consequently, a royal gift of 100,000 piasters was dispatched to you. Ibrahim Bey, former superintendent of Skopje, was appointed commissary officer and sent to your command, having been supplied with credit funds from the fisc. In addition, money was delivered to a special bailiff, who was immediately sent to recruit for your command two thousand salaried soldiers from Gotse Delchev, and Your Excellency has been notified of these developments. His Excellency the *mutasarrıf* of Trikala received a firm imperial order commanding that he send a large number of troops under a commander. Other functionaries were also notified and, where required, admonished. Former grand vizier Seyyid Ali Pasha was made commander-in-chief of the Morea and was ordered to rush there, recruiting soldiers along the way. We have been notified that he is on his way to fulfill his duty. The funds and the commissary officer that you have requested must have arrived by now, as well as the troops from Gotse Delchev. There can thus be no more cause for complaint, and, as long as Your Excellency proves capable of carrying out his service, there is no doubt that our favor and grace will be bestowed upon you. Therefore, you must do your best to fulfill your duty and to compensate for recent losses. That is to say, victory and defeat are matters in the hands of God Almighty—there is no need to be crestfallen or daunted over the previous rout. We expect from you to exert all your power and, having united with other functionaries, proceed and exert every effort in cooperation with His Excellency the governor of the Morea, so that the issue of the previous defeat may be nullified. The commander-in-chief [Seyyid Ali Pasha] is presently on the way; in accordance with the imperial writ, he has been urged

1 Referring to the Battle of Vasilikon. See document 574/16 herein.

2 *Derbend agha* (Gr. *δεσβένας*): official responsible for the safety of mountain passes.

firmly to hasten at once to that region. Moreover, the other functionaries have also been instructed not to allow any discord to develop among themselves, to do their best, loyally and faithfully, to cooperate in complete harmony with Your Excellency, and to proceed as one without delay. The commissary officer, who is currently en route, has been commanded to reach his destination with the utmost haste. The *mutasarrıf* of Trikala has been firmly ordered that the dispatch of the troops he is to send under a commander, as well as the recruitment of the two thousand salaried soldiers from Gotse Delchev, must be hastened. In short, as, on our side, all the necessary measures have been taken, as requested, no idleness on the part of Your Excellency, while you await the arrival of the commander-in-chief of the Morea, is acceptable. As the current situation is without precedent, you shall do the utmost to fulfill your duty, bearing in mind that this is your opportunity to win fame and prestige in the service of religion and state. In accordance with the imperial writ, once you have united with the functionaries and their troops, you shall hasten to march forth. Being both a determined and intrepid character by nature, you are commanded never to relent in your efforts and to march forth immediately, in the company of the functionaries who have been dispatched and all the troops you can muster. You are to unite with the governor of the Morea and, as this letter dictates, to strive to live up to your fame and to fulfill the demands of your office with courage.

[574/64, regarding measures taken after the defeat in the Battle of Vasilikon]
 To His Excellency the Governor of Rumelia Hursid Pasha
 October 14, 1821

As His Excellency Behram Pasha, who was dispatched to the Morea, failed to pass the Fontana Defile and his troops dispersed,¹ Your Excellency has written to the *derbend aghas*, Halil Bey of Lamia, and other functionaries to escort Behram Pasha through the defile. They arrived in Lamia so as to escort him until Tourkochori;² however, the functionaries have informed Your Excellency that, though this course passes through the lowlands up from Lamia, and is easy to follow, Behram Pasha refused to go. As the letters of the functionaries and that of Behram Pasha manifest, this is a matter to be resolved. Also, all these reports were presented to His Imperial Majesty. The summary of the excuses and objections in Behram Pasha's communication arise from lack of money, supplies, and soldiers. Indeed, on top of the recent defeat, and given the well-known disposition of soldiers of our times and their insufficient numbers, Behram Pasha has an excuse for not being able to march forth, as long as the soldiers do not get paid. Although the other functionaries put the blame entirely on Behram Pasha, they were not able to muster enough soldiers for their command either, and their fault is apparent. In any event, with the help of God Almighty, until the arrival of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, Seyyid Ali Pasha, with an abundance of troops, there is no other solution but marching forth with the present soldiers. Behram Pasha's main complaint is that he had neither funds, nor a commissary officer. Nonetheless, his moneylender has sent 150,000 piasters, and another 100,000 were provided as a royal gift, bringing the total to five hundred purses of piasters. The former superintendent [*nâzir*] of Skopje, Ibrahim Bey, was appointed commissary officer, and an officer was immediately dispatched with money for the recruitment and transfer of two thousand salaried soldiers from Gotse Delchev. In addition, an imperial order was issued and sent to facilitate the transfer of a large number of soldiers by the *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala, Mahmut Pasha, along with their commander. Behram Pasha had already been informed of these matters, while the other functionaries received their instructions respectively. The money will arrive shortly, as will the commissary officer and the troops from Gotse Delchev. Hopefully, news of the appointment of a new commander-in-chief will encourage Behram Pasha to overcome his problems and strive to exert his best efforts shortly. We have sent a firm letter to him, notifying him

1 Referring to the Battle of Vasilikon. See documents 574/16 and 574/63 herein.

2 Tourkochori (Turk. Esedabad, Gr. Τουρκοχώρι Φθιώτιδας): now extinct village at the end of the Fontana Defile.

about the abovementioned precautions and informing him that, as long as he proves capable of carrying out his service, he will be provided with the necessary aid. His Excellency should not lose his fighting spirit in the course of his duty. He should strive to demonstrate the necessary courage for which he is famed and march forth as soon as possible with the soldiers he can muster, as, with the help of God, the arrival of the commander-in-chief of the Morea with a large number of soldiers is imminent. Moreover, the other functionaries have also been instructed not to allow any discord to develop among themselves, to cooperate in complete harmony with His Excellency, to work loyally and faithfully for religion and state, and to accomplish their duty without delay. We thus inform Your Excellency with this letter about our communication with Behram Pasha and expect you to exert your best efforts to fulfill your duty.

[574/65, *regarding the advance of the new commander-in-chief to the Morea*
To the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea [Seyyid Ali Pasha]

October 14, 1821

By His Imperial Majesty's decree, we have indicated in detail to Your Excellency time and again that it was His Imperial Majesty's ultimate demand that you reach your assigned post immediately in your capacity as the commander-in-chief of the Morea and send a large force in advance on your way. While we trust that you will not give us any reason to reiterate your instructions, His Imperial Majesty has recently ordered us to expedite Your Excellency's march at the urgings of Hurşid Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of Ioannina. His recent correspondence relates the news from Behram Pasha that he could not assume his assigned duty in the Morea, because of his failure to pass the Fontana Defile, and that he was forced to sit idly outside the town of Lamia with many other units stuck there. Hurşid Pasha deems it imperative to settle this matter immediately. When we brought the matter to his royal attention, His Imperial Majesty ordered us to tell Your Excellency to make a quick march. We would like to remind you of the critical importance of your duty at this particular moment when the imperial navy has just arrived in the Morea. It would be rather redundant to point out to Your Excellency that it is now the right time to rush to the Morea and assume your duties there. We have no doubt that Your Excellency will spare no effort to fulfill your instructions by rushing to the Morea faithfully.

[574/74, *regarding the suppression of the uprising in Samothrace*]

To the Castellan of the Dardanelles [Mehmed Pasha]

October 15, 1821

We have received your communication containing the account of the capture of Samothrace¹ with the assistance and grace of God and divine fortune of His Imperial Majesty; and the dispatch of the prisoners, heads, and ears taken during the battle with Your Excellency's treasurer. You also report that you are about to send three captured ships [to Istanbul]. Praise be to God, your success in capturing the island is cause for pleasure and commendation. We presented your communication to His Imperial Majesty, who was pleased and proclaimed in his imperial rescript: "Well done, Mehmed Pasha, be prosperous! He is an assiduous man!" The heads and ears were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace]. Your Excellency is one of the Sublime Sultanate's brave, indefatigable, and loyal viziers, and without doubt you will continue to exert yourself to provide your services to [our] religion and state without further recommendations or reminders. Henceforth you shall strive to outshine your peers and prove the value of your services, thereby increasing the recognition shown toward you.

¹ Samothrace (Turk. Semadirek, Gr. Σαμοθράκη): island in the northern Aegean Sea.

[574/81, regarding the confiscation of Fanariot property]

From the Deputy Grand Vizier [Mehmed Seyda Efendi] to His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha

October 16, 1821

Following the detention of Hourmouzaki's mother, Mourouzis's middle son, and Dimitri's wife in the Patriarchate, the imperial chief accountant had informed my predecessor that Your Excellency had written that the protection of the detainees' waterside residence in Tarabya¹ would prove difficult.² By official order, the task of compiling an inventory of their household effects was assigned to the imperial chief accountant, who, accordingly, drew up a list of the existing belongings and presented a register, along with a memorandum. The memorandum was presented to His Imperial Majesty, who wrote his imperial rescript on top of it. For Your Excellency's consideration, we sent you the imperial rescript, together with the annulled memorandum [i.e. due to the sultan's decision], and the petition for mercy written by the women detained in the Patriarchate, requesting their release so that they could reside in their home. The recorded possessions are endless. Although we have considered returning these belongings to these women and releasing them, we would like Your Excellency to report his opinion as to whether it is appropriate or not to release them and allow them to reside in their home based on their petition.

¹ Tarabya (Gr. Θερραπειά): district on the Bosphorus.

² The people in question were apparently members of Fanariot dynasties. Confiscation of the Fanariots' property was common practice, especially in the first year of the Greek Revolution.

[574/84, *regarding the deployment of Geg Albanian troops*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha Bushati]

October 17, 1821

Though Your Excellency was assigned to repress the brigand *reaya* in the region between Ioannina and the Morea, for several reasons it is not permissible for you to depart from the region. You mention that you have received our letter regarding the deployment of a large number of troops from the *sancaks* of Ohrid and Elbasan and as many as could be mustered from the *sancak* of Shkodër, under an equally able commander, as well as the transfer of the artillery battalion and the cannons that had been sent there under the supervision of a commander. You replied that the said soldiers and the artillery battalion which remained in Ohrid will be dispatched shortly. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us and we have submitted it to His Imperial Majesty for review. As Your Excellency is aware, this is a matter which can be compared to no other; it is a matter of religion. Hence, it is compulsory that all functionaries strive to fulfill their duty. Sluggishness and undisciplined behavior are obviously inappropriate and a violation of imperial orders. Although Your Excellency has written that you will dispatch numerous soldiers from the abovementioned three districts, as well as the artillery battalion under an able commander, it is necessary that you send these troops immediately, fulfilling your duties and serving the religion and the Sublime State. You shall not permit any indolence. Your Excellency is expected to fulfill the aforementioned tasks and exert your best efforts, proving your assiduousness and intelligence.

[574/86, *regarding the execution of Ioannis Kallimaki*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Kayseri [Hüseyn Pasha]

October 17, 1821

The former Dragoman of the Porte, Yanko [Ioannis] Kallimaki, upon discovery of his wrongdoing, was exiled to Kayseri in compliance with an imperial order. His scribe, Istefanaki, and his chief orderly, Yorgi [Yorgos], were also discovered to be complicit in the sedition that has since taken place in Kayseri.¹ An imperial writ has been issued for their execution, and the necessary order was sent to Your Excellency in secret. Hence, Your Excellency shall execute the aforementioned former dragoman of the Porte, Yanko, his scribe, Istefanaki, and his chief orderly, Yorgi, and send their heads to Istanbul. You shall make an inventory of all of their possessions with the help of the court and send them here along with the ledger.

- 1 The sedition referred to in this document took place in June 1821, when the people of Kayseri received an imperial order to finance and dispatch five hundred soldiers to Rumelia. Some locals who gathered around a certain Akbıynkoğlu Deli Hasan raided the houses of several officials and killed Mehmed Zahid Efendi, a notable of the town. It seems that the upheaval lasted until September. It also appears that Mahmud II ordered the execution of Ioannis Kallimaki and his retinue arbitrarily, based on hearsay, as part of the Ottoman state's policy of eliminating Greek communal leadership. See Mahmud II's imperial rescript (BOA/HAT 45860): "I hear that the former dragoman of the Porte, Yanko Kallimaki, his scribe, Istefanaki, and his chief orderly, Yorgi, are involved in the sedition in Kayseri. It is well known that he is a mischief-maker. If there is no harm in their execution, I say let there be three fewer mischief-makers. Discuss the issue with your deputy and the *reis efendi* in secret and inform me."

[574/88, *regarding mercenary deployment from Rumelia*]

*To the Chief Equerry Ibrahim Agha, commissioned to draw soldiers
October 18, 1821*

We have received your communication relating that you have reached Edirne and conferred with the *mutasarrıf* of Ormenio [Salih Pasha] regarding the preparations for the dispatch of soldiers to Ioannina; and that the orders are to be sent to Plovdiv,¹ Serres, Skopje, and Sofia² in order to hasten [the muster and dispatch of soldiers]; and that the infantry soldiers dispatched to the Morea by the *mutasarrıf* of Ormenio were paid a monthly salary of 35 piasters, and the cavalry soldiers were paid 45 piasters. You assert that, if the soldiers you have been commissioned to muster were to receive the same pay, the sum would reach up to 150,000 piasters. In addition, you have considered mustering a reserve unit of two hundred cavalry soldiers; however, this caused discrepancies in the calculation of costs. Finally, you maintain that two thousand salaried fine troops would be sufficient and ask whether the abovementioned cavalry should be recruited or not. We have taken your question under consideration and presented it before His Imperial Majesty. There is no need for cavalry in Ioannina. Infantry soldiers should be enlisted and dispatched at once, in accordance with the dictates of the imperial writ.

¹ Plovdiv (Turk. Filibe, Gr. Φιλιππούπολη): town in south-central Bulgaria.

² Sofia (Turk. Sofya, Gr. Σόφια): town in west-central Bulgaria, now the Bulgarian capital.

[574/90, *regarding the Greek hostages and mercenary deployment on Chios*
To the Castellan of Chios [Vahid Pasha]

October 18, 1821

Although Ilyaszade Ilyas Agha, *Mütesellim* of the *sancak* of Sığla, has been assigned to your command at the head of one thousand soldiers, we were informed by knowledgeable people that the Castle of Chios was formerly protected by two to four thousand soldiers. Currently, Your Excellency's retinue and the Muslims of Chios who are able to fight number only around one thousand and are therefore not sufficient enough to protect the castle properly if need be. Thus, the [Muslim] notables of the island asserted that, in addition to the soldiers under Ilyaszade, three thousand fine troops should be dispatched under an able commander and should be equipped with the necessary supplies. You state that such a large number of soldiers, however, would necessitate provisions and other supplies, to be provided either by their regions [of origin] or the state; moreover, it would spread fear among the *reaya* and exacerbate the problem. Therefore, you have considered that two thousand fine salaried troops would be sufficient and stated that their exact number depends of His Imperial Majesty's decision. We have also been made aware that the metropolitan of Chios, several *kocabaşıs*, and forty-four individuals were taken hostage and held at the castle. They declare that, since then, they have been estranged from their families and out of work. Asking for forgiveness, they pleaded with Your Excellency either to be freed or to be exchanged with an equal number of people from among the reputable merchants and individuals of the island. According to the plea signed by all [Muslim notables], it was decided that one *kocabaşı* and five individuals would be allowed to visit their homes for a night or two, and, upon their return to the castle, another *kocabaşı* and five merchants could go to their homes, and so on, in that order. Your Excellency's report, indicating that the remaining prisoners also wish to be allowed this and that an order must be issued in regard to this matter, has been taken into consideration. The Chiot *reaya* residing in Istanbul also presented a petition,¹ proclaiming their loyalty and honesty and describing the misery of those merchants and the *reaya* in the Castle of Chios, which is made worse by the fact that they pay the soldiers a hefty wage. They begged for mercy and requested the release of the hostages in the castle and their protection from harm, claiming that, as they have all stood bail upon their life and properties, not a single man among the *reaya* of Chios would commit an act offensive to the state. Based on your report, it is clear that a large number of soldiers will be necessary for the protection of Chios, and salaried soldiers would suit

¹ See also documents 573/200 and 574/322 herein.

this purpose; however, the recruitment of two thousand soldiers would be extremely costly, and, as the state would find it difficult to pay, it would fall to the *reaya* of Chios to do so. Yet they too would be unable to pay this sum, currently already paying each soldier 2 to 3 piasters daily. Therefore, as the one thousand soldiers under Ilyaszade are not the kind that disperse [easily], it is pointless to gather so large [an additional] number of soldiers, particularly as there are no signs of a possible uprising among the *reaya* of Chios. As the Chiots here have also presented a petition and pleaded for mercy under surety and promise, Ilyaszade's one thousand soldiers, together with your retinue and the [Muslim] inhabitants of Chios, seem sufficient for now. If the soldiers currently present there should be given a 40-piaster salary like the mercenaries [*sekban*], the wages paid daily to the soldiers violate the limits of fairness, considering the food shortages on the island. Your Excellency should dismiss the existing soldiers who became accustomed to receiving 3 piasters daily and instead pay the one thousand soldiers delivered by Ilyaszade 30—maximum 40—piasters each per month. You should cease to pay the existing soldiers daily wages, saying: "Here are your 40 piasters a month, take it or leave it!" As it is unbearable to provide the number of soldiers you requested, we discussed and considered in the Imperial Council that you should proceed to negotiate these matters with the [Muslim] notables of the island and find an effective solution to the problem. His Imperial Majesty's will is also in conformity with this opinion. We have attached the Chiots' petition to this letter, and Your Excellency shall negotiate with the notables of the island, so that this matter may be dealt with properly.

Postscript: As you wrote to request permission, there is no problem with the arrangement concerning the hostages in the castle. However, while the rest, by this imperial order, may be exchanged with other individuals, the metropolitan of Chios must not be permitted to exit the castle. Your Excellency is expected, in any event, to demonstrate your innate powers of understanding in the fulfillment of your duty and to implement the necessary measures to ensure security.

[574/92, *regarding sending aid to Crete*]

*To the Castellans of Chania*¹ [Lütfullah Pasha], *Irakleio* [Mehmed Şerif Pasha], and *Rethymno*² [Osman Pasha], *to be sent separately in an abridged version*

October 19, 1821

We have received your letter mentioning the lack of perseverance and cowardice of the [Muslim] inhabitants of Crete, as well as the shortage of ammunition and food supplies, and presented it to His Imperial Majesty. You request the rapid dispatch of around four thousand soldiers from the assigned places, an artillery regiment with some ammunition, and a large supply of food. The subjugation and destruction of the infidels who unfurled the flag of rebellion on the island of Crete and the protection of such an impregnable and formidable an island as Crete from the entrapment of the enemy constitute an incumbent duty on the Sublime State. However, as pirates have set sail in the Mediterranean and attack every ship they come across, it seems difficult to send soldiers, ammunition, and supplies for the relief of the island. On the other hand, as it is not permissible to leave Crete in its present condition, the delivery of soldiers, supplies, and ammunition by any means available had previously been assigned to the Governor of Egypt, His Excellency Mehmed Ali Pasha. The relevant imperial writ was conveyed, and Mehmed Ali Pasha responded that he had sent without a moment's delay supplies to Crete aboard two *müstemen* ships; and he is about to dispatch the soldiers he had prepared as a precaution in Alexandria under the command of Hasan Pasha, former castellan of Mecca, along with an abundance of munitions. Since the dispatch of these ships depends on the escort of battleships, he demanded the attendance of several ships from the imperial navy. However, the entire imperial navy is now en route to the Morea, and the season is favorable to achieve the desired results. Thus, the commander of the imperial navy, the *kapudana bey*, was ordered to send ships to Egypt after the stabilization of the situation in the Morea, by the grace of God. Regardless, however, of whether these ships arrive or not, the governor of Egypt was ordered to aid Crete by finding some way to deliver the supplies, soldiers, and the necessary ammunition on *müstemen* ships. Furthermore, as the port of Izmir is a hub of information, the castellan of Izmir was ordered to obtain information about the condition of the waters surrounding Crete and the traffic of the pirate ships, as well as to find a way to deliver some soldiers from Izmir to Crete aboard Muslim merchant ships. With the arrival of the soldiers sent by the governor of Egypt and the ones

1 Chania (Turk. Hanya, Gr. Χανιά): town and province in west Crete.

2 Rethymno (Turk. Resmo, Gr. Ρέθυμνο): town and province in west Crete.

who, if possible, are to be sent from Izmir, the disturbance in the Morea will, God allowing, be terminated. With the advent of the imperial navy through the [Aegean] islands, those rebellious infidels of Crete will thus receive their due punishment, by the grace of God. The governor of Egypt will without doubt deliver more soldiers, ammunition, and supplies, in addition to those he has already sent. Therefore, you should be free of angst and should take the necessary measures to destroy and subjugate the rebellious infidels with bold and decisive actions, thus attaining victory and salvation both in this life and the next.

[574/94, *regarding the uprising in Crete*]

To the Kapudana Bey

October 19, 1821

The banditry and rebellion of the Spetsiot and Hydriot infidels have spread to the *reaya* of Sfakia¹ in Crete. The Sfakiotes attacked the districts of Apokoronos,² Agios Vasilios,³ and Rethymno and dared to engage in battle with the Muslims. They were joined by eight thousand more rebel *reaya* from the *sancaks* of Irakleio, Chania, and Rethymno. Though Muslim soldiers were gathered to crush the rebellious enemies of religion, due to the known cowardice of [Muslim] Cretans, the soldiers dispatched from Chania did not attack the enemy and turned back. Furthermore, a number of halfhearted folks, although assembled for jihad, diverted their attention to the *reaya* inside Irakleio and persecuted them. In turn, the infidels, taking heart, attacked the villages and dared to cut off Irakleio's water supply. The castellan of Irakleio [Mehmed Şerif Pasha] and the Castellan of Rethymno, Osman Pasha, had written for the immediate dispatch of munition and soldiers for the relief of the island. Although it is necessary to crush the infidels of Crete for their rebellion, it is clear from their reports that they are unable to confront the enemy. It is not permissible to abandon to its fate such an impregnable and formidable an island as Crete, which took twenty-seven years and the lives of countless Muslims to conquer. However, as the danger posed by the [Greek] pirate vessels prowling through the Mediterranean has not yet been averted, it was impossible to devise a way to supply the island quickly with the necessary soldiers, provisions, and other materials. In response to the situation, His Imperial Majesty had issued an imperial writ assigning His Excellency the governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha] with the task of rescuing Crete by any means in his power. In his turn, His Excellency promptly sent two *müstemen* ships loaded with grain to the island and amassed a considerable number of soldiers and ammunition in Alexandria, under the command of Hasan Pasha, former castellan of Mecca. As transportation of these soldiers will require a warship escort, His Excellency has stated that if his own ships, currently with the imperial navy, in addition to two detached frigates from the imperial fleet itself, could be sent to him, he would be able to begin transporting soldiers from Alexandria to Crete immediately. He also advised that the port of Sfakia be captured and secured, as it is clear that the [Greek] pirates will support the rebels there. The governor proposes that ships from the Barbary Regencies be

1 Sfakia (Turk. İsfakya, Gr. Σφακιά): district in southwest Crete.

2 Apokoronos (Turk. Abkoron, Gr. Αποκόρωνος): town in northwest Crete.

3 Agios Vasilios (Turk. Ayvasil, Gr. Άγιος Βασίλειος): village and district in southwest Crete.

summoned, together with the warships mentioned above, to secure the waters around the island. Other reports, coming from His Excellency Lütfullah Pasha, Castellan of Chania, also stress the need for soldiers and grain. However, as the imperial navy is currently operating along the coast of the Morea and its condition is unknown, detaching ships runs the risk of causing panic among the officers posted there and could disrupt the precautions taken by Your Excellency. Operations in the Morea continue to be of the highest priority, and the season favors the cooperation of the army and the navy on the Moreot front. Still, it is unthinkable that Crete be left to its fate; yet the dispatch of the ships requested by His Excellency the governor of Egypt depends on the stabilization of the issue in the Morea, with the help of God Almighty. Therefore, should the fleet under your command successfully complete its current operations and sail back to the Archipelago, you are to send the requested ships. As the relay of orders always requires some time, we are informing you of this possible course of action beforehand, so that when the time comes you will delay no further. As you are a loyal servant of the Sublime State, we leave the deployment of the Egyptian and Algerian ships to your judgement, as well as the choice of whether to detach two additional frigates. You shall not neglect the operations in the Morea, but, upon their completion, send the required ships to Alexandria.

[574/98, *regarding concerns about a war with Russia and preparations in Moldowallachia*]

To the Governor of Silistra [Benderli Mehmed Selim Pasha]

October 19, 1821

We have received your correspondence and submitted it to His Imperial Majesty for review, along with the dispatch from Mustafa Pasha, *Mütesellim* of Ruse,¹ which is also on the subject of troop deployment. You point out that, contrary to previous hearsay, Russia has not made substantial military preparations and it maintains an air of tranquility. The rumors have it that the monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia would meet in Vienna for negotiations in late September [according to the Rumi calendar]. You also inform us that His Excellency Salih Pasha, the commander of the vanguard troops in Moldavia, had written to you, asking whether he should send back twenty pieces of artillery, along with their ammunition at his disposal in Moldavia, as he did not have enough troops to protect them. You thus plead with us to send an imperial decree on the proper course of action to follow on this matter. Furthermore, you reiterate the past imperial order to the effect that roughly 11,300 men raised in Anatolia to be deployed in Wallachia and Moldavia in wintertime should gather at Babadag and Ruse for crossing at once into Moldavia and Wallachia, respectively. In your opinion, keeping them in Ruse until they all arrive will prove difficult in terms of lodging and subsistence, the danger of desertion notwithstanding. You alternatively suggest in your correspondence ferrying over the troops to Wallachia as they arrive at separate times and stationing them in suitable villages. Salih Pasha also communicated to us the shortage of men in Moldavia and his idea of returning the artillery pieces. He obliquely proposed to relocate his forces to Focșani or Brăila for wintertime in order to avoid the hazardous winter weather in an open country such as Moldavia. Apart from this matter, Hakkı Pasha, Castellan of Giurgiu, communicated to us that he had hired salaried troops, some of which he deployed in the garrison of Giurgiu, while sending the rest to Bucharest under the command of his brother. He asked for clarification if he should disband them since winter was approaching and requested the relocation to Giurgiu of two hundred men presently in Ruse, whom the castellan of Vidin had sent from among the force of five hundred men recruited from Veliko Trnovo. In our opinion, Russia remains silent not so much for honoring the peace treaty with the Sublime Porte as for waiting for the right moment to do its mischief. This explains why the rumors that Russia would declare war on us in mid-August [Rumi calendar] turned out to be false. Although slain and subjugated in great numbers, Greek

¹ Ruse (Tr. Rusçuk, Gr. Ρούσε): town in northeast Bulgaria.

infidels still resist by saying: "We will not settle down until we gain autonomy," solely due to their reliance on Russia. We are never safe and secure from the Muscovites, particularly not this winter. The current state of affairs tolerates no slackness in the handling of our matters. It is obvious that it would be unwise to return the artillery pieces from Iași and relocate Salih Pasha to Focșani and Brăila. We assume that he came up with the suggestion above only because the boyars of Moldavia, pretending sincerity, had deceived and scared him when he was highly concerned over the lack of funds and troops. However, you have already communicated to us that you had sent three thousand troops out of five thousand to Moldavia in addition to the forces currently assembled there, and that the remaining two thousand would also leave for Moldavia at a later date. Winter troops, recruited in Anatolia, will go as well. In addition, we had already sent him 25,000 piasters as a royal gift, while advising him to use the supplies stored by His Excellency Yusuf Pasha, former castellan of Brăila, in wells and pits. Thus, he should not suffer from shortages of men, supplies, and funds for the time being. We have suggested that Salih Pasha persevere in his post, since the return of the artillery train would signal the accomplishment of the mission to the troops, who would then abandon their assigned posts as well. Besides, Iași and its environs are not suitable for troop concentration and maintenance either. Previously, we had suggested the concentration of the winter troops in Babadag and Ruse to ferry over to Moldavia and Wallachia, respectively, due to certain concerns about the intentions of the Russians. However, the town of Ruse is too small as a gathering place for all the arriving troops, and it will be hard for the locals to accommodate and feed them all. Moreover, a large number of troops is needed in Moldavia presently. We have agreed that henceforth the winter troops arriving in Ruse are to be sent straight to Moldavia, along with their muster rolls. We have also suggested to His Imperial Majesty granting Your Excellency full authority over such issues in recognition of your tenacity and prudence. You will surely deal with all matters with regard to prevailing circumstances, and, owing to your full comprehension of local affairs as commander-in-chief, we deem it appropriate that all the castellans and other authorities should demand your instructions for the proper conduct of affairs. As His Imperial Majesty approved all of the above suggestions, we have informed His Excellency Salih Pasha, other castellans, and servants of ours of these orders. In addition, we have also communicated to the castellan of Guirgiu that he will receive funds later as compensation for the salaried troops he hired and that he should refer to Your Excellency for a final decision on the matter of transferring the two hundred Veliko Trnovo troops from Ruse to Giurgiu. We ask of you by this letter to continue your diligent and devoted service.

[574/106, *regarding claims for receivables of foreign nationals from Greeks*]
To the Castellans of Izmir, the Dardanelles, Chios, Kos,¹ and Lemnos;
the Mutasarrıfs of Ormenio and Rhodes; the Mütesellim of Thessaloniki;
the Tax Collector of Cyprus; the Castellan and Superintendent of Lesvos
October 25, 1821

The subjects of foreign states have been petitioning through the ambassadors of friendly states to claim their receivables from the *reaya*, who, following the sedition and uprising that broke out among the Greek *millet*, either fled from some of the domains of the Sublime State to join the intriguers, or were executed for their sedition, or simply fled out of fear. Letters were given to the claimants, informing them that, if found plausible, their claims will be investigated locally, and they will be helped [by the state] to collect their receivables at the proper time. The foreigners' claims from the infidels whose shops and belongings were sealed and/or seized after they fled or perished is a matter to be evaluated in due time and dealt with accordingly. However, this does not mean that, notwithstanding the use of the term 'at the proper time,' the cases should be settled right away; nor is it appropriate to provide foreign states with a pretext [to intervene]. Therefore, if a subject of a friendly state should issue a claim from the infidels who either fled or are deceased, Your Excellency should remain noncommittal and declare that: "At this point, the situation of the belongings of those *reaya* upon whom claims are put forward has not become clear. Even though their shops and stores have been sealed, the cases will be settled by imperial orders, which will be issued after the claimant proves that the goods belong to him and declares the amount of assets and liabilities in a letter addressed to the Sublime State. It is our duty, and the wish of the Sublime State, to protect the subjects and merchants of all states friendly to the Sublime State from any loss or expense. When the proper time comes, we will assist you in this way or that." Deploying the arguments above, you shall wisely silence the claimant and make sure that the matter is not brought here. [Unclear sentence.] Thus, should another claim or petition be made against the executed or runaway infidels under your jurisdiction, you are expected to work politely and wisely to postpone the matter. If you receive a letter from us regarding such claims, you are to appease and silence the claimant with friendly behavior until the appropriate time comes and prevent further complaints.

1 Kos (Turk. İstanköy, Gr. Κως): one of the Dodecanese Islands in the southeast Aegean Sea, opposite Bodrum, Turkey.

[574/114, regarding the situation in the Morea and the relief aid to be sent there]

To the Commander-in-Chief of Ioannina [Hurşid Pasha]

October 29, 1821

We have closely reviewed your memorandum and the reports sent to Your Excellency by Yusuf Pasha of Serres, the *kapudana bey*, and the captain of the musketeers at Patras, which you forwarded to us. We have brought them to His Imperial Majesty's attention as well. We understand from their reports that Tripolitsa and its vicinity are in a dire situation due to the revolt of the rebellious infidels, and that His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, Governor of the Morea, is stuck at Thebes, and his arrival at his post overland through the Defile of the Morea [the Isthmus of Corinth] has become difficult.¹ Currently, the imperial navy has moored off the Bay of Patras, and, with the desire to score some success before the sailing season is over, the aforementioned authorities and naval officers have made a decision to transfer the governor of the Morea and his troops from the ports of Livadeia and Galaxidi to the Morea aboard a joint fleet of thirty-three imperial, Egyptian, and Algerian vessels. The fleet sailed on the 2nd day of the month of *Muharrem* [September 29, 1821] under the command of the *riyala bey* with Yusuf Pasha of Serres onboard along with two thousand fine troops. Lastly, in his reports the *kapudana bey* conveyed his concern that with the approach of wintertime and the beginning of winter storms, it is dangerous to stay for another five to ten days at the Bay of Patras, as it is an open anchorage with no shelter. As he requested permission to leave for the base, you advised against his suggestion, pointing out to him that the arrival of the imperial navy has caused fear in the infidels of both the Morea and Ioannina, and, if the imperial navy leaves with the pretext of winter, this would only strengthen the position of the infidels and lead to the loss of the Morea. You also mention in your correspondence the shortage of ammunition in your army and

1 Tripolitsa had actually fallen on October 5, two weeks before this communication was penned. Ottoman functionaries, especially Yusuf Pasha of Serres, blamed Elmas Meçe, Tepedelenli Ali Pasha's former chief orderly [*kapuçukadar*] and chief of the Albanian contingent that was sent to guard Tripolitsa, for the fall of the fortified town and the ensuing massacre of the Muslims. See Yusuf Pasha to the Sublime Porte, January 9, 1822, BOA/HAT 38842. For Elmas Meçe, see document 574/271 herein. Foreign diplomats expected serious crowd action in Istanbul against the Greek populace when the news of the massacre arrived. However, the Sublime Porte contented itself with the execution of twenty insurgents captured in Moldowallachia [Strangford to Castlereagh, 10 November 1821, TNA/FO 78-102/6]. Mob violence ended promptly after the British ambassador Strangford's insistent representations to the Sublime Porte [Strangford to Castlereagh, 26 November 1821, TNA/FO 78-102/16]. The fall of Tripolitsa proved to be a major turning point in the fortunes of the Greek Revolution for changing the revolutionaries' cause into a realizable prospect.

the lack of funds for purchasing provisions, indicating that you had paid for the grain bought from Lefkada for the garrisons of Arta, Preveza, Parga, and other castles, and there is need to make further grain purchases in the future for these garrisons. Lastly, you request us to ship gunpowder and musket cartridges for the Ioannina army and cash funds to your commissary officer. You also state that either of the two options—keeping or withdrawing the imperial navy in wintertime—carries risks and raises a challenge. You report that the troops have been in the region for a long while, most of them have been sick, and some have died; moreover, that there is a lack of munitions, and that all these issues have to be settled. The imperial navy burned or captured some of the infidel boats at Galaxidi and disembarked troops on land. In the meantime, Yusuf Pasha has made it there, and the [joint] forces razed the dwellings and stores to the ground, crushed many infidels, and transferred the Muslim captives they rescued to Patras. The *kapudana bey* took the imperial navy from Zakynthos to the Dardanelles to make good the deficiencies. At this point, the *kapudana bey* and the commanders of the Egyptian and Algerian fleets are ordered to come immediately to Istanbul overland on our invitation in order to negotiate the situation and oversee the replenishment of naval supplies. We have not yet decided on the future mission of the navy, but we will keep you informed about the prospective operations. Apart from this, we are about to dispatch the gunpowder and musket cartridges you requested for the Ioannina army, in the same quantity as sent in the past by imperial order. As for the matter of provisions, we had previously procured for the commissary officer supplies in sufficient quantities from the royal farms in that vicinity. We have lately received and honored the bill of exchange worth 100,000 piasters delivered by him and forwarded him an additional three hundred purses of piasters. We ask of you by this letter to demonstrate your diligence and loyalty by keeping us informed as much as possible about the whereabouts and operations of Your Excellency, as well as of Yusuf Pasha and the governor of the Morea.

[574/129, regarding the instructions to relieve the Morea]

To the Governor of Sivas [Süleyman Pasha]

November 1, 1821

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you relate that you arrived in Lamia, as commanded, to join His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, the Governor of the Morea, and have at the same time begun to gather serviceable soldiers. You report about His Excellency Behram Pasha's undesirable conduct regarding several issues. You also relate that, with the help of God, you will march at once on the Defile [of Fontana] together with the soldiers you are currently gathering. The fact that you have taken the necessary steps to fulfill your duty is highly pleasing. Your Excellency's duty assignment is to meet with the governor of the Morea and to demonstrate to the brigands the might of Islam and the fervor with which it is defended. According to your correspondence, it is clear that the soldiers you have been recruiting must have reached a good number. It is imperative that Your Excellency ignores the words and deeds of others and aspires to be worthy of the blessings of His Imperial Majesty and worthy of praise, by completing your mission immediately and by demonstrating courage and honor in the endeavor. In striving to do so with honor, Your Excellency shall join the governor of the Morea without a moment's delay. You are to be quick and ardent when exacting revenge and defending those Muslims in the Morea who have been besieged by the infidels, thus attaining victory and salvation in this life and the next.

[574/140, *regarding instructions for troop deployment*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha Bushati]

November 7, 1821

Your Excellency reports that you have received our letter regarding the shift in your assignment by imperial order, requiring you to dispatch an abundance of troops under the command of an equally competent commander, and not in person, in order to crush the *reaya* who rebelled in the area between Ioannina and the Morea. You state that you will act in compliance with the imperial writ. However, the task at hand requires a great many soldiers, and, according to the last report, the number of soldiers you will dispatch does not suffice. As this task would be undertaken in defense of the faith, it cannot be compared to any other; thus, [your] reports stressing the scarcity of troops and the enormity of the task at hand run counter to the imperial will. Your Excellency will no doubt think about this issue thoroughly. If you have been unable to date to send the soldiers in question, you must now demonstrate resolve and, without a moment's hesitation, proceed to dispatch the troops under the command of an equally competent commander.

[574/144, regarding the condition of the troops in the region of Thessaloniki]
 To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

November 10, 1821

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you relate that you marched against the rebellious *reaya*, as your duty dictated, seven days after your arrival in Thessaloniki. It was not, however, possible for you to recruit the requisite number of soldiers from the boroughs. You also report that under Yusuf Bey, *Mütesellim* of Thessaloniki, there are only eight to nine hundred soldiers, most of whom are sick. Your Excellency implies that there are many available soldiers in the region of Thessaloniki; however, the district is not under your jurisdiction, and thus your orders are without influence. You report that you have recruited over two thousand salaried soldiers through the functionaries you sent around and that you borrowed money from some moneylenders. Thus, you request further authority. We have also received the letter of the *mütesellim* of Thessaloniki regarding the condition of the soldiers under his command and presented all these reports and letters for His Imperial Majesty's review. It is a priority to crush the infidels who raised the standard of rebellion in the Thessaloniki area and to cleanse the region from their filth, and we expect Your Excellency to serve the religion and state bravely and selflessly. In response to the issues raised in your letter, Your Excellency has been appointed [governor of] Thessaloniki and Kavala¹ and granted a royal bonus of 50,000 piasters, which has been dispatched in cash. Your Excellency is expected to exert your best efforts, rendering great services, which will doubtless earn you glory.

1 Kavala (Turk. Kavala, Gr. Καβάλα): coastal town in northeast Greek.

[574/146, regarding instructions to relieve the Morea]

To Ahmed Erib Pasha,¹ former Deputy Grand Vizier, now Governor of Niğde with the rank of vizier

November 10, 1821

As is known to Your Excellency, the subjugation and destruction of the infidels who unfurled the standard of rebellion in the Morea is incumbent on the employment of an abundance of soldiers and on the service of loyal, zealous, diligent, and brave people. Since Your Excellency is among His Imperial Majesty's servants renowned for your diligence in defense of religion and the Sublime State, you have been appointed by an imperial rescript to govern the *sancaks* of Niğde, Kırşehir, and Beyşehir.² You are to recruit as many soldiers as you can and thence join the forces of the commander-in-chief of the Morea. Thereafter, should an opportunity arise, you will be assigned to a better office. Thus, you shall demonstrate the diligence and loyalty expected of you.

¹ Seyyid Ahmed Erib Efendi was the superintendent of the imperial arsenal until he was appointed deputy grand vizier in April 1821. In October 1821 he was made a vizier (pasha of three horsetails) and dispatched to the Morea. According to the British ambassador Lord Strangford, Ahmed Erib had opposed Halet Efendi, the sultan's favorite, who got rid of him by removing him from Istanbul.

² Niğde, Kırşehir, and Beyşehir: towns in central Anatolia.

[574/148, regarding the execution of Ioannis Kallimaki and his retinue]
To the Mutasarrıf of Kayseri [Hüseyn Pasha]

November 10, 1821

We have received your letter containing information about Yanko [Ioannis] Kallimaki, former Dragoman of the Porte, his scribe [Istefanaki], and his chief orderly, Yorgi [Yorgos], who had previously been exiled to Kayseri. You write that, as commanded by the imperial order issued in regard to this matter, these men have been executed,¹ their severed heads have been dispatched [to Istanbul], their belongings have been surveyed and sealed, and the ledger has been sent. Your letter, describing your efforts to carry out the imperial order, as well as the ledger you sent, were presented to His Imperial Majesty. The severed heads were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace]. As there is nothing of value among these men's belongings worth sending to Istanbul, an imperial order has been issued for their sale [in Kayseri] and the dispatch of the revenue here. Orders in regard to this matter have been issued and sent to you. You shall thus proceed to sell their effects at their worth and send the money here.

¹ For the execution order, see document 574/86 herein.

[574/149, regarding the combat to relieve Tripolitsa and the situation in the Morea]

To Yusuf Pasha of Serres, Mutasarrıf of Aydın and Saruhan

November 11, 1821

In your previous letter, Your Excellency wrote that you had attempted to join forces with the governor of the Morea in order to relieve Tripolitsa, but failed and went to Galaxidi. Laying in ambush, no matter how the treacherous infidels fought unyieldingly, with the help of God Almighty they were crushed, and eighteen cannons and all their ships were captured.¹ Having been informed by the Spanish consul of an [planned] attack of the Spetsiot and Hydriot infidels against the imperial navy, and since the *kapudana bey* would sail to Zakynthos, orders were sent to you and the *riyala bey* for his return. When you went to Patras and inquired about the information, the consul reported that it may be a false rumor circulated by the Greeks. Meanwhile, you also report that you dispatched soldiers who then attacked the infidel rebels agglomerated in the area between the Castle of the Morea [Rio] and Patras. They were crushed and dispersed, and the severed ears of those put to the sword were dispatched [to Istanbul], along with several letters relating various issues. Your Excellency is a courageous and indefatigable vizier, and the deeds written in your report are all pleasing and commendable. Your letters have been presented to His Imperial Majesty, and the severed ears were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to serve as an example. As Your Excellency is comparable to no other and a strenuous vizier of His Imperial Majesty, it is obvious that, as long as you serve the true religion and the Sublime State selflessly and courageously, you will be rewarded. This time, you are awarded with the *sancaks* of Aydın and Saruhan, which have been placed under your jurisdiction. The imperial navy was compelled to return to the Dardanelles after its long sojourn for repairs and to replenish supplies. If possible, after being refitted, the ships will sail back to join forces with you. The points you have mentioned in your reports will be discussed together with the matters of the imperial navy and, with the help of God Almighty, will be taken care of. You should be confident and not worried and exert your best efforts in the fulfillment of your duty.

1 For the Ottoman expedition against Galaxidi, see Philip James Green, *Sketches of the War in Greece: In a Series of Extracts, from the Private Correspondence of Philip James Green, Esq., Late British Consul for the Morea* (London: Thomas Hurst and Co., 1827), pp. 60–62.

[574/151, *regarding combat and the situation of the troops in Crete*]
To Şerif Pasha, Castellan of Irakleio and Commander-in-Chief of Crete
with full discretionary powers

November 12, 1821

Your Excellency's correspondence has arrived with the jubilant news of the suppression of the infidel brigands thanks to your valiant efforts. You state in your report that the rebellion of the *reaya* of Sfakia had enveloped the entire *reaya* of Crete, who dared to fall upon the Castle of Chania from both land and sea and inflicted damage to the district of Rethymno. Following these events, Your Excellency proceeded to Rethymno with a large number of troops and, uniting with Osman [Pasha], Castellan of Rethymno, attacked and slayed most of the accursed infidels, putting them to rout and sending to us the severed heads and ears, as well as captured flags. You plead with us to rush the military aid promised by His Excellency, the governor of Egypt. In recognition of their distinct service in battle, you recommend Çalıkzade Hasan Agha, the chief commander of the fifteen commanders of the janissary assault troops in Irakleio, for a reward of 120 piasters daily; each of the commanders under his command 80 piasters daily; and each of his standard bearers 40 piasters daily. Your Excellency also expresses your wish to receive an imperial decree that grants you full powers to reinforce your influence and authority. You point out that those *reaya* who had not yet revolted interpreted the non-arrival of the *jizya* tickets as a sign of an impending massacre on the island. In addition, you request us to send a letter in appreciation of the zeal of the people of Irakleio in the battles and an imperial order for the appointment of Dizdarzade Mehmed Bey as castellan of the Almyros Fortress.¹ You report that there should have been 394 men on garrison duty in the fortress of Irakleio according to the regulations, while the actual numbers gradually fell below fifty men, who cannot make a living with a daily pay of 8 piasters. Thus, you suggest recruiting around two hundred gunners by offering double daily pay certificates per man and request the delivery of the relevant imperial decrees, should we approve your suggestion. We presented your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty for review and exhibited the severed heads, ears, and banners at the site of ignobility and defamation. We had no doubt that Your Excellency would meet expectations by rendering zealous service to [our] religion and state in every matter as a vizier gifted by manliness and courage. We pray for your future success in the performance of this religious obligation. His Imperial Majesty saw fit to reward you with an ermine-lined heavy brocade woven with gold and

1 Almyros Fortress (Turk. Acısu Kalesi, Gr. Φρούριο Αλμυρού): now defunct castle in the area of Georgioupoli, between Chania and Rethymno, Crete.

silver threads and 50,000 piasters in recognition of your distinct service and as a manifestation of the granting of full powers to Your Excellency. We have sent these along with the relevant imperial decree granting you complete freedom of action as commander-in-chief of Crete. The matter of rewarding the [local] janissary commanders has been forwarded to the honorable janissary agha, who will deal with it in accordance with the regulations of the janissary corps, while the chief accountant will take care of the question of jizya tickets. We have dispatched a letter praising the efforts of the people of Irakleio in the battle and the requested imperial order for the appointment of Mehmed Bey as castellan of the Almyros Fortress. You rightly pointed out that recruiting half the number of the stipulated strength of the garrison by distributing double daily pay certificates would be a better option than the current desultory state of the garrison. Thus, we have dispatched an imperial decree affirming your suggestion. By following the instructions as set out in the imperial order and remaining faithful to the royal favor bestowed on you, Your Excellency should labor toward rendering good service as a proof of the manliness, diligence, and bravery expected of you. One last point in your report is your request for five hundred more troops for your command. It is presently difficult to rush you troops from other areas. You should set aside five hundred men from the Egyptian contingent that will arrive on Crete. His Excellency, the governor of Egypt, nevertheless, stated that it was imperative to have warships at hand to transport the Egyptian contingent to Crete, and the imperial fleet that has just returned to the Dardanelles for repairs and fresh supplies under the command of the *kapudana bey* will set sail for Egypt to escort the transport ships. Thus, we ask of Your Excellency by this letter to keep your morale high and to demonstrate perseverance until [their arrival].

[574/152, *regarding praise to the castellan of Irakleio upon success in combat*
To the Castellan of Irakleio [Şerif Pasha]

November 12, 1821

The sedition and banditry of the Greek infidels have spread to the *reaya* of Crete, who cast aside their loyalty and obedience and joined the rebellion. We were pleased to learn from your report that, despite the rebels' assaults on the Muslims of Sfakia, Chania, and Rethymno, Your Excellency, together with your household troops, fought alongside the people of Irakleio in defense of the city and put most of the accursed infidels to the sword. We have learned about the strenuous and loyal efforts of the people of Irakleio through your letter. Due to the sinful infidels' betrayal of the true religion and Sublime State, their vicious thoughts have come to light, and it has become an obligation for all believers and defenders of the faith to react and work for getting rid of their malign existence. His Imperial Majesty has learned about the defeat of the infidels and praised the people of Irakleio, who, unlike the cowardice shown by the people of Chania and Rethymno, reacted courageously. May our sultan's benefaction be blessed for our brothers in religion, who did their utmost in the service of religion and state, and may they stand proud in this life and the next. As it is known to the entire Muslim community, these are extraordinary times, comparable to no other. The infidels, who are the enemies of our faith and state, are determined to expel all the Muslims living among them and sacrifice their malicious lives in the name of their fallacious religion. These are not the times to engage in repose and ease for a Muslim who has his share of zeal and valor. It is incumbent on all Muslims to unite and exert their utmost efforts for the sake of their religion and state. You shall properly communicate to the aforementioned people [of Irakleio] that they are expected, also in the future, to subjugate those infidels who are against us, thus demonstrating their loyalty to His Imperial Majesty and the efforts worthy of the true religion.

[574/158, *regarding the instructions to the new commander-in-chief of the Morea*]

To the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea Seyyid Ali Pasha

November 15, 1821

Due to the ferociousness of the infidels' rebellion in the Morea, it has become essential to relieve hastily the many Muslims who have been besieged for a time and to crush the infidels. Having been honored in the past with the title of grand vizier and having exerted the greatest efforts in the service of the true faith and the Sublime State, Your Excellency was appointed commander-in-chief of the Morea, in the hope that the good services expected of you at this critical moment will, God allowing, be swiftly fulfilled. We were expecting that Your Excellency would have reached Lamia by now and, together with other functionaries, crossed over to the Morea through the isthmus [of Corinth] and joined forces with the governor of the Morea. However, as of yet, we neither know your location, nor the number of soldiers accumulated under your command. In the meantime, the imperial navy had reached the shores of the Morea and, after liberating the castles of Methoni and Koroni, united with the fleet under the *kapudana bey* to sail to Patras. Taking aboard Yusuf Pasha of Serres, *Mutasarrıf* of the *sancaks* of Aydın and Saruhan, who is on duty in Patras, they sailed to the Bay of Nafpaktos, where they attacked the town of Galaxidi, captured many infidel ships, and set the others on fire. Due to the arrival of winter and the *Kasım* tempests, and as some ships had to drain bilge water, the navy was forced to return, leaving Yusuf Pasha back at his post in Patras. The entire navy has indispensably arrived in the Dardanelles, along with the transshipments they received on expedition for replenishing supplies and repairing ships. However, following the departure of the navy, the rebellious infidels in the Morea will get spoiled and once again besiege the castles and the Muslims living in them. Thus, not only will the whole of the Morea be lost, but many *sayyids* and *sayyidas*, men, women, and children will be captives in the hands of the infidels. Thus, the return of the imperial navy to the peninsula and the delivery of the necessary aid is a matter of utmost urgency. Therefore, we had the *kapudana bey* and the commanders of the Egyptian and Algerian fleets come to Istanbul to discuss the matter, while the navy remained in the Dardanelles. In the Imperial Council meeting on refitting the imperial navy to send it back to the Morea, it transpired that it would take at least one to two months to recruit sailors to bring the navy up to its full complement and muster the decided number for the navy, even if efforts were made to hasten the process. Consequently, the completion of this process would fall within the harshest days of winter, and the dangers entailed by the dispatch of the navy in this season are obvious. Besides, should the navy depart now, fatigue would

overtake the troops aboard until the beginning of land operations by the advent of spring, and therefore we would have to replace them with new recruits. Finally, the council reached the decision that the navy should be brought to perfect condition, with the ships repaired and the sailors, land troops, and equipment replenished by March 9 [Rumi calendar]. Upon the approval of His Imperial Majesty, we have set out ahead of time to arrange for the men, equipment, and ammunition necessary to send the navy in full force in the spring to purge the Morea and other shores and islands. Moreover, we have promoted the *kapudana bey* to the rank of vizier and granted him full powers as the commander of the expeditionary fleet. In addition, we have appointed the former castellan of the Dardanelles, Mehmed Pasha, as the commander-in-chief of the land forces that will accompany the navy. We rely upon God's good will to complete the naval preparations by the beginning of spring and to dispatch the navy with the aforementioned pashas on the first day of spring for a successful expedition. However, considering that it is impermissible to leave the Morea in its current state, it is His Imperial Majesty's will that we reinforce the castles with grain and ammunition and rush the commanders and forces overland to their assigned posts, since ground warfare is not confined to a particular season. Thus, we are currently arranging for the shipment of the ammunition and grain for the garrisons of the castles of Methoni, Koroni, Patras, Nafplio, Nafpaktos, Preveza, Arta, and Parga. In his last imperial rescript, His Imperial Majesty has ordered us: "Write without dissimulation to the commander-in-chief, other viziers, and *mir-i mirans* that, may God be my witness, henceforth the slightest idle behavior will be met only with capital punishment." Thus, we have sent strict letters reiterating the decree of His Imperial Majesty. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to mull over this imperial order and, taking note of the naval preparations and measures mentioned above, to strive to reach the Morea as soon as possible with a sizable force. You shall report on your current whereabouts and the number of troops under your command, as well as other functionaries commissioned for the expedition to the Morea.

[574/162, regarding relief aid to the Morea]

*To the Governor of Sivas, to Mahmud Pasha, to Ali Şefik Pasha,
to the Mutasarrıf of Çorum, to be sent separately*

November 16, 1821

As is known to all, the infidel rebels in the Morea, who have found recourse in banditry, are willing to go so far as to sacrifice their malignant lives in their treason and dared to intensify their rebellion, thus oppressing our brothers in religion, who are now trapped on the peninsula. It falls to the Sublime State to devise a way to suppress these rebels, by the grace of God Almighty, and to exert the efforts worthy of Islam and display the might of the Sublime Sultanate. This is no time for Muslims to sit idle; rather, it is the duty of each and every Muslim to exert every effort in the name of the Sublime State and the true faith. The same is expected of you, for which an imperial order was previously issued for your appointment to the Morea. Letters have been written to you time and again, emphasizing the importance of this matter and urging you to strive to meet the requirements of your new appointment. Though you ought to have made some progress by now, we have seen nothing from Your Excellency but sluggishness and slackness. The Moreot infidels have been sacrificing their malignant souls for their fallacious religion to capture our brothers in religion besieged in the Moreot fortresses. God forbid, they wrest the peninsula from the realm of Islam. The besieged Muslims have until now been desperately awaiting the arrival of help, while still fighting the infidels in the name of their faith. Is it befitting, then, for viziers and *mir-i mirans* to behave lethargically, particularly under these circumstances? Is this situation befitting of Islamic vigor? Will those who behave thus be able to answer in this life to our sultan, the shadow of God upon earth, and to our prophet in the next? Such behavior from functionaries has aroused the indignation of His Imperial Majesty, who wrote the following in his last imperial rescript: "Write to the commander-in-chief [Seyyid Ali Pasha], other viziers, and *mir-i mirans* that, may God be my witness, henceforth the slightest idle behavior will be met only with capital punishment." We have written about this state of affairs to the Commander-in-Chief Seyyid Ali Pasha and other functionaries in separate letters. Your Excellency is expected to reflect upon the significance of these strict imperial orders, to consider the potential consequences of further idleness and half-hearted efforts, and to understand that this is no time for a zealous Muslim to sit back, but instead to rush to meet the requirements of your post. You are to make every effort to suppress the rebels and help the Muslims who are confined on the peninsula. You are to cease all indolent, lazy, and lethargic behavior, as befits your position, in the name of the faith, and to demonstrate

loyalty and zeal. To regain His Imperial Majesty's favor, you and the other functionaries shall join hands and exert your best efforts to attack the rebels, wreak revenge, and help those who are besieged on the peninsula. Should any further complacency be observed from you, you will be granted no protection whatsoever and will receive your due punishment from His Imperial Majesty.

[574/183, regarding instructions for the operations in Karpenisi¹ and Ypati]
 To the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea [Seyyid Ali Pasha]

November 21, 1821

His Excellency Hurşid Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of Ioannina, has suggested that instead of having the functionaries appointed to the Morea stay idly in Lamia, where they have been awaiting the arrival of the remaining assigned forces, it would be more beneficial if some of them could strike Karpenisi and Ypati, in the vicinity of Acarnania. We have indeed considered that the suggestion is plausible and have decided to order some of those presently staying in Lamia to strike Karpenisi and Ypati until all the functionaries delegated to the Morea assemble in Lamia. The household troops of Süleyman Pasha, Governor of Sivas, who is presently in Lamia, and the monthly paid troops previously sent by the *mutasarrıf* of Ormenio [Salih Pasha] from Edirne to Lamia, as per the imperial order, are to be augmented by the troops of Behram Pasha, whose retinue and troops had been given to the command of Süleyman Pasha after the abrogation of his vizierate. This would make a substantial force. Similarly, we have also ordered Ali Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Çorum, who is in Lamia with his troops ready to serve in the Morea, to join Süleyman Pasha in striking Karpenisi and Ypati. Ali Pasha is a valiant and competent warrior, willing to distinguish himself in service. We have appended to our present letter the relevant imperial orders of appointment, so that Your Excellency will deliver them to the pashas mentioned above along with additional instructions and views that you might have, since, as the commander-in-chief of the Morea with full powers, you have a good grasp of the region. We have also written to His Excellency Hurşid Pasha to support you and brief you about the necessary precautions by maintaining correspondence with Your Excellency. We thus ask of you by this letter to dispatch the orders to the aforementioned pashas and work toward corresponding and cooperating with His Excellency Hurşid Pasha, as required by your diligence and wisdom. You too should fully explain to them that they should attack Karpenisi and Ypati and suppress the bandits instead of remaining idle in Lamia.

1 Karpenisi (Turk. Kerbeneş, Gr. Καρπενήσι): town in central Greece.

[574/197, *regarding instructions to relieve the Morea*]

To the Governor of the Morea [Mehmed Pasha]

November 25, 1821

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you relate your safe arrival in Lamia, as you had been obliged by conditions to go there; information concerning the situation in Athens and Euboea; and the support you lent to these places. Your Excellency also points out that you dispatched the heads and ears severed from the sinful brigands after the battles in Athens and Thebes. After a close review, we have presented to His Imperial Majesty your correspondence, as well as the court decrees issued by the deputy judges of Euboea and Athens. The ominous severed heads have been put on display in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to set an example for others. Your Excellency is comparable to no other as a vizier who received his training in His Imperial Majesty's palace [?] and who undoubtedly exerts himself to carry out all royal orders as expected of his zeal and diligence. You have lived up to our expectations by persevering in this fight of religion that we entrusted with you. As you have remarked, Your Excellency was confined on the peninsula, for you could not receive help and relief in the past six months, despite all the efforts toward that. Therefore, we do not hold you accountable for leaving the Morea under these circumstances, and His Imperial Majesty is pleased with your safe and sound arrival in Lamia. However, the infidel Moreots entertain the seditious idea of isolating and chafing our many brethren in religion and engage in all sorts of vices against the Muslims for, God forbid, capturing the entire peninsula and enslaving all *sayyids* and *sayyidas*, men, women, and children therein. This state of affairs is kindling the vigor of the Muslims, and it is incumbent upon all of us to contribute to the cause of Islam. We cannot permit any complacency, nor delay, in the execution of emergency measures. Seyyid Ali Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, is about to arrive at his assigned post any day, and we are currently taking care of transporting reinforcements there by sea and land. Although Your Excellency was forced to retreat to Lamia with your troops, once the commander-in-chief arrives, all of our functionaries should debate this matter and strive to find the means of penetrating into the Morea in order to crush these rebellious infidels. In accordance with His Imperial Majesty's will, you shall act in unity in the execution of an agreed plan to this effect without resorting to any excuses. We understand from your correspondence that you are woeful about your recent retreat, which we admit as inevitable and justified. It is high time to display your bravery and heroism in the way of serving the state and religion, so that all the effort you have made and troubles you have endured will not come to naught. Thus, we write this letter to encourage you to cooperate with the commander-in-chief

and other functionaries to seek the most appropriate means of penetrating the Morea without losing time and to help the nation of Muhammad therein. You shall demonstrate the zeal expected of you by crushing the rebellious infidels, thereby earning a name for yourself to be praised and revered until the Day of Judgment.

[574/199, regarding combat in the Lamia region]

To the Governor of Sivas [Süleyman Pasha]

November 26, 1821

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you relate that, by the grace of God and fortune of His Imperial Majesty, you dispatched a number of infantry and cavalry units to attack the monastery of Sotiros [Metamorfosis Sotiros Monastery] in the vicinity of Lamia. The monastery was burned to the ground, and all the infidels in the complex, with the exception of a few who managed to escape, were subjugated and destroyed. Afterwards, the village and monastery of Bakona [uncertain name], the private fortress of the Captain of Lamia Dyovouniotis,¹ and cottages in the woods and mountains were all burned and demolished. More than twenty boys and girls, as well as many animals, were taken as booty. Moreover, the infidel called Lakokonta [uncertain name], nephew of the captain mentioned above, was captured and sent [to Istanbul] in chains. You also report that the severed heads of the infidels put to the sword by our warriors were scattered. [Unclear sentence.] We were pleased to learn about the victories achieved by God's grace and presented your letter to His Imperial Majesty. The aforementioned Lakokonta [uncertain name] was interrogated and then executed here. As Your Excellency has exerted every effort in the service of [our] religion, the Sublime State and our sultan, these efforts serve as proof of your devotion, thus earning His Imperial Majesty's favor and fondness. In cooperation with other functionaries, Your Excellency shall continue to carry out your duty with courage, acumen, and steadfastness.

¹ Ioannis Dyovouniotis: captain of the Greek revolutionaries in the Lamia region. He fought in the battles of Alamana, Gravia Inn, and Vasilikon; he died in 1831.

[574/200, *regarding measures against the persecution of guiltless Greeks*
To the Grand Admiral, Janissary Agha, Bostancıbaşı, Chief Armorer,
and Chief Cannoneer

November 27, 1821

As is known to all, due to the sedition and malignancy dared by the Greek infidels, all Muslims, highborn and lowborn alike, have united and taken up arms, transforming the state of *hazariyet* into *bedeviyet*.¹ The suppression and punishment of the rebellious *reaya* who took part in the sedition are the Sublime State's business, and, in order to ensure security, the state continues to enforce punishment upon those *reaya* whose treason has been confirmed. However, it is necessary to protect in every respect those blameless *reaya* who simply go about their business and did not get involved in the sedition. Relevant functionaries have been warned time and again by imperial orders to avoid persecuting the guiltless *reaya*; yet, we have been informed that, presently, certain unselfconscious individuals and malicious rabble have once again dared to disturb and attack the innocent *reaya*, committing all sorts of acts condemned by both sharia and customary law. Moreover, they harass the subjects of friendly states residing in Istanbul. It is obvious that such unseemly and inappropriate acts cause the breakdown of law and order and constitute a threat to public security. Harassing and attacking the law-abiding *reaya* and subjects of foreign states residing in Istanbul is not countenanced by His Imperial Majesty. Hence, it has become necessary for the state to prohibit such acts, and cautionary orders have been sent to all those concerned. Henceforth, you are to ensure that no harm shall come to the faultless *reaya* who did not get involved in the sedition, as well as to the subjects of friendly states. You shall warn the relevant functionaries that those evildoers, no matter who they may be, acting in violation of sharia and customary law, will be punished by their officers. Your Excellency shall exert your best efforts to prevent the harassment of the peaceable *reaya* and the subjects of other states and the random firing of bullets.

¹ For the deployment of Ibn Khaldunian terminology and concepts by the Sublime Porte in the wake of the Greek Revolution, see the "Introduction" herein, pp. 4–7.

[574/204, *regarding unpaid wages of the mercenaries, instructions to the governor of the Morea, and the family of Hurşid Pasha*
To the Commander-in-Chief of Ioannina [Hurşid Pasha]

November 29, 1821

We have received Your Excellency's letter informing us that His Excellency, the governor of the Morea [Mehmed Pasha], and Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], who was assigned to his command, have arrived in Lamia. You report that the said governor and the soldiers who received their vouchers from Your Excellency will set out for there [Ioannina] to settle their overdue wages. You also report that, although you have received the one thousand purses of piasters we dispatched, it is essential that you have an abundance of cash, because the suppression of [Tepedelenli Ali Pasha] is imminent, and it is not appropriate that the soldiers spread rumors due to wages. Thus, you request a large sum of money. You also mention that the governor [of the Morea] has stayed in Lamia and that the soldiers under his command are of delicate health. You request permission for the governor [of the Morea] to come to your side or go to Larissa until he raises his troops. You also state that you have received a letter informing you that at the invasion of Tripolitsa the *kaymakam* of the Morea and others made a contract [with the Greeks] for the transportation of Your Excellency's and the *kaymakam*'s families to Kuşadası by way of sea, and you request that letters should be written to inform the relevant functionaries about their transport to Istanbul.¹ We have taken all of the above issues under consideration and have presented them to His Imperial Majesty. It would be advantageous for the governor of the Morea to go to Ioannina instead of Larissa to raise his household troops. As it is understood from your letter that the destruction of [Ali Pasha] is imminent, His Imperial Majesty declared his will for the dispatch of another one thousand purses of piasters, so that the troops will not disband. His Imperial Majesty also ordered us to write to Your Excellency that heavy expenditures are being made everywhere, yet revenues have decreased, and it will be difficult to send abundant money in the future. Thus, Your Excellency shall strive to conclude the matter. Regarding the issue of transporting your family to Istanbul, we have informed the castellans of Izmir and Kuşadası, as well as the *mütesellim* of Teke,² about the situation, ordered them to treat

1 Hurşid Pasha's family, along with several prominent Turks, was held for ransom and spared from the massacre that took place after Tripolitsa's fall. See also document 575/268 herein. According to the account of Esad Efendi, the official historiographer of the period, only ninety-seven Turks were spared from the massacre. See Sahhaflar Şeyhi-zade Seyyid Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *Vak'anüvis Es'ad Efendi Tarihi*, pp. 154–5.

2 Teke: the *sancak* of Teke comprised the region around Antalya, the southwest Mediterranean coast of Turkey, and its hinterland.

your family with nothing but respect, and transport them to Istanbul if they have already landed; and, if they have not, to do so as soon as they arrive. Having thus been made aware of the wishes and orders of His Imperial Majesty, Your Excellency is to exert every effort to carry out your duty. May God grant that, as you claim, the issue of Ali Pasha will come to an end shortly.

[574/209, *regarding the measures to keep the Serbs under control*]
To the Governor of Bosnia, the Castellans of Belgrade, Vidin, and Niš,
and the Mutasarrıf of Kruševac
November 30, 1821

We have previously communicated to Your Excellency through an imperial order the intelligence reporting that the Serbs had started gathering arms and ammunition and prompted you to be on the alert against this undesirable development. Should the Serbs show any signs of insurgency, you are to follow the instructions set out in the secret imperial order at your disposal, as related in our previous communication. According to the recent reports sent by Kapıcıbaşı Feyzi Agha, Voivode of Prizren,¹ Milosh [Obrenovich] has rallied the Serbian chiefs to his side, as well as the knezes² in Istanbul with whom he had taken oaths of fidelity as prescribed by their religion, and incited them all to stay ready and prepared. The agha's letter also states that, according to the intelligence provided by our spies, Milosh has built a few boats and keeps them on the Morava River, across the redoubt at Batočina.³ Moreover, he has dug water conduits with pedestrian and cart bridges that divert water from the Danube to the towns of Rahova,⁴ Akça [?], Smederevo,⁵ and Požarevac.⁶ He has also built three gunpowder mortars and is presently manufacturing cartridges day and night. Finally, he gathers his countrymen every other day and provokes them, declaring: "The treatment accorded our nation by the Exalted State is no secret. Now it is them [the Greeks], tomorrow it will be us. Let's be prepared. The Russians will help us again, even more than they did in the past." The malignancy of the Serbs barely needs mentioning, as well as the mistreatment of the Muslims when they invaded Belgrade, and how difficult it was to establish a semblance of order after the liberation of the city. The Serbs cannot, therefore, be trusted, especially in such delicate times. It without doubt amounts to a religious obligation to remain ever astute and vigilant. When we brought the matter to His Imperial Majesty's attention, Our Master decreed that we should inform Your Excellency, as well as the castellans of Belgrade, Vidin and, Niš and the *mutasarrıf* of Kruševac, about this development. The

1 Prizren (Turk. Prizren, Gr. Πρίζρεν): town and district in south Kosovo.

2 Knez: a Serbian *kocabaşı*, head of a local Serbian community.

3 Batočina: town and strategic redoubt on the Morava River; Batocana in the document.

4 Rahova (Turk. Rahova, Gr. Ράχοβα): town in northwest Bulgaria, on the right bank of the Danube.

5 Smederevo (Turk. Semendire, Gr. Σεμενδρία): town and *sancak* in east Serbia, on the right bank of the Danube.

6 Požarevac (Turk. Pasarofça, Gr. Πασάροβιτς or Ποζάρεβατς): town in east Serbia, founded between the Danube, Morava, and Mlava rivers.

decree preauthorizes you to take joint preemptive action against any possible sedition in the near future, so that you will not lose precious time for further orders in a time of emergency. You are warned, however, that if there is no sign of disturbance from that nation, you are forbidden to harass or offend them, by neither word nor deed, as stipulated in the relevant religious ruling issued recently on the matter of the treatment of captives and enslavement. We have dispatched a letter explaining the matter and the relevant imperial decree to the castellans and the *mutasarrıf* mentioned above in secret; and we send this secret letter to ask of Your Excellency to stay astute and vigilant as decreed by His Imperial Majesty. We would like you to maintain a steady correspondence with those functionaries mentioned above and deal together with the Serbs at once, should they violate the imperatives of subjecthood by exhibiting rebellious behavior; no precious time is to be lost by seeking further authorization to take action. Finally, Your Excellency should demonstrate your prudence and merit by following the relevant religious decree on the rules of enslavement, by which you must accord the rebellious Serbs the prescribed treatment and, by contrast, strive in your best capacity to prevent any harassment and trepidation by either word or deed if there is no sign of rebellion.

[574/223, *regarding an encounter with Hydriot boats off Beirut*]

To the Governor of Adana¹ Hilmi Pasha

December 1, 1821

We have received Your Excellency's letter reporting that a ship transporting soldiers from Sidon to Cyprus encountered twenty-five pirate boats from Hydra near the coast of Beirut and was consequently captured and looted by the bandits. The *mütesellim* of Tarsus² was informed about the incident and, in turn, reinforced those areas where the cursed infidels were likely to land and refill their water supplies. Your quick reaction in response to the attack of those accursed rebels is judicious, and by this letter we urge you to remain vigilant.

¹ Adana (Gr. Αντάνα): town and province in southern Turkey.

² Tarsus (Turk. Tarsus, Gr. Ταρσός): town in south-central Turkey.

[574/226, *regarding the Moldavian boyars' petition to replace the Fanariot voivodes*]¹

To the Accountant of the Danube

December 2, 1821

We have received your letter relating that the Moldavian boyars, who were headed for the imperial capital to bring their petition, have reached the side of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief [of the Danube region, Mehmed Selim Pasha] and were detained there. You state that a copy of their petition, along with the letter of His Excellency Salih Pasha, Vanguard Commander of Moldavia, and the boyars' petition to the commander-in-chief have been dispatched here and that these documents would help clarify the details of the issue. Both letters and other documents have been read carefully and presented to His Imperial Majesty. In brief, the petition is supposedly a complaint against the tyranny of the former Greek voivodes and requests that henceforth Moldavians be appointed to this office. It would be impossible, however, to evacuate Moldowallachia and appoint voivodes, so long as the sedition that occurred among the Greek *millet* is yet to be quelled. By the grace of God, when the time comes, all necessary actions will be taken, and His Imperial Majesty's will is also to this effect. You are ordered by this letter to respond to the detained boyars wisely, ensure that they are not offended, refrain from making any commitments, and send them back to their hometowns.

1 This document is about the Moldovian boyars' first attempt at casting out the Fanariot voivodes and getting one of their own appointed to this post. See documents 575/342, 575/344, 576/58, and 576/78 herein for the developments.

[574/237, *regarding instructions to secure Cyprus*]

To the Governor of Sidon [Abdullah Pasha]

December 5, 1821

Your Excellency was previously ordered to dispatch a sufficient number of soldiers from your own troops for the defense of Cyprus. However, you wrote that the wages of the soldiers you sent to the island add up to an enormous sum and exceed Your Excellency's capacity and that the Sublime State will have to make some other arrangements. Pursuant to your letter, as a solution to the issue of the monthly expenses of the soldiers, you were ordered to donate the money that you would have spent on the salaries of the troops to the fisc. Meanwhile, the tax collector of Cyprus was consulted as to whether the wages and other expenses of the soldiers could be forcibly collected from the *reaya* of the island of Cyprus. Although we have as yet received no reply from Your Excellency, at this point the *reaya* of Cyprus is disposed to revolt, and there are few Muslims on the island. God forbid, should a rebellion erupt and the island falls into the hands of the infidels, it is obvious that it will be extremely difficult to redeem it. Yet, the soldiers you have sent are but some Arab camelers and torch bearers. Not only are they unarmed and lax in their duty, but it has also been confirmed that they are useless soldiers, seizing the properties of both the *reaya* and Muslims and indulging in all kinds of vices. It is inappropriate that you sent such soldiers given the current situation in Cyprus. It is obvious that serviceable troops must be rushed to the island, and, furthermore, another solution for their wages must be found, other than that of foisting the entire burden upon the *reaya* of the island. Under the benefaction of His Imperial Majesty, Your Excellency is the possessor of three provinces, all of them fertile and flourishing, and it is improper of you to find excuses to avoid duty when you are supposed to sacrifice your wealth and life and strive to work for the Sublime State in its difficult moments. Now that you are free from the task of paying the wages of the troops you sent to Jerusalem and devoid of other obstacles, it is therefore high time you did your duty. We have already properly responded to all of the feeble excuses you presented earlier. And yet, the situation on the island and the state of the troops you sent remain as outlined above. God forbid, if anything unfortunate were to happen in Cyprus, the consequences would be deleterious. Given the manifold disturbances currently arising in all corners of the Sublime State, while the governors in all provinces have been drawing upon their resources to serve the faith and state, nothing good will come out of your excuses. His Imperial Majesty has issued a strict imperial writ, ordering you to avoid wasting time with idle talk and to dispatch a sufficient enough number of distinguished, obedient, fully armed, and serviceable troops to the island [of Cyprus], either from among the troops

you have allocated for Cyprus or from the provinces [under your authority], under the command of [your] steward or another trusted man appointed by you. Their wages shall be paid by you, and their provisions shall be supplied by the [inhabitants of the] island. A relevant imperial order was sent to you when you did not dispatch the troops you were supposed to. [Unclear sentence.] You should comprehend that these times are not comparable to previous times, and this issue is not similar to other issues. Since this is a matter of religion, any display of weakness or helplessness on your part will not be tolerated. Your Excellency is to carry out all the abovementioned tasks for the protection of the island and henceforth avoid raising objections and making excuses. Just like the other viziers in charge of provinces, Your Excellency shall also fulfill your duties and strive to serve loyally.

[574/242, regarding Tunisian aid]

*To the Governor-General of Tunis Mahmud Pasha*¹

December 6, 1821

Your Excellency informs us that you have received our letter regarding the preparation and dispatch of as many vessels as possible from Tunis, and that an accident occurred while the Tunisian fleet was anchored at port for equipment, making it necessary to purchase new frigates from *Frengistan* [west European countries]. You report that you initiated the construction of new corvettes in Tunisian shipyards, while several merchant vessels that could be used as corsairs were being purchased and equipped, and that the few adequately equipped vessels were sent to join the imperial navy. Your letter, relating all these developments, has been taken into consideration, and your labors and expediency in the preparation of these vessels have been a cause of great joy. Your letter has also been presented to the imperial stirrup, and its contents have been honored with His Imperial Majesty's attention. Tunis is a glorious province of the Sublime Sultanate and is renowned for the courage and faithfulness of its inhabitants. Your Excellency has also proved to be a courageous and zealous governor-general and will surely continue to demonstrate loyalty in the service of the true faith and the Sublime Sultanate. As the infidels have betrayed our exalted religion and state in such a fashion and have been doing their utmost to commit treachery against the Muslims, even sacrificing their malignant souls for their fallacious religion, it is incumbent upon all Muslims and especially the functionaries of the Sublime State to display Islamic vigor and zeal and exert every effort in proclaiming the true religion to unbelievers. Hence, the fact that you strive for jihad by equipping ships is very agreeable and commendable, deserving His Imperial Majesty's prayers. You are expected to continue to demonstrate audacity and courage and to carry out your duty loyally and zealously hereafter, to rise to our expectations in the service of the true faith and the Sublime State, and, finally, to maintain your fine qualities and thereby increase the favor already bestowed upon you.

1 Mahmud Pasha was the governor-general of Tunis between 1814 and March 1824. He dispatched a squadron in September 1821 under the command of Captain Ahmed of the Morea. His son, Hüseyin Pasha, continued to support the Sublime Porte's efforts to quell the Greek Revolution. The Tunisian armada was burned down, along with the Ottoman and Egyptian armadas, in the Battle of Navarino in 1827.

[574/244, regarding the deployment of ethnic Turkish mercenaries]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

December 6, 1821

According to the recent dispatch we received from His Excellency Seyyid Ali Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, he was expecting the *Evlad-ı Fatihan*¹ troops to join his forces. However, these troops have already been dispatched for the summer term in great numbers to Belgrade, as well as to the command of His Excellency Yusuf Pasha of Serres and to Mehmed Pasha, Governor of the Morea. The late Ali Pasha, former castellan of Belgrade, had asked that they be replaced with winter soldiers. An imperial decree to this effect was sent to the former *mütesellim* of Thessaloniki, Yusuf Bey; he in turn sent a letter of apology stating that the existing *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops in the Thessaloniki area could not be spared, as they are needed there. Furthermore, the governor of the Morea reports that the *Evlad-ı Fatihan* summer troops under his command have, as is their custom, been given permission to go on furlough. Although it appears that it will be difficult to dispatch *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops to the commander-in-chief of the Morea, we considered it proper to write to Your Excellency so that one or two thousand *Evlad-ı Fatihan* soldiers may at least be sent to his command. His Imperial Majesty's will is also to this effect. The commander-in-chief has been informed about the situation. Any plan that can be devised should be relayed to us immediately, by order of this letter, including a list of what will be required to carry it out.

1 *Evlad-ı Fatihan*: lit. descendants of the conquerors [of Rumelia]; ethnic Turkish [*yörük*] mercenary troops from northern Rumelia. The *Evlad-ı Fatihan* were summer soldiers, like the Albanian mercenaries, and were in the habit of retiring to their hometowns in winter. They disbanded when they did not receive their salaries, and their commanders were accused of treason by the Sublime Porte several times during the Greek Revolution.

[574/245, *regarding the recruitment and provisioning of mercenary troops*]
To His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea [Seyyid Ali Pasha]
December 6, 1821

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you relate that in order to muster soldiers you have sent directives and couriers to all the districts along the left and right sides of the routes by which you passed. Yet, you have instead received apologies and pleas for forgiveness on the pretext that [those districts] have already sent troops to reinforce Ioannina and other places. You have also pointed out that you are striving to reach the Morea as quickly as possible, and, [to that end] first and foremost, it will be necessary for the Sublime State to appoint a competent official to recruit the necessary troops. Once it is possible, with the help of God Almighty, to pass the defiles into the Morea, a large number of monthly salaried infantry soldiers will also be required to stand guard over the defiles; and you state that the issue of salaries awaits the assistance of His Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency wrote that you have departed from Larissa in the company of Mahmud Pasha [*mutasarrıf* of Trikala] and you are on your way to Lamia, with close to three thousand men under your command. On the other hand, you state that bands of salaried Gegs¹ [Geg Albanian mercenaries] have arrived and are increasing in number day by day. Mahmud Pasha has a personal retinue of four thousand men, and, according to the intelligence you have received, the functionaries in Lamia have amassed three thousand infantry and cavalry soldiers. By the grace of God, when you have arrived, you will be joined by all these functionaries and will together conquer the Fontana Defile and move forward. You further state that forty thousand Istanbulite bushels² of provisions have been purchased from the officers of imperial demesnes and the holders of large estates, the costs of which will be covered at a later time. They were sent to Lamia with a freightage of 25,000 piasters. However, as it would cause the disbandment of the troops if these supplies are exhausted and new supplies cannot be delivered, Your Excellency demands a large sum of money and a competent individual to be appointed commissary officer under your command. Also, in addition to the thirty boxes of cartridges requested earlier, you ask for thirty more to be sent at once. You also ask for the appointment of the *Evlad-ı Fatihan* soldiers that were reserved

1 The ethnic makeup of the Albanian population proved another matter of concern for the Ottoman state. The two major ethnic groups, the Tosks and the Gegs, the former inhabiting areas south of the Shkumbin River and the latter the northern regions, spoke mutually unintelligible dialects and had different physiognomies and ways of life. They also had a long history of frequent mutual strife that frustrated the Sublime Porte's military efforts during the course of the Greek Revolution.

2 One Istanbulite bushel equals 37 liters.

for your command and report that the provincial forces from Sivas will join you in a few days. We have taken all of the above and other attached documents you sent to your agent in Istanbul into consideration and presented them to His Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency is comparable to no other [official], having held the office of grand vizier and learned thus the means, features, ways [of the state], and the character of His Imperial Majesty. You remain, as always, a hard-working and perspicacious minister of the Sublime State. It is beyond doubt that, as your faith dictates, you will strive with all your strength to fulfill each duty assigned to you, including your present one, in the service of [our] faith and the Sublime State. As Your Excellency has stated above, the districts from which soldiers were requested failed to comply with your orders, because until now they have time and again dispatched troops to the surrounding districts and do not have the capacity to spare any more. Thus, even if a recruiter were appointed and dispatched from the imperial capital to muster troops, as you have requested, it is clear that neither will he succeed where Your Excellency has failed. On the other hand, though salaried soldiers would indeed prove useful, it would be difficult to send the expenditure for the remunerations in its entirety from here. Therefore, given the circumstances, Your Excellency will need to exert a little more effort and to make sacrifices in the name of [our] religion and the Sublime State. Besides, according to your report, you, Mahmud Pasha, and other functionaries presently have more than ten thousand troops at your disposal, and more are en route. For their needs, Your Excellency has been provided with 100,000 piasters. You are to use these funds to muster and deploy as many troops as possible and to fulfill your duty as soon as possible. His Imperial Majesty has stated: "If it is true that there are ten thousand soldiers, much can be achieved by an experienced commander. They must also try to gather salaried troops." An imperial writ has been issued to this effect. You are expected to grasp the significance of the Moreot affair, as indicated by the imperial writ, and the services expected of you. In such turbulent times, your services and efforts will earn you salvation in this life and the next. Your Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is thus to ponder that you are expected, by the grace of God, to serve ably. You are to fulfill your duty worthily and diligently, both with the troops which, as you wrote, are currently being gathered, as with the other functionaries and as many salaried soldiers as can be recruited. Besides, as you have noted in your letter, the supplies gathered from Larissa and sent to Lamia are around forty thousand bushels, and an additional ten [thousand] bushels of wheat and five thousand bushels of barley were previously purchased from the ports of Thessaloniki, Orfani,³

3 Orfani (Turk. Orfan, Gr. Ορφάνι): village in the region of Kavala, northeast Greece.

and Volos. Ibrahim Agha, who was previously posted to Kazanlık,⁴ has been appointed commissary officer and commanded by imperial order to reach you as soon as possible. Another imperial command was issued, entrusting the said commissary officer with 50,000 piasters on credit and commanding him to proceed with all haste. Your Excellency also states that you wrote him an intimidating letter, stressing the urgency of the situation. The twenty boxes of cartridges formerly requested have been sent, and forty more boxes have been shipped by sea to Tekirdağ,⁵ from where they will be sent on to Your Excellency. God willing, the cartridges will reach you soon, and the provisions sent amount in total to fifty-five thousand bushels, sufficient for ten thousand soldiers for a long time. You should therefore experience no shortages in supplies. As stated above, a large number of the *Evlad-ı Fatihan* summer troops have previously been sent to Belgrade and to Yusuf Pasha of Serres, *Mutasarrıf* of Aydın, and to His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, Governor of the Morea. An order was issued to replace those bound for Belgrade with winter troops. The *Evlad-ı Fatihan* soldiers currently in Thessaloniki declare that it is necessary that they remain in Thessaloniki, seeking an excuse for avoiding service. For now, it looks difficult to dispatch any *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops to Your Excellency's command. Your Excellency should be aware, however, that, as decreed by the relevant imperial order and if possible, the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha] is to dispatch one to two thousand soldiers to Your Excellency's command. You are once again ordered by this letter to fulfill your duty at once.

4 Kazanlık (Turk. Kızanlık, Gr. Καζανλούκ or Καζανλάχ): town in mid-central Bulgaria.

5 Tekirdağ (Gr. Παιδεστός): town in Turkish Thrace on the coast of the Sea of Marmara; Rodosto in western languages; referred to as Tekfurdağı in the documents.

[574/247, *regarding the events of public violence in Izmir*]

*To the Castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha]*¹

December 6, 1821

[Your Excellency reports that] in Izmir certain Franks [west Europeans] have been helping the *reaya* flee in exchange for money, causing rumors among the Muslims of the town. Several Frankish scoundrels have recently begun going around the city with arms and have beaten and wounded two Muslims. Several insensible Muslims of Izmir then gathered to retaliate, but, according to Your Excellency's report, were appeased by sound advice and dispersed. However, some imprudent individuals among them, still desiring to extract revenge for the two who were wounded, gathered once more; many of the commoners, without pausing to consider the possible consequences of their actions, also joined them. Together, they executed seventy to eighty innocent infidels. Furthermore, the center of Izmir is presently in the throes of insurrection, and groups of Muslims from other areas, believing that an attack on the *reaya* of Izmir is imminent, are approaching the city to loot and pillage. According to your investigation, it is clear that, the way things stand, a major incident will occur in Izmir. Until now, the *reaya* of Izmir had shown no signs of rebellion; now, however, some scoundrels and riffraff have used the actions of the Franks as an excuse to wreak havoc, in the hope of looting and pillaging. Their boldness and actions are unacceptable and against the wishes of His Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency was appointed to Izmir with strict orders to arrest the bandits and ensure the protection of the area and the security of the poor folk. However, the fact that such disturbances continue to take place in Izmir repeatedly may confirm that Your Excellency has been negligent and has proven to be incompetent at keeping the situation under control. Your Excellency will later be held accountable for this negligence and ineptitude. By command of His Imperial Majesty, an imperial writ containing threats and admonishments was issued and sent to Your Excellency and to the notables and janissaries of Izmir; from among the senior scribes of the imperial divan, the former master of ceremonies, Reşid Bey, has been appointed as usher to carry the writ. The officers of the battalions of the janissary corps have sent

1 In Izmir the events took the shape of outright janissary riots and continued sporadically for nine months. According to the British consular reports, a general massacre of the Greek population in Izmir was intended at least three times (on June 3, June 15, and November 20) and only prevented by the determined conduct of Hasan Pasha, the castellan of the town. The casualties were in the hundreds. See Ilıcak, "A Radical Rethinking of Empire," pp. 139–42; Richard Clogg, "Smyrna in 1821: Documents from the Levant Company Archives in the Public Record Office," *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 15 (1972), pp. 313–71; Theophilus Prousis, "Smyrna, 1821: A Russian View," *Modern Greek Studies Year Book* 7 (1991), pp. 145–68.

letters to the janissaries of Izmir, and the grand admiral has also sent couriers bearing letters of advice to all concerned. Your Excellency is ordered by this letter to cooperate with the usher and fulfill your duty. You are to find a way to suppress the rebellion, to reestablish and maintain order in Izmir and its hinterland, and to prevent the recurrence of such episodes, which constitute a breach of His Imperial Majesty's orders.

[574/249, regarding the Hydriot vessels spotted off Cyprus]

To the Governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha]

December 6, 1821

We have received the letter in which Your Excellency has relayed valuable intelligence. On the 6th day of the month of *Safer* [November 2, 1821], a captain of a Nile river boat [*cerim*] who was sailing from Cyprus to Alexandria sighted two Hydriot vessels near Cyprus. Suspecting the Hydriot vessels of provoking rebellion among the *reaya* of Cyprus and Mount Lebanon, you sent six Tripolitan [Libyan] vessels, which had arrived in Alexandria the previous day, and another vessel, which had just come from the western Mediterranean, to patrol the shores of Cyprus. You point out that you have attached the letters from the Barbary Regencies sent in response to our previous correspondence. The flawless effort of Your Excellency in fulfilling your duty has been a cause of pleasure and a most acceptable deed for His Imperial Majesty, who said a prayer of blessing over you: "May God bless him!" Your Excellency is an experienced and perspicacious administrator in the service of the Sublime State and well aware of the expediciencies of the times and circumstances. His Imperial Majesty fully endorses your decision to mobilize the aforementioned squadron, since it is clear from your correspondence that Hydriot vessels would sail in those waters only in order to seduce the *reaya* of Cyprus and Mount Lebanon. Thus, the squadron does not need to reunite with the imperial navy and it should rather patrol in the vicinity in line with the imperial order. On the assumption that those vessels must have reached Rhodes by now, His Excellency the grand admiral had the *mutasarrıf* of Rhodes send instructions to the squadron of the Tripolitan ships to the effect that it should carry out its patrolling duties in the waters of Cyprus, as Your Excellency had commanded them. We ask of you by this letter to take all measures for preventing these Hydriot vessels from soliciting the aforementioned *reaya* by having the squadron patrol in the vicinity in accordance with the relevant imperial order.

[574/252, *regarding the provisioning of the troops to be dispatched to the Morea*]

To Mehmed Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Infantry dispatched to the Morea

December 8, 1821

We have taken notice of your letter, expressing the need for an abundance of provisions for the soldiers who are going to depart with the imperial navy under your command, as well as for the ones who will join you later. You state that your other concern is about the necessity for arranging for supplies and shipping them to the Castle of Methoni and other castles in the Morea. The issues in your letter were referred to His Excellency the grand admiral, and in response he stated that eight thousand *kantars* of hardtack were prepared as four months' provision for the six thousand soldiers who would be dispatched to the Morea under your command. Moreover, he has bought fifteen thousand *vukiyyes*¹ of olives, seven thousand five hundred *vukiyyes* of onions, three thousand seven hundred and fifty *vukiyyes* of vinegar, and three thousand *vukiyyes* of olive oil for the consumption of your troops for a month-long sea voyage; they are about to be loaded in merchant vessels rented for this purpose. Your Excellency should know that the head of the grain office has sporadically arranged for the supplies of the castles of Methoni and Koroni and the other castles of the Morea. Supply levels of these castles are sufficient, since we have already bought a large amount of provisions from *müstemen* merchants with funds from the imperial treasury. We ask you by this letter to labor in ministering the situation with perseverance.

¹ *Vukiyye*: weight unit. 1 *vukiyye* equals 1.2 kg.

[574/263, *regarding the dispatch of the navy to the Morea*]

To the Grand Admiral [Nasuhzade Kara Ali Pasha]

December 14, 1821

In Your Excellency's missive you report that Halil Bey, Fleet Commander of the imperial navy, has arrived tonight at the Dardanelles on a ship under his command. You also state that some of the merchant vessels have been equipped and are awaiting favorable weather to set sail today, whereas some others will leave tomorrow. Upon receiving your missive, His Imperial Majesty inscribed his royal writ: "Reiterate to him that he should fit and dispatch them at once. Talk is cheap, and time is wasted. Considering the date of the letter of Yusuf Pasha [of Serres, castellan of Patras], perhaps, by now, the Muslims in other castles may have been ruined as well. Good God, give me patience!" This letter is to invite you to heed the contents of this royal writ and exert yourself to perform your task accordingly.

[574/268, *regarding the petition of the priests of Mount Athos for pardon*
To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]
December 15, 1821

We have received Your Excellency's memorandum through Necib Efendi, your agent in Istanbul, as well as your subsequent letter with the appended petition in Greek submitted by the priests of Mount Athos and the copy of the letter you sent to them in response. You recount in your memorandum that several priests had arrived from Mount Athos with pleas for mercy and pardon before you could set out in person to deal with the rebels there, for you had to settle affairs in Kassandra first. You had told them you would refuse to consider the matter unless they surrendered all the cannons, muskets, and other weapons in their monasteries. In addition, you made it known to them that you must inspect these places in person and thoroughly examine the true state and manners of the priests. As they left to discuss these conditions among themselves, you turn to us for instructions on the proper course of action to follow should they accept your conditions and plead with us to instruct your courier, who escorted the captives to Istanbul. In a subsequent letter, you inform us about the arrival of two priests from Mount Athos carrying a petition in Greek addressed to you and a letter from their local officer, Halil Haseki¹ of the Imperial Gardeners, who had been on Mount Athos since the beginning of the revolt. The content of your letter reveals that these priests alleged that they were poor people living on alms and unable to withstand the occupation of Mount Athos by the bandits from the Archipelago, whereas some *reaya* from the districts of Thessaloniki fled to Mount Athos out of fear. You responded that you were not the one to decide on this matter and that you could forward the matter to His Imperial Majesty only after all the local priests and dignitaries appeared in person before you for a proper examination of their case. It is incumbent on us by holy law to grant official mercy on those infidels whenever they beg for forgiveness for revolting against their benefactor, the Sublime State, insofar as they make a pledge to remain obedient subjects as before and adhere to the conditions of subjecthood. Having examined the translation of their petition and your response, we realize that those priests of Mount Athos are trying to exonerate themselves from the guilt

1 Halil Haseki was detained by the insurgents in the Koutloumousiou (Turk. Kutlumuş, Gr. Κουτλουμουσίου) Monastery on Mount Athos. The representatives of the insurgents took Halil Haseki with them to demand amnesty from the *Mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha. When the *mutasarrıf* interrogated Halil Haseki, he refused to give information or to blame the priests of Mount Athos and was eventually sent to Istanbul. See Veli Aydın, "1821 Yunan İsyanı Sırasında Selanik Sancağı ve İsyana Karşı Alınan Önlemler," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 33/2 (2018), pp. 303–34.

of uprising and brigandage. They do not even ask for official mercy, as if they had no fault. All they say is that a number of bandits had indeed penetrated into their district in springtime, that currently there were none, and that they sent two priests to deliver their *jizya* tickets and explain the present state of local affairs to the Corps of Imperial Gardeners. We cannot trust their goodwill merely on account of a piece of paper and empty words. Hence, how can we then decide on the matter? Our decision on this case will be a reference for future requests for those seeking official pardon. Therefore, we endorse the offer you made to them in your response letter as the proper course of conduct in this matter. You should station a few hundred men in one of their monasteries and then assemble all the priests therein, so that they confess their present crimes as a prelude to a formal request for official mercy. If they comply, then they should first turn over all the cannons, guns, muskets, pistols, blades, gunpowder, and ball cartridges in their possession to your officers after a thorough search carried out in their residences, dwellings, and other suspicious places. You should have the court make an inventory of these weapons and ammunition and send them all to Istanbul to be stored in the imperial armory. Second, they must choose two men of consequence among the priests and *kocabaşıs* to stay in Istanbul as hostages until the sedition is over and peace is restored everywhere. Third, they shall pay all the taxes in full that fell in arrears during their rebellion. Fourth, they must pay their *jizya* per capita and in person from now onwards, as stipulated by holy law. If the *reaya* of Mount Athos accept these conditions in deed, rather than in word, you shall also accept their submission. Those who accept the conditions but fail to act upon them will be exposed as frauds and liars who are not eligible for mercy. In this case, they will have to face the wrath of Islam. In light of these considerations, we suggested to His Imperial Majesty that you should explain this last point to them as a prerequisite for the granting of official mercy. If they agree to it, you should then summon the clergy to your presence and procure their agreement to the terms. When you are convinced about their commitment to fulfill the conditions, you should inform us about the situation. If, however, you sense that they are trying to prevaricate and stall by agreeing to some of the terms and referring others to the future, you will carry out your previous instructions, without wasting time with their deceiving words, after consulting Halil Haseki on their real intention. Following His Imperial Majesty's approval of our suggestions above, we have sent you an imperial decree that reiterates the conditions laid out in this present letter. We ask of you to inform us if they accept these conditions and agree to comply with them, in which case you should send forward their hostages, two in number, to Istanbul. By contrast, you should subject them to the might of Islam if they attempt to prevaricate.

[574/271, *regarding the situation in the Morea after the fall of Tripolitsa*
To Yusuf Pasha of Serres, who is in Patras
December 16, 1821

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you inform us that you moved from Patras to the Castle of the Morea, since it proved difficult to stay in Patras, due to the strife among the troops that occurred after the invasion of Tripolitsa [by Greek insurgents] and the imminent attack of the *reaya* rebels on Patras. In your opinion, relocation to Rio would strengthen the garrison of the Castle of Rumelia and Nafpaktos without compromising the necessity to support the garrison in Patras with supplies and reinforcements, if needed. Thus, you raised as many troops as possible from among the inhabitants of Patras, Gastouni,¹ and Lala² for the garrison of Patras. In addition, you left a contingent of your troops there under a commander, along with enough provisions for three to four months and some quantity of ammunition from your own supplies. You also sent a paper containing five eyewitness accounts of the fall of Tripolitsa and the translations of the intercepted Greek documents of Elmas Meçe³ and Veli Paça, who bore the sole responsibility for the fall of Tripolitsa. You report that the fortresses of Corinth, Nafplio, Koroni, and Methoni were in urgent need of foodstuffs, supplies, and munitions and that Patras, Nafpaktos, and the castles of Rumelia and Morea had to be supplied with lead, gunpowder, and other types of ammunition. According to your correspondence, the vice-consul of France at Patras behaved treacherously in the events leading up to the rebels' attack on Patras, and the Muslims are resolved to defend the city and repulse the rebels. Having allocated the wheat among [the inhabitants of] Patras, Nafpaktos, and the castles of Rumelia and Morea as mentioned previously, you estimated that they would last three to four months and purchased additional quantities of wheat at the cost of 50,000 piasters. You confirm the arrival of eight thousand bushels of wheat dispatched from Istanbul to Nafpaktos and of the imperial decree concerning the shipment of ten thousand bushels of wheat, which would arrive soon, according to the merchant involved in this transaction. Admitting that these shipments had

- 1 Gastouni (Turk. Gaston, Gr. Γαστούνη): town in the west Morea. The inhabitants of the town were Muslim Albanians.
- 2 Lala (Turk. Lala, Gr. Λάλας): town in the west Morea. The inhabitants of the town were Muslim Albanians.
- 3 Elmas Meçe: Albanian commander in charge of securing Tripolitsa, also referred to as Elmas Meço or Mezzo in historiography. He was the former chief orderly [*kapuçukadar*] of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha. He struck a *besa* [word of honor] with Theodoros Kolokotronis for the safe refuge of the Albanian contingent from the castle and opened the gates to the Greek insurgents. For Elmas Meçe, see also documents 577/19, 577/68, 578/35, and 578/70 herein.

given a new lease of life to the Muslims residing in the royal fortresses, you plead with us to supply these four fortresses with a sufficient amount of lead, ball cartridges, and other ammunition. You confirm the arrival of our correspondence relaying the measures being taken regarding the Morea, such as the assignment of sizable and fully equipped forces, and informed us about the shipment of enough ball cartridges, together with a gift of five hundred purses of piasters to the commander-in-chief. Expressing your gratitude, you report that you sent your agents on a rented *müstemen* merchant ship in order to receive the ball cartridges and the money from the commander-in-chief. You also point out that while the troops assigned were substantial in number, it would be difficult to dispatch them overland, since the passes were barred and winter conditions prevailed. Thus, you consider it necessary to hire *müste-men* merchant ships for ferrying them across from convenient places and to keep at least fifteen warships of the imperial navy on patrol duty in the vicinity. Finally, in consideration of the possibility that the aforementioned French vice-consul misinforms his superiors to hide his treason, you wrote a letter of protest in Greek and had it ratified and signed by the British and Austrian vice-consuls before sending it to us. We endorse your relocation to the Castle of Morea. It is indeed a prudent decision, since the Castle of Morea is strong and nearby, an hour and a half from Patras. Thus, you will have no difficulty to supply and reinforce Patras from the direction of Rio. We had formerly written to you about the military preparations regarding the land operations in the Morea. As for naval operations, we had assigned Mehmed Pasha, Castellan of the Dardanelles, as the commander-in-chief of the infantry to be dispatched by the imperial navy and provided him with enough troops and supplies to sail out in spring. However, due to the severity of the revolt of the infidel Moreots, delaying the operations until spring may amount to losing the peninsula completely. Thus, based on His Imperial Majesty's will, we have outfitted a fleet to transport Mehmed Pasha's forces immediately to the Morea, apart from the navy, which will sail out by the spring. This fleet has left with the embarked land units under the Commander-in-Chief Mehmed Pasha with supplies and provisions. Furthermore, we have prepared the necessary amount of provisions and munition for each fortress in the Morea and dispatched them on *müste-men* merchant vessels. The imperial ships will hopefully reach there soon, and, with the help of God, those bandits will meet their due punishment. We write this letter to inform you about these measures and ask of you to maintain your courage and persevere in your duty. Regarding the vice-consul in Patras, the French chargé d'affaires [in Istanbul] has not communicated to us on this matter yet. We will deal with it when he raises this issue.

[574/289, *regarding the state of the army and instructions to recapture the Morea*]

To the Commander-in-Chief of the Ioannina Army [Hurşid Pasha]

December 27, 1821

Your Excellency reminds us of your past correspondence that relayed the way in which the infidels of the Morea, Acarnania, and Nafpaktos had attacked Arta and how you assigned Reşid Pasha,¹ Governor of Karaman, with ten thousand men as reinforcements to Hasan Pasha and his treasurer, who fought back these infidels. In your present correspondence, you report that you ordered Reşid Pasha to reach Arta at once for the defense of the fortress of Preveza by following the Chameria route rather than Pende Pigadia,² which is in the foothills of the Souli Mountain and at a five-hour distance from Ioannina, so that he would not have to lose precious time by engaging the infidels of Souli³ and Ioannina, who were gathered at Pende Pigadia. You also relate that you assigned Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], along with your own arms bearer, at the head of a sufficient force to crush the infidels in Pende Pigadia. While stating your conviction that these infidels and those who earned His Imperial Majesty's wrath [Tepedelenli Ali Pasha] would soon be finished off by the grace of divine favor, you, however, voice your concerns about the forces of Seyyid Ali Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, and other assigned functionaries. Having heard that this force was four thousand men strong at most, you grew dubious about its chances to force the Fontana Defile and advance beyond Livadeia, given the large concentration of infidels. It is conceivable that they may cut off the rear of our force and, God forbid, rout it. You suggest that the occupation of the Morea was possible only by a land force of forty to fifty thousand robust men and an accompanying strong navy, given that the rebels of the Mani⁴ alone exceeded thirty thousand men. In your opinion, Seyyid Ali Pasha has been waiting in Lamia with the rest of the functionaries to no purpose. You propose that [Seyyid] Ali Pasha should remain in Lamia, while the rest of the functionaries should advance on the infidels of Acarnania with the available troops, striking the towns of Karpenisi and Ypati on their way. A coordinated attack by the troops you would assign from the other direction would route the infidels

1 Mehmed Reşid Pasha: of slave descent from Georgia. He is known as "Kütahi" in Greek historiography, because he was the *kaymakam* of the *sancaks* of Kütahya and Eskişehir (mid-west Anatolia) when he joined the forces sent against Tepedelenli Ali Pasha. He was appointed governor of Karaman in August 1821.

2 Pende Pigadia (Turk. Beşkuyular, Gr. Πέντε Πηγάδια): lit. Five Wells; strategic location on the road between Arta and Ioannina.

3 Souli (Turk. Sul or Kakosuli, Gr. Σούλι): historic region in central Epirus, northwest Greece.

4 The Mani (Turk. Mayna or Many, Gr. Μάνη): peninsula in the southern Peloponnese.

and alleviate the situation. Indeed, although the pacification of the Morea is an overarching concern, it is contingent on passing through the Fontana Defile first and then making advances in the country by concentrating substantial numbers of troops and supplies by land and sea. Yet, we understand from your correspondence that the functionaries gathered in Lamia for this purpose have a meagre force and should not be expected to achieve much in the Morea. It will equally be a waste of time to keep them in Lamia. Even though we had formerly assigned Seyyid Ali Pasha and the rest of the functionaries the task of moving beyond the defile and removing the filthy bodies of the bandits from the Morea, they are far from performing this task with the deficient force at their disposal. Besides, even if they somehow manage to penetrate deep into the country, they will still face the kind of challenges you have mentioned in your report. Furthermore, as you have pointed out, it is not a remote possibility that the infidels who united in revolt in the region stretching from the Morea to Ioannina may threaten the army of Ioannina. God forbid, the grave implication of this is obvious. Therefore, we suggested to His Imperial Majesty that it was essential to launch a land and naval operation targeting the Morea with substantial preparations only after the restoration of order on the other side and bringing the affairs in Ioannina to a favorable conclusion. It follows that it would be useless to disembark in the Morea five to six thousand troops under Mehmed Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Infantry, which will be dispatched these days. This would lead to their isolation and eventual destruction. Thus, we deem it necessary to change his orders from disembarking in the Morea to leaving Istanbul with favorable weather immediately and to land at the Castle of Rumelia, Nafpaktos, Parga, or Igoumenitsa, in descending order of preference, and, in communication with you and other functionaries, to attack and crush the rebel infidels. Seyyid Ali Pasha is to remain in Lamia with a sufficient force, while the viziers of three and two horsetails under his command might strike the towns of Karpenisi and Ypati with the rest of the assembled troops, in order to prevent the passage of the infidels to the other side of the defile. These forces and the force under Mehmed Pasha should then fall on the infidels of Acarnania and Nafpaktos from opposite directions, coordinating their advance with the troops you would dispatch. Following His Imperial Majesty's approval of our suggestions above, we have sent out relevant imperial decrees to our functionaries. As our functionaries have been unsuccessful in the matter of the Morea despite all our efforts, we have appointed Seyyid Ali Pasha as commander-in-chief with the expectation of victory. His Imperial Majesty has made it known a few times by royal writ that he has not observed any action from Seyyid Ali Pasha. This time, His Imperial Majesty inscribed on the memorandum about the consultation held on the change of orders and

reassignments the following royal writ: "These functionaries are slacking off. You all know that the army of Ioannina has been in danger since the siege of Arta. Have them rush at once and get down to work. For God is my record, I will not pardon any official, even for a slight delay, and will order his execution. Enough is enough with this idleness. I have repeatedly written about this, and there is nothing more to say." We have written to Seyyid Ali Pasha and other functionaries that their laxity had incurred the wrath of His Imperial Majesty, who would—in God, we take refuge—take the course of action he described in his royal writ, if they failed to carry out their current reassignment. We have made it clear that securing salvation in this world and the next by fighting the holy war valiantly is a better option than meeting an unfortunate end by incurring the wrath of their benefactor. This letter is to inform you that His Imperial Majesty has left it to your discretion as the commander-in-chief to decide about the proper instructions for each of our functionaries after corresponding with them.

[574/291, regarding giving priority to the suppression of Ali Pasha over the Greek uprising]

To the Commander-in-Chief of the Infantry [Mehmed Pasha]

December 27, 1821

In consequence of the intensity of the revolt of the Moreot infidels, we had decided to dispatch the imperial navy to the Morea before the advent of spring and instructed you to land your troops at a suitable place on the peninsula. However, the current correspondence from Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Ioannina army, reports the united attack of the infidels of the Morea, Acarnania, and Nafpaktos on Arta. Accordingly, they entered the suburbs [of Arta], and Hasan Pasha and Hurşid Pasha's treasurer fought them back behind the defenses. In an attempt to aid him, maintains Hurşid Pasha, he sent Reşid Pasha, Governor of Karaman, to Arta over Chameria with ten thousand men and commissioned Ömer Pasha [Vrioni] along with his own arms bearer at the head of a force sufficient to crush the infidels at the place called Pende Pigadia. He has also communicated to us the intelligence that the commander-in-chief of the Morea [Seyyid Ali Pasha] and other functionaries serving under him had insufficient numbers of troops to try to pass the [Fontana] defile and that, even if they did, they would not be able to proceed farther than Livadeia, due to the large numbers of infidels. Hence, one of his salient remarks is that the pacification of the Morea was contingent on the concentration of substantial numbers of troops and supplies by land and sea. Indeed, although the matter of the Morea is essential, it requires an abundance of soldiers, serious preparation on land to pass through the Fontana Defile and press on, and the arrival of the navy by sea. Yet, according to Hurşid Pasha's report, the officers gathered in Lamia to march to the Morea do not have many soldiers and, obviously, they will not achieve much in the Morea with meagre forces. It will equally be a waste of time to keep them in Lamia. In the meantime, the infidels in the Morea, Acarnania, and Nafpaktos are anxious to unite with the infidels of Arta to attack the army at Ioannina. Any harm inflicted on the army in Ioannina, God forbid, will make every affair of ours more difficult to deal with. Evidently, matters in the Morea will be resolved smoothly if our forces crush those infidels who are bent on Ioannina by squeezing them in a vise from two sides and if we concentrate all our forces in the Morea upon finishing off the treacherous Ali Pasha of Ioannina. Having this in mind, we have suggested to His Imperial Majesty the relegation, for the time being, of the Morea to a secondary priority out of necessity. Accordingly, Seyyid Ali Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, should remain in Lamia with a sufficient force, while the rest of the assembled troops might strike the towns of Karpenisi and Ypati to prevent the infidel Moreots, who were planning

to breach the defile and press on. These forces might then coordinate their advance with the troops dispatched by Hurşid Pasha from the other side to meet in the middle, crushing all the rebels, as well as the infidels in the region between Nafpaktos and Acarnania along the way. Landing at the Morea with five or six thousand troops under your command would be of no use, given the magnitude of the current situation there. Thus, we also suggested changing your orders from landing in the Morea to engaging the infidels of Nafpaktos and Acarnania. As His Imperial Majesty gave his consent to our above suggestions, we have sent to the commander-in-chief of the Morea and other functionaries the relevant imperial decrees regarding their reassignments. Based on the reasons stated above, we have also changed your orders and sent you an imperial decree that explains your new instructions to the effect that you shall immediately board the ships after assembling the assigned troops, so that Halil Bey, Fleet Commander, would set off at once with favorable weather, following his instructions from the grand admiral. Accordingly, you shall take your force to the Castle of Rumelia, Nafpaktos, Parga, or Igoumenitsa, in descending order of preference. After disembarkation, and in communication with other functionaries and particularly with Hurşid Pasha, you shall lead your force on the infidels who rose up in rebellion in order to crush them. You will receive further instructions after accomplishing your present task. For your information, we have dispatched a copy of the grand admiral's instructions to the aforementioned fleet commander. We ask of you by this letter to follow your new instructions as stated in the relevant imperial decree and demonstrate the diligence expected of you by charging the infidel rebels valiantly upon reaching your destination.

[574/293, regarding instructions in the event that insurgents demand amnesty in Arta and Acarnania]

To the Commander-in-Chief of the Ioannina Army [Hurşid Pasha], the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea [Seyyid Ali Pasha], and the Commander-in-Chief of the Infantry [Mehmed Pasha]

December 27, 1821

Due to the reasons we have explained in detail in our previous letter, we postponed the launching of operations in the Morea for the time being and put our functionaries deployed in this operation in charge of crushing the brigands in and around Arta and Acarnania. Based on His Imperial Majesty's will, our agents should know in advance the course of action they must follow in case the *reaya* in the zone of operations choose to submit themselves peacefully and beg for official pardon. Attached to this letter is a copy of the conditions for receiving official pardon that we laid down by imperial decree. Thus, those infidels who beg for pardon should meet the conditions of eligibility. We have sent you this letter and the instruction in a secret fashion, and you too should keep this matter to yourself unless they beg for pardon. Although one of the conditions is the surrender of arms, we have received intelligence that it is the custom in some places to carry arms from the age of seven, and that, to them, relinquishing their arms means giving up their souls. Thus, by His Imperial Majesty's decree, you shall not insist on this condition in such villages where this custom prevails and make do with admitting hostages from them to deliver to the imperial navy. In case you cannot contact the navy, you must host them in suitable and safe fortresses until their transfer to Istanbul. We have communicated these instructions to Seyyid Ali Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, and Mehmed Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Infantry. We ask of you by this secret letter to act accordingly in case of peaceful submission and keep this matter undisclosed.

[574/297, *regarding the skirmish off Chios and instructions regarding the captured Greeks*]

To the Castellan of Chios [Vahid Pasha]

December 29, 1821

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence reporting that shortly after the arrival of the news of a barge attacking a boat off the island of Oinousses,¹ close to Chios, the inhabitants and some soldiers at the port of Chios sighted billows of gunpowder smoke over the two boats at some distance and went chasing them on their boats. It transpired that a boat approaching from the direction of Oinousses was harassing the crew of Captain Osman of Çeşme² at a location between the Castle of Chios and Çeşme. Attempting to escape from its chasers, the former boat set course to the coast named Ok Meydanı, close to Cape Thymiana of Chios, where a few hundred men rushed from the land side and captured ten Christian women and seven boys and girls, along with their belongings. Of the fourteen infidels, nine were executed by the troops on the way, and others, including three men claiming to have *müste-men* status and two underage boys, were detained in the Castle of Chios. As for the Christian women and children, you state that you made a register of their belongings at the court and sent it to Istanbul, along with the joint petition and the court decree in which the notables and the officers report the details of their circumstances. As is evident from your report, the main crew of the boat seems to be pirates, and the women folk onboard appear to be mere passengers and hence not guilty of any crime. Apart from the nine executed men, there are five men currently in prison; two of them claim to be from Kefalonia of the Ionian Islands, and one alleged that his father enjoyed the consular protection of France. The remaining two, by contrast, are underage boys. We have suggested delaying the prosecution of those under arrest and keeping them in prison for the time being. Regarding the women and children, we have recommended that you should inquire into their real identities from the authorities in Izmir and release them and return their property if their testimony is corroborated by your investigation. As for the other goods seized, you should sell them and divide the sum among the troops who participated in the skirmish. As His Imperial Majesty approved of our suggestion, we ask of you by this letter to carry out the above order diligently.

1 Oinousses (Turk. Koyun Adası, Gr. Οινούσες): small island off the northeast coast of Chios.

2 Çeşme (Gr. Τσεσμέ or Κρήνη): coastal town in westernmost Turkey, opposite Chios.

1822

[574/300, regarding the mobilization of the Geg Albanian troops of Mustafa Pasha Bushati]

To Hursid Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Ioannina Army

January 2, 1822

In his most recent letter, Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], the *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, asks us to clarify under whose command his forces are going to serve. According to his letter, he was about to dispatch the troops he was asked for, under the command of his close relative Selim Bey and his majordomo, Hüseyin Agha. Yet, in response to some of his queries regarding this matter, you have purportedly remarked: "Since your soldiers are not assigned to our command, send them to the Morea." Moreover, he complains that you have retained the commissary officer Süleyman Agha in your own retinue and ordered by mandate the cannoneers and the waggoneers from Ohrid to Bitola¹ without consulting with him. While he thinks that these developments have disrupted the ongoing mobilization, he still pledges to mobilize and dispatch the demanded troops. Nevertheless, he states he should know to whose command these troops will be assigned. The disposition of Mustafa Pasha is no secret to Your Excellency. With the current state of affairs, we have deemed it proper to turn a blind eye to his constant excuses and pretexts in order to put him to good use. In consideration of the present circumstances, we have sent him a conciliatory letter in response and explained to him that you had no ulterior motives in retaining the aforementioned Süleyman Agha, whom we appointed as the new commissary officer upon your request after the death of Edhem Agha. We told him that this was an urgent measure for the management of the military rations in your army camp and that Süleyman Agha was also in charge of the rations of the force that he was about to dispatch. As for the cannoneers and waggoneers, we pointed out to him that stationing them in Bitola was necessary for the upkeep and maintenance of these services, and it was dictated by his delay in the mobilization of the assigned troops. We have assured him that they would join his troops when they arrived. Finally, we reminded him that you are the commander-in-chief with full discretionary powers and that he should send the promised force to the command of whichever vizier Your Excellency deems suitable upon communication with him. We ask of you by this letter to send him and Selim Bey, the aforementioned commander of his force, placatory letters as dictated by the current situation and to deploy this force under the most suitable command.

¹ Bitola (Turk. Manastır, Gr. Μοναστήρι): town in southwest North Macedonia.

[574/310, regarding the ban on Greek women marrying Catholics]
To the Greek Patriarch and the Armenian Patriarch

January 5, 1822

The denominational differences between the Frankish [Catholic] and Greek [Orthodox] sects being obvious, it stands to reason that no true Greek would choose to convert to the Frankish creed. Besides, it is against the law for Frankish men to marry true Greek subjects of the Sublime State. For some time, though, due to negligence and inattentiveness, Frankish men have been taking wives from among the Greek girls, and thus Ottoman subjects are leaning toward the Frankish creed. Eventually, with the advent of this sedition [the Greek Revolution], this [leaning] has made the Greek *millet* subject to grave danger. We have forwarded to you the relevant imperial decree issued in consideration of the necessity to preclude this abominable deed and any future remorse and serious consequences on the part of the *reaya* of the Sublime State. Accordingly, from now on, those who allow and encourage such marriages, as well as those priests who witness or officiate at such weddings, will be subjected to severe punishment. You should announce the imperial decree to your community and know in advance that the authorities will monitor the implementation of this ban. From now on, whoever among the Greek community marries their daughters off to the Franks, those who arrange the marriage, as well as any priest who witnesses or officiates at the wedding, shall be hanged in front of the door of their houses. You will not be spared punishment yourself if the imperial decree is not observed. You should spend your utmost efforts in the implementation of this ban and dissuade your community from performing this abominable and vice act.

[574/311, regarding the state of affairs on Crete and a request to the Governor of Egypt for relief aid]

To the Governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha]

January 6, 1822

The infidels of Sfakia raised the flag of rebellion to commit treason and mischief against the Muslims after the flame of malice and depravity of the infidels in the Mediterranean spread over the *reaya* of Crete. Your Excellency has been put in charge of the protection of Crete from the depredations of the brigands by imperial decree, as we have reiterated on many occasions. We have no doubt that Your Excellency will not be deceived into laxity and procrastination on demonstrating diligence in saving Crete from harm. Based on recent letters, a court decree, and joint petitions from Crete, we understand that the infidels who rebelled in Irakleio and Rethymno faced the might of Islam by the troops sent against them, and their houses and possessions were burned down. Moreover, the Almyros Fortress, which had formerly fallen into the hands of the brigands, and the Castle of Chania, to which they laid siege, were both rescued. Having been defeated, the rebellious infidels fled to the islands of Gavdos¹ and Antikythira² on twenty-eight vessels. Later, the traitor called Ypsilantis³ sent an infidel, who purported to be a commander, to Sfakia, along with supplies and ammunition. They sent a man to Samos with the intention of bringing—through malice and deception—ten thousand infidels therefrom. Given the well-known manners and ill-reputed cowardice of [Muslim] Cretans, they [Greeks from Samos] were seduced by tricks, and most of them intended to go [to Crete]. With the return of the aforementioned fugitive infidels [from Gavdos and Antikythira], the reports maintain, they seized the Almyros Fortress without a fight and laid siege to Chania again. According to the correspondence from Crete, they are breeding the malicious hope of taking hold of the whole island, whereas some impertinent [Muslim] rabble seized the opportunity to murder and loot the innocent *reaya*, who mind their own business, working their plots. Such a state of affairs, as pointed out in these reports, makes the infidel brigands even more persistent in committing treachery against Muslims, while the castellans of Candia, Chania, and Rethymno are in no position to withstand those bandits, due to deficient numbers of troops under their command. These papers conclude that the whole island, God forbid, will be lost unless we send troops, supplies, and ammunition. That said,

1 Gavdos (Turk. Gavdoz, Gr. Γαύδος): island to the south of Crete, opposite Sfakia.

2 Antikythira (Turk. Küçük Çuka, Gr. Αντικύθηρα): island between the closest points of Crete and the Peloponnese.

3 Referring to Dimitrios Ypsilantis, brother of Alexandros Ypsilantis.

they also confirm the arrival of the three thousand bushels of wheat that Your Excellency had shipped. The attitude of the [Muslim] populace of Crete is no secret, and the difficulty of rushing reinforcements and aid to Crete is equally obvious, due to the rebellion ravaging throughout the Mediterranean. There is no need to remind Your Excellency that the island of Crete is a strong and well-fortified place, and its conquest took twenty-seven years of continuous siege and fighting, claiming the lives of innumerable Muslims. In light of the incoming letters and requests, Crete is apparently under heavy strain, and military aid to Crete is obligatory. Therefore, we will ship some quantity of ammunition with the imperial navy, which they will deliver to Crete en route to the Morea or on its return to Istanbul. However, it is imperative to rush troops, supplies, and ammunition to Crete in advance without waiting for the advent of spring, considering the exigency of the situation on Crete and the incapacity of the castellans to put up a defense against the enemy and the bandits with the meagre forces at their disposal. As we are unlikely to achieve this task from here in time, it is His Imperial Majesty's royal and sincere expectation of Your Excellency to succor and defend Crete. Given Alexandria's proximity to Crete, this task is befitting of your care and attention in your capacity as a praiseworthy servant of the Sublime State, who fully enjoys the confidence and favor of His Imperial Majesty. We have sent two separate couriers to Your Excellency with the imperial rescript featuring the royal writ atop that describes the current state of Cretan affairs and assigns Your Excellency the task of sending aid to Crete at any cost. Considering your distinct record of service in carrying out His Imperial Majesty's orders, we have no doubt that Your Excellency will deal with the matter of Crete selflessly with your gifted mind, similar to Plato's. His Imperial Majesty strictly wills Your Excellency to continue to serve our religion and state by searching for the means to help Crete with a sufficient force, supplies, and ammunition. It is our most sincere desire that your Excellency renders good service by suppressing the infidel rebels through sending military aid. You will thereby deserve the most auspicious prayers of our sultan, which is an all-powerful elixir. This letter is to explain His Imperial Majesty's will, as stated in the relevant imperial decree to Your Excellency, and to invite you to demonstrate your zeal and prowess once again by aiding Crete in any possible way.

[574/314, *regarding instructions to relieve Crete*]
To the Grand Admiral [Nasuhzade Kara Ali Pasha]
January 8, 1822

We have forwarded to Your Excellency the imperial order that the imperial navy is to unload the ammunition and equipment prepared in Istanbul for Crete at Chania or Rethymno, either on its way to or from its assigned destination. In correspondence received from the governor of Egypt, he expresses that while he has arranged and prepared the troops and ordnance for Crete, there were no warships to escort them. It is obvious that dispatching merchant ships as transports without escort is not an option. Thus, it is His Imperial Majesty's will that the departing imperial navy should transport the troops prepared in Alexandria to Crete and other places deemed necessary, after completing its current mission of disembarking troops on the shores of Albania. Accordingly, we have sent the relevant imperial decree to the naval officers and to Your Excellency. We ask of you by this present missive to dispatch these orders to the naval officers at once and to send written explanations and instructions to whomever you deem necessary for carrying out the orders. We would also like you to explain to them that the ammunition destined for Crete should be unloaded when the fleet brings the troops from Alexandria to Crete if it proves unfitting to do so on the way to Albania.

[574/320, *regarding financial aid from Egypt*]

Mandate to the Chief Accountant

January 9, 1822

His Imperial Majesty issued a writ commanding that the wealthy loyal friends of the Sublime State—which has incurred enormous expenses due to the troubles that emerged among the Greek *millet*—should not fall short of serving the state and demonstrating loyalty in such stressful times. In response, His Excellency Mehmed Ali Pasha, Governor of Egypt, wrote that he would serve the Sublime State by adding one thousand purses of piasters to the regular annual lump-sum tax of Egypt. The lump-sum tax of Egypt forwarded to the imperial mint has been fixed at seven thousand purses of piasters, while a thousand more purses have recently been added to this lump sum for the treasury of the imperial arsenal. The total amount of the Egyptian contribution has thus increased to nine thousand purses. We inform Your Excellency that His Imperial Majesty has ordered you to communicate with the head of the imperial mint in order to enter this latest sum in the registers as the Egyptian contribution to the imperial mint. You shall forward the relevant certificates of receipts to the offices involved in the transaction.

[574/321, *regarding the prevention of the return of the janissary troops from Moldavia and the state of affairs with Russia*]

To the Commander of the Vanguard Troops in Moldavia

January 10, 1822

We have received your correspondence stating that you have promptly executed our order regarding the transportation of artillery and ammunition to Brăila, other than five pieces and sufficient ammunition kept at your disposal. You inform us about the current state of the Russians in the vicinity and bring to our attention the oppression of the *reaya* in Moldavia by our military forces. Lastly, you request to have an imperial order that clarifies the matter of moving the five janissary battalions that are currently in Moldavia to Brăila. Even though the Russians have kept quiet so far, it is not yet clear how they will react to the official answer delivered by the Sublime Porte. It is even possible that they may declare war. Therefore, it is not wise to leave Moldavia without troops. Moreover, it is apparent that, should the janissary battalions leave Moldavia, other units will follow suit on the slightest pretext and refuse to stay in Brăila. Thus, it would be difficult to maintain troops at the frontiers. Because of these concerns, we do not grant permission to these janissary battalions to leave Moldavia for the time being. We also suggested that the janissary officers [in Istanbul] should write letters of admonition to their fellow officers and comrades in Moldavia, and the janissary agha to his second-in-command [who is in Moldavia] to the effect that these companies should continue to stay in Moldavia and refrain from violating the law and His Imperial Majesty's will by oppressing the *reaya*. A member of the janissary corps shall take these letters to Moldavia. As His Imperial Majesty approved these suggestions, the janissary officers and the janissary agha have sent these letters along with a messenger. Thus, we ask of Your Excellency by this letter to keep these battalions in Moldavia and treat the officers and the rank-and-file with moderation. You shall ensure through the collaboration of the officers that the *reaya* will not endure unnecessary oppression and insult.

[574/322, regarding the Greek hostages to be dispatched from Chios to Istanbul]
*To the Castellans of Chios, Lesbos, Kos, and Lemnos, and to the Mutasarrıf
 of Rhodes in separate copies*

January 10, 1822

As the Greeks have not requested pardon due to their dogged persistence, neither here nor in the provinces, we suggested to Your Excellency to hold hostage respectable men from among the Greek communities of the Archipelago. This was meant to be a precaution against the likelihood of the bandit boats going to the rebellious islands to join forces with local bandits or those islands that have not yet found the opportunity to revolt. Based on these considerations, His Imperial Majesty decreed that a number of dignitaries from each of these islands should be brought to Istanbul, so that the *bostancıbaşı agha* could keep them in detention. In accordance with the previous imperial writ, while the metropolitan of Chios is currently detained in the Castle of Chios, the implementation of the measure keeping the *kocabaşıs* of the island as hostages on rotation shall continue.¹ Nevertheless, in order to establish complete security, a new imperial order requires the dispatch of two to three of the most prestigious members of the community of notables known as “the twelvers”—who are among the notable community known as “the fortiers”—as hostages and to keep them in Istanbul until the end of the turmoil. We ask of you by this letter to identify two to three of the most prestigious infidels from among the so-called twelvers and send them to Istanbul in the custody of your trustworthy men, so that we will keep them as hostages until the elimination of the ongoing malice.

1 See documents 573/200 and 574/90 herein.

[574/324, *regarding troop recruitment for the defense of Chios*]

To the Castellan of Chios [Vahid Pasha]

January 10, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence with which you forwarded the letter from the castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha] that relays the intelligence provided by the English consul in Izmir as a friendly gesture. Accordingly, the infidels of the island of Psara¹ had prepared some vessels in an effort to muster four thousand infidels from Samos and, apparently, take them to Chios for a heinous attack. You point out that you have four hundred men in your retinue, and Ilyaszade [*mütesellim* of Sığla] had five to six hundred, while the garrison of Chios was four-hundred-strong, including infantry, artillerymen, and wagoners. All included, you maintain, this number is still low for defending the Castle of Chios, even if Ilyaszade meets his assigned quota of men, which is a thousand troops. The castellan of Izmir has relayed this intelligence to us as well, while the English ambassador to the Porte [Lord Strangford] informed the grand admiral about this matter. Even if the reports regarding the preparation of the bandit boats are true, the probability prevails that their real aim is to make a foothold on a larger piece of land, such as the Morea or Crete, and to entrench themselves there. Although these ships are likely to head to either of these places, prudence obliges us to take the necessary precautions for the defense of Chios as well. The number of troops is obviously not sufficient for the defense, as suggested in your correspondence. Thus, a recent imperial decree has ordered: 750 troops from the districts of the *sancak* of Aydın under the command of Küçük Ahmed Agha, a former fief-holder and the *Mütesellim* of Güzelhisar; five hundred troops from the districts of the *sancak* of Saruhan under the command of Molla Agha, the former head musketeer of Manisa;² and five hundred troops from the town of Izmir under the command of Kastellizade Ahmed Agha. This makes a total of 1,750 troops. We have sent the relevant orders along with an inspector with the instruction that he should not return before gathering and transporting all these troops to Chios. We have strictly admonished Ilyaszade to bring up his unit to full force. Moreover, we have put the chief accountant in charge of arranging for more provisions for the garrison of Chios after consulting with the registers to figure out if the supplies we have formerly ordered from Kuşadası to Chios are sufficient. The expenses of these fresh troops for daily rations and such are by all means to be met by the island. We ask of Your Excellency to demonstrate your determination and zeal in ensuring the defense of the island and in handling this affair befittingly.

¹ Psara (Turk. İpsara, Gr. Ψαρά): island in the central Aegean Sea, northeast of Chios.

² Manisa (Gr. Μαννησία): town and province in western Turkey.

[574/325, *regarding giving priority to the suppression of the uprising in Rumelia over the Morea*]

To the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea [Seyyid Ali Pasha]

January 10, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence, along with the written statement of your treasurer and the appended documents. You plead with us to replace your commissary officer—whom you declare is not be capable of performing his duty—with a competent one. You also point out that a shortage of supplies will be inevitable, since the supplies arranged previously were insufficient and their arrival would take some time. Furthermore, you state that not a single soldier employed by the general call to arms showed up, with the result that you augmented your force by hiring monthly salaried soldiers [mercenaries]. Lastly, we understand that you have sent your treasurer Reşid Efendi to Istanbul, along with the muster rolls of the units under the functionaries in Lamia, as well as the petitions of the latter. After a close review, we have presented your correspondence, Reşid Efendi's report, and the appended documents to His Imperial Majesty. We had previously dispatched a letter that explained the imperial order concerning the revision of your task. Accordingly, the intensification of the revolt of the infidels inhabiting the region between the Morea and Ioannina forced us to postpone the intended operation in the Morea and gave precedence to the suppression of the former. Thus, you received instructions to stay in Lamia with a sufficient number of troops in order to prevent the infidels from passing through the Defile of the Morea [the Isthmus of Corinth] and to dispatch the viziers and troops in your retinue against the bandit rebels. Therefore, we believe that you had dispatched this present correspondence of yours and the said treasurer before the arrival of the new imperial order and our letter. We assume that they must have reached you by now so that you have learned of your new task as summarized above. Besides, you noted in your past letter that the royal farms in and around Larissa would supply forty thousand bushels of grain. Furthermore, we have arranged for the transportation of fifteen thousand bushels of wheat and barley from Volos, Orfani, and Thessaloniki. This amount should definitely support roughly ten thousand troops under your command for a couple of months. Thus, the view Your Excellency states on the matter of supplies in this present correspondence somewhat contradicts the information provided in your previous letter. However, we have granted your request for leasing packhorses to transfer supplies from Larissa and Trikala. In order to prevent any future potential complications regarding this issue, we have commissioned the former *Reisülküttab* Arif Efendi, who had already been sent to take care of the affairs of Larissa, with dealing with this matter as well. We have placed Ibrahim Agha of Kazanlık

as the commissary officer under his command, so that they will cooperate to supply Lamia with the required quantity of grain from Larissa. We have sent them the imperial orders and the necessary instructions to deliver the relevant accounts for auditing upon the completion of their task. We inform Your Excellency by this letter that we explained to your treasurer the change in your assignment. Accordingly, you shall stay with a sufficient number of troops in Lamia and send all officers and soldiers under Mahmud Pasha's command against the accursed rebels, as well as showing the utmost care to supply the troops with provisions. We strictly explained to your treasurer that the slightest negligence of duty in this respect will be a cause for remorse and regret on your part. We trust that you will gain detailed knowledge on all these matters from the oral report of your treasurer and, as the commandeer-in-chief, fulfill your task loyally and astutely, without losing any time.

[574/329, regarding the suppression of the uprising in the region of Thessaloniki and instructions for granting official pardon]
To the Mutasarrif of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]
January 12, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you relate that when the capture and subjugation of Cassandra, by the grace of God Almighty and fortune of His Imperial Majesty, and the elimination of the *reaya* bandits had become known to the infidel islanders who gathered at Mount Athos, they quickly fled on boats. The clergy and the *reaya* of the mining villages who remained behind sent a few priests [as representatives] to request quarter, promising to deliver their weapons and to obey the state's decision about their case. You also report that you then pitched your tent at a nearby place and sent a number of soldiers to Mount Athos in order to seize the monasteries and their weapons. You point out that you granted pardon to the miners and removed them from Mount Athos prior to the arrival of the authorized instructions concerning the official pardon. That said, however, you assure us that your course of action conformed to the official instructions concerning the granting of amnesty. You also state that, when the matter on Mount Athos comes to an end with the help of God Almighty and if the weather permits, you would attack the captain named Yamandi,¹ who operates in Kastania² and Naousa.³ Finally, you ask for permission to deploy a number of troops in the islands of Zora [uncertain reading] and Cassandra for garrison duties. Thanks to Your Excellency's efforts, the issue of Mount Athos has nearly finished, and it is a source of pleasure to us. We have also presented your letter to His Imperial Majesty, who praised your efforts. Because Your Excellency is a zealous, arduous, percipient, and honorable vizier, God willing, we expect that you will assume complete control in the region soon. Your Excellency has full freedom of action in your task of suppressing the infidel rebels and ensuring the subjugation of those who ask for official pardon in line with the relevant instructions. It is obvious and a necessity of the imperial order that you strive toward implementing proper precautions and taking impromptu action as necessitated by the state of affairs. We ask of you to demonstrate the zeal and courage manifest in your character by following the relevant imperial decree.

- 1 Referring to Adamantios Nikolaou Olympios or Kapetan Diamandi; Kapudan Yamandi in the text.
- 2 Kastania (Turk. Kastanya, Gr. Καστανιά): mountain village in north Greece, to the southwest of Veroia.
- 3 Naousa (Turk. Ağustos, Gr. Νάουσα): town in north Greece, to the west of Thessaloniki.

[574/339, *regarding the death of Skarlatos Kallimaki and the reassurance of the deputy voivodes*]

To the Governor of Silistra and the Commander-in-Chief of the Danube
Mehmed Selim Pasha

January 23, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you inform us about the recent trepidations of the *kaymakams* of Wallachia and Moldavia [Konstantinos Negrís and Stefanos Vogoridis] upon reading in Austrian newspapers available in Bucharest the news that Iskerlet [Skarlatos] Kallimaki [voivode of Wallachia] had died in Bolu of a stroke upon learning of the execution of his brother Yanko [Ioannis],¹ former Dragoman of the Porte.² You suggest we give them assurances about the Sublime Porte's goodwill about them in order to negate the rumors circulating among the boyars and inhabitants in Iași and Bucharest that the deputies would be discharged soon. We have submitted your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty, along with several news items from Russia. The abovementioned Yanko was in fact a seditious infidel and a provocateur and he was not minding his own business in Kayseri, his place of banishment. As the investigation revealed his mischievous activities, he received his due punishment, and Iskerlet had a stroke and perished after learning the news. In accordance with the imperial writ endorsing your suggestion, we have sent separate conciliatory letters to the *kaymakams* of Wallachia and Moldavia, in which we emphasized that although Iskerlet, the late voivode of Wallachia, had chosen them as deputies, they were later reconfirmed in their position by the relevant imperial orders. Thus, the letters continue, the perishing of the voivode does not necessitate their dismissal from office, and they should perform their duties loyally and efficiently as before, without showing laxity. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to forward the aforementioned letters to the *kaymakams* when you receive them and disregard the news of Russia's withdrawal of troops, since Russia has never been short of maneuverings up to now. Thus, you shall demonstrate the prudence and zeal inherent in your character by carrying out your duties loyally and astutely, remaining watchful and vigilant.

1 See documents 574/86 and 574/148 herein.

2 Skarlatos Kallimaki had been appointed voivode of Wallachia before the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, but he never left Istanbul to take up his post. He was saved from execution because Russia could use his death as a pretext to declare war. He was kept under custody in a Muslim neighborhood in Istanbul, Süleymaniye, to prevent his flight. When the government took notice that he was communicating with foreign agents, he was exiled to Bolu, where he was secretly murdered by Ahmed Raşid Efendi, the *Mütesellim*. His death had to seem to be due to natural causes in order to prevent Russian outrage. Thus, poison prepared by the head physician of the court was sent to Bolu and given to Kallimaki through a plot hatched by the *mütesellim*. Clearly relishing the *mütesellim's* account, the sultan offered him a congratulatory bravo. See Ilıcak, "A Radical Rethinking of Empire," p. 188.

FIGURE 8 Title page of BOA/*Ayniyat* Register 575

[575/4, *regarding the subjugation of Mount Athos*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

January 25, 1822

The courier carrying Your Excellency's correspondence dated 25 *Rebiülahir* [January 19, 1822] has also brought us your previous correspondence dated 17 *Rebiülahir* [January 11, 1822], since the courier bearing the earlier one fell ill on the road. In your first correspondence, you inform us that the priests of Mount Athos completely accepted the terms of the official pardon. You also report that you sent troops and seized the large churches and towers, as well as artillery and most of the materials of war. You declare that the complete subjugation of this area is imminent. You also ask for authorization for related matters and express your gratitude for our pardoning of the past crimes of the former commissary officer Ali Bey. In your second correspondence, you describe the strength of the monasteries and the abundance of buildings on Mount Athos in detail. You report that despite the fact that you have so far seized fifty-five pieces of small and large cannons, five to six hundred muskets, several pistols, knives, and swords, you grew suspicious of the situation, as they have delivered no artillery ammunition and few weapons. Thus, you deployed 2,500 men in the churches and towers, and you initiated a thorough search. Your Excellency also describes the capture after combat of a brigand ship with two masts and the ways in which you intend to send troops to Ammouliani.¹ Finally, you inform us that you have started to transfer the cannons seized on Mount Athos to Thessaloniki, both by land and sea. The contents of these letters have become known to us, and we have submitted them to His Imperial Majesty for review. Your Excellency is among the great viziers of the Sublime State, distinguished by your courage, prudence, loyalty, and diligence. You have acted properly and proven yourself in this endeavor. Your valiant and whole-hearted efforts for the sake of religion and acting in a masterful and loyal way are appreciated by His Imperial Majesty. May God Almighty not leave alone such a hard-working, loyal, and sincere friend like you, and may you always find support in achieving victories and ensuing respect, amen! In this way, thanks to your loyal and continuous efforts you shall be successful at achieving many more good feats for the sake of the state and religion, as well as for our Great Lord. In conclusion, we have been discussing here the ways in which Mount Athos should be secured. We will deliver the requisite reply letters in due course. On your behalf, you shall endeavor to fulfill your duties in any event.

1 Ammouliani (Turk. Eşek Adası, Gr. Αμμουλιανή): islet in the bay of Mount Athos off Trypiti.

[575/9, regarding monks on Mount Athos who claim Russian subjecthood]
 To the Mutasarrif of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

January 28, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency requests instructions concerning the case of seventy priests who reside in the church of Profitis Ilias¹ on Mount Athos. You explain that during the search for weapons in the suspected churches and towers on Mount Athos and its whereabouts, four priests in the aforementioned church of Profitis Ilias came to the fore and declared that they were Russian subjects and that about seventy more priests held Russian imperial patents. They also presented three imperial orders that guaranteed them unhindered travel to visit Jerusalem and other locations. As your Excellency rightly points out, these imperial orders appended to your correspondence are dated and they have expired; we have thus sent them to the archives. As for the priests who claim Russian subjecthood because of the Russian patents at their disposal, even if they are not subjects of the Sublime State and are genuine subjects of Russia, the existing treaty does not permit the appropriation of a monastery by such a large number of Russian monks. We understand from the content of your correspondence that the papers in their possession are not the passports that are normally given to Russian subjects and their offspring who were born in Russia, but patents granted by the *müstemen* and vice-consuls [unclear wording]. Besides, distribution of patents has long been banned. Some rabble among the genuine jizya-paying *reaya* of the Sublime State fancy themselves as *müstemen* by obtaining patents or passports from *müstemen* [merchants?], consuls, vice-consuls, and dragomans in order to avoid paying the jizya, as well as other taxes. By law, the patents and passports found in the possession of genuine *reaya* of the Sublime State should all be confiscated, and their bearers should revert to their former status as *reaya*, paying their due jizya and the other taxes incumbent on them. It is in conformation with the existing treaties to follow this course of action with due diligence by Your Excellency. We ask of you by this letter to seize the patents and, upon investigation, to send them to Istanbul, provided that these infidels presenting patents are genuine subjects of the Sublime State who claimed to be *müstemen* Muscovites relying on the patents or passports from consuls, vice-consuls, or dragomans in one way or another. You shall treat these priests as other priests who are subjects of the Sublime State, since we have banned our subjects from acquiring patents. By contrast, if these infidels were born in

1 Profitis Ilias (Turk. Profitilya, Gr. Προφήτη Ηλία): skete of the Pantokratoros Monastery on Mount Athos.

Russia, as were their ancestors, and went to the aforementioned monastery to take up residence as genuine Russian subjects at different times, then you should not seize the passports that indicate their status as proven Russians. In this case, Your Excellency should report this matter in detail to us, so that we may handle the matter accordingly.

[575/11, *regarding supplying the troops and castles in the Morea*
To Yusuf Pasha of Serres, Mutasarrıf of Aydın, who is at the Castle
of the Morea

January 30, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency relates the miserable defeat of the infidel bandits at their recent attempt on Patras, which alleviated the desperation in the town. You inform us that you were hoping to relieve the castles of Nafplio and Corinth immediately after the arrival of the force sent by sea upon your request by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief Hurşid Pasha. We understand that you received from Hurşid Pasha 100,000 piasters as part of the bonus promised to you from His Imperial Majesty and that you have written to him to deliver the rest, along with the stipulated number of troops and a large number of cartridges by sea. The contents of your communication have become known to us, and we submitted your letter to His Imperial Majesty. After the occurrence of the violent treachery by the aforementioned brigands, we dispatched provisions and ammunition by merchant ships to Nafplio and other shore castles. They must have arrived at their destinations by now due to good weather, by the grace of God. Due to the relative distance of the Castle of Corinth from the coastline, organization of relief and reinforcement is only possible after the arrival of the imperial navy. With the grace of God, we are deliberating on the matter of reaching Corinth and other castles with additional troops, ammunition, and provisions by contracting suitable merchant vessels as part of the relief and reinforcement. We believe that the delay of the arrival of the force from Hurşid Pasha is because of the prolongation of matters in Ioannina. Nevertheless, following His Imperial Majesty's decree, we have communicated to the commander-in-chief to deliver in shipments to Your Excellency both the rest of the royal bonus and the cartridges in substantial numbers in line with your request. We ask of you by this letter to demonstrate your fortitude, perseverance, and prowess in the execution of your orders.

[575/14, regarding the treatment of Greek Ottoman subjects claiming foreign nationality]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

January 30, 1822

We have received your correspondence asking for instructions on how to treat certain *reaya* who claim to be the subjects of European states. Karanikola İsteryo [Stergios], a *reaya* merchant from Thessaloniki with a license for European trade, hoped to take refuge in the Austrian consulate. A certain Lazari, on the other hand, claimed to be the dragoman of the Kingdom of Naples without holding the relevant imperial patent. Moreover, a native *zimmi* with the name of Kastori, who was on Chios at the beginning of the sedition of the Greek *millet*, went to Europe with his family and then returned to Thessaloniki, again with his family. Having changed his clothes from those proper for *reaya* attire, Kastori adopted Frankish dress and, when prosecuted, he escaped to the mansion of the British consul to enter under the consul's protection with the approval of the latter. Current regulations enforced by the imperial decree bans İsteryo from paying allegiance to a foreign state in his capacity as a licensed merchant who enjoys various privileges and royal favors, owing to the license granted to him for trading with European countries. Rather than going against the will of the sultan, he should rather have shown unshaken loyalty to fulfill his obligations as a *reaya* in obeisance. It is contrary to Islamic law and the treaties for any *jizya*-paying *reaya* subject of the Exalted State to obtain patents from ambassadors, *müstemen* merchants, consuls, or dragomans. These documents should be seized, and their holders demoted to the status of *reaya*, so that they continue to deliver the *jizya* and fulfill other tax obligations befitting their status. The existing treaties also ban the delivery of British patents and consular passports to any *reaya* or merchant of the Exalted State. Thus, the *reisülküttab* officially stated to the ambassadors of England, Austria, and the Two Sicilies that the abovementioned Lazari had purported to be a dragoman without the necessary license and that Kastori had adopted disapproved clothing and enjoyed consular protection. It was openly stated that they should observe the treaties by preventing the occurrence of such instances in contravention with the stipulations of these treaties. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to pay utmost attention to seize from the genuine *reaya* of the Exalted State the patents and passports granted by ambassadors, consuls, *müstemen* [merchants?], and dragomans. You should thus revert them to their former *reaya* status. With regard to the merchants licensed for participating in European trade, Your Excellency should ensure that they act according to the stipulations of their patents.

[575/16, *regarding the unsustainability of employing mercenaries*]
To the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea [Seyyid Ali Pasha]

January 30, 1822

We have received your letter in which Your Excellency expresses your gratitude for forwarding 100,000 piasters as a royal grant for the salaries of the troops under your command. You also explain the necessity of appointing a commissary officer for managing the salaries and rations of more than six thousand men, each receiving 40 piasters a month. You plead with us for assigning a commissary officer and transferring a large amount of money, which, you suggest, could be met either by the due revenues of the *sancaks* under your administration or another [that the Sublime Porte sees fit]. We have dealt previously with the matter of provisions and appointed a commissary officer and informed you. We assume the commissary officer must have arrived by your side by now. We understand [your concern] about the wages of the five to six thousand troops under your command and your need for money. However, as Your Excellency already knows, recruitment of troops paid monthly [and making them the basis of the army] is unsustainable. Secondly, the monthly rate of 40 piasters per man is exorbitant. Thirdly, at this point, there is no need to keep a force of six thousand men in Lamia. Your Excellency should thus find ways of recruiting more soldiers from the provinces and, in discussion with other functionaries, you should ensure that monthly salaries do not exceed 25—and at most 30—piasters. With the help of God Almighty, when the time comes to attack the Morea, you will increase the number of your troops. However, for now it is sufficient that Your Excellency employs three to four thousand soldiers in Lamia. Also, the wages of your troops should not fall exclusively under the responsibility of the fisc, and you should cover part of the cost with the revenues from the offices you hold, just like the other functionaries [sent to quell the uprising]. Upon His Imperial Majesty's approval of these suggestions, we dispatch this letter to Your Excellency in order to inform you that by the relevant imperial order we have sent five hundred purses of piasters to you as a royal gift. We have no doubt that you will realize the ruinous consequences of offering a monthly rate of 40 piasters per soldier and ask you to negotiate this matter with the other functionaries to bring it to a favorable conclusion. Your Excellency should increase the number of soldiers from the provinces and keep three to four thousand soldiers in Lamia, which seems sufficient for the time being. Finally, it is inappropriate to convey all the expenses to the fisc. You should also make do with the income from the offices you are holding.

[575/23, *regarding the granting of amnesty to the island of Thasos*]
To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]
February 6, 1822

We received Your Excellency's letter in which you relate that the *reaya* of the island of Thasos¹ sent several *kocabaşıs* to your side, who declared that they did not revolt like other *reaya*. You state that you detained the said *kocabaşıs* and forwarded to us their petition—written in Greek—asking for royal mercy. We had communicated to Your Excellency in the past that it is imperative to crush and punish the *reaya* that rise in rebellion, while Islamic clemency requires us to grant amnesty to those who ask for royal mercy. We had thus written to you outlining the ways in which you should treat such *reaya*. This letter is to inform you that we have sent you the relevant imperial order issued in response to the petition of the *reaya* of Thasos. We ask Your Excellency to exert yourself to treat them as outlined in the imperial order.

1 Thasos (Turk. Taşoz, Gr. Θάσος): northernmost Greek island in the Aegean, opposite Kavala.

[575/26, *regarding apathy among the troops and laxity of the functionaries*
To the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea [Seyyid Ali Pasha]

February 6, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you relate that the viziers and the *mir-i mirans* you had dispatched to Ypati, Karpenisi, and Acarnania on the 4th day of *Rebiülahir* [December 29, 1821] arrived in Karpenisi after granting amnesty to a few villages in the area. Yet they were compelled to return to Ypati due to the deaths of mounts and pack animals caused by the harsh winter conditions, as well as the apathy of the soldiers. Your Excellency points out that you have reported the situation to His Excellency Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, the Commander-in-Chief [of the Ioannina army]. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us and we have submitted it to His Imperial Majesty for review. Your Excellency is the commander-in-chief of the Morea with full discretionary powers, and the viziers and *mir-i mirans* are under your command. Hence, it is your responsibility to ensure that they carry out their duty and that the soldiers persevere and exert their effort. Disregard of duty, neglecting to take urgent measures, and not demonstrating the might of Islam on the pretext of lack of resoluteness among the troops is not acceptable whatsoever. It is obvious that this will be considered as a sign of laxity on the part of the functionaries. His Imperial Majesty inscribed the following lines on top of your letter: "No measure can be taken from here [Istanbul] against the apathy among the troops. So many viziers and *mir-i mirans* have gathered there; they shall find a way to keep them under their command. Nothing can be accomplished with such laxity. They shall open their eyes! Write an admonishing answer!" We urge you to contemplate His Imperial Majesty's writ and comprehend that no mission can be accomplished with indolence. In these turbulent times, no official should procrastinate in executing his duties for a single minute. We ask of you by this letter to take good measures for the due execution of your duty with loyalty and devotion and demonstrate the might of Islam to the infidel brigands.

[575/40, regarding the confiscation of the property of the *kocabaşıs* in Volos and Argalasti]

To the Mutasarrıf of Trikala [Ali Namık Pasha]

February 11, 1822

Your predecessor, His Excellency Mahmud Pasha,¹ had previously written regarding the confiscation of the estates and olive trees belonging to the *kocabaşıs* and strongmen of Volos and Argalasti—in the *sancak* of Trikala—who died in battle or took flight to the islands after raising the standard of revolt by joining the infidels of the Archipelago and attacking Muslims. We had therefore sent an imperial order with an usher, authorizing the registration and appropriation of all of their goods, belongings, and properties on behalf of the fisc. Nevertheless, we have not yet received any response. These traitors performed various abominable deeds when they recklessly dared to attack the Castle of Volos, martyring the Muslims they captured after inflicting torture and enslaving the women and children. Therefore, hiding their goods and estates in an attempt to protect them would obviously be against piety and loyalty. Based on the testimony of some men of knowledge [about local affairs], a register of the names and property of the treacherous *kocabaşıs* and strongmen who had either perished in battle or fled to the islands has been prepared and submitted. While the value of the property in the register amounts to 179,000 piasters, this number is just the estimate of these informed men. When all their property and belongings are discovered following an on-the-spot investigation, the real value will no doubt exceed this approximation by several times. Having registered this list in the repository of probate inventories, we have dispatched a copy, along with a relevant imperial decree. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to disclose all the deeds and belongings of the *kocabaşıs* and strongmen among the traitors who either perished in battle or fled. You shall make a register of them without the slightest omission and send it to the imperial capital, signed and sealed, with due diligence.

1 In October 1821, upon Hurşid Pasha's suggestion, Mahmud Pasha was ordered to join his forces with the Commander-in-Chief Seyyid Ali Pasha and to march on to the Morea (see BOA/HAT 40352).

[575/43, *regarding the granting of amnesty in Acarnania*
To His Excellency the Governor of Rumelia [Hurşid Pasha]
February 25, 1822

We have received your correspondence informing us that, when the brigands of Acarnania sent two *kocabaşıs* to Your Excellency in order to ask for amnesty, you promised them the granting of official pardon if they [re]accepted [the conditions of Ottoman] subjecthood. First of all, the *mütesellim* appointed by the Exalted State and the *derbend agha* appointed by Your Excellency shall be admitted into their assigned posts as is customary. Secondly, the Muslim inhabitants shall settle [back] into their usual dwellings, just as before. Thirdly, all *reaya* shall surrender their arms, except for the *zimmi* captains and their men customarily serving in the retinue of the *derbend agha*. Fourthly, two respected *kocabaşıs* from every village shall be kept as hostages by Your Excellency. Fifth, they shall fulfill their past and future fiscal obligations. Your Excellency also points out that the Souliot hostages kept by the late Tepedelenli Ali Pasha¹ have been seized by you and that they will also accept [Ottoman] subjecthood in a few days. Finally, you state that the suppression of the Greek rebels [who reside] outside of the Morea is soon to be achieved, by the grace of God. We have submitted all of the above matters for His Imperial Majesty's review. We have already sent to Your Excellency a copy of the conditions of amnesty, should the infidels who face the might of Islam request it. In compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will, the infidels will be eligible for official pardon if they accept the aforementioned conditions and send hostages to you or, according to the new regulation, to the imperial capital. Thus, we ask of you to grant pardon to the said *reaya*, so long as they submit peacefully and accept the stipulated conditions.

1 Tepedelenli Ali Pasha was executed on January 24, 1822, and his severed head arrived in Istanbul soon after. His *yafta* [the placard attached to the body of the executed, explaining the reasons for execution] proclaimed that: "He [eventually] disclosed his secret alliance [with the Greeks] at the time of the Greek sedition, sending large amounts of money to the infidels of the Morea and Souli, [allowing the Greeks to] molest the Muslims, thus proving once again that he was impious." For the original text of the *yafta* (fig. 9), see BOA/HAT 40840.

[575/46, *regarding the granting of amnesty in the region of Trikala*]
To the Mutasarrıf of Trikala [Ali Namık Pasha]

February 28, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which you relate that, although complete disorder prevailed in the surroundings of the *sancak* of Trikala due to the revolt of the Greek infidels, you managed to remove the filthy bodies of the brigands by means of either deploying troops or resorting to certain measures as expediency necessitated. However, you point out that bringing the troops back from Argalasti is contingent on the subjugation of Trikeri.¹ You also relay the details of how the captain of Elassona,² an infidel named Tolo,³ asked for amnesty and state that the *reaya* of some other localities are about to follow suit—as revealed by the court decrees appended to your correspondence. We have submitted all of these matters for His Imperial Majesty's review. From now on, if the rebellious *reaya* beg for pardon, it has been decided to accept their appeal, so long as they meet the specified conditions. We have written to His Excellency Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, the glorious Commander-in-Chief, about the course of action he shall take in line with these stipulations if the local *reaya* plead for mercy. His Imperial Majesty's decree obliges you to follow the instructions of Hurşid Ahmed Pasha on this matter and other related issues as dictated by the current state of affairs. We have thus forwarded a copy of your letter to him. This letter is to ask Your Excellency to communicate this and other similar issues to Hurşid Ahmed Pasha and to show utmost care in handling this matter in line with his instructions.

- 1 Trikeri (Turk. Bülbülce, Gr. Τρίκερι): village in the mouth of the Pagasetic Gulf, east-central Greece.
- 2 Elassona (Turk. Alasonya, Gr. Ελασσόνα): town in east-central Greece.
- 3 Probably referring to Tolios Lazos, scion of a kleftarmatoli family active in the region of Mount Olympus. Kleftarmatoli (Gr. κλεφταρματολοί) were armed men who were outlaws (klefts) and also officially appointed guards (armatoli).

[575/47, *regarding recent diplomatic developments and advising caution with regard to a possible war with Russia*]

To the Castellans of Vidin, Giurgiu, Ada Kaleh,¹ Nikopol,² Tulcea,³ Măcin,⁴ Hârșova,⁵ Isaccea,⁶ Constanța,⁷ Belgrade, Brăila, Varna, Babadag, the Dardanelles, Niš, Nesebar, and Kars;⁸ and to the Governors of Silistra, Bosnia, and Çıldır;⁹ and to the Commander of the Combat Outpost in Moldavia; His Excellency Hurşid Pasha; and the Fleet Commander Halil Bey
February 28, 1822

As has become known to everyone, while [Ottoman] functionaries had begun to employ force to put out the flames of malice ignited by the Greeks against the Muslims, the Russian ambassador in the imperial capital and the Russian consuls in the Well-protected Domains [i.e. the Ottoman realm] have departed of their own accord. Russia condemned the measures taken by the Exalted Sultanate for the elimination of this widespread sedition, such as executing and suppressing the rebellious Greeks. Through the mediation of the Austrian and English ambassadors in the imperial capital—and at the expense of the Sublime State and in favor of the Greeks—however, Russia never ceased putting forth certain demands and claims, as well as making suggestions in order to dissuade the Sublime State from enacting measures. In the conversation that took place with the Austrian ambassador in the imperial capital, we dealt with four main allegations and claims raised by the Russians. The first was the issuance of renovation permits for churches in need of repair, and the second was distinguishing the innocent *raya* from the guilty. The practice of the Christian mass as is customary was the third subject. We stated that these principles were partly observed and expressed His Imperial Majesty's commitment to permit the repair of the churches, as allowed by law in peacetime. On

1 Ada Kaleh (Turk. Adakale or Ada-i Kebir): small fortified island on the Danube, in the vicinity of Orșova, Romania.

2 Nikopol (Turk. Niğbolu, Gr. Νικόπολη): town in north-central Bulgaria, on the right bank of the Danube.

3 Tulcea (Turk. Tolçu, Gr. Τούλσα): town and district in eastern Romania, on the right bank of the Danube.

4 Măcin (Turk. Maçın, Gr. Μάτσιν): town in southeast Romania.

5 Hârșova (Turk. Hırsova, Gr. Κάρσιο): town in southeast Romania, on the right bank of the Danube.

6 Isaccea (Turk. İsakçı, Gr. Σακτζάς): town in southeast Romania, on the right bank of the Danube.

7 Constanța (Turk. Köstence, Gr. Κωνσταντζα): port town in southeast Romania, on the Black Sea coast.

8 Kars: town in northeast Turkey, at the conjunction of the Russian and Iranian borders.

9 Çıldır: town in northeast Turkey, on the Russian border.

the fourth subject, which was the evacuation of Muslim troops from Wallachia and Moldavia and the ensuing appointment of voivodes, we underlined that the Sublime State is rightly bound to suppress the prevalent sedition before taking steps in this direction. Even though the sedition was suppressed in Wallachia and Moldavia, the subversion and rebellions in other regions have yet to be quelled. Hence, if we withdraw the Muslim troops from Wallachia and Moldavia and appoint Greek voivodes, their kind would gather around them, because the sedition is universal and the Greeks have rallied around the fallacious idea of capturing the so-called Greek¹⁰ realms. Moldowallachia would thus once more become a haven for bandits and various vices, and disarray would prevail. We had already forwarded to the Russians our sincere and truthful responses and supporting evidence on these subjects. However, it was possible that they would take no heed of our sincere considerations, but rather use them as a pretext for the declaration of war and a sudden cross-border invasion. A few months ago, the custodians and functionaries were admonished to act prudently and attentively in case of such a situation. After sending our responses to Russia through the ambassadors acting as intermediators, the Austrian ambassador presented the Sublime Porte with an official memorandum. The summary of its translation did not refer by any means to His Imperial Majesty's commitment regarding the three articles. It referred only to the fourth claim, stressing the importance of handling immediately the two issues of the evacuation of Muslim soldiers from Wallachia and Moldavia and of the appointment of the voivodes, both of which are obviously harmful for the Exalted State. The English ambassador in the imperial capital proved to be insistent on his support for the Russian grievances, forwarding arguments and uttering threats in the meeting. Stating that the French, English, Austrian, and Prussian states coalesced altogether to assert the rightfulness of the Russians, he clearly said that he would be compelled to depart from Istanbul, along with the embassy staff and British subjects, if Russia declared war in case of a failure to reinstate voivodes and to withdraw the Muslim forces from Moldowallachia. In the official written response, we reiterated that the total evacuation of Muslim troops from Moldowallachia and the appointment of the voivodes were contingent on the quelling of the prevalent sedition and the full restoration of order, so that we would be safe from further harm from the Greeks. We have underlined our commitment to observe fully the four conditions mentioned above once security and peace are restored. Besides, we rightfully pinpointed the fact that Russian soldiers should evacuate the Anatolian border in effect, and Russia should extradite the fugitives who had fled to

10 The word used in the original text is *Yunan*, referring to ancient Greece.

Russian territory at the beginning of the [Greek] revolt, in accordance with the treaty in effect. In light of the well-known Frankish manners, it is very likely that these states just make empty threats concerning the points above and that they will be satisfied by our official responses. However, it is also likely that the Russians will take advantage of the Exalted State's occupation with the subjugation of the *reaya* and attack across the border. Although our official response does not invite a declaration of war, it is Russia's usual attitude to be expedient to make war on a trifling issue, if it fits her interests. In that case, it is possible that the English ambassador would also depart from Istanbul along with his subjects—as he stated—and the other ambassadors would follow suit, since they are allied. Therefore, in a recent Imperial Council meeting, the viziers, the reverend members of the ulema, the dignitaries, and the high janissary officials, among others, deliberated on this matter. They unanimously agreed on a resolution to the effect that the appointment of voivodes and the evacuation of Moldowallachia before the suppression of the universal Greek sedition will provoke untold damage and iniquities for the Exalted State. We have presented the relevant memoranda to the British and Austrian ambassadors. It is still possible that the Russians are not merely uttering empty threats and are bent on declaring war by discarding our sincere responses. His Imperial Majesty thus wills all the castellans along the imperial borders to be even more alert, discreet, and ready for the impeccable defense of their assigned posts. They shall double their efforts in rendering good service by gathering intelligence and investigating the situation on the Russian side continually. We have communicated His Imperial Majesty's will to the relevant authorities and sent this letter to Your Excellency for your information. You shall remain alert, just like all the other castellans, and beware that the Russians are all the more untrustworthy now. Therefore, you shall constantly keep your surroundings under tight watch, thus ensuring complete security and protection against them. We ask you to remain vigilant at all times and to maintain correspondence with the castellans in the vicinity in order to share intelligence.

[575/54, regarding the appointment of a new governor to the Morea and recent developments]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

February 28, 1822

In one of the information notes in Your Excellency's most recent correspondence, you mention that His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, Governor of the Morea, who is currently under your command, was given the province of the Morea when he could not take hold of the *sancak* of Thessaloniki, which had been placed under his authority. Given the present state of the Morea and his heavy expenditure, Mehmed Pasha, you maintain, is awaiting orders to depart for wherever he would be assigned and he should be removed from the governorship of the Morea, so that he has an income [from his new post?]. [Unclear sentence.] Your Excellency suggests transferring the province of the Morea from Mehmed Pasha to Seyyid Ali Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, while granting the *sancaks* of Teke and Hamid¹ to Yusuf Pasha of Serres and the *sancaks* of Aydın and Saruhan to Mehmed Pasha. After a close review, we have presented your letter to His Imperial Majesty, who, in praise of Mehmed Pasha's record of service and his astuteness, consented to the transfer of Teke and Hamid from Seyyid Ali Pasha to Mehmed Pasha, the revenues of which are comparable to Aydın and Saruhan. We have only recently allocated the latter two *sancaks* to Yusuf Pasha of Serres and, if we remove these *sancaks* from him, it will be fiscally onerous for him. By contrast, Teke and Hamid can be extracted from Seyyid Ali Pasha, who, as the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, has failed to meet expectations by acting sluggishly and negligently, for which reason he should be substituted promptly. Your Excellency does not need to be reminded of the seriousness of the matters in the Morea. It is His Imperial Majesty's demand that you remediate and redeem this plight smoothly, relying on your innate qualities of bravery and piety as demonstrated in your past deeds. While the Ioannina affair [Tepedelenli Ali Pasha's revolt] has exhausted Your Excellency, His Imperial Majesty has no doubt that you will dedicate yourself to resolving all troublesome matters, which will immortalize your glory and fame. Nevertheless, His Imperial Majesty does not approve of the fact that you set out to the Morea in person, leaving Albania and Rumelia unguarded, given that Albania has not been fully subdued and that we cannot trust Russia and other states wholeheartedly. His Imperial Majesty has decreed that Your Excellency should encamp in Ioannina or any other place you deem fit in order to safeguard Ioannina and the surrounding regions, as well as providing help wherever necessary. You should also rapidly inform us as to the ways you see

1 Hamid: the *sancak* of Hamid comprised the region around Isparta, southwest Turkey.

most fit to put some order to the Morea. We will promptly do as you suggest if you tell us whom you would like to appoint as the commander-in-chief of the Morea among the viziers under your command, including the aforementioned Mehmed Pasha, the Governor of Karaman Reşid Pasha [Kütahi], Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], or any other viziers. His Imperial Majesty desires Your Excellency to share your views without reservation on the proper course of conduct if Russia declares war in response to the official memoranda we delivered to the English and Austrian ambassadors, the details of which we described in another letter of ours.² Thus, we write this letter to ask Your Excellency to inform us about your decision relating to the issue of appointing a new commander-in-chief and a possible Russian declaration of war.

² See document 575/47 herein.

[575/68, regarding tax-farm revenues from the Morea]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

March 3, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which you confirm the arrival of our previous letter informing Your Excellency that we had delivered five hundred purses [of piasters], along with a quantity of cartridges, to the steward of the gatekeepers of His Excellency Yusuf Pasha of Serres. We had also instructed Your Excellency to dispatch around three thousand monthly salaried troops on the boats in Preveza. In your present correspondence, however, you state that transporting troops to Patras is not possible without the safeguard [of a commander] from the rear. You also point out that you have previously returned [to us] the superfluous copies of imperial decrees [for the appointment of new functionaries] with blank spaces to fill in the [nominees'] names keeping only as many as required. Moreover, you request us to instruct Ali Pasha, Castellan of Euboea, to return to his provincial seat without disclosing that it was your suggestion. Having received not a single penny from the tax farms in the Morea during your governorship, you suggest that the holders of tax-farm revenues [*mukataa*] should restitute your moneylender the prepayment and transfer amounts that he had already paid them. Finally, you plead with us to assign Hacı Süleyman Efendi an ushering service [*hidmet-i mübaşiriyye*] payment, which is granted annually to certain functionaries worthy of an imperial grant due to loyal service. We have presented your correspondence containing all of the above matters to His Imperial Majesty for review. We have no doubt that Your Excellency is well-informed on all relevant matters as the victorious commander-in-chief of the region. Although we failed to dispatch the soldiers demanded by [the castellan of Euboea?], we infer from your comments that the imperial fleet had reached the Morea, so that, God willing, it will be possible to rush the forces. Based on His Imperial Majesty's will, we have transferred the imperial decrees you returned to the repository. Furthermore, we have followed your suggestion, without mentioning your name, by sending Ali Pasha a special imperial decree that instructs him to leave Ioannina—where his presence is no longer required—for his post in Euboea and to take care of its protection. We consider Your Excellency's point regarding the situation with the tax farms agreeable. We are also aware that nobody has managed to receive a single penny from the Morea yet. Therefore, in line with your suggestion, we put the superintendent of the imperial mint in charge of restituting the prepayments and transfers provided by your moneylender. Finally, we have granted Hacı Süleyman Efendi a bonus of 1,000 piasters per annum, to be met from the revenues reverting to the treasury. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to exert yourself to pay attention to performing your duties of crucial importance, just as usual.

[575/70, *regarding the dispatch of troops to Acarnania and the Morea*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha, Governor of Rumelia

March 3, 1822

We have received your correspondence which relays to us the information that Your Excellency dispatched His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, Governor of the Morea, and other functionaries with an abundance of troops to suppress and ultimately stifle the base rebels of Acarnania and Nafpaktos. You also explained to His Excellency [Seyyid] Ali Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, the necessity to direct the forces in Ypati to these locations for the same purpose. Finally, you request us to expedite the arrival of the imperial navy—which had formerly departed with land troops on board—in Moreot waters. It is highly commendable that Your Excellency dispatched forces on the accursed rebels and told Ali Pasha to launch an attack from above Ypati on them. Although you request us to expedite the imperial fleet, your missive made it clear that it had already arrived at Patras. Thus, we assume that the date of this correspondence is earlier than your missive. Undoubtedly, these infidels would not dare insist for so long in their rebellion had they not put their trust in one of the Christian states. It is equally clear that they will not give up until they lose heart. This letter is to inform you that your efforts to crush the rebels have pleased His Imperial Majesty, since it is imperative to deal with them decisively.

[575/71, *regarding the inappropriateness of Hurşid Pasha marching on to the Morea*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

March 3, 1822

In the correspondence we sent out three days ago in response to your previous report, we explained that a prompt resolution to the Moreot affair was His Imperial Majesty's utmost demand, because of the seriousness of the issue. However, His Imperial Majesty did not regard your departure for the Morea in person as appropriate, since Albania has not yet been subdued and the dubious intentions of Russia and the other states are distressing. We thus asked of Your Excellency to stay in Ioannina or any other place you see fit in order to administer the troublesome matters of the region. We also asked Your Excellency to suggest immediately whom to appoint as the commander-in-chief of the Morea, either from those under your command, such as Mehmed Pasha [governor of the Morea], the Governor of Karaman, Reşid Pasha [Kütahi], the *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], or any other functionary of your choice. In your letter that arrived subsequently, Your Excellency describes the ways in which you attempted to free your family and steward and the family of Mehmed Pasha, his steward, and others who had been captured at the incident of Tripolitsa; and how the infidels responded to your effort. Your Excellency also requests permission to set out to the Morea in person in order to take revenge on the infidels and rescue the captives from their hands. Finally, you suggest that we should immediately send an official to record the probate inventory of the slain [Tepedelenli Ali Pasha]. The contents of your correspondence have thus become known to us and after a close review, we submitted it to His Imperial Majesty. There is no need to reiterate that the Moreot affair is of paramount importance. The tumultuous issue of rescuing your family and others left behind in Tripolitsa has made Your Excellency uneasy, and we consider that your request to be appointed to the Morea befits your exemplary character, forged by unflinching dedication to service, sense of honor, and piety. As pointed out in our letter sent a few days ago, we have appointed Salih Efendi, former superintendent of the imperial arsenal, for the registration of the probate inventory of the slain [Tepedelenli Ali Pasha], and he is to leave immediately. In the meantime, we wrote a letter to Your Excellency the day before to inform you about the declarations made by the Franks [Europeans]. They avowed that if Moldowallachia was not evacuated and their voivodes were not reinstituted—in line with Russian demands—war would be imminent. In a later memorandum delivered by the Austrian ambassador and in the conference that took place with the English ambassador, they insisted on making certain unreasonable and unacceptable propositions to the Sublime State. In

the end, they stated that the Russians would declare war in three weeks' time, and they themselves intended to depart from the imperial capital thereafter, due to their states' alliance [with Russia]. We have unanimously agreed that, taking refuge in God Almighty, the Exalted State would much rather wage war than knowingly lead [the state] to collapse by accepting their propositions. We have recently given official memoranda to this effect to the ambassadors mentioned above. By His Imperial Majesty's will, copies of the memoranda and minutes of the conference [with the British ambassador] are attached to this letter in order to notify you with first-hand information. Given the current state of affairs and uncertainty about the future, it is under no condition appropriate for Your Excellency to proceed to the depths of the Morea in person—as you are suggesting—since there is no comparable vizier [with your capacity] to support you from the rear with supplies and reinforcements, so that the operation would succeed. In line with His Imperial Majesty's decree, Your Excellency should name a person you see fit as the commander-in-chief of the Morea, so that we may appoint him at the head of a sizable force. We understand from your correspondence that the imperial fleet and Mehmed Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Infantry, have recently arrived at Patras. We equally understand that you have duly sent a large number of soldiers to crush the rebels in Acarnania and Nafpaktos and, by the grace of God, that their suppression is imminent. You state that the Moreot affairs will then take a favorable course, and a wholesale attack on the Morea will be possible. Your Excellency will provide help continuously by sending supplies and reinforcements from the rear in your capacity as the commander-in-chief, so that the Moreot affair will soon be settled smoothly, for which we invoke God's blessing. We surmise from your correspondence that the infidels intend to keep your family and others in their hands with the false supposition that they could use them as a bargaining chip in their wicked quest to impose their demands. May God grant that they will be rescued unscathed. A commander-in-chief of your choice is likely to achieve the same goal as you intend to do by going to the Morea in person, provided that Your Excellency supports him in this task. Thus, Your Excellency shall refrain from departing for the Morea in person for now and you shall station yourself in a place of your choice to monitor all the fronts with full discretionary power. Your Excellency shall write back immediately informing us of your suggestions in keeping with the course outlined above, so that we take due action.

[575/91, *regarding Greek commercial vessels and their cargo sailing under foreign flags with forged documents*]

Mandate to the Superintendent of the Imperial Arsenal

March 12, 1822

It has become necessary to inspect the chancellery certificates of the vessels flying foreign flags sailing between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea in order to detect those vessels and their cargo that actually belong to the Greek bandits but operate with forged documents. As it is necessary to seize these vessels and their cargo, His Excellency the grand admiral was put in charge of the inspections. Such disclosed vessels shall be confiscated by the fisc and registered to the imperial arsenal, along with their cargo. You shall seize the provisions belonging to the Greek bandits—carried either by bandit ships or merchant vessels of third states, have their price assessed with the help of the superintendent of the grain administration, and store them in the imperial granary. As for other provisions, such as salt, oil, and other kinds of foodstuff, as well as equipment of various sorts, you may keep those needed at the imperial arsenal after having their price assessed and use them accordingly. You shall, however, sell all other goods not needed in the imperial arsenal to the artisans and shopkeepers and keep the sum for the time being in the treasury of the arsenal as separate from regular revenues. You shall await the subsequent imperial order clarifying the ways in which this sum may be used. We will inform you about the vessels and cargoes to be seized due to forged documents as soon as the grand admiral reports them to the Sublime Porte. Your duty is to keep individual records of all the vessels that have been detained in the imperial arsenal until now and of those to be seized henceforth, with details of their size, qualifications, and estimated worth. All the information regarding the cannons, equipment, and fittings shall also be registered. If the cargo consists of grain, you shall forward it to the imperial granary through the services of the superintendent of the grain administration. If the cargo consists of other goods and foodstuffs, you shall buy them at market price for the use of the imperial arsenal, if need be, and sell the rest to the artisans and shopkeepers. You shall secure the sums paid by the imperial arsenal and by others in the treasury of the imperial arsenal separately. For future reference, these should be kept in a separate register at the disposal of the imperial arsenal, and you should forward the necessary certificates of receipt to the relevant bureaus as required.

[575/93, *regarding giving precedence to Crete over the Morea*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

March 15, 1822

In one of the letters in your packet of correspondence, Your Excellency mentions that the arrival of the land troops at Patras with the imperial navy had struck fear into the hearts of the infidels. However, you have received word from the grand admiral that he would soon leave for Alexandria to transport the troops and munitions prepared by the governor of Egypt to Crete. You suggest that if he left around ten ships off Patras, it would bring many benefits besides allowing you to cross [to the Morea] from the Castle of Nafpaktos. Although you think a squadron of ten ships would facilitate your passage to the Morea, we have communicated in much detail to you several times that your decision to cross over to the Morea in person is against His Imperial Majesty's will. We concede that the presence of our warships in the region is utterly beneficial. Nevertheless, pressing problems on Crete account for His Imperial Majesty's decree ordering the navy to set sail for Alexandria after disembarkation of the aforementioned land troops. According to the intelligence, the janissary summoner agha [*muhzir agha*] fell captive to the rebel infidels, together with several Muslim soldiers, while his brother was martyred in the battle at the village of Tata [uncertain reading] in Rethymno. Furthermore, there was incessant fighting at Rethymno, and the infidels of Milopotamos¹ had risen in revolt. We have received information that all the infidels on the island will join the uprising by March. God forbid, if we let such an impregnable and formidable an island as Crete fall into the hands of the rebels, it would be quite difficult to take it back. Hence, the grave situation on Crete, as relayed in these past intelligence reports, left at that time no other choice than to order the imperial navy to take the troops and munitions supplied by the governor of Egypt immediately to Crete. Moreover, after your report about the arrival of the imperial navy off Patras, another letter arrived from Fleet Commander Halil Bey to the grand admiral. After disembarking the land troops and their Commander-in-Chief Mehmed Pasha at Patras, he detained twenty-four merchant ships there, loaded with provisions and munitions. Then, he confronted fifty-four bandit boats that came from the vicinity of Missolonghi,² sinking seven and burning one in the ensuing engagement with the help of God Almighty; the rest fled in defeat. According to his report, the imperial navy then made it to Methoni. The

1 Milopotamos (Turk. Milopotamo, Gr. Μυλοπόταμος): district in northern Crete between Rethymno and Irakleio.

2 Missolonghi (Turk. Mesolenk or Mesolonk, Gr. Μεσολόγγι): coastal town at the western end of the Gulf of Patras.

müstemen captain who brought Halil Bey's letter explained that the imperial navy is expected to arrive in Alexandria any day now, thanks to the favorable weather. This rules out the option of leaving some ships at Patras. However, the merchant vessels that brought munitions and provisions are still at the port of Patras and they can be put to good use, such as ferrying troops from Rumelia to the Morea. In preparation for spring, we are about to dispatch a considerable naval force to the Mediterranean under the command of the grand admiral. With God on our side, we will reach every corner of the Morea, and affairs will soon take a more favorable turn. We ask of you by this letter to perform the tasks ordered in His Imperial Majesty's past and present decrees concerning the affairs in the Morea. In his present imperial rescript, His Imperial Majesty states: "He [Hurşid Pasha] desires to head to the Morea in person, yet the time is not ripe. It would be much better if he focused on preparations." Therefore, you should take necessary measures and demonstrate the might of Islam to those infidels of the Morea.

[575/96, *regarding the punishment of Naousa*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

March 16, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence recounting that the *reaya* of the town of Naousa within the *sancak* of Thessaloniki had formerly risen up in revolt, only to beg for a royal pardon after the capture and subjugation of the peninsula of Kassandra, which was granted on the conditions as stipulated in the relevant instructions. Despite many calls to surrender their arms, you maintain, the *reaya* returned our ushers empty-handed and displayed hostility. You also mention the fact that the town is part of the endowment of the Two Holy Cities [Mecca and Medina] and under the administration of the voivode appointed by the chief eunuch.¹ You explain that the voivode paid a visit to you and how he responded when you insisted on the surrender of arms. The intelligence you collected suggests that the townsfolk are in possession of ample arms and continuing to manufacture more. Finally, you state that upon accomplishing your task on Mount Athos, you will march on to Naousa via Thessaloniki in order to crush the *reaya* into submission. The contents of Your Excellency's correspondence pertaining to the above matters have become known to us, and we submitted your letter to His Imperial Majesty. The malignancy of the Greek bandits and their persistence in their treason against the Muslims require a swift response. Even though the town of Naousa is part of the endowment of the Two Holy Cities, we shall deal a heavy blow to any rebellious *reaya*, regardless of their affiliation or connection. Your assignment involves the suppression, pacification, and subjugation of any *reaya* within your jurisdiction who persist in brigandage and rebellion, as well as granting mercy to those aspirants on the conditions stipulated in the instructions we had sent previously. Thus, you should take whatever measure is necessary to deal with the rebels. Since this matter is comparable to no other, in line with the relevant imperial rescript that orders the punishment of all rebels without exception, our functionaries should completely disregard the affiliations of the rebels and punish even the *reaya* of the royal demesnes if necessary. We ask of you by this letter to rely on your full discretionary powers to storm Naousa and crush all, excepting those who were granted mercy as stipulated in your instructions. You will not be held accountable for your actions.

1 The income from various taxable resources of the town was endowed for the expenses of the Two Holy Cities. Apparently, in return, the inhabitants enjoyed some sort of immunity from local officials' extortions.

[575/99, *regarding the granting of amnesty to Mount Athos*]
To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]
March 20, 1822

We have received your correspondence confirming the arrival of our letter in which we stated that His Imperial Majesty had granted royal pardon to the *reaya* of Mount Athos, provided they accepted the four conditions written to you.¹ We also instructed you to double their taxes, including those paid to the privy purse, in line with their previous pledge. You should then restore their metochions that were formerly appropriated by the state. Finally, we asked you to station an appropriate number of troops to defend the *reaya* from oppression and injustice. In your letter, you assure us that they will pay double the *jizya*, which fell into arrears, as well as the dues and taxes assigned for the privy purse and other funds. Once delivered as promised, you will forward these sums to the imperial treasury. Having deployed a sufficient number of troops under an able commander in the area, you have stored all the cannons, muskets, gunpowder, all cartridges, and other weapons seized from the *reaya* in the fortress of Thessaloniki, the inventory of which you will provide soon. Besides, you have sent to the imperial capital ten priests from among those on Mount Athos, escorted by your chief orderly. Finally, you argue against the proposal to collect the *jizya* per capita, since it would yield a lower sum than the lump-sum payment, leading to a revenue loss. Thus, you propose to double the rate of the *jizya* that they customarily used to pay in a lump sum, which would be more beneficial for the treasury. All of the above matters mentioned in your letter have become known to us, and we have presented it to His Imperial Majesty. Your last point concerning the collection of the *jizya* per capita is well taken. However, this is one of the conditions of obtaining royal pardon, as previously agreed, and that condition is a requisite of holy law. Even though it may come at a price of some loss to the treasury, the prescriptions of holy law rank higher than some calculated material loss. Besides, those priests of Mount Athos serve as a model for the Greeks to emulate, and, whatever course we take with them, we will be bound to follow it in subsequent cases as well. The Sublime State has always been reputable in following the guidance of holy law in every matter, and we shall not consider it a loss if prescribed by holy law. We ask of you by this letter to follow our previous instructions, based on His Imperial Majesty's will, by which the locals should pay the per capita *jizya* in person. Apart from this, your chief orderly stated that nine of the priests have arrived and one was about to arrive by sea. Those who have arrived have been detained as hostages by the *bostancıbaşı* by His Imperial Majesty's will.

¹ Regarding the conditions for amnesty, see document 574/1 herein.

[575/103, *regarding the deployment of the imperial navy and the planned all-out attack on the Morea*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

March 23, 1822

Your Excellency suggested in your past correspondence that it would be beneficial for the imperial navy, which had arrived at Patras with troops, to leave a squadron of ten ships behind when they set sail for Alexandria as part of their mission on Crete. Having emphasized the importance of the Cretan issue in our response letter, we remarked that the grand admiral would sail with a large number of vessels for the upcoming campaign [on the Morea] in spring. For the time being, we maintained that the merchant ships sent along with the imperial navy would remain in the port of Patras in order to provide such useful services as the transportation of troops from Rumelia to the Morea. Due to the delicate situation on Crete, it was then imperative to order the imperial navy to Alexandria as part of its mission to that island. However, a resolution to the situation in the Morea is the most pressing concern under the prevailing circumstances. It is now possible to send a sizable land force to the Defile of the Morea [the Isthmus of Corinth], since, praise be to God, the trouble caused by [Tepedelenli] Ali Pasha is now over, thanks to Your Excellency's efforts. However, the unlikelihood of gaining hold of the defile by a land attack leaves ferrying the assigned troops over to the Morea as the only viable option. This would obviously require the presence of the vessels of the imperial navy in the area. Moreover, there is no doubt that the expedition of the imperial navy to the Morea would be extremely useful. As the grand admiral was preparing to depart with the navy within a few days for the expedition to the Morea, we held a consultation meeting to deliberate on the question of the Morea, the solution to which depends on the deployment of substantial forces for coordinated land and naval attacks, which would facilitate the pacification of the islands. We have taken the following decisions and presented them to His Imperial Majesty for approval. The grand admiral will set sail in a few days, and there is no need to gather another navy for the Morea. Indeed, the imperial navy under his command should unite with the squadron under *riyala bey's* command at the Dardanelles and proceed to the Morea as rapidly as possible with all forces at his disposal. As for the navy squadron that sailed to Alexandria, it has instructions to return to the Dardanelles via Crete in order to join the imperial navy. For this reason, the grand admiral should leave an official behind in the Dardanelles to escort this fleet to the imperial navy upon its arrival. The grand admiral should then contact Your Excellency upon arrival at Patras to coordinate the transportation, by both the imperial navy and the merchant vessels left behind there, of the forces from Rumelia to the Moreot

inland. The grand admiral should then keep the imperial navy vigilant around the Morea by all means possible, since the Moreot issue has to be resolved promptly. The islands should be the next in line. The grand admiral should communicate with you once more regarding the number of land troops to be embarked by the navy for a possible attack on the islands of Spetses or Hydra or any other island as required and as the time and conditions render necessary. As His Imperial Majesty approved of these measures, a relevant imperial decree was issued by which the grand admiral was strictly ordered to set out and conduct his mission immediately. Thus, the imperial navy is soon going to weigh anchor from here and unite with the squadron at the Dardanelles in order to set sail against the Morea. Hopefully, the fleet will reach Patras and get into contact with Your Excellency in order to ensure the transportation of functionaries and soldiers from Rumelia to the Morea. Thus, the Moreot trouble will soon be resolved smoothly. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to contact the grand admiral once more upon the completion of this task to arrange for the embarkation of five thousand robust troops [to rescue] the other islands. If these troops are to be paid salaries, you should arrange their payment through the fisc. In short, it rests on Your Excellency's diligent efforts to accomplish this mission to dispatch the forces into the depths of the Morea for the ultimate resolution of the troubles in the region and afterward to supply the necessary land troops to the navy.

Postscript: As related in your recent letter, you sent one of your servants to inquire into the news that the imperial navy had engaged the bandit boats upon arrival at Patras. We learned from the navy commander that the navy had indeed engaged the infidels' vessels and proved victorious, praise be to God, by sinking some and burning others. We have forwarded this news to Your Excellency in a letter which you must have received by now.

[575/105, regarding preparations for the all-out attack on the Morea]
 To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha, the Victorious Commander-in-Chief
 March 24, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's latest report mentioning that you are considering assigning Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Teke and Hamid, Reşid Pasha [Kütahi], Governor of Karaman, and Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, to cross from Nafpaktos to the Morea. However, Ömer Pasha, drawing on his own resources, is able to raise only three thousand unpaid [by the fisc] soldiers from Vlorë.¹ Moreover, it is obvious that the others [Mehmed and Reşid Pashas] will be able to mobilize only a thousand or at most 1,500 soldiers each. Yet, the matter in the Morea is a major issue and decidedly it demands an abundance of soldiers. One option is to raise troops from Rumelia to accompany them to the Morea, but this would leave Rumelia vulnerable in case of a Russian assault. The other alternative of raising mercenaries for the pashas would be too costly. Hence, you report that you are at your wit's end. Admittedly, the business in the Morea demands a large number of troops, and it would be fruitless to try and raise them from Albania, as Albanian soldiers are accustomed to receiving salaries. Again, it would not be wise to move Rumeliot soldiers to the Morea, considering that the future of the issues with Russia is unpredictable. Therefore, the only remaining course seems to be recruiting mercenary troops for the Morea. Although it will be financially costly, considering the significance of the matter and the critical condition of the situation, it is still preferable to clear up the Moreot issue as soon as possible by spending money instead of leaving the issue in the hands of the *nefir-i amm* soldiers.² Since spring has arrived, the cold weather in the region has subsided and become bearable. If we strike with fifty thousand soldiers to put those rebellious infidels to the sword, we should be able to rid the Morea of the bandits completely in forty to fifty days. Still, those Tosks are accustomed to receiving salaries whenever they are under arms—such was the case even under that accursed Tepedelenli [Ali Pasha]—and it would be pointless to hope to recruit unpaid soldiers from among them. Moreover, peasant recruits are not comparable to mercenaries; as they do not function under a certain

1 Vlorë (Turk. Avlonya, Gr. Αυλώνας): town and district in southwest Albania.

2 The *nefir-i amm* soldiers (peasant conscripts) were recruited from the non-military people of the areas around the combat zones when emergencies arose. Their provisions were paid by their own communities or by the people of their designated locations, often to the detriment of local economies. This was a cheaper solution for the state in times of financial difficulty; however, the *nefir-i amm* soldiers were practically useless as fighters. Their most important incentive to join the campaigns was to carry off booty and, when they failed to do so or once they faced hardship, they often deserted their troops, despite all precautions.

chain of command, they desert and return to their hometowns as soon as they get their hands on some loot. The Geg Albanians in Ohrid and Elbasan are not much different from the Tosks either. Therefore, although it will incur considerable financial cost, with salaried troops—who would function under a chain of command—it is possible to get things done. This being the case, you should summon to Ioannina those magnates and dynasties of the Tosks and talk to them with Ömer Pasha [Vrioni] by your side. Tell them first that this is a matter of religion, and it is incumbent upon everyone to spend both physical and financial effort. Then, explain to them that the state is not asking for *nefir-i amm* soldiers and will pay the soldiers' salaries. Yet, this being a matter of religion, they too should settle for a reasonable sum, preferably around 30 to 35 piasters a month, to be paid starting from a set date by which they shall be ready to march. With everyone [Albanian magnates] trooping up with his tribe and townsmen, they shall raise thirty thousand men to serve the Exalted State. Once it is decided when and where the Tosk troops will gather and meet, the beys and *mutasarrıfs* of the *sancaks* of Ohrid and Elbasan shall also raise ten thousand men from the Glegs with a reasonable salary and gather them in one place. Our agreement with the *ayans* who were discharged in the winter from the Ioannina army also requires them to raise ten thousand men by drawing upon their own resources whenever it is requested of them. Send word to them so that they are ready with those troops where and when the Tosk and Geg troops will gather. This will make fifty thousand soldiers in total. You shall dispatch them [Glegs and Tosks] separately via Nafpaktos to the Morea and through Amfissa and Arta to Acarnania. The bulk of the rebels will thus be decimated, and His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ankara and Çankırı, who is currently in the Morea, will also be relieved and reinforced. By that time, the imperial navy will have arrived as well, and, with the help of God, the matter of the Morea will be resolved completely, even before the foreseen date. Such is the will of His Imperial Majesty, and we have sent Ömer Pasha and the *mutasarrıfs* of Ohrid and Elbasan their orders individually. Inevitably, considering the significance of the problem in the Morea, it seems there is no option but to sacrifice a few months of salaries. Still, the weight of the whole operation rests on Your Excellency's acumen and perseverance. Do whatever you need to do to raise these troops and mobilize them to the Morea.

[575/107, *regarding the dispatch of money for the mercenaries' salaries*]
To Seyyid Ali Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Morea
March 24, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's past and present correspondence in which you relate that the arrears and supply costs for the soldiers under your command has reached up to two thousand purses of piasters. You request the immediate dispatch of this amount, since failure to carry out the payment would cause commotion among the soldiers. Having mentioned the scarcity of supplies, you have pled with us to show imperial benevolence. Finally, you requested that the former voivode of Denizli,¹ Osman Agha of Tavas, who was then under your command, be relieved of his duties with imperial permission. Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, the glorious Governor and Commander-in-Chief with full powers of Rumelia, has also stressed your need for cash regarding the payment of troops. When we referred this issue to His Imperial Majesty, he decreed us to send Your Excellency two thousand purses of piasters from the fisc, so as to pay your troops. As for Osman Agha of Tavas, His Imperial Majesty has not consented to his leave of service, since these are the times for such a potent figure to serve in his full capacity. Based on His Imperial Majesty's will, we also sent letters to His Excellency Hurşid Pasha, the prestigious Commander-in-Chief of all Rumelia, conveying His Imperial Majesty's decree that he procure in any possible way the provisions and all the necessary supplies required for your army and to appoint a competent commissary officer and a head butcher to serve under your command. As explained in our other letter, we once again reiterate that Your Excellency shall apply to Hurşid Pasha for every major or minor issue regarding your tasks, as he possesses full imperial permission and authority to conduct all such matters, and to seek his consent in performing your duties.

¹ Denizli: town and district in southwest Turkey.

[575/110, *regarding the organization of the campaign on the Morea*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

March 24, 1822

We have received your correspondence sent as a response to our previous letter in which we had informed Your Excellency that His Imperial Majesty would give his consent for the granting of the *sancaks* of Teke and Hamid to His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, Governor of the Morea. In addition, we had asked you to choose either Mehmed Pasha, His Excellency Reşid Pasha [Kütahî], Governor of Karaman, His Excellency Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, or any other vizier to replace Seyyid Ali Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, for failing to stand up to our expectations by neglecting his duties. In your response letter, Your Excellency agrees that Seyyid Ali Pasha has failed to meet his duties and regards Mehmed Pasha, Reşid Pasha, and Ömer Pasha as capable of filling the sublime post of commander-in-chief, albeit that they were newly elevated to the vizierate. That being said, Your Excellency maintains that you had ordered Mehmed Pasha, Reşid Pasha, and Ömer Pasha to advance together to Nafpaktos and to cross over to the Morea and that you would support them with supplies and reinforcements from the rear. In your opinion, the current state of affairs requires His Excellency Seyyid Ali Pasha to remain as the commander-in-chief of the Morea or otherwise to substitute him with another high-ranking vizier, who would be given a contingent of *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops to be mustered from Komotini,¹ Drama, and Serres. Finally, Your Excellency mentions the matter of granting the *sancaks* of Teke and Hamid to Mehmed Pasha. The contents of Your Excellency's correspondence pertaining to the above matters have thus become known to us; your communication was also reviewed by His Imperial Majesty. Your perspicacity and wisdom have proven Your Excellency worthy of dealing with every issue deservedly. The need to recapture the Morea without wasting time, by exerting as much force as possible by land and sea before summer is over, is extremely pressing. Seyyid Ali Pasha has frustrated our expectations because of his laxity. Although replacing him with another seems appropriate, you consider that Mehmed Pasha, Reşid Pasha, or Ömer Pasha are not suitable for the position of commander-in-chief and that it is preferable to leave Seyyid Ali Pasha in office. Hence, in line with Your Excellency's suggestion, an imperial edict has been issued extending Seyyid Ali Pasha's term of office. In addition, the *sancaks* of Teke and Hamid have been granted to Mehmed Pasha and the province of the Morea has been granted to Seyyid Ali Pasha. Indeed, the seriousness of the Moreot issue needs no additional description. If the matter is left only to

¹ Komotini (Turk. Gümülcine, Gr. Κομοτηνή): town in Greek Thrace, northeast Greece.

Seyyid Ali Pasha, it is obvious that he will fail to perform his duties properly. Therefore, even though he occupies the crucial post of commander-in-chief on paper, the handling of the affairs in the Morea is entrusted to your diligent supervision and the prospective measures that Your Excellency implements in your capacity as the glorious Commander-in-Chief of all Rumelia with full discretionary authority over all the functionaries and matters. By His Imperial Majesty's decree, Your Excellency shall ensure the dispatch of Mehmed Pasha, Reşid Pasha, and Ömer Pasha to the Morea via Nafpaktos with a substantial number of troops, as outlined in your correspondence. Your Excellency shall also take the necessary precautions and give due support to the force of Seyyid Ali Pasha to pass through the Defile of the Morea [the Isthmus of Corinth] into the Morea, since he has been ordered to correspond with Your Excellency over each and every issue from now on. You shall immediately appoint whomever you deem fit from among the viziers and other functionaries at your disposal for service in the Morea or any other conflict zone and then inform us, so that we send the necessary imperial orders to enforce these appointments. In short, the imperial decree renders Your Excellency responsible for all actions that need to be taken regarding the matters above. We also inform you by this letter about our correspondence with Seyyid Ali Pasha. We explained to him that the province of the Morea was granted to him in order to increase his prestige and influence as the commander-in-chief of the Morea and that Your Excellency was instructed to support him by every means. We have pointed out to him that, while both of you had occupied the exalted post of grand vizier in the past, His Imperial Majesty now bestowed on Your Excellency the overriding authority over the officers in Rumelia and has ordered you to provide all functionaries there with help in every respect as necessary. Thus, we maintained, he is required from now on to report to Your Excellency each and every issue related to his post. Keeping these matters in mind, we ask you to exercise prudence in administering your duties.

[575/113, *regarding the mobilization of Geg Albanians to the Morea*]
To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

March 24, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency thanks His Imperial Majesty for his grace and generosity shown to your zealous arms bearer and other servants. Your Excellency also suggests that we should send separate imperial orders to the Geg [Albanian] pashas to the effect that they should complete their preparations and be ready to depart at any time with their forces upon Your Excellency's orders. Acknowledging that it is necessary to send them imperial gifts [cash], you think it would be inadvisable to send them in advance before they leave for the front. In your opinion, we should rather inform them that they will receive imperial gifts when they arrive at their designated posts. Your Excellency also instructed both the *mutasarrıf* of Teke and Hamid [Mehmed Pasha] and the governor of Karaman [Reşid Pasha], who had formerly been sent against the infidels of Souli due to their persistence in rebellious acts, to halt their advance and wait for a few days at Arta in order to prepare a double-thronged attack on their army. Lastly, Your Excellency requests a pardon and the subsequent release of the former Head Butcher Ali Efendi. The contents of your correspondence have thus become known to us, and we submitted it, along with the appended documents, to His Imperial Majesty, who embellished it with his imperial writ: "He is worthy of every single compliment. He is a devoted vizier. May God render his standard ever-victorious." All of Your Excellency's statements are in concordance with your maturity and experience, especially the ones regarding the Geg pashas. Based on His Imperial Majesty's will, we have followed your suggestion and sent them the imperial orders assigning them to your command. We have also sent them separate letters announcing that they will duly receive imperial gifts once they arrive at their assigned posts. His Imperial Majesty decreed us to leave all decisions and measures regarding the infidels of Souli to Your Excellency, for you have the full freedom of action in the execution of your office. Finally, His Imperial Majesty pardoned your former head butcher and ordered his release, as per Your Excellency's request. We ask of you by this letter to inform his brother, Hasan Pasha, of the release. It is a matter of honor and piety to demonstrate on every possible occasion the might of Islam by relying on your inherent qualities of zeal and prowess.

[575/126, regarding the conditions of amnesty to be granted
to Agios Efstratios]

To the Castellan of Lemnos [Nurullah Pasha]

March 28, 1822

We have received your correspondence and the ensuing documents and after a close review have submitted them to His Imperial Majesty. We note that Your Excellency dispatched to us the papers brought by three *kocabaşıs* containing a plea for amnesty for the *reaya* of Agios Efstratios, along with the levied sum of 1,072 piasters on account of their *jizya*; and you ask for the dispatch of the relevant *jizya* documents. You also wrote about certain developments in your letter. By the conclusion of our deliberations, we had determined that only after they had heard that the imperial navy would set sail for the Mediterranean did the said *reaya* stop their persistent rebellion and start to ask for mercy by sending those *kocabaşıs* to Lemnos as hostages. By imperial decree, the rules of amnesty for such rebels dictate the payment of the *jizya* per capita and in person and the rendering of some men of importance from their community to the imperial capital as hostages. We have deemed it suitable to offer them the opportunity to fulfill all the conditions of amnesty, including the payment of the *jizya* per capita in person, as well as dispatching hostages. If they accept this offer as is and abide by it, then they will enjoy pardon and clemency upon your notification. However, if they decline, Your Excellency shall overpower them with the help of God Almighty after sending those *kocabaşıs* to the imperial capital. As His Imperial Majesty approved this decision, we send to Your Excellency a copy of these conditions appended to this letter. Also, the sum from the *jizya* is to be kept by Your Excellency. You shall inform us if they accept and carry out the conditions for amnesty. If they reject the conditions, the *kocabaşıs* shall nevertheless be sent here for punishment. We ask of you by this letter to see to the effective resolution of these issues.

[575/127, regarding the mobilization of troops for Chios]

To the Castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha]

March 29, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you relate the pleas for military aid of the castellan of Chios [Vahid Pasha]. He reported in his letter the arrival of forty to fifty bandit shallops and about fifteen vessels from Samos in the waters of Chios. Given that the bandits' intention was an assault on the island, he requested you to speed up the dispatch of the remainder of the troops assigned to Chios from the *sancaks* of Aydın and Saruhan, as well as the provisions to be supplied by the commissary officer of Izmir. Acting upon this request, you urged the *mütesellims* of the two *sancaks* to rush the troops and the commissary officer to send the provisions by camel to the Castle of Çeşme. According to your correspondence, local agents also received your orders to ferry the troops and provisions across to Chios. Finally, you submit to us a letter that had arrived recently from Çeşme containing the news of the exchange of gunfire of the aforementioned infidel vessels with Chios. It is understood from your correspondence that the aggression of the rebel bandits is a sign of their treacherous intention to attack Chios. Considering that Chios abounds with *reaya*, it is crucial to supply the troops and provisions to the castle in order to reinforce the garrison against the enemy. We have thus reiterated the past orders for the immediate mobilization of troops assigned to the garrison of Chios. We ask of you by this letter to oversee the transportation and shipment of the provisions in the manner you suggest in your letter. You shall spare no effort to support Chios by every means at your disposal in order to demonstrate your diligence and loyalty.

[575/132, regarding the events on Chios]

To the Castellan of Chios [Vahid Pasha]

April 1, 1822

We have received your correspondence which includes your report on the assault of the rebel infidels on Chios and your efforts to repel them, the list of supplies you need in the garrison, and the translation of the letter sent by the accursed ringleader of the rebels.¹ Having related that you responded to the letter from the ringleader with cannon fire, you plead with us for the immediate dispatch of reinforcements, ammunition, and other supplies. We have learned the details of the incident from another letter from the castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha]. He informed us that he urged the local authorities to rush the troops from Aydın and Saruhan assigned to Chios and that he sent the provisions supplied by the commissary officer in Izmir. We nonetheless sent additional orders to Aydın and Saruhan, reiterating earlier decrees for the mobilization of troops in order to facilitate their arrival. Moreover, we instructed the castellan of Izmir in our response letter to demonstrate his diligence and piety by supporting Chios by whatever means possible. As for the list you sent, we have prepared the ammunition, as well as physicians and their assistants, ready for shipment by the imperial navy, which is off Beşiktaş, ready to leave under the command of the grand admiral. It is with great joy that we learn about your resolute and dignified defense against the infidels who dared attack the Castle of Chios and that many of them were slain by the sword of the believers. This, we hope, is divine proof of their imminent exposure to the might of Islam. As it is known to Your Excellency, it is incumbent on all believers and Muslims to secure their salvation in this world and the next by never giving respite to such insurgent heathens and crushing them. We ask of you by this letter to explain to our functionaries that these rebels who landed on Chios are no match to Muslims, with God on our side, and that the imperial navy and the assigned troops will arrive on Chios quite soon in order to deal a fatal blow to them. You should maintain your vigilance and demonstrate your diligence and devotedness.

1 On March 22–23 Samiot insurgents led by Lykourgos Logothetis and Antonios Bourmias landed on Chios in order to incite the Chiotots to join the revolution. There were several skirmishes in different parts of the island until the arrival of the Ottoman navy on April 11. For the most meticulously researched account of the events on Chios, see Philip P. Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios, Described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports* (London: John Lane, 1932), pp. xix–xxxiv.

[575/136, regarding the inappropriateness of Mehmed Pasha leaving Patras and the preparations for the all-out attack on the Morea]

To Yusuf Pasha, who is at the Castle of the Morea [Rio]

April 3, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you express that you are grateful for the bestowal of the *sancaks* of Aydın and Saruhan to your administration and that you will exert your best efforts for the sake of [our] religion and the Exalted State. You also report the arrival of Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ankara, at Patras, which has relieved the hearts and minds of the Muslims. Given that the matter of Ioannina [Tepedelenli Ali Pasha's uprising] had been resolved thanks to His Imperial Majesty's royal fortune, the departure of Mehmed Pasha for Preveza would only cause dismay in the hearts of so many Muslims in the Morea and spoilage of the infidels. Having this in mind, you decided to join forces and march to Corinth, which was hard-pressed then. Relying on reports of rebels being sighted at a distance of three hours from Patras, you sent troops upon them, and the captives reported that the Moreot rebels were planning a joint attack on Patras. Therefore, you have given up on Corinth for the time being and focused on relieving the environs of Patras. In this present correspondence, you plead with us for the immediate departure of the imperial navy, which is scheduled for this spring, and to rush the assigned land troops. You mention the news that you received about the impending march of Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, to Nafpaktos at the head of a sizable force, intending to crush the infidels in Arta and Acarnania along his way. Thus, you suggest that the viziers in Lamia should march to Amfissa and, upon communicating with you, you could arrange for their transportation to the Morea from either Thebes or Amfissa on the ships available at Patras, and you state that some success could be scored this way. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us and were reviewed by His Imperial Majesty. In recognition of the necessity of relieving the Morea, Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, Governor of Rumelia, who was given full discretionary powers as the commander-in-chief, is about to send a considerable number of troops on to the Morea in support of our functionaries deployed there. The imperial navy is now off Beşiktaş, and the grand admiral is on board his ship ready to sail out with favorable winds in a few days. Thus, we hope, by God's grace, the Morea will be relieved from the hands of the infidels once these reinforcements arrive both by sea and land. The crossing of officers located in Lamia to the Morea from the ports of Thebes and Amfissa, as you have suggested, sounds reasonable; we have related your suggestion to Hurşid Pasha, who is the one to decide on this. We ask of you by this letter to maintain your vigilance and continue to render good service. We will send the cannons and carriages you had formerly requested with the imperial navy, following your suggestion.

[575/147, regarding the mobilization of troops to Chios]

To the Castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha]

April 4, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which you relate the news brought by Giovanni, a *müstemen* merchant who arrived in Izmir from Chios, that bandits and Muslims were fighting one another and that the rebel brigands were plotting to attack Lesbos. Accordingly, you warned the castellan of Lesbos immediately, advising him to beware and urged the *mütesellims* of Aydın and Saruhan to speed up the mobilization of the remaining troops to be sent to Chios. We understand that, apart from those assigned troops, a few hundred infantry and cavalry had assembled in Çeşme and that you have arranged for an additional seven to eight hundred men from Izmir. You nevertheless point out that unless viable a means of passage to Chios was provided upon their arrival at Çeşme, supply problems would ensue as they would be left stranded for extended periods and this would eventually cause their desertion. Your efforts in facilitating the aid to Chios have not gone unnoticed, and we particularly commend your endeavor to warn the castellan of Lesbos, which demonstrates the prudence expected of you. We have taken the necessary steps to deal with the infidels attacking Chios, and the grand admiral has hoisted sail. With favorable weather, he will head directly to Chios and facilitate the passage of the troops from Çeşme to Chios. He will also leave the land troops at his command on Chios. We believe that affairs on Chios will soon take a more favorable turn. We have also written to the castellan and the superintendent of Lesbos and advised vigilance. We ask of you by this letter to take proper care of the troops in Çeşme in the meantime, so that they will not leave before the arrival of the imperial navy. You should exert yourself to have those provisions from Izmir transported to Çeşme by camel and shipped across to Chios. Finally, although the navy is due to arrive there soon, it would be commendable if you could find a way to ferry those soldiers to Chios before then.

[575/150, regarding a possible delay in the arrival of the imperial navy at the Morea due to the battle on Chios]

To Hurşid Pasha

April 4, 1822

We have previously communicated to you in great detail our unanimous decision concerning the measures for the pacification of the Morea. In consideration of your need for the imperial navy to ferry your troops over to the Morea, the grand admiral was going to set sail for the Morea and contact you upon reaching Patras. You would then be able to arrange for the transportation of the troops from Rumelia on the vessels under his command, as well as on the merchant ships formerly left there. You would also negotiate how to make use of the imperial navy in the most effective way to bring the affair in the Morea to a favorable conclusion as soon as possible. The grand admiral has boarded his ship, and the imperial navy has hoisted sail, awaiting favorable weather to depart from Istanbul.¹ However, we have received intelligence regarding a commotion on Chios. The pirates have attacked Chios from the direction of the island of Samos with forty to fifty shallops and about fifteen ships and dared to land on the island. Vahid Pasha, Castellan of Chios, has been withstanding their assaults with his troops in the fortress of Chios since then. It is conceivable that this raid by the infidel rebels is a diversionary attack with the aim of keeping the imperial navy away from the Morea. It is possible that this apparent rekindling of the revolt is also due to Russian agitation. Nevertheless, the Castle of Chios is now besieged and it is not an option to leave Chios unaided. Thus, by His Imperial Majesty's will, we have cancelled the former instructions for the imperial navy to go directly to the Morea; it will first take the cannons, gunpowder, munitions, and artillerymen to Chios and, after leaving a few thousand land troops present in the navy on the island, it will help to transport soldiers waiting across [the strait] in Çeşme. It is our hope that with God's help the matter should be resolved quickly and that the imperial navy will sail to the Morea without much delay, in accordance with the previous instructions. Nevertheless, His Imperial Majesty has ordered us to inform you in advance about the possibility of a delay in the arrival of the imperial navy to the Morea due to the incident on Chios. Should this be the case, you must seek other means of transferring your troops to the Morea without wasting time, possibly by the aforementioned merchant ships in the vicinity. This letter is to inform you about His Imperial Majesty's decree that you should spare no effort in ferrying your troops assembled on the coast to the Morea by any means if the imperial navy is delayed en route to the Morea.

¹ The Ottoman navy left Istanbul on April 5.

[575/152, regarding the measures taken against the Souliots and Adamantios Nikolaou; the recruitment of Albanian mercenaries]

To the Governor of Rumelia Hurşid Pasha

April 5, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you forwarded the intelligence revealing that fifty to sixty Greek infidel vessels have been navigating along the coast [of Epirus] in order to extend aid to the infidels of Souli and to bar Muslim soldiers from crossing to Acarnania. Moreover, according to the intelligence, the Castle of Dinasa—which is located between Preveza and Parga—is in the hands of the infidels, and five to six vessels reached near to the castle to provide the infidels of Souli with supplies and ammunition. Your Excellency thus took measures with the intention of seizing the castle and the aforementioned ammunition and supplies to crush the infidel Souliots, with the help of God Almighty. You ordered the *Mutasarrıf* of Teke, His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, along with the cavalry and infantry at his command, to this zone and arranged for the recruitment of eight thousand men from Vlorë by the intermediacy of Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina. Furthermore, you state that you mobilized the entire Delvinë contingent for this purpose. Finally, you inform us about your efforts to get hold of the wretched Captain Yamandi [Adamantios Nikolaou Olympios]¹ of Veroia, who rose up in rebellion—as reported by the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki—by sending your seal keeper against him immediately. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us. We have submitted your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty, who, upon reviewing it, exclaimed the following prayer: “May God the Gracious render the faithful folk of Muhammad victorious for the sake of His Most Favorite One [the Prophet Muhammad].” It is doubtless that Your Excellency's God-given comprehension, zeal, and piety are demonstrated in every action you have taken. Therefore, we have approved of the measures you have taken so far for the defeat and total destruction of the infidel Souliots, as well as for the capture of the treacherous rebel [Adamantios Nikolaou]. We wish that these precautions will yield the intended outcome, so that the wretched infidels will be ruined and will perish soon, by the grace of God the Merciful. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to exert yourself to the fulfillment of all your duties with zeal.

1 See document 574/329 herein.

[575/158, regarding instructions for the operations against the Morea]
 To the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea [Seyyid Ali Pasha]

April 10, 1822

We have recently communicated to Your Excellency the modification of orders, according to which the forces destined for operations in the Morea were redirected to Acarnania in order to eliminate the rebellious dissidents in that vicinity. We had thus instructed you to station yourself in Lamia and to take care of its defense. The reason was that the settlement of the commotion in the Morea had to be delayed, as the infidels of Acarnania and Nafpaktos had attacked Arta at a time when the issue of [Tepedelenli] Ali Pasha was still ongoing and the forces destined for the Morea were unable to pass the defile [the Isthmus of Corinth], thus failing to occupy the Morea. Along with the instructions regarding your new task, we dispatched to Your Excellency two thousand purses of piasters for the payment of the troops at the request of His Excellency, Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, the glorious Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia with full powers, as well as your related correspondence. Presently, the Ali Pasha issue has been resolved, by the Grace of God Almighty. It is therefore now the time to focus on the Moreot issue, which is of paramount importance. The infidel Moreots should definitely be dealt with thoroughly and immediately in order to end the troubles they have caused. It must be a matter of piety and zeal for our functionaries to move to the Moreot inland with substantial forces to subdue the province. While you are the commander-in-chief of the Morea, His Imperial Majesty has invested Hurşid Pasha with full authority and conferred on him plenipotentiary license to hold command over all the viziers, governors-general, notables, and dynasties in Rumelia proper. This particularly applies to the issue of the Morea, and in consequence of this he will muster forty thousand monthly salaried troops from Toskëria and Gegëria,¹ in addition to the forces commanded by the *ayans*, for the planned operations in the Morea. His Imperial Majesty left to the discretion of His Excellency Hurşid Pasha the allocation of these forces to the command of Your Excellency or of the other functionaries depending on necessity. Most of the troops are to be dispatched to inland Morea over Nafpaktos under the command of Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of the *sancaks* of Teke and Hamid, Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, and Reşid Pasha [Kütahi], Governor of Karaman; whereas the remaining small number will be left for the army at Lamia. Therefore, we have revoked the dispatch of the forces to Acarnania

1 Toskëria (Turk. Toskalık): the land of Tosk Albanians; Gegëria (Turk. Gegalık): the land of Geg Albanians. Just like "Arnavudluk," the Turkish word for Albania, the boundaries defined by these terms were more geographical and cultural than political.

and reassigned them to the Morea as before, and we have sent the relevant imperial decree to His Excellency Hurşid Pasha. We would like to inform Your Excellency by this letter that neglect of duty, laxity, or the slightest sign of lethargy will not be tolerated for a second time. Accordingly, you shall strive to perform your duty with courage and sacrifice and render good service for the sake of religion and state in order to be eligible for His Imperial Majesty's favor. In order to accomplish your task, you are to do your best and muster as many troops as possible as a supplement to the troops from Toskëria and Gegëria to be sent by His Excellency Hurşid Pasha. The current state of affairs and the relevant imperial decree requires Your Excellency to act in accordance with every instruction and command given by His Excellency Hurşid Pasha. We have notified the other functionaries assigned to the Morea about the imperial decree as well. As such, Your Excellency shall cease acting neglectfully. Instead, you shall sincerely unite with the viziers, *mir-i mirans*, and all other functionaries under your command to gain hold of the defile [the Isthmus of Corinth] immediately and proceed toward the depths of the Morea in order to fulfill your duty by putting an end to the troubles there. From now on, Your Excellency shall act rapidly and diligently, fulfilling your requisite duties.

[575/160, regarding various issues about troop recruitment and deployment for the all-out attack on the Morea]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

April 10, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency requests us to send strict orders to expedite the march of the army at Lamia to the Morea following the main route, since the recent orders to set out for Acarnania were countermanded and they are assigned again to the Morea. Your Excellency points out that we should rectify the obvious shortcomings of the army stationed at Lamia and complained about the inappropriate conduct of Mahmud Pasha of Drama. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us, and we presented your letters to His Imperial Majesty. It is true that His Excellency Seyyid Ali Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the expedition to the Morea, has been negligent in his duties, yet the real problem lies in the numerical deficiency of his force. Capturing the defiles requires an abundance of soldiers, and with the functionaries at hand and the meager number of assembled troops, this proves to be an unachievable task. We believe that Your Excellency's correspondence that reiterates the demand to work out a solution regarding the army at Lamia must have predated our correspondence that authorizes you to muster forty thousand mercenaries from Toskëria and Gegëria. It is obvious that if Your Excellency adjoined twenty thousand men from among this force to the command of Their Excellencies Mehmed Pasha, Ömer Pasha, and Reşid Pasha in order to be dispatched over Nafpaktos to the Moreot inland and allocated the remaining twenty thousand men to the army at Lamia to support the commander-in-chief of the Morea and other functionaries, the tumult about the shortage of men would be eliminated. Your Excellency formerly suggested that the removal and substitution of the commander-in-chief of the Morea was not feasible under the prevailing circumstances. Indeed, we cannot find a suitable vizier to appoint promptly as commander-in-chief. Besides, a replacement might incur a number of inconveniences, such as the dispersal of troops. Therefore, even if we could find a candidate, Your Excellency would reject his replacement in any case, based on your sagacious judgement. On the other hand, Mahmud Pasha's misconduct is obvious, as rightly stated in your correspondence. Although he deserves his due punishment, he presently commands three to four thousand robust troops who esteem him highly. Consequently, once the defile [the Isthmus of Corinth] is captured, he will be of great use in garrisoning it. An influential vizier like him must be kept in service for the time being irrespective of any flaws, which Your Excellency should ignore rather than meting out a punishment for him. He is, after all, aware of his misdeeds in the affair at Ioannina [the Tepedelenli

Ali Pasha uprising] and is still afraid of retribution. Therefore, he is ready to react aggressively in fear of punishment. Furthermore, he holds great influence among his troops, thanks to his wealth, and he is by nature a truculent and stubborn man, who can make use of the support he draws in Rumelia to provoke sedition. The moment he understands that a punishment for him approaches, he can dissolve the army to evoke mayhem and tumult, even resorting to actions that are more inappropriate for fear of his life. If such an incident occurs, the situation might scare Yusuf Pasha of Serres due to his cooperation with him earlier during the aforementioned incident with the Ioannina army. In short, punishment is not a viable option in the present situation, and, in our opinion, Your Excellency must treat him by encouraging and rewarding him. If he manages to carry out his duties diligently to compensate for his former misdeeds, he might even be forgiven completely. However, in the case that he insists on his improper ways, Your Excellency must refrain for the time being from taking action against him and deal with him in the future. We have sent the necessary imperial orders to the functionaries assigned to Lamia and explained to them that, following your suggestion, we cancelled their reassignment to Acarnania and redirected them to the Morea, just as in their previous orders. They have strict instructions to follow your future instructions stringently on how to employ the Geg and Tosk contingents you send them. Keeping to the main route, they should force the defile and occupy the interior of the Morea. We have also sent letters to the commander-in-chief of the Morea and other functionaries to obey your orders, to strive to muster as many men as possible, and to augment their household troops as much as possible to supplement the contingents that Your Excellency would send to each of them. In addition, His Imperial Majesty approved of our suggestion that Halil Bey of Lamia be appointed steward to the commander-in-chief of the Morea by imperial rescript, since he is likely to be very useful in the army gathered at Lamia owing to his influence in local affairs and extensive knowledge of local conditions. He also has the trust of the *reaya*. Thus, His Imperial Majesty ordered us to instruct Seyyid Ali Pasha to authorize him fully in the handling of important affairs. We have forwarded to Your Excellency the relevant imperial orders regarding the reassignment of the army at Lamia, our correspondence, the imperial order appointing Halil Bey as steward of the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, and, lastly, our related letter. By His Imperial Majesty's decree, Your Excellency has full freedom to decide about the enlistment of forty thousand monthly salaried troops from Toskëria and Gegëria, as well as making arrangements for the *ayans* of Rumelia to bring along ten thousand men under their own command. Similarly, Your Excellency should decide on the size of the reinforcements to be sent to Lamia, as well as to Mehmed Pasha, Reşid Pasha,

and Ömer Pasha, who will proceed into the Morea after crossing from Nafpaktos. Should Your Excellency have additional instructions and directives apart from the letters of admonition sent from here, you should communicate them to the functionaries there. Formerly, you had not approved of the substitution of the commander-in-chief of the Morea. We believe that your aforementioned correspondence urging us to take care of the Lamia army predates the imperial order for the recruitment of new troops as described before. Nevertheless, if this is not the case, Your Excellency is again fully authorized to implement your own solution without wasting time. By His Imperial Majesty's will, Your Excellency should take the necessary measures as dictated by the circumstances regarding the situation in the Morea, the resolution of which relies exclusively on your efforts. Thus, it is expected of Your Excellency as commander-in-chief to demonstrate resourcefulness, diligence, and prudence in the elimination of this trouble, by the grace of God. We also share with Your Excellency our opinion on the following subjects. Given the current shortage of provisions in the region, our units should not waste time by staying at any location more than necessary on the pretext of waiting for supplies during the march. They should rather attack and occupy the territory where the enemy is located and feed off their supplies. Your Excellency should communicate to the functionaries at Lamia that they should bring their own contingents and retinues up to full strength to supplement the units they would receive from you. You should also inform them that Your Excellency is strictly admonished to notify the Sublime Porte of any negligent or faulty acts in their duty. In addition, Your Excellency should give due support to Ali Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Çorum, who is assigned to serve in the Morea. Even though he is a bold and determined official, he is financially distressed. According to your past correspondence, Your Excellency had ordered Mehmed Pasha and Reşid Pasha to attack the infidels of Souli. We consider that the suppression of the uprisings in Nafpaktos and Acarnania should have primacy. It seems that it is possible to pacify the infidels of Souli for the time being by pardoning them. If this is the case, you should calm them down at once, which is preferable to the prolongation of this affair, in order to deal with the infidels of Nafpaktos and Acarnania, which would then facilitate the tackling of the troubles in the Morea. As explained above, these are only some potential measures, the implementation of which rests on the sagacity and discretion of Your Excellency.

[575/179, regarding the Russian priests and the construction of towers on Mount Athos; measures to suppress the uprising in the region of Veroia]
 To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

April 13, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency confirms the arrival of our letter including the terms of amnesty along with the passports you had seized from the Russian priests in the monasteries of Mount Athos. Your Excellency points out that these passports were returned to their owners. You assure us that the priests living on Mount Athos, whether they are subjects of the Exalted State or of Russia, would not dare to misbehave because of the troops you quartered in the monasteries. Your Excellency suggests erecting new towers in Kassandra and on Mount Athos and the islands of Şeka [uncertain reading] and Eşek [uncertain reading] in order to garrison a sufficient force, so that no brigands would ever be able to take shelter in the vicinity, and the power of the Athonites would be broken. Thus, you have presented sketches of the planned towers, as well as a complete list of the rooms, stores, and other kinds of buildings inside or outside of the monasteries and towers on Mount Athos. You point out that the majority of the priests on Mount Athos are actually wretched people who escaped from their hometowns due to miscellaneous reasons and attired themselves in the priest's cloak. They first dared to create tumult and chaos at the beginning of the revolt, and then some of them fled to the islands. Your Excellency suggests that they should not be accepted in the precinct from now on and that, if any one of them is found on the premises, they should be dismissed. You argue that the appointment of a notable figure among them, such as the chief priest in each monastery, and subjecting them all to the authority of a metropolitan would prevent them from offending the imperatives of subjecthood. Your Excellency also expressed the need for an imperial order so as to decide on how to act regarding some seventy to eighty subjects from the island of Samothrace who had submitted themselves to the gatekeeper of His Excellency, the *mutasarrıf* of Ankara. Finally, you report on your arrival in Veroia¹ from Thessaloniki in order to deal with the *reaya* of Naousa, Veroia, and Katerini,² all of whom joined the revolt. Your Excellency is gifted with prudence and comprehension in the conduct of important affairs. Indeed, it is necessary to build new towers in Kassandra and on the islands of Şeka and Eşek and to deploy a sufficiently strong garrison in

1 Veroia (Turk. Karaferye, Gr. Βέροια): town and district in northern Greece, to the west of Thessaloniki.

2 Katerini (Turk. Katerin, Gr. Κατερίνη): town and district in northern Greece, to the southwest of Thessaloniki.

each of them. However, for this to happen, an engineer should be sent initially from Istanbul in order to check with Your Excellency and survey the locations and the cost of construction of these towers. Upon the arrival of his report on how much time and money it would take to complete construction, a suitable person from among the notables of Thessaloniki should be put in charge of the construction, and afterward you should take care of garrisoning these towers. We equally find your suggestion reasonable concerning the appointment of a chief priest to each monastery and a chief monk at the head of them. However, such arrangements have to be made through the Greek Patriarchate, as prescribed by their fallacious rituals. Nonetheless, wickedness has prevailed over all lowborn and highborn Greeks in the present time, and thereby the patriarch is not to be fully trusted either. Therefore, it is not the right time to implement the proposed measures, and it is proper to postpone the resolution of this matter and comparable ones for a later time. In the meantime, Your Excellency shall double your efforts for safeguarding the vicinity with paying due attention. This letter is to inform Your Excellency that, by His Imperial Majesty's will, if the remaining *reaya* of Samothrace fully accept the four terms of amnesty delivered to Your Excellency in the past, Your Excellency should grant them pardon. We have dispatched an engineer who will survey the locations of the proposed towers and ascertain the construction cost and time. We ask of you to send immediately the relevant report upon the completion of the survey. Finally, as you advanced upon the accursed bandits in person, according to your correspondence, you shall diligently work toward the suppression of these contemptible rebels as specified in the instructions that give you full discretionary powers in the execution of your office.

[575/183, regarding deployment of fresh troops in Moldowallachia and Russia's intentions]

To the Governor of Silistra [Mehmed Selim Pasha]

April 7, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which you relate that the *nefir-i amm* troops currently stationed in Iași and Bucharest were prone to desertion, as their time in service was approaching a full year, and that they were unlikely to persevere until the beginning of the spring [the day of Hidrellez: May 5], which was the intended date of disbandment, since most of them lacked proper clothing. Your Excellency points out that substituting fresh troops for them was the alternative option, though subject to an imperial rescript. Having reviewed your correspondence and the official petitions by the officers of the abovementioned troops, the situation raised the following concerns in our minds. It is not yet known which course the Muscovites will take. Should the *nefir-i amm* troops not be kept until the spring and instead disbanded suddenly, while there is still some time for the advent of spring, there is no way to recruit and send their substitutes from Anatolia until then. Therefore, we deem it proper that you raise five thousand *nefir-i amm* soldiers at once from the districts under your administration. Until you report back to us on the completion of the recruitment, the spring will arrive, and the intentions of the Muscovites will be much clearer. Then we can take action accordingly. As previously explained to Your Excellency, one of the four Russian demands was the withdrawal of the Muslim troops from Moldowallachia. The Exalted State made plain its opposition to the act of a total evacuation of Moldowallachia while the Greek sedition was not over, since it would lead to the intensification of the subversion. The Exalted State, however, stated that it might decide to reduce the number of the troops. Now that Your Excellency has implied the futility of deploying *nefir-i amm* soldiers in Moldowallachia, we have presented a plan of action to His Imperial Majesty for consideration. Accordingly, in case that the mercenaries in Iași and Bucharest paid by the month, as well as the janissaries in Moldavia, were found to be enough in numbers, then it would be possible to discharge the aforementioned *nefir-i amm* troops from service prior to the recruitment of five thousand fresh *nefir-i amm* troops from the localities under your jurisdiction, as agreed previously. Then we would have a chance to tell the ambassadors here: "The Exalted State is keen on keeping its promise. Here it is! What you witness in Moldowallachia now is part of our announced policy of troop reduction." That would ease the matter at hand to some degree. By His Imperial Majesty's will, we have decided to inquire from Your Excellency whether the mercenaries and the janissaries in Moldowallachia were in good numbers to justify the implementation of this plan. This letter is to ask you to

forward your opinion immediately, so that we can send you the pertinent imperial orders for the recruitment of five thousand *nefir-i amm* soldiers from the districts under your administration and send them forward to their assigned post when necessary. On condition that the mercenaries and janissaries in Moldowallachia are found to be enough in numbers, Your Excellency should send the discontented *nefir-i amm* soldiers back home and notify us promptly, so that we announce it to the ambassadors as described above.

[575/186, *regarding the advance on the Morea*]

To the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea [Seyyid Ali Pasha]

April 17, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency relates the shortage of provisions and the ensuing misery in the army under your command. You plead with us to order the functionaries in Larissa to supply your troops with foodstuffs to be deduced from the official rations assigned for your troops later on when the matter of provisioning is put in good order. Your Excellency also asks for the dispatch of a certain number of cartridges, as well as for granting permission to keep Ali Şefik Pasha under your command. Now that the troubles with Tepedelenli [Ali Pasha] have ended, thanks to the divine power of God Almighty, the time has come to advance on the Morea. It is almost a religious obligation now for all our functionaries to arrive in the Morea before the season is late and take revenge on those infidel brigands by extinguishing the flames of rebellion. We sent imperial orders to the Commander-in-Chief Hurşid Ahmed Pasha that countermanded the previous command ordering the troops to Acarnania and redirecting them to the Morea, which was their original destination. We also communicated to him to supply your force with all the necessary provisions and to attach a capable army commissary and a chief butcher to your force. Finally, we sent you correspondence regarding His Imperial Majesty's decree that instructs Your Excellency to refer all the subjects pertinent to your task to Hurşid Pasha and to seek his consent every time before taking action. We assume that Your Excellency sent this current correspondence without the prior knowledge of the imperial decree and that the relevant orders and correspondence must have reached your side by now, clarifying the situation. In the present time, the cartridges are in short supply here as well, whereas they can be found in abundance in and around Ioannina. It is part of your duty to handle the matter of cartridges and all other subjects in communication with Hurşid Pasha. We would like to inform you that we apprised [Ali] Şefik Pasha about his appointment to serve in the Morea. From now on, Your Excellency should address every matter pertaining to your duties assiduously based on Hurşid Pasha's instructions and definitely find a way to advance into the Morea in order to assume your duties as the commander-in-chief of the Morea.

[575/188, *regarding the suppression of the uprising in the region of Veroia and Ellassona*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Trikala Ali Namuk Pasha

April 19, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence with great pleasure and appreciated the pious zeal and diligence demonstrated in the service to the true religion and the Sublime State. You have truly proven your faithfulness by stationing troops in order to protect the exposed places fully against a likely attack from land and sea due to the violent uprising of Captain Yamandi [Adamantios Nikolaou Olympios] of the region of Veroia—which is in the *sancak* of Thessaloniki—and other brigands.¹ You have also related the way in which a detachment of your force attacked and routed the traitor who went by the name “the Captain of Ellassona,” putting ten of his accomplices to the sword. You also captured the captain of Mecdan [untraced place name] and his accomplices alive and executed them, sending us their severed cursed heads. Having informed us about the repairs made to the fortifications of Platamonas² and Volos, you ask for financial aid to pay the troops under your command. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted your letter to His Imperial Majesty. The severed heads were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to serve as an example. Meanwhile, Hurşid Pasha has confirmed that Your Excellency was in great need of financial aid. Your Excellency is among those commendable viziers raised in the palace and famed for prowess, resoluteness, and manliness. In recognition of your past record of service rendered to His Imperial Majesty and the necessity to reinforce your authority, we have sent Your Excellency five hundred purses of piasters as a royal gift by His Imperial Majesty's decree. From now on, Your Excellency should strive toward proving his courage and dignity by protecting the region under his authority appropriately from any impending threat. You should make a glorious name in this world and the other by crushing the infidel brigands without giving any respite to them. In all matters you must seek Hurşid Pasha's approval and strive to fulfill your duties to his best satisfaction.

1 See document 575/152 herein.

2 Platamonas (Turk. Platomana, Gr. Πλαταμώνας): shore castle in the Olympos region, north-east Greece.

[575/192, *regarding the suppression of the insurgents on Chios*]

To the Castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha]

April 19, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which you relate that on the 19th day of Rejeb [April 11, 1822] the imperial navy appeared off the coast of Chios. The infidel boats had to flee without being able to take all of the wretched troops on board that they had previously embarked on Chios. Our warriors who crossed over to Chios from Çeşme relieved the castle of the siege by attacking the accursed heathens. Many of them perished in the melee, and the rest fled in the direction of Thymiana.¹ You point out that our troops were sent in pursuit of these infidel brigands. Mustafa Reşid Pasha, Castellan of Kuşadası, also informed us about the deliverance of the island, by the grace of God, from the siege after the rout and devastation of the infidel bandits. We presented both of these batches of correspondence to His Imperial Majesty. It is incumbent on all of us to abandon worldly pleasures and exert ourselves courageously in the way of religion in the face of the treacherous deeds that the infidels committed against the Muslims. It is a religious obligation to be on the lookout and defend our assigned posts. Considering that the imperial navy rushed and saved Chios from the siege, we have no doubt that the accursed infidels on the island will have faced due punishment by now. This letter is to instruct you to pay due attention to your garrison duty and to be on alert not to be caught off guard. You are to keep us informed about the state and maneuvers of the infidels by passing on the intelligence you gather and exert yourself to provide as much aid as possible to Chios.

1 Thymiana (Turk. Timyana, Gr. Θυμιανή): village in southeast Chios, near Karfas Bay.

[575/199, regarding the suppression of the uprising on Chios
and the transport of troops]

To His Excellency the Grand Admiral [Nasuhzade Kara Ali Pasha]

April 20, 1822

We have received your correspondence explaining how you arrived at the island of Chios a day after setting off from Lapseki and ferried troops over to Chios from Çeşme, in addition to those disembarked from the navy in communication with His Excellency Vahid Pasha [Castellan of Chios].¹ These forces relieved the besieged Castle of Chios and defeated the rebel brigands, and you stress that the battles are not over yet. With the arrival of the imperial navy, the infidel vessels took flight while Your Excellency burned down twenty-eight shallows belonging to the locals and detained fifteen. You then delivered the royal gifts [cash] and ammunition to His Excellency Vahid Pasha as decided in Istanbul, with a view to reinforce the castle, and gave 1,000 *kantars* of hardtack from the inventory of the imperial navy at the request of Vahid Pasha. You draw attention to the situation on the islands of Lesbos, Kos, and Rhodes, whose *reaya*, having not as yet risen up, are likely to grow treacherous, for this is their true intention, unless substantial safety precautions are taken soon. Thus, you deem it necessary to mobilize troops from Anatolia to reinforce the garrisons on these islands. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us. We rejoiced over Your Excellency's efforts in relieving the Castle of Chios from siege and we immediately submitted your communication to His Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency is among the great viziers of the Exalted State, distinguished by your courage, diligence, prowess, and prudence. We particularly appreciate your undeniable efforts in accomplishing the assigned mission of crushing the brigands. In light of these exertions, it would be rather redundant to send Your Excellency any further notices regarding your duty. We hope that the bandits in the villages of Chios have already received their due punishment and that you have completely pacified the island by now, based on how quickly you reached and rescued the Castle of Chios. We are anxiously awaiting news of victory. May God always bestow victory to the Muslims, amen! Your Excellency rightly points out that it is imperative to safeguard the places mentioned in your correspondence. Therefore, we have sent as before

1 The Ottoman navy arrived at Chios on April 11. The Samiots who incited the Chiots left the island abruptly, leaving the inhabitants defenseless. The ensuing massacre and looting are well-documented and studied, unlike the massacre of Tripolitsa. The number of the victims and enslaved were in the many thousands. In his letter to the Sublime Porte, Vahid Pasha claimed that: "The booty of goods and slaves carried off by the glorious soldiers who are presently on the island and those arriving piecemeal is unprecedented and unheard of in history." See Vahid Pasha to his agent at the Sublime Porte, April 28, 1822, BOA/HAT 24277.

the relevant imperial orders through an inspector to designated localities, demanding troops for the garrisons of the islands of Lesbos, Kos, Rhodes, and Lemnos. Similarly, we have arranged for a rapid mobilization of men from the *sancaks* of Aydın and Saruhan to take up service on the island of Chios. We assume that these troops have reached the island by now, so that the island is fully reinforced. We assure Your Excellency that we will waste not a single moment in reinforcing Chios and ask of you by this letter to demonstrate zeal and piety on every occasion in the execution of your office.

[575/200, *regarding the suppression of the uprising on Chios and the ensuing massacre*]

To the Castellan of Chios [Vahid Pasha]

April 21, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which you report that the *reaya* of Chios joined forces with the pirates who had arrived on the island [from Samos], laid siege to the Castle of Chios from both land and sea, and were about to engage in battle. In the meantime, the imperial navy arrived and landed troops for a coordinated attack with your force on the outskirts from two sides. Victorious troops of Islam then captured the monasteries, bastions, and houses where the wretched brigands were taking shelter, as well as three pieces of artillery. They returned unharmed after destroying and enslaving the infidels and plundering their goods. Later on, they attacked the neighborhoods of the town, burned some parts, and captured seventeen pieces of artillery. Finally, you mention the dispatch of two loads of severed ears and heads, along with a couple of banners, belonging to the important infidels—either executed or captured—in this great holy war. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us and caused great joy and appreciation. His Imperial Majesty was also much pleased with your deeds after reviewing your correspondence. Your Excellency is among the great and diligent viziers of His Imperial Majesty and gifted with a sense of honor, prowess, and devotion. Praise be to God for his grace and beneficence! The baleful heads, ears, and banners were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to serve as an example. The inherent perfidiousness of the Greeks toward the Mohammedan religion has resurfaced for more than a year now, and the *reaya* of Chios have joined in this treachery. They will soon meet their due punishment as divine grace, since God and the holy spirit of the prophet will no doubt come to the rescue of our sublime religion of Muhammad. Obviously, it is a religious obligation for all our functionaries to exert themselves to show the might of Islam to the infidels who revolted. We expect Your Excellency to strive to perform the kinds of deeds that demonstrate your gallantry, zeal, perseverance, and prudence. We inform Your Excellency by this letter, on His Imperial Majesty's decree, that you arrange the hanging of the *kocabaşıs* kept inside the Castle of Chios, as well as the metropolitan. Your Excellency shall exercise his best efforts to implement the imperial orders.

[575/206, *regarding the recruitment of troops and the management of provisions for the operation on the Morea*]

To the Governor of Rumelia Hurşid Pasha

April 22, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency confirms the arrival of the imperial orders and our letter regarding the mobilization of forty thousand monthly salaried Tosk and Geg soldiers [mercenaries] for the forthcoming campaign in the Morea. Your Excellency informs us that you have not announced these imperial orders for the time being due to some considerations. Convinced that it would be difficult to raise a sizable force from the *sancak* of Vlorë with a mandate and ten thousand soldiers from the districts of Ohrid and Elbasan all at once, you report that you ordered the *mutasarrıf*s of the latter two *sancaks* to bring two thousand mercenaries each, in addition to the provincial soldiers at their disposal. Similarly, you ordered the other Geg pashas to bring an additional contingent of one thousand to 1,500 men each, along with their own forces. Your Excellency reports that you expect to occupy and pacify the Morea, as these forces will enter the province following the route through Acarnania upon their impending rally and you will then advance from Ioannina to Larissa in support of these forces. His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of the *sancaks* of Teke and Hamid, accomplished his task by capturing the Castle of Riniasa,¹ which was in the hands of Souliot infidels. Your Excellency then sent him against the Souliots at the head of the contingent from Delvinë and supported his force with His Excellency Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], who commanded the contingent from Vlorë. Furthermore, you report that you assigned the task of dealing with the infidel called Yamandi [Adamantios Nikolaou], who started an uprising in the *sancak* of Veroia, as well as the traitors in and around Naousa, to the *ayans* in the Pasha *sancak*² under the command of their *kaymakam* in Bitola. Regarding the management of the supplies for the force that will advance on the Morea through Acarnania, Your Excellency requests the appointment of a commissary officer and a chief butcher. You also ask of us to rush money to Süleyman Agha, the commissary officer in your retinue. With regard to the army that is currently operating in the Morea, you appointed the superintendent of state properties in Almyros [around Volos], Karaosmanzade Yakub Agha as the commissary officer and chief butcher. Finally, you point out that you wrote about the provisioning matters to the *mutasarrıf* of Trikala and Arif Efendi. Upon reviewing your

1 Riniasa (Turk. Rinyasa, Gr. Ρινιάσα): castle in Souli, northwest Greece.

2 Pasha *sancak*: the administrative unit where the governor of Rumelia resided. At this point the *sancak* comprised the region around Sofia and Bitola.

correspondence, His Imperial Majesty greatly appreciated your report and decreed: "Excellent measures and management! Leave every matter to his discretion as before." All the actions Your Excellency has taken conform to the state of affairs, and no fault can be found in the services you have hitherto performed, owing to the prudence, comprehension, zeal, and prowess inherent in you. Based on your past record of service—which is proof of your sound reason and mind—we believe that you will be just as successful in the affairs of the Morea, with divine assistance. We hope that the accursed bandits will soon be crushed completely as a divine grace, since His Excellency [Ebulubud] Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki, has just set off to deal a blow to the treacherous infidels who rebelled in the district of Veroia, and the other forces will attack them from the other side. Based on His Imperial Majesty's decree, we have appointed Ahmed Agha, former *mütesellim* of Biga and the holder of the title of *kapıcıbaşı*, as the commissary officer and chief butcher for the forces destined for the Morea through the Acarnania route. We gave him 150,000 piasters in advance and will dispatch him soon. In addition, we sent Süleyman Agha, the commissary officer of your army, one thousand purses of piasters for the time being and also wrote a letter to inform him that more would be sent and that he should loyally follow your orders in the execution of his office and render good service. Karaosmanzade Yakub Agha is indeed a good choice for the aforementioned position in the army under the command of His Excellency [Seyyid] Ali Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea. Therefore, we have instructed the chief accountant to enter his name in the records of the chief accounting office for further reference during the auditing of his account book. We inform Your Excellency by this letter that it is His Imperial Majesty's utmost expectation that you make decisions that best fit the current state of affairs in carrying out your duties.

[575/207, *regarding a relief force for Crete*]

To His Excellency the Governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha]

April 23, 1822

We have informed Your Excellency many times in great detail that the rebellious infidels on the island of Crete have progressively intensified their malice and that His Imperial Majesty willed Your Excellency to fulfill your eminent duty by exterminating the traitors of religion and restoring peace and order after securing such a stronghold from the fires of evil and mischief. Your past record of service leaves no doubt that Your Excellency will spare no efforts to rush to the aid of Crete at the first opportune moment without any need for reiteration. Your correspondence indeed explains the way in which you worked to repair the imperial fleet and other ships that arrived at Alexandria on the way back from the Morea with the mission of transporting troops and ammunition. In the meantime, three letters sent from Rethymno to the Cretan merchants living in the imperial capital were presented to the Sublime Porte. We understand from their contents that the rebellious *reaya* have captured the districts of Agios Vasilios, Amari,¹ and Rethymno, and all their *reaya* together have joined those of Sfakia. They came within the artillery range in the outskirts of Chania and Rethymno in the ensuing clashes, while there were more than one thousand martyrs in the city of Rethymno. Having come under attack from all sides, the defenders claimed that they could no longer withstand the infidels, urgently asking for a relief force to come to their rescue. It is clear from these letters that the whole island will certainly fall into the hands of the rebels quite soon if they do not receive military reinforcement immediately. Your Excellency will no doubt understand from our honest words that it is His Imperial Majesty's sincere and express desire that you dispatch a relief force to Crete by any means, as this is tantamount to a religious obligation. In line with past and present decrees and as a token of your innate qualities of dignity and prowess, we ask of Your Excellency by this letter to perform an additional praiseworthy deed by giving succor to Crete by whatever means possible. Your Excellency will surely earn His Imperial Majesty's favor, which he already emphatically bestows on Your Excellency, if you remove the filthy bodies of the base infidels from Crete. Your Excellency should spare no efforts in demonstrating zeal and prowess on every occasion.

1 Amari (Turk. Amari, Gr. Αμάρι): region in Rethymno, central Crete.

[575/209, *regarding the dispatch of the navy to the Morea*]
To His Excellency the Grand Admiral [Nasuhzade Kara Ali Pasha]
April 23, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's missive in which you state that the imperial navy would be compelled to go to Lesbos upon the completion of its mission on Chios and request to be notified about the future destination of the navy once decided. As is known to Your Excellency, the navy had initially been ordered to set sail to the Morea in order to restore order and afterward to patrol in the Archipelago. Due to the subsequent outbreak of the troubles on Chios at the time of the preparations, His Imperial Majesty ordered the dispatch of the fleet to Chios, where its presence was essential. At the present time, the restoration of order on Chios will soon be accomplished, by the grace of God. The current state of affairs requires the navy to go to the Morea when the weather permits, without intervening with other islands. While there are pirates in the Archipelago, their depredations do not compare to the situation in the Morea, and they can be suppressed at any time, by the grace of God. Hence it is necessary for the imperial navy to sail to the Morea without being caught at other islands. The relevant decree of His Imperial Majesty reads: "Despite the achievements on the island of Chios, full restoration of peace and security requires the implementation of substantial measures, while the pacification of other islands will last until *Kasım*. In this case, no operation can be carried out in the Morea, and all the money and efforts spent for this expedition will be wasted. Besides, no information is available about the circumstances of such competent viziers as Mehmed Pasha and Yusuf Pasha, who are currently deployed in the Morea. Thus, it is not permissible for the navy to be embroiled in the troubles in the Archipelago. The grand admiral should be notified strictly to head to the Morea." We inform Your Excellency by this letter that you must obviously obey the imperial order and, in any event, should strive toward performing your duty with diligence and zeal.

[575/226, *regarding the appointment of a combatant commander-in-chief to Chios*]

To Abdi Pasha, former Mütesellim of Alanya, who is appointed to Chios

April 26, 1822

The honorable castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha] has appointed you as commander-in-chief of the troops at Çeşme. However, there are not enough troops present on Chios, and this is in contrast to the large number of rebellious infidels there. Since Vahid Pasha, Castellan of Chios, does not have a single person in his entourage knowledgeable about the intricate demands of warcraft, it is His Imperial Majesty's order that you cross to Chios, with at least five hundred troops or more, so as to fight off the rebels. We now grant you a bonus of 25,000 piasters for your new appointment, which is sent in cash along with an imperial firman. It is high time to serve [our] religion and state and gain glory and fame through exerting your best efforts. We expect you to meet all expectations regarding your appointed duties.

[575/229, *regarding the dispatch of troops from Chios to Kuşadası*]

Addendum to the Castellan of Chios [Vahid Pasha]

April 28, 1822

This letter is to inform Your Excellency that, in order to rush troops to serve you on Chios, 1,500 men from the *sancaks* of Aydın and Saruhan who had previously been dispatched to Kuşadası were rerouted to Chios, in addition to the 250 men under Ibrahim Agha, head of the musketeers of Behram Pasha, three hundred men under Kara Mustafa Agha, head of the musketeers of the castellan of İzmir, and five hundred men from the *sancak* of Sığla. However, according to your recent correspondence, a great number of troops crossed to Chios from Çeşme at the time of the arrival of the imperial navy, and the infidels were overwhelmed, by the grace of God. You point out that a multitude of troops are currently present on the island. As it is obvious that the troops on Chios are abundant and that the reinforcement of the defenses of Kuşadası is a necessity, it is inserted as a marginal note that orders for the mobilization of the aforementioned troops for Chios are countermanded for the time being.

[575/231, *regarding the fall of Corinth and dispatch of the navy to the Morea*
To His Excellency the Grand Admiral [Nasuhzade Kara Ali Pasha]

April 28, 1822

The imperial order regarding Your Excellency's dispatch to the Morea was communicated to you the other day. His Excellency Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, Commander-in-Chief, has informed us that Mehmed Pasha and Yusuf Pasha, who are currently in Patras, had sent him reports, which he forwarded to the Sublime Porte. According to these reports, the Muslims of Corinth surrendered to the infidels of the Morea, due to the forcefulness of their rebellion. These infidels offered the Muslims conversion to their fallacious religion and they martyred numerous men and women who declined to succumb at the time of the evacuation. The accursed Kolokotronis, the ringleader of the throng of infidels who attacked Patras, sent a paper to the town in the form of a mandate, in which he boastfully talked rubbish. Hence, Mehmed and Yusuf Pashas requested a relief force of considerable size in their report. One cannot even bear to read the misdeeds of these infidels, and thus His Imperial Majesty ordered you to set off to the Morea immediately after finishing with the issue of Chios. This letter is to ensure that you put in order the affairs of Chios and go rapidly to the Morea, as required by your commission, as is your diligence and piety.

[575/232, *regarding the planning of the attack on the Morea; the situation on Chios*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

April 28, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which you relate that you sent a letter to Yusuf Pasha and Mehmed Pasha, who had reported from Patras the current situation in the Morea and requested a relief force urgently. You have also pointed out that while troops ordered from Acarnania were being assembled, you sent mandates for forwarding to Larissa the delayed provisions bought in the towns of Rumelia at the market price for the consumption of the troops to be dispatched via Larissa. We understand that you also tried to buy provisions in [illegible place name], despite high prices. Lastly, you have included in your correspondence the responses to the points we made about some issues, such as pardoning and releasing Mehmed Tahir Efendi, steward of the deputy *kadı* of Larissa. We submitted the reports from the aforementioned pashas, the letter you sent to them in response, and other letters appended to your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty. One cannot even tolerate reading the misdeeds of these infidels. We ask of God the avenger to exact due punishment to those infidels in deference to our revered prophet for the treachery they commit against Muslims. May God make your promises in your letter to Yusuf and Mehmed Pashas come true and strengthen your diligence in serving our religion. We have no doubt that, with sizable troops dispatched to the Morea, you will thoroughly pacify and reconquer such a [important] piece of land as the Morea after wreaking havoc on the infidels, the enemies of our religion and state. We take refuge in Him and beseech Him to give us victory in overcoming the trouble in the Morea, amen. You have already been informed that the imperial navy destined for the Morea was rerouted to Chios because of the troubles there and ordered to go to the Morea afterward. At present, when the imperial navy arrived, the siege of the Castle of Chios was lifted after fighting the infidel bandits on land and sea, thanks be to God. Most of the infidels in the interior of the island were put to the sword. All of their goods and belongings were looted, while their children and dependents were enslaved. Those who remained alive are being pursued and put to the sword as they are captured. As the news of the peaceful submission of roughly twenty villages has arrived and many Muslims are still crossing to the island from Anatolia, the commotion on Chios is about to calm down, by the grace of God. Thus, we have written to the grand admiral to sail for the Morea immediately after fulfilling his obligations on Chios. With the help of God Almighty, the Morea will be pacified after his arrival and your dispatch of a considerable number of troops. Although you pointed out that you would leave Ioannina for Larissa, if the

infidel bandits—who are too many in the region of Ioannina—find Ioannina weak and, God forbid, take the castle after your departure, it is obvious that matters will get very difficult afterwards. Thus, it is His Imperial Majesty's will to warn you by this letter that when you leave for Larissa and send Ömer Pasha [Vrioni] to the Morea, make sure that the *mutasarrıfs* and other functionaries, whomever you will leave behind, are reinforced with many troops as a precaution. His Imperial Majesty forgave Tahir Efendi and ordered his release on the condition that he would go directly to the imperial capital for interrogation before his place of banishment. We were told that he knew the whereabouts of the goods and belongings of the late Veli Pasha [Tepedelenli Ali Pasha's son]—who was executed—and of others.

[575/233, *regarding the measures to be taken on Chios to prevent an uprising*]
To the Grand Admiral [Nasuhzade Kara Ali Pasha]

April 28, 1822

We have received your correspondence recounting the recapture of the outskirts of Chios with the help of God Almighty. You report that twenty cannons were captured in the redoubts and, following the recapture of the outskirts of Chios, detachments were sent to the nearby villages; and you granted amnesty to the *reaya* bandits who demanded pardon by issuing a mandate. You recount in your report that you set out to capture alive those infidels named Ligozet, Likourgios [apparently referring to Lykourgios Logothetis], [H]acı Andon Baronya [Antonios Bournias], and [H]acı Manol, who came from Samos and fled to the mountains. While it was a matter of time until the infidels inhabiting the twenty-four villages would ask for pardon, the village of Volissos¹—the largest and the strongest of the mountain villages—was unlikely to follow suit peacefully. Thus, you write that after discussing the issue with Vahid Pasha, you sent Abdi Pasha to this village, along with an abundance of troops. Furthermore, you also point out in your report that you ordered Ilyas Agha, *Mütesellim* of Sığla, and Ömer Agha, custodian of mastic [-producing villages], to protect the *reaya* who demanded amnesty and to summon those who will follow suit. It is stated in your report that although three light-caliber cannons, gunpowder, and other ammunition sent with the imperial navy were delivered to the garrison, along with two more light-caliber guns from the inventory of the navy, the fortress is still in need of a massive amount of gunpowder. Finally, you inform us that twelve pirates with two injured from the village of Mesta² and nineteen merchants donning calpacs from the village of Agios Georgios³ were detained by the imperial navy. The contents of your communication and also that of Vahid Pasha have thus become known to us, and we presented them to the imperial stirrup for His Imperial Majesty's review. Indeed, it is necessary to store enough grain in the Castle of Chios to supply the Muslim troops accumulating on the island; and arrangements for shipping grain, ammunition, and gunpowder to the fortress are currently being made. In compliance with His Imperial Majesty's most recent order, Ahmed Bey—holding the rank and title of Secretary of the Imperial Council—has been appointed as commissary officer to serve under you by an imperial decree and has been given 50,000 piasters in advance. A further imperial decree was sent to the castellan of Izmir, as you suggested, so that he could have 2,500 *kantars* of hardtack baked

1 Volissos (Turk. Voliso, Gr. Βολισσός): village in northwest Chios.

2 Mesta (Turk. Mesta, Gr. Μεστά): village in southwest Chios.

3 Agios Georgios (Turk. Ayayorgi, Gr. Άγιος Γεώργιος): village in central Chios.

through the services of the commissary officer in the town and sent to Chios. God willing, no shortage will occur, as the ordered provisions and the hardtack will be delivered in time, and the commissary officer will arrive soon to buy as much grain as he can afford at the market price. You are expected to abide by the terms of piety and diligence at all times. It is understood from your report that twenty-four villages with a population of roughly thirty thousand were granted amnesty, while Vahid Pasha's correspondence states that confiscated arms in these villages were very few in number and were old, decayed pieces. Although he wrote that a group of infidels was detained in the castle as hostages, it is a proven fact that they will rebel at the first opportunity. After all, the hostages kept in the Castle of Chios and the imperial capital did not preclude their uprising before. Therefore, such minor precautions are not to be regarded as assurances for future safety, while attempts at rebellion will inevitably result from their trust in the guns and weapons they had procured. It is obvious that they will try to conceal their weapons, which they must have in great quantities. They begged for mercy out of desperation under the sword. When the imperial navy and the army leave Chios, they are likely to revolt and practice brigandage, as suggested by the translations of their petitions sent to us and the small number of weapons they handed over. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that you communicate our concerns to Vahid Pasha and decide with him on whatever measures are necessary for future security. You should not put too much trust in their submission and pay utmost attention to disarm them, collecting even such things as blades and penknives, regardless of the recent official pardon. The presence of the imperial navy in the Morea is ordained by recent developments. Thus, His Imperial Majesty orders you to make the necessary arrangements on Chios to restore order and to sail to the Morea. Vahid Pasha was also informed about these concerns of ours and instructed to proceed as required. His Imperial Majesty has also decreed that you should immediately execute the bandits and brigands detained by the navy as soon as you receive this letter, since there is no point in keeping them alive in a prison.

[575/239, *regarding the battles around Lamia and the lack of coordination among functionaries*]

To the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea [Seyyid Ali Pasha]

May 1, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which you report that on the 20th day of *Receb* [April 12, 1822] boats brimmed with bandits appeared off Lamia and disembarked around seven to eight thousand brigands on the piers of Stylida, Achinos, and Agia Marina, near Lamia, to attack the Muslim troops from land and sea alike. With the help of God Almighty, they could not withstand the agility of the Muslim troops and deserted to their ships in a total rout. Manoli, one of their [captains], locked himself in a monastery, along with his retinue, but all of his forces, including himself, were slain by the swords of the holy warriors. Your report indicates that you have seized two cannons and sent us and their flags, along with the decapitated heads of this accursed captain and his men. You remark that while you sent detachments to Ypati that came under attack by the infidels, it was understood from the interrogation of captives that the captains in the *sancaks* of Euboea and Nafpaktos had joined forces and landed on the Morea in full force. As the forces of the doomed infidels were increasing day by day, you sent pleas to the Commander-in-Chief Hurşid Pasha asking for grain, ammunition, and other materials of war from him. You ask us to support your plea by sending him forcible orders and a consignment of two hundred chests of ball cartridges urgently. You imply in your report that Mahmud Pasha [Dramalı] was selfless and brave in the battle, deserving due recognition. Anastasios, the nephew of the treacherous Captain Yorgaki from Izmir, was captured at the battle, and his interrogation revealed that four boats in the possession of merchants from Izmir and Lemnos had participated in the aforementioned raid. Thus, you assert in your report that the castellans of Lemnos and Izmir should be ordered to arrest them upon their return. Finally, you remark that Mehmed Pasha, the steward of Behram Pasha, died a martyr in the battle. All of the above issues have thus become known to us through your report. You lived up to your reputation by showing diligence and zeal in putting out the burst of evil flame and sending aid to Ypati. These are all commendable and causes for our happiness. We have forwarded your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty, and the severed heads and flags were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to serve as an example. As it is known to Your Excellency, we have written to Hurşid Pasha on several occasions to do what was necessary to lend you support. This time, on the orders of His Imperial Majesty, we have sent a strict order to urge him not to withhold the requested aid from you. As for the ball cartridges you have asked for, it is a difficult task to send them from here. We have notified Hurşid

Pasha about this matter as well and told him to set aside the required number of ball cartridges from the workshops of the damned [Tepedelenli] Ali Pasha in Ioannina and to send them to Lamia. We are also pleased with the dedication and bravery of Mahmud Pasha and we will send him an official letter to show our appreciation. We have ordered the castellans of Lemnos and Izmir to execute the aforementioned captains and to confiscate their ships. Apart from that, while we have been aware of the misdeeds and wicked designs of [Konstantinos] Ypsilantis' son [Dimitrios Ypsilantis], the traitor of religion, and of other Moreot infidels for some time, his attempt on this region must be viewed as an indication of the availability of many troops at his disposal and his ambitions for Rumelia. Thus, His Imperial Majesty, addressing Hurşid Pasha and others, ordered the following: "Have them try hard to reopen that route [to the Morea]." Relevant orders were dispatched accordingly. This letter is to inform you that His Imperial Majesty also expects you to join in the all-out attack on the infidels—whose end is near—when the road leading to the Morea is recaptured. Your commission as commander-in-chief also requires you to seek the means of ending this commotion in the Morea by restoring access to the road. When you receive this letter, you should make a list of the available goods and belongings of the late Mehmed Pasha and dispatch it to Istanbul.

[575/250, *regarding the measures to be taken at the trade centers*]

To the Deputy of the Grand Admiral and the Kadı of Galata

May 9, 1822

Necessary measures and internal regulations implemented in response to the sedition and abominable acts of the Greek *millet* have been carried out carefully. As part of this process, it had been decreed to make a register of the *reaya* who stayed in the inns of the imperial capital, with their names and descriptions, to evict those without a bailsman, and to collect their weapons by paying their worth.¹ It was His Imperial Majesty's will that an outsider [a third party] and definitely a Muslim superintendent was to be appointed to each of the inns in order to prevent the entry of weapons, gunpowder, and lead, thus bringing order to the inns. His Imperial Majesty's decree has already been implemented in the inns of Istanbul. While the *reaya* and the weapons in the inns of Galata and its vicinity were registered and listed, no superintendents have been appointed. This is against the aforementioned imperial rescript and the efforts to bring order through internal regulations. The measures taken at the inns of Istanbul must also be taken at the inns of Galata and its environs. Since the *reaya* and the *müstemen* merchants in the inns of Galata had been assigned a bailsman and registered in the previous census, you shall now make copies of these registers and appoint a scribe who will check all the people staying in the inns against these records. Those who began to stay in these inns after the first registers were compiled should be listed, along with the names of their bailsmen. You should appoint a trustworthy Muslim outsider as superintendent of each of the inns in Galata and hand them a copy of the aforementioned registers; these superintendents are to stay in these inns and prevent any article of war and person without a bailsman from entering them.

¹ See document 573/70 herein.

[575/252, *regarding the situation on Chios after the massacres, the garrisoning of the island, and the dispatch of the imperial navy to the Morea*]

To the Grand Admiral [Nasuhzade Kara Ali Pasha]

May 10, 1822

In your previous correspondence Your Excellency informed us about the relief of the Castle of Chios and pacification of the outskirts of the town. Accordingly, peasants of twenty villages that are either mastic-producing or tax-farming villages or part of the royal demesne were granted royal pardon at their request, and Ilyas Agha was put in charge of their custody. You also recounted in your correspondence that brigands who retreated into the Nea Moni [New Monastery] were all eliminated, while the fugitive *reaya* from the town and the mountain villages who went to remote mountains along with the bandit infidels would eventually either flee or go back to their villages due to the lack of provisions, based on the interrogation of captives. You pointed out that infidels in sizable numbers were likely to infiltrate Chios and provoke the badly hampered *reaya* once the imperial navy sets sail from the island. In this case, you maintained, the troops on Chios, recruits and volunteers alike, would not be able to withstand them, and thus it would be imperative to deploy enough troops to garrison Chios. Besides, you suggested that the castellan of Izmir should arrange for the baking and shipping of a sufficient quantity of hardtack to Chios. His Excellency Vahid Pasha [castellan of Chios] was badly in need of it, although the navy dispatched 702 *kantars* of hardtack from its own stores to him. You remarked that the infidels who gathered at the summit of the mountain called Oros¹ had also requested official pardon, and that after granting pardon you would no longer be preoccupied with the affairs of Chios. Finally, you requested the appointment of a functionary to compile a survey of the gardens and properties owned by the infidel bandits. Vahid Pasha's correspondence, which arrived a little later than yours, was also regarding the same issues. In response to our letter that included the imperial order regarding your dispatch to the Morea, you communicated your confirmation of the order and requested the dispatch of coercive orders to the authorities, so that they would concentrate the troops at the meeting point with the navy for crossing from Albania to the Morea via the Gulf of Lepanto. All of this correspondence has thus become known to us and brought to His Imperial Majesty's attention. As written in the margins of our letter to you, a contingent of 1,500 men had been ordered to Kuşadası from Aydın and Saruhan, but then they were rerouted to Chios. By the same token, more troops were ordered to Chios as follows: three

1 Pelinaio Oros (Gr. Περίναϊο Όρος): the tallest mountain on Chios, to the north of the island.

hundred men under the head musketeer Kara Mustafa Agha, a notable from Manisa; two hundred men under Yamalıklı zade Ibrahim Agha, a notable from Güzelhisar, Aydın; and five hundred men from the *sancak* of Sığla. Nevertheless, these orders for mobilization were countermanded after your communication that more than twenty thousand volunteers had crossed—and were still crossing—to Chios from Çeşme. The final destination of the aforementioned contingent of 1,500 men was afterward reconfirmed as Kuşadası. Currently, both Vahid Pasha's and your correspondence state that the volunteers from Anatolia crossed to the island with the hope of looting and that they would no doubt leave the island just like that, as they captured so much booty. Thus, Chios would have no protection when the navy leaves for the Morea. While it is unlikely that sedition and rebellion would reinvigorate after such a heavy blow, it is still imperative to keep an adequate number of troops. However, it is of no help for garrisoning Chios to hire Rumeliot mercenaries on a monthly basis or order troops from different locations in Anatolia. Therefore, His Imperial Majesty gave his consent to our suggestion to reinstate the original decree. Orders were dispatched for the deployment on Chios of the Aydın and Saruhan contingents that were originally assembled for Kuşadası, while the head musketeer Kara Mustafa Agha and Yamalıklı zade Ibrahim Agha were ordered to lead personally a force of 300 and 250 men, respectively. Also, the castellan of İzmir was ordered to appoint a commander to lead five hundred men collected from the *sancak* of Sığla to Chios. Besides, His Imperial Majesty ordered additional gunpowder, ammunition, and provisions to be sent to Chios along with a commissary officer. The aforementioned military commander was put in charge of preparing 7,500 *kantars* of hardtack in İzmir for the troops on Chios, and Vahid Pasha was properly informed about these measures. It is obvious that the garrison of the Castle of Chios will be brought up to full strength. As you know, the situation in the Morea is currently the most significant among all the other troubles and has the highest priority. It is always possible to subdue the other islands with the help of God. Therefore, it is imperative that the imperial navy should immediately sail to the Morea after the completion of its mission on Chios. We have already approved of the suggestion written in your reports, as well as in Vahid Pasha's, that the *reaya* of Chios who were saved from the sword should be granted the mercy they were asking for. As you meticulously implement the terms of royal pardon and the instructions for disarming the population, we assume that order will be restored on the island these days. In view of this, His Imperial Majesty ordered that you must take the navy to the Morea as soon as possible and that Vahid Pasha should receive a copy of the terms of royal pardon granted to the survivors. Moreover, His Imperial Majesty ordered the dispatch of an imperial decree to Hurşid Pasha in

agreement with your suggestion, so that his troops would gather on the shore for transportation to the Morea. This letter is to ensure that you will perform your duty with diligence and devotion by immediately sailing to the Morea upon the completion of your task on Chios.

Postscript: Ibrahim Şerif Efendi, a high-ranking secretary of the Imperial Council, was put in charge of making a register of goods and properties of those rebel infidels who had either fled or were executed. He registered in his survey the shallops captured in the port of Chios. The question as to whether or not these shallops should be brought to Istanbul remains to be resolved, and the matter was forwarded to the superintendent of the imperial arsenal, who will debate it with the relevant functionaries. That said, we expect you to perform your duty diligently, to show loyalty, and to exhibit bravery and devotion.

[575/262, *regarding the cannons and ammunition found on Mount Athos*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

May 10, 1822

Your Excellency had previously reported that you searched out and confiscated the cannons, weapons, gunpowder, and ammunition in the monasteries of Mount Athos. Nevertheless, one of those captives sent to Istanbul from that region has converted to Islam and informed us about these monasteries. According to his testimony, in the Koutloumousiou Monastery there were four cannons, over five hundred muskets, and an inestimable amount of ammunition; in the Dinobro [illegible: Dionysiou?] Monastery, there were three cannons, but he did not know the figures concerning muskets and ammunition; lastly, in the Lavra Monastery, there were two cannons and a vast amount of ammunition. We are confused as to whether the articles of war Your Excellency had collected were from the aforementioned monasteries or they are other than those ones and [still] hidden by the infidels. This letter is to instruct you to inquire into this matter and report back to us.

[575/268, *regarding the release of Hurşid Pasha's family by Greek insurgents*]
To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

May 12, 1822

We have received your letter relating the arrival of your family—who were detained in the Morea at the incident in Tripolitsa and later released through the intermediacy of the [British] general in Corfu—in Preveza.¹ Praise be to God, you must be relieved by their arrival in Preveza, which also set our mind at ease. His Imperial Majesty was also informed about these developments. God willing, you will succeed in taking your well-deserved revenge on those Moreot infidels.

¹ See document 575/71 herein.

[575/271, *regarding the execution of the notable Greeks of Chios and the amnesty to be granted to the islanders*]

To the Grand Admiral [Nasuhzade Kara Ali Pasha]

May 12, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence through your agent at the Sublime Porte regarding certain issues about His Excellency Vahid Pasha, Castellan of Chios, and asking for clarification about His Imperial Majesty's will regarding the execution of those including the metropolitan, the second *kocabaşı* of Chios—who was captured in battle—and the infidels kept in the fortress as captives. You remark that the said *kocabaşı* and the hostages had previously negotiated among themselves to pay three thousand purses of aspers in installments over two years to the imperial treasury in order to receive amnesty. Finally, you report that while this pre-agreement was about to be formalized with the signing of a promissory note, the arrival of the imperial decree regarding the execution of the aforementioned men and the metropolitan terminated the process. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us and were presented to His Imperial Majesty. The matters you pointed out about Vahid Pasha suggest inappropriate behavior on his behalf; however, the authenticity of the information is questionable, since the sources are the *kocabaşı*—who was captured in battle—and the Frankish consuls. Although the truth of the matter remains unknown, Vahid Pasha's incapability to impose discipline on the soldiers and to maintain order are still inappropriate. He himself has recently requested to be relieved of his command on Chios. However, it is His Imperial Majesty's will that this matter should be left in abeyance, as it is not a pressing need to substitute him with someone else at this time. Therefore, we sent him a cautionary note without mentioning your remarks for the time being. It is understood from the letter of the infidels of Chios that they will pay to the state three thousand purses of aspers as a pardon fee. It is necessary to grant mercy to those who request it and take a fee in return. Nevertheless, considering their riches, a sum of three thousand purses of aspers in installments over two years is not that tempting. Moreover, it is obvious that this matter does not require the intermediacy of the metropolitan or the *kocabaşıs*. They are aware of the treason they committed and they want to save their lives by acting as intermediaries. Obviously, the infidels of Chios are wealthy enough to render their intermediacy unnecessary. This letter is to inform you that we dispatched a coercive order to the said castellan [Vahid Pasha] instructing him to carry out the previous imperial decree regarding the execution of the metropolitan and others mentioned above if he has not already done so.

[575/272, *regarding the execution of the notable Greeks of Chios and the amnesty to be granted to the islanders*]

To the Castellan of Chios [Vahid Pasha]

May 12, 1822

We have received your correspondence informing us that, by the grace of God, as the Chiot rebels have properly met with the might of Islam, you undertook the initiative to grant amnesty to those infidels who begged for it. Your report indicates that the troops currently present on the island are impatient to leave with the booty they captured and that you would do your best to keep them at your service until the arrival of the new contingents. You also asked for an imperial decree permitting the issuance of vouchers for the sale of enslaved captives. In addition, we also received the letter of the grand admiral to his agent at the Sublime Porte, in which he reports that he negotiated with those infidels condemned to death by His Imperial Majesty's will an amount of three thousand purses of aspers to be raised from the entire island and paid in two years for royal pardon. The contents of all this correspondence have thus become known to us, and we submitted it to His Imperial Majesty. We wrote to you the other day that the troops necessary for the garrisoning of Chios have been procured. As for the vouchers, troops were allowed to plunder the possessions of the rebellious *reaya* and enslave their offspring by the imperial decrees based on the relevant religious ruling. We have sent you the imperial rescript that announces the royal permission for distribution of sale vouchers [for the enslaved captives]. It is of utmost necessity to fulfill this obligation with diligence. It is understood from your remarks that the grand admiral attempted to arrange for the payment of the said sum as a fee to grant royal mercy, thereby helping the treasury. It is necessary to grant mercy to those who request it and take a fee in return. Nevertheless, considering their riches, a sum of three thousand purses of aspers in installments over two years is not that tempting. Moreover, it is obvious that this matter does not require the intermediacy of the metropolitan or the *kocabaşıs* and that they are willing to intermediate in fear of their lives due to their past treachery. This letter is to instruct you to carry out the previous imperial decree regarding the execution of the metropolitan and others mentioned above if you have not already done so. You are expected to show determination and diligence to fulfill this obligation.

[575/273, *regarding Vahid Pasha's misconduct*]

To the Castellan of Chios, Vahid Pasha

May 12, 1822

Functionaries are required to exert their best efforts to serve [our] religion and Sublime State by acting wisely every time and particularly in such delicate times as the present. Your Excellency is indeed comparable to no other vizier with your experience at His Imperial Majesty's court and thus learning His Imperial Majesty's ways and disposition, as well as the proper course of action as dictated by time and situation. We expect you to be in command of the situation and perform your duty with distinction on account of your background. Yet, we hear rather the contrary, that you behave improperly and show leniency toward corruption. Time and situation dictate conciliatory treatment in the employment of the troops, but rumor has it that your harsh treatment and negligence in ensuring discipline and order compelled them to disperse. It is even rumored that the *reaya* dared to revolt due to your oppression and negligence in their protection. There is no doubt about the kind of misfortune that would befall Your Excellency should these matters reach His Imperial Majesty's ear. My affection and devotion for you prompted me to relate all these rumors to you, so that you stop such improper behavior. This letter is to instruct you to act properly as required by your determination and exert your best efforts to put your troops in good order. You should take the necessary precautions diligently and loyally in order to gain the favor of His Imperial Majesty.

[575/285, *regarding the organization of the military operations in the Morea*]
To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha and His Excellency the Grand Admiral
[Nasuhzade Kara Ali Pasha]

May 17, 1822

Their Excellencies Yusuf Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Aydın and Saruhan, and Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ankara and Çankırı, sent us a missive and a note from Patras in which they proposed certain measures in the form of a memorandum to cleanse the Morea of the brigands. These measures regarding the mobilization and deployment of troops for the suppression of the brigands in the Morea, Lepanto, Euboea, and Acarnania and their emphasis on the necessity of the participation of the imperial navy in this operation seem to be appropriate. However, you have full freedom to decide how to deploy the Albanian troops assembled for the Morea and to take the related measures. We received your correspondence that arrived the previous day informing us about the imminent arrival of the Geg Albanian troops. Your Excellency [Hurşid Pasha] pointed out that you decided to go to Preveza to inspect the fortresses along the shore and to visit your household, which had recently arrived in the town. Then, you would go to Larissa. Although there is no doubt that you would not neglect your duties as commander-in-chief, it is imperative to take the necessary measures by the help of God to lead massive numbers of Muslim troops into the Morea without losing a single moment before the infidel brigands build up strength. Hence, it is His Imperial Majesty's order that you give the Moreot question the highest priority as soon as you visit your family and household members, whom you may send to the imperial capital or some other location you deem suitable for their safety. You shall immediately go to Larissa directly afterward in order to assemble all the assigned troops for launching military operations in the Morea and any other necessary location before the opportunity vanishes. In compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will, we have also attached to this letter of ours copies of the aforementioned missive and note written in the style of a memorandum for your information only. It is not meant to be an infringement on your freedom of action. You are free to choose those you like among the proposed measures and ignore the others. This letter is to inform you about His Imperial Majesty's orders explained above. A copy of this correspondence has been sent to the grand admiral to let him know the relevant proposal about the inclusion of the navy in the operation, although he will also use his discretion, based on his freedom of action in his decisions.

[575/288, *regarding the banishment of two Turkish notables for protecting Greeks in Veroia*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

May 20, 1822

Your letter remarks that, based on investigations, the *kocabaşı*s of Veroia allied themselves with the bandits and acted in unison with the infidels of Naousa. Upon the intelligence that one of their number, an infidel named Taşooğlu¹ [from the Greek name Thasos], was keeping weapons at his house, he was sent to Thessaloniki, alongside the other treacherous infidels. Nevertheless, Mahmud Efendi, a notable of Veroia, and Seyyid Mustafa Efendi, the former town steward, dare cover up the offenses of the infidels and hide their weapons, because of their intimacy and friendship with them. The belongings of this Taşooğlu were discovered in the house of the said Mahmud Efendi and they were compiled in a register. You raise in your letter the question of banishment of these two men from the town, since they never stop intermingling with the Greek infidels, although their treachery against Muslims is well-established. Your letter and the register of the belongings of the aforementioned infidel found at Mahmud Efendi's house have thus become known to us and were presented to His Imperial Majesty, who approved of your approach to the matter at hand. Indeed, maintaining intimacy with them and such misdeeds as hiding their weapons, despite the well-known treachery and abominable deeds of these sinful Greek infidels against the community of Muslims, requires due punishment. Thus, it is His Imperial Majesty's will that this *zimmi* be given due punishment and all of his belongings hidden at Mahmud Efendi's house be confiscated. Based on the religious ruling taken on this matter, the imperial decree that orders the banishment of Mahmud Efendi to Güzelhisar² and Mustafa Efendi to Bayındır³ was sent to you. This letter is to instruct you to show diligence in carrying out the orders.

1 Most probably referring to Anastasios Karatasos, the captain of the region. However, Karatasos survived the massacre and fought on various fronts until his death in 1830.

2 Güzelhisar: town in Aydın province, southwest Turkey.

3 Bayındır: town in İzmir province, west Turkey.

[575/289, *regarding the granting of amnesty to the island of Agios Efstratios*
To the Castellan of Lemnos [Nurullah Pasha]

May 21, 1822

We have received your correspondence relating the matter of granting amnesty to the *reaya* of the island of Agios Efstratios. In our previous letter we listed the four stipulations to be honored for granting amnesty in conformity with His Imperial Majesty's rescript. We understand from your current correspondence that the *reaya* of the said island accepted these preconditions. Accordingly, they sent two hostages from among their *kocabaşıs* and also agreed to a raise in the Agios Efstratios tax farm, paying 4,000 piasters in total starting from *Muharrem* of 1237 [September 1821]. Finally, Your Excellency requests to be informed about the final decision on leasing out the said tax farm and the way in which the *jizya* tickets should be distributed. The contents of your correspondence have thus become known to us and were presented to His Imperial Majesty as well. The hostages sent here were handed over to the *bostancıbaşı agha*. The chief accountant *efendi* has been put in charge of making the necessary arrangements in conformity with the assurance of the *reaya* [of Lemnos] for the collection of the *jizya* on a per capita basis and of any taxes that are possibly in arrears. As was the case with the *reaya* of Thasos, an imperial decree has been sent to you announcing the granting of amnesty due to their full acceptance of the preconditions and their pledge to honor these stipulations.¹ The lease document for the Agios Efstratios tax farm covering the year 1237 [September 28, 1821–September 17, 1822] is ready to be sent in a few days through the islanders' agent in Istanbul. However, if the statement in your correspondence, "the *reaya* requests to have the lease of the said tax farm of their own accord," actually denotes management of the tax farm on their own to the exclusion of the Muslims, this will not be permissible anymore. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that Your Excellency appoints a Muslim *voivode* to this tax farm or do whatever is necessary as required by your prudence and wisdom.

¹ See document 575/23 herein.

[575/290, regarding the rounding-up of Chiot gardeners in Istanbul and the imposition of forced labor in the imperial arsenal]

To the Deputy Grand Admiral, Superintendent of the Imperial Arsenal, Head of the Cannoneers, and the Bostancıbaşı

May 21, 1822

We have already asked of you several times to gather up those bachelors from among the *reaya* of Chios who reside in the imperial capital and press them into service in the imperial arsenal as required by His Imperial Majesty's decree. It is still unknown to us whether these infidel bachelors from Chios have been rounded up or not. Also, His Imperial Majesty has recently ordered that such men should be expelled if they were found in royal or other mansions and gardens. Thus, you shall be prompt and attentive in rounding up all such Chiot bachelors without exception and inform us when the mission is complete.

[575/291, regarding Naousa]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

May 21, 1822

We have received your correspondence heralding the suppression of the rebellious *reaya* of Naousa, who were slain by the sword of the holy warriors [of Islam]. Although the remnants fled into the mountains, they were captured piecemeal and given their due punishment. The ringleaders of the brigands, Zafeiraki¹ and Captain Taşoğlu, were also executed, and their severed heads were sent to Istanbul with the sergeant of Your Excellency's gatekeepers. Your Excellency points out that the town of Naousa was completely burned down and turned into ruins, but its hamlets, vineyards, farms, and other properties were left intact, along with the crops. You mention that two *zimmis*—who had previously escaped from Naousa to Thessaloniki because of their fear of the treacherous infidel called Zafeiraki—were appointed to the town as *kocabaşıs*, since Naousa is part of the endowment of the Two Holy Cities [Mecca and Medina]. Although you contemplate restoring the town to its previous state, you requested a surveyor to be sent by the Exalted State to register the said properties for the treasury. Finally, you request the dispatch of an inspector to make a register of the goods and properties of two executed brigands, Hayta Yusuf [Bey], the chief of guards in Edessa,² and Abdürrahim Bey, the *Ayan* of the same town, whose misdeeds had been known for some time. The contents of Your Excellency's communications have thus become known to us, and we have presented your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty. The severed heads were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] with placards attached to them. Your Excellency is one of the Exalted Sultanate's zealous and dedicated viziers, and your service in the destruction of the *reaya* of Naousa caused us and His Imperial Majesty much pleasure. As you point out in your correspondence, Naousa is considered a new conquest, and thereby the treasury should seize all the land, property, farms, and crops, as they belonged to the brigands. It is necessary to appoint an inspector, as well as a surveyor, to make a list of them, but there is no need to send another inspector to register and confiscate the belongings of the said Yusuf and Abdürrahim Beys; it is proper to assign a single inspector for these two tasks together. His Imperial Majesty ordered the dispatch of one of the imperial chamberlains, Mehmed Bey, son of Muhsin, as the inspector with a surveyor under him, with the condition of surveying the properties in Naousa and Edessa under your authority. A surveyor was appointed from the

1 Zafeirakis Theodosiou: leader of the revolutionaries in the region of Naousa.

2 Edessa (Turk. Vodina, Gr. Έδεσσα): town and district in Greek Macedonia, north Greece.

office of the chief accountant to serve under Mehmed Bey in compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will. This letter is to ask you to exert yourself together with the inspector to keep and list all the goods and properties belonging to both the brigands of Naousa and the said executed men [Yusuf and Abdürrahim Beys].

[575/294, *regarding the shops of the Chiot refugees in Izmir*]

To the Castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha]

May 23, 1822

As Your Excellency found out that the Chiot *reaya* who took refuge in Izmir, due to the *reaya* rebellion on their island, intended to secretly transfer their goods and items stored in their magazines and shops to another place, you made a register of these shops and magazines through the services of the court and sent it to us. Your Excellency inquires whether you should [allow them to] open these shops and return them to their owners, since the Chios affair is now over, or leave them locked and abandoned. The contents of Your Excellency's correspondence have thus become known to us, and it was presented to His Imperial Majesty. Although Your Excellency remarks that the Chios affair is over, this matter is yet to be properly settled. It is His Imperial Majesty's order that you keep these shops and magazines sealed and closed until further notice. This letter is to instruct Your Excellency to comply with the order.

[575/297, *regarding the deployment of the imperial navy to the Morea, release of the castellan of Chios from his duty, and other issues regarding the island*]

To the Grand Admiral

May 24, 1822

We have received your note through your agent at the Sublime Porte in which you mention some inappropriate behavior of Vahid Pasha, Castellan of Chios.¹ Your Excellency complains that Vahid Pasha did not want the imperial navy to leave that vicinity because of his ineptitude to protect the island by himself. Despite the fears that the bandit boats prowling around Samos and Psara might be waiting for the departure of the imperial navy before attacking Chios once again, Your Excellency ordered the fleet to sail out of the port as a precaution against a possible raid by the fireships. Fearing that Vahid Pasha might raise objection to the departure of the imperial fleet after the restoration of order on Chios, Your Excellency pleaded with us for sending a strictly worded imperial order or, at least, an official letter sealed by the office of the grand vizier that reiterated the instructions of the imperial navy for Vahid Pasha's information. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted your letter to His Imperial Majesty. We have received a pack of correspondence from Vahid Pasha as well. Having explained the reasons for the current situation and the necessary remedies, he wanted to be relieved of duty due to his bad health. He also pointed out that he had executed the metropolitan and others as commanded by the imperial order, while asking for permission for the release of five *reyas* of Latin [Catholic] denomination kept in the Castle of Chios, for they had not participated in the sedition. There is no reason to ask for another order for the purpose of clarification while you have unequivocal instructions to serve in the Morea. That said, we have decided to remove Vahid Pasha from his command because of his health situation. It would take too long for an appointee from outside to arrive on Chios and assume his duty, while our utmost priority was to handle the matter without wasting any time. Therefore, we have appointed Abdi Pasha of Alanya, who is already on the island, as the new castellan of Chios by imperial decree and sent one hundred purses of piasters as bonus money, along with his order of appointment. Moreover, we also reiterated the orders to expedite the

1 Vahid Pasha was the castellan of Chios during the massacres on the island. His apologia was published in 1873: Mehmed Emin Vahid Paşa, *Tarih-i Vak'a-i Sakız: Bin İki Yüz Otuz Yedi Tarihiinde Sakızda Vuku' Bulan İhtilali Beyan İder* (Istanbul: Mekteb-i Sanayi, 1873). In this short treatise, he defended his course of action and portrayed the massacres on Chios as the punishment of the insurgents.

dispatch of troops for garrisoning Chios. Salih Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ormenio, had instructions to send one thousand troops paid monthly to Chios, set aside from the force he was assembling as part of military preparedness. We have sent an inspector to accompany them to Gallipoli, cross them over to Anatolia, and proceed to the harbor of Çeşme by land for ferrying them over to Chios. We explained to Vahid Pasha that he should stay on Chios and carry out his duties until their arrival, by which time he would be free to cross over to Anatolia. Similarly, we strictly warned the prospective castellan Abdi Pasha to exert himself fully to his new duty. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to set sail to the Morea immediately after the arrival of the aforementioned contingent and the departure of Vahid Pasha from Chios to assume your duties.

Postscript: Because Vahid Pasha had reported that the aforementioned five *reayas* from the Latin [Catholic] rite kept in the Castle of Chios did not take part in the sedition, His Imperial Majesty decreed their release and good treatment of other prisoners. We have also written this to Vahid Pasha and his successor, Abdi Pasha.

[575/299, *regarding the measures to be taken on Chios, execution of the metropolitan, appointment of a new castellan, and the treatment of Catholic Greeks*]

To the former Castellan of Chios [Vahid Pasha]

May 24, 1822

We have received your correspondence remarking that around thirty villages, including, among others, the mastic-producing villages and those belonging to the royal demesne, showed signs of submission after the overwhelming might of the Exalted State had been manifested in the war against the infidel brigands on the island of Chios. According to your report, the confiscation of weapons—which was the indispensable precondition, among others, for the granting of official amnesty—could not be carried out, since most of the armed rebels had escaped to Psara. You relate the decision taken together with the grand admiral to send detachments into the mountains, as you came to the conclusion that these infidels would never give up malignancy and treachery without facing the slashing sword. As a result, troops were sent to put an end to the tumult and revolt. They were led in three columns under the command of Abdi Pasha, a member of your retinue with the rank of *mir-i miran* [pasha of two horsetails], the arms bearer of the grand admiral, and Ilyas Agha, respectively. You point out that you would send officials to search the mastic-producing villages and all other villages for weapons and that officials would arrange for the punishment of some of the remaining *reaya*. You also warn us that the present troops from Izmir, Saruhan, and Sığla were looking for an opportunity to desert service. This way, the brigands on the nearby island of Psara would no doubt attack Chios as soon as the navy left the port. Thus, you suggest the dispatch of a reinforcement, which should consist of five to six thousand disciplined men under an able commander for the garrison of the Castle of Chios. You inform us that the severed heads and ears of all of those who were executed in the last battle have been sent to the imperial capital. The metropolitan [Platon Frangiadi] was executed along with the others as ordered in the imperial decree. You ask our permission for the release of five hostages taken from the Latin [Catholic] *reaya* from the dungeon, as you have established that they did not participate in the sedition.¹ Finally, you suggest that Abdi Pasha or someone else should replace you on Chios, because of your sickness. You also ask for His Imperial Majesty's permission to go to a nearby place in Anatolia as a precautionary measure. The contents of Your Excellency's correspondence have

1 For the non-involvement of Catholic Christians of the Aegean islands in the Greek Revolution, see Charles Frazee, "The Greek Catholic Islanders and the Revolution of 1821," *East European Quarterly* 13/3 (1979), pp. 315–26.

thus become known to us and were also presented to His Imperial Majesty, who decreed that Abdi Pasha should replace you as the castellan of Chios. This replacement should occur on the grounds that you have emphasized your own inadequacy in the fulfillment of your duty and requested permission to cross to Anatolia. Considering your and the grand admiral's reports about the imminent threat to Chios posed by the boats of the bandits off Psara and Samos once the imperial navy left the region, His Imperial Majesty thought it unwise to lose time in appointing an officer from afar. The relevant imperial order and my letter of motivation have been sent to your successor in office. This letter is to instruct you that His Imperial Majesty has ordered you to remain in office until the reinforcements arrive on the island. Follow-up orders have been dispatched to hasten the arrival of the assigned troops at Chios. In addition, the *mutasarrıf* of Ormenio raised one thousand men from among the troops paid monthly as a reserve force and ordered them to head to Chios. A special agent was put in charge to lead them quickly to Chios via Gallipoli, the Anatolian shores, and Çeşme. We have notified the grand admiral that you may leave for Anatolia once the reinforcements arrive.

Postscript: You shall release the five Latin [Catholic] men and care for the protection of others like them from maltreatment since, according to your report, they took no part in the sedition. We have written to both the grand admiral and your successor in office, Abdi Pasha, on these matters. It is expected of you to exchange views with Abdi Pasha and exert yourself to carry out His Imperial Majesty's will.

[575/318, regarding the military operations planned for the Morea]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

June 7, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence reporting that in response to our urgings for the immediate deployment of the assigned forces into the Morea, you relate that fifteen thousand troops out of the twenty thousand Tosk Albanians recruited for the Morea have been deployed under Mehmed Pasha [*mutasarrıf* of Teke], Reşid Pasha [Kütahî], and Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], along with your arms bearer, and that the remaining five thousand men would arrive soon. Your Excellency maintains that these forces will be deployed first against the Souliot infidels and therefrom regather at the Castle of Rumelia to cross over to the Morea after finishing with the Souliots. You suggest that if you were to be instructed to go to Larissa and oversee the deployment of the troops, Seyyid Ali Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, should be ordered to provide Ali Pasha, Castellan of Euboea, with three thousand men and send him to his post. You point out that you sent men with the necessary funds to the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha] to buy flour and hardtack and ask of us to write coercive orders to him to speed up the process. You also submit an account of the expenses you met from the confiscated cash funds of the slain [Tepedelenli] Ali Pasha. Your past and present expenses, as you remark, have reached roughly 7,700 purses of piasters. You inform us that the protection of the Castle of Preveza is in a desirable state and explain the arrangements you made for the pay of one thousand men who are currently garrisoning its fortress. Finally, according to your correspondence, the fields within the farms of Mihaliç and [illegible place name], owned by the slain Ali Pasha in the vicinity of Preveza, were distributed among the inhabitants living on these farms, while the [illegible place name] farm was handed over to its *mütesellim* and custodian out of necessity. The contents of Your Excellency's correspondence have thus become known to us and were also presented to His Imperial Majesty. Upon His Imperial Majesty's will, we have notified the grand admiral about the expedition on the Souliots; and in its aftermath the plans for crossing to the Castle of the Morea; and thence marching inland. We instructed him to set sail to the Morea immediately after transporting the troops to Chios for the garrisoning of its fortress. Likewise, we have dispatched a cautionary note to the said commander-in-chief [of the Morea] to send Ali Pasha [Castellan of Euboea] from Lamia to Euboea along with three thousand men. The *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha] has also been instructed in a strict manner to ship flour and hardtack immediately aboard a *müstemen* boat to the Gulf of Euboea. These supplies should either be set aside from the official stores or bought at the market. While we have no

objections about the way in which you spent the aforementioned cash funds, the matter has been forwarded to the chief accountant, since some of these expenses, such as the pay of the local cannoneers at Preveza and the crew of schooners, should be entered in the relevant registers as deductions [from the treasury revenues]. As you mention in your correspondence, the fortresses of Ioannina, Preveza, and others in the vicinity could be guarded by half the number of the men currently deployed, only after quelling the revolt of the *reaya*, and thereby it is necessary to have strong garrisons in these fortresses for the time being. The account you have submitted shows that the maintenance of these garrisons necessitates a monthly spending of roughly 84,000 piasters, starting from this *Ramazan* [June 1822]. We have instructed the chief accountant to specify the revenues to be assigned to meet this expense, since you suffer from a lack of cash funds. Finally, the arrangements you made about the aforementioned farms have also been forwarded to the chief accountant, so that he will update the relevant registers. This letter is to encourage you to commit yourself to do what is necessary to accomplish the task at hand.

[575/320, *regarding the dispatch of the new castellan and troops to Euboea*
To the Castellan of Euboea [Ali Pasha]

June 7, 1822

Your Excellency's assignment at Ioannina had previously been transferred to Euboea, your actual place of commission, and you had been ordered to set off immediately to Euboea in compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will. The Commander-in-Chief His Excellency Hurşid Pasha communicated to us that he had sent you to Lamia to take command of three thousand [Geg Albanian] soldiers from Shkodër and that you received 2,500 bushels of provisions from Larissa on his orders for consumption by these troops. We would have expected you to report to your assignment and exert yourself to serve the state and religion with zeal by now; however, you are still lingering in Lamia. Such laxity is indeed unbecoming of you at this particular time. It is our primary objective to prove the might of Islam to those rebellious brigands who violently revolted in the Morea. It is also obvious that His Imperial Majesty's will requires you to arrive on Euboea without delay. Hence, it is His Imperial Majesty's strict order that Seyyid Ali Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, dispatches you from Lamia to Euboea at the head of three thousand men set aside from his own troops. This letter is to instruct you to perform your duty with piety and perseverance by taking command of this force and to head to Euboea without wasting time.

[575/322, *regarding the dispatch of an imperial fleet to Crete*]

To the Grand Admiral and the Mutasarrıf of Rhodes [Mehmed Şükrü Bey]

June 7, 1822

According to the intelligence we have received, Your Excellency notified [the local authorities] that [a fleet of] the imperial navy would soon arrive at Rhodes from Alexandria to unite under your command. Nevertheless, as is known to Your Excellency, the primary mission of this fleet is to relieve Crete. According to the intelligence, Crete is more distressed than before. The fortresses of Chania and Rethymno are currently under siege, and seventeen [Greek] pirate vessels off the island are enforcing a blockade, intercepting grain vessels and all other boats. It was thus unanimously decided in the Imperial Council and approved by His Imperial Majesty that these vessels should leave Alexandria for Crete and thereafter join the imperial navy, as the issue of Crete is of utmost importance. Should this fleet sail to Rhodes after stopping at Crete, it would join Your Excellency's command. It would be quite nonsensical and impermissible if the fleet joined the imperial navy under your command at Rhodes without first transporting troops to Crete. In line with the imperial decree, we have written to Şükrü Bey, *Mutasarrıf* of Rhodes, and Your Excellency should also send him a cautionary note explaining that the fleet would enter your command after completing its mission at Crete, as stated in the aforesaid decision and imperial decree.

[575/328, regarding supplying Karystos and the upcoming campaign to the Morea]

To the Mütessellim of Karystos¹ Ömer Bey

June 10, 1822

We have received your petition in which you request royal favor for the people of Athens, Euboea, and Karystos. After mentioning the treachery and abominable deeds of the rebellious brigands against Muslims, you point out that the Castle of Athens [the Acropolis] is under siege, and there is a lack of provisions and ammunition in Karystos and Euboea, whose inhabitants are under extreme distress. We have presented your petition to His Imperial Majesty as well. We have recently shipped grain to the Castle of Euboea [Chalkida] from Istanbul on a *müstemen* ship. We understand from your petition that the inhabitants of Karystos are also in distress because of food shortage. As it is necessary to relieve people of the shortage, in accordance with His Imperial Majesty's decree [Ebulubud] Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki, was ordered to buy 1,500 bushels of grain—he will be reimbursed by us later—and send it aboard a *müstemen* ship or by whatever means possible to Karystos immediately. God willing, no shortage of foodstuff will occur, as this consignment should reach you. In the meanwhile, His Excellency Hurşid Pasha, the glorious Governor of Rumelia and victorious Commander-in-Chief, who was granted full freedom of action in his post, is leading troops into the Morea from two different directions. Those functionaries assigned to the Morea are about to join the offensive, and the imperial navy will arrive in full force off the Morea. Thus, with the help of God, the rebellious brigands will pay for their treachery and abominable deeds against Muslims. You too should display courage and bravery with a strong heart, as required by your piety and diligence.

1 Karystos (Turk. Kızılhisar, Gr. Κάρυστος): town in the south of Euboea, Ottoman capital of the island.

[575/333, *regarding the measures about the offensive on the Morea*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Ankara, Mehmed Pasha, who is currently in the vicinity of the Morea

June 12, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence and the memorandum of your seal keeper, who came to Istanbul relating the arrangements you made for the rations of troops and supply difficulties you experience. It is understood that you ask us to send grain in sufficient quantities, cash, and 150 chests of cartridges, as well as abundant gunpowder and tents. You have previously brought to our attention the shortage of tents, and, considering the difficulty of sending them from Istanbul nowadays, we sent three hundred purses of piasters instead. We previously let you know about the imminent arrival of the glorious Commander-in-Chief, Hurşid Pasha, with many troops and of the navy; we communicated with him several times to send you ball cartridges and ammunition. We have recently received news that he was about to launch the offensive on the Morea from various directions and, God willing, he will overwhelm and crush the rebellious brigands. It is obvious that he will be relieved by the arrival these days of the aforementioned three hundred purses of piasters. We once again sent Hurşid Pasha a cautionary letter for furnishing you with gunpowder and cartridges and sent you immediately four thousand bushels of wheat from the imperial granaries on an English ship hired from Istanbul. The cargo is insured in Istanbul, and half of the freight will be paid after delivery. This letter is to encourage you to exert yourself to perform your obligations of attentiveness and zeal by displaying piety and bravery with a strong heart.

Postscript: Although in the letter you sent together with His Excellency Yusuf Pasha, you asked of us to tell His Excellency Hurşid Pasha to transport the troops from Preveza by boats, he has been given full freedom of decision-making and action concerning Moreot affairs. He is currently taking all the appropriate measures necessitated by time and occasion and deploying the troops assembled for the Morea as needed. Considering that you have already approached him on this matter, there is no need to call for his attention from here as well. Should it be an appropriate suggestion that serves the ultimate goal, he would take it without our intervention. You should continue to refer such subjects to His Excellency Hurşid Pasha and leave it to his discretion.

[575/337, *regarding supplying the fortifications in Nafplio, Euboea, and Lamia*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

June 16, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's communication stating that you sent six thousand bushels of wheat to the Castle of Nafplio on an English merchant vessel as requested by Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, Governor of Rumelia and victorious Commander-in-Chief, and Ali Namık Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala. Furthermore, you state that you obtained grain and ordered the preparation of hardtack, in order to dispatch them to Euboea and Lamia upon another request of Hurşid Pasha. Thus, with your vigilant service, namely your labors for the dispatch of grain to the Castle of Nafplio, thus aiding the besieged Muslims there, and for the arrangement and dispatch of provisions from Thessaloniki to Euboea and Lamia upon Hurşid Pasha's request, you have proved that you are animated by flawless zeal, fidelity, and piety. Therefore, as these actions are worthy of commendation, your dispatch has been presented before His Imperial Majesty. He has praised all endeavors that you spent for this forthright demonstration of excellent service and found it suitable to utter a prayer for Your Excellency, saying: "May God bless him!" Taking into account that you have been demonstrating exceptional service and loyalty to religion and state since your appointment and that you have, praise be to God, been successful in every respect owing to your sincere resolve, we hope that divine providence will destine you to excel yourself with many more instances of outstanding service, God willing! It is apparent from your opinions, corroboration, and recommendations that you at any rate perform satisfactorily, as the good trust we place in you demands. Hence, this letter has been written in order to urge you to continue to fulfill [your duties] with the necessary sagacity and zeal and to observe the ordinances of religion and chivalry in any case hereafter.

[575/341, regarding the treatise of the mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki
on introducing structural changes in administration]

To the Governor of Rumelia Hurşid Pasha

May 29, 1822

His Excellency Vizier [Ebulubud] Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki, sent us a formal letter in the form of a memorandum. The pasha states that while no hideouts for the bandits remained within the territory in the possession of Muslims in the *sancak* of Thessaloniki, the sub-district of Leptokarya¹ is by the sea, and boats from the nearby islands and other places regularly come and go. Thus, construction of a fortification to garrison forty to fifty men is necessary for surveilling the region. By the same token, Naousa also needs a similar kind of fortification. The passageways on the Aliakmonas² and Nestos³ rivers should also be fortified by the construction of towers, accommodating five men each. Since the [Muslim] inhabitants of Veroia are cowards [unwarlike], it is imperative to protect this town, as well as Katerini, by appointing to Veroia a man from among the *ayans* of Rumelia, such as Boz Veli, *Ayan* of Zagora.⁴ Rüstem Bey—who is of an important local family of Bitola—should replace the current *ayan* of Katerini, Salih Bey, who is unsuitable for this post. Development and revivification of these towns are possible by appointing these men to these posts for life. The majority of the *reaya* in this region turned into bandits because of the negligent behavior of the *çiftlik*⁵ owners and estate holders. Their priests set up more than two hundred churches deep in the forests and river valleys, which the bandits used as bases to capture Muslim lands. Prevention of such a situation falls under the responsibility of governors; however, it is a custom to dismiss governors after a short time. Thus, if a lifetime appointment was made to Thessaloniki and a vizier or someone brought up at His Imperial Majesty's court, such as Ibrahim Agha, Chief Equerry, was considered for this tenure, he would have the aforementioned

1 Leptokarya (Turk. Leftehor, Gr. Λεπτοκαρύα): coastal town in northeast Greece, south of Katerini.

2 Aliakmonas (Turk. İncekara, Gr. Αλιάκμονας): one of the largest rivers of Greece, in west and central Greek Macedonia.

3 Nestos (Turk. Karairmak or Karasu, Gr. Νέστος): river originating in Bulgaria, flowing into the Aegean Sea across from the island of Thasos, northeast Greece.

4 Zagora (Turk. Zağra, Gr. Ζαγόρα): there are two Zagoras, new and old, in close proximity in central Bulgaria; the text does not specify the pertinent one.

5 *Çiftlik* (Gr. τιφλίκι): large agrarian estates with quasi-proprietary rights for their holders, with heavily exploitative relations altering the terms of attachment of the peasants to the land and focusing on market-oriented production. For *çiftlik* formation in the region of Thessaloniki, see Costas Lapavitsas and Pınar Çakıroğlu, *Capitalism in the Ottoman Balkans: Industrialisation and Modernity in Macedonia* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2019), ch. 1.

fortifications and towers built from his own pocket and take good care of their maintenance. Also, governors should be entrusted with guarding the defiles; this way, Albanians would be moved out gradually from the provinces, an action with many benefits. Four to five Albanians [soldiers?] reside on each *çiftlik*, and governors have no knowledge of the numbers and condition of the *reaya* therein. *Çiftlik* owners have been detaining and punishing the *reaya* [as they wish]. Roughly, ten thousand *reayas* live in Muslim towns for this reason. From now on, *çiftlik* owners should be banned from intervening with issues not pertaining to the cultivation of the land, and governors should be the sole authority over the affairs of the *reaya*. This way, it would be possible to force out the *reaya* from such towns back to their villages. Estate holders should not store their harvest on their *çiftlik*; they should bring everything inside the town, and those who live outside of Thessaloniki should also move their harvest to Thessaloniki. The *çiftlik* owners cheat [the authorities] by storing their wheat in the *çiftliks*, claiming that it is set aside as seed corn [for planting the following year]. They nevertheless have dealings with the foreign consuls and infidel [foreign] vessels that come to the piers located between Katerini and Stomio⁶ to smuggle wheat and silk. From now on, those piers should be destroyed, and all the produce, including grain, should be taken to Thessaloniki. The produce of those who refuse to do so must be confiscated for the benefit of the treasury. Mehmed Pasha submitted the suggestions summarized above and pledged to implement these regulations, by the grace of God, if he were appointed lifetime governor of Thessaloniki. While there are no reservations about his suggestions and his lifetime appointment, it is His Imperial Majesty's order that Your Excellency should express your opinion on this proposal before making a decision, since Your Excellency is the governor of Rumelia with full freedom of action and the illustrious commander-in-chief. A copy of this treatise has been attached to the letter dispatched to Your Excellency in order to seek your prudent view on these proposed measures.

6 Stomio (Turk. Çayağzı, Gr. Στόμιο): coastal town in the vicinity of Larissa.

[575/342, regarding the appointment of local boyars as voivodes and prevention of the flight of the Fanariot kaymakams in Moldowallachia] To the Governor of Silistra [Mehmed Selim Pasha] and to the Castellan of Vidin [Derviş Mustafa Pasha]

May 17, 1822

As no confidence can be placed in Greeks anymore, negotiations are in progress with the boyars, who were summoned to Istanbul regarding the appointment of voivodes to the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia from among the local and respected boyars. During this process, the boyars informed us that one of the brothers of [Konstantinos] Negri, the *kaymakam* in Bucharest,¹ is a respected general in Russia and was previously commissioned to help the Iranians.² Currently, he is reported to have arrived in the abandoned zone [between Russia and the Ottoman Empire?]. Negri's wife is [Konstantinos] Ypsilantis's daughter. She is currently in Bolu, together with the family of Iskerlet [Kallimaki], late voivode of Wallachia.³ As for Negri himself, according to these boyars, it is not unlikely that he would try to escape, as his hopes have been shattered after the banishment of the imperial dragoman.⁴ The boyars also informed us that Samurkaş[oğlu], a Wallachian boyar, is a Muscovite [pro-Russian]. Based on this information, His Imperial Majesty ordered that we pass on the news to you secretly, since Negri's defection is likely to be imminent in view of the impending arrival of his brother at his side. Neither he nor Istefanaki [Vogoridis], who is in Iaşi, can be trusted. Thus, it is His Imperial Majesty's will that if Your Excellency senses any intention to take flight on their part, you shall immediately detain them and send them to Istanbul. The same concerns apply to Samurkaşoğlu, *Kaymakam* of Oltenia.⁵ As such, the castellan of Vidin has been ordered to monitor his actions secretly. Further to this, you should inform your steward in Bucharest about the imperial decree in secret. This secret letter is to instruct you to pay utmost attention to treat this matter with caution and preclude any attempt at flight.

1 Despite the Sublime Porte's strong prejudice against the Fanariots and the eventual dismissal of Fanariots from office, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Oltenia were administered by the Greek *kaymakams* Stefanos Vogoridis, Konstantinos Negris, and Ioannis Samurkaşoğlu for another year following the beginning of the Greek Revolution.

2 For the full-fledged Ottoman–Iranian War between September 1821 and July 1823, see Ateş, *Ottoman–Iranian Borderlands*, pp. 52–7.

3 See document 574/339 herein.

4 The grand vizier is referring to the exile of Stavrako Aristarchi Kourtzioglou to Bolu in April 1822. Aristarchi was substituted for the executed dragoman Mourouzis in May 1821 and served in this post for a year. He was appointed to this post because he was a *Hayhorum*, that is, an ethnic Armenian but Greek-Orthodox by confession. See Ilıcak, "A Radical Rethinking of Empire," p. 186.

5 Ioannis Samurkaşoğlu converted to Islam in Vidin, where he was detained. See Ilıcak, "A Radical Rethinking of Empire," p. 187.

[575/344, *regarding the appointment of local boyars as voivodes and the banishment of the Fanariot kaymakams in Moldowallachia*]

To the Governor of Silistra [Mehmed Selim Pasha] and the Castellan of Vidin [Derviş Mustafa Pasha]

June 1, 1822

We have already sent you a secret note in accordance with His Imperial Majesty's will and instructed you to prevent the flight of [Konstantinos] Negri, *Kaymakam* of Wallachia, and Istefanaki [Vogoridis], *Kaymakam* of Moldavia, and detain them if they attempt to escape. It would be ill-advised to trust these two men and Samurkaşoğlu [Konstantinos Samurkaşoğlu], *Kaymakam* of Oltenia. Thus, we sent to the castellan of Vidin secret instructions in case Samurkaşoğlu attempts to escape. From now on, as these Greeks cannot be trusted in any way whatsoever, they cannot be employed as voivodes or in any other capacity in Moldowallachia. As the voivodes will be chosen from among the native boyars, the aforementioned men will no doubt try to find a way to take refuge with the state favored by their nation. Since they cannot be employed in the affairs of Moldowallachia, their stay there or in Istanbul will not be appropriate. Needless to say, these men should be banished to designated locations in Anatolia sooner or later. Therefore, rather than burdening ourselves with safeguarding them, it has come to mind that we should banish them already and appoint *kaymakams* from among the native boyars until the appointment of voivodes. Nevertheless, it has been decided that we should consult with you as to whether it is possible to lure them into Silistra with a trick, so that they would not escape out of fear; and whether it would not be necessary to appoint *kaymakams* from among the local boyars after their detention. The same questions were posed to the castellan of Vidin regarding Samurkaşoğlu in Oltenia. This secret letter is to ask you to inform us immediately about the way in which Negri and Istefanaki could be induced to go to Silistra for arrest without giving them a hint.

[575/346, *regarding the prevention of the flight of the Fanariot kaymakams in Moldowallachia*]

To the Governor of Silistra [Mehmed Selim Pasha]

June 12, 1822

We have previously sent you a letter instructing you to keep an eye on the *kaymakams* residing in Iași and Bucharest, Istefanaki [Vogoridis] and [Konstantinos] Negri, respectively, and to detain them if you suspected that they would take flight. In your response, you remarked that Negri, the *kaymakam* in Bucharest, was detained, as his intention to flee was discovered. You state that you will have to monitor the *kaymakam* in Iași from a distance, since you do not have a reliable man in this distant town. We also presented your remarks on this matter, as well as on Russian affairs, to His Imperial Majesty. In a recent letter, we have secretly inquired into the possibility of luring these aforementioned *kaymakams* into Silistra. Although you declared some difficulty concerning Istefanaki, the *kaymakam* in Iași, it is His Imperial Majesty's order that you take the necessary measures to prevent his flight.

[576/2, *regarding the operation at Souli and the appointment of the new commander-in-chief of the Morea*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

June 25, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency, after having noted the arrival of our past correspondence, informs us that Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Teke and Hamid, Reşid Pasha [Kütahi], Governor of Karaman, and Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, were given the task of subduing the rebellious Souliot infidels by immediately besieging their stronghold, which is on difficult ground. We understand that Your Excellency will leave Ioannina for Larissa on the 28th day of *Ramazan* [June 18, 1822]. You explain the way in which we should compose the relevant imperial orders to the aforementioned pashas concerning their commission. You point out that you have appointed His Excellency Mahmud Pasha, former *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala, as the commander-in-chief of the Morea and that the necessary imperial order was relayed to him through Kapıcıbaşı Mehmed Bey. Your Excellency has also written to His Excellency Seyyid Ali Pasha, former commander-in-chief [of the Morea], to be attentive about guarding Lamia and to Erib Ahmed Pasha to take care of the defense of Ypati. You request us to dispatch their orders of appointment and include in the orders of Seyyid Ali Pasha to support the troops that would pass through Lamia with supplies and equipment. Lastly, Your Excellency points out that the commissary officer has not arrived yet. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us and we have presented your letters to the imperial stirrup. Although the situation at Souli has become very serious—according to your correspondence—we trust that Your Excellency will soon overcome this trouble with ease, by the grace of God Almighty. In line with your memorandum and His Imperial Majesty's will, we have sent imperial orders bearing both encouragement and reprimand to the functionaries assigned against Souli and to the aghas of Toskëria, Chameria, and Delvinë. In your correspondence addressed to them, we ask of Your Excellency to encourage or reprimand them as necessitated by the situation. We have sent them exhortative letters by a special courier. We have also sent Your Excellency the orders of appointment for Seyyid Ali and Ahmed Erib pashas. It is unacceptable that the commissary officer has not reached your camp yet. Thus, we have sent a stern order to him by a special courier, instructing him to detail to your camp immediately. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to demonstrate your zeal and vigilance in carrying out your task.

Postscript: Your Excellency mentioned in a letter that you sent us a ring, a snuff-box, a pair of pistols, and a yataghan confiscated from the slain Ali Pasha of Tepe-delen. These items have arrived and have been presented to His Imperial Majesty.

[576/3, *regarding the operation at Souli*]

To the Governor of Karaman, Reşid Pasha, and to the Mutasarrıf of the Sancaks of Teke, Hamid, and Ioannina

June 25, 1822

The victorious Commander-in-Chief Hurşid Ahmed Pasha has written that he assigned Your Excellency and His Excellency Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, along with his own arms bearer and twenty thousand troops to Souli, as the rebellion of the Souliot infidels has intensified and an extensive siege operation of Souli is necessary. He has also pointed out that he had stationed His Excellency the governor of Karaman [Reşid Pasha] at Arta. Your Excellency is a zealous, pious, vigilant, and benevolent servant of the Sublime State, and we have no doubt that you will serve loyally in your office and follow the instructions of Hurşid Pasha, the glorious Governor of Rumelia and Commander-in-Chief with full powers. The abominable deeds and treason of the infidels performed against Muslims has been escalating from moment to moment, while the Souliot infidels are sustaining them. It is incumbent on everyone to deal them a blow by falling upon them. Therefore, we have dispatched imperial orders to the aforementioned pashas, Your Excellency, and others, announcing His Imperial Majesty's will regarding the immediate termination of the troubles caused by the Souliot infidels and the march thereafter onto the Morea. We have also explained the matter in our correspondence addressed to the aforementioned functionaries. Your Excellency should now exert yourself to suppress the uprising of the Souliot infidels as demanded by His Imperial Majesty. You must work toward the multiplication of royal favor upon you and achieve salvation in this world and the next by taking revenge on the Moreot infidels.

[576/6, regarding troop deployment from Serbia and the stance of the Serbs]
 To His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief Hurşid Ahmed Pasha

June 25, 1822

Your Excellency confirms the arrival of our letter asking your opinion about the suggestion of the castellan of Niš. According to the said castellan, Şehsuvar Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Kruševac, should not be deployed anywhere else but in the defense of the fortifications within the *sancak* of Kruševac and the redoubt at the Morava¹ Bridge. Moreover, he suggests raising five thousand troops from the nearby towns of Rumelia instead of Pirot.² In response, Your Excellency points out that Mahmud Pasha, son of Şehsuvar Pasha, has arrived in Larissa at the head of some soldiers. The *ayans* of the towns listed in the register sent by the said castellan [of Niš] have also arrived in Larissa. Thus, Your Excellency thinks another round of recruitment would place a heavy burden on the shoulders of the poor and that no recruitment should be made for the time being until it is necessary. You suggest that it is up to His Imperial Majesty to relieve Mahmud Pasha of his duty or not. Apart from this, Your Excellency raised the matter of the late Halil Bey of Lamia, who died from natural causes and in debt. You plead for not confiscating his inheritance and, rather, transferring his shares in the tax-farm revenues [*mukataa*] of Lamia to his minor son, Tevfik Bey, at the old rate of down payment. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us, and after a close review we have submitted your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty. After deliberating on these issues, we have suggested to His Imperial Majesty that since there are only two hundred men in the contingent sent by Şehsuvar Pasha under his son's command, as Your Excellency remarks, there would be no harm in deploying such a small force from Kruševac. Furthermore, returning this force back to Kruševac might have [a bad] influence on other troops and also provoke rumors that the Serbians rebelled. Such rumors are obviously dangerous. At this time, neither the Muscovites nor the Serbians show any hostility. The Serbians will remain inactive without the backing of the Muscovites. Thus, it would not be advisable to send back Şehsuvar Pasha's troops and Mahmud Pasha for the time being. Rather, they should be employed in their capacity to serve as required. As His Imperial Majesty approved these suggestions, we have communicated the relevant imperial decree to the aforementioned castellan of Niš. Moreover, by His Imperial Majesty's will, we have

1 Morava (Turk. Morava, Gr. Μοράβας): river in central Europe, one of the left tributaries of the Danube.

2 Pirot (Turk. Şehirköyü, Gr. Πύργος): town in southeast Serbia.

instructed the chief accountant to make arrangements for the transfer of the vacant tax-farm shares of the late Halil Bey to his son, Tevfik Bey, at the previous rate of down payment and disclaim his inheritance in favor of his inheritors. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to stay vigilant in the execution of your office.

[576/8, *regarding the death of the grand admiral, the ensuing massacre on Chios, and the appointment of a new grand admiral*]

To the Castellan of Chios Abdi Pasha

June 26, 1822

We have received your report informing us about the death of the former Grand Admiral Ali Pasha by divine providence and the ensuing slaughter, pillage, and destruction perpetrated against the guiltless villagers of the mastic-producing villages by the troops present on Chios.¹ You request the immediate dispatch of the forces destined for Chios, along with the necessary grain supplies, in order to reinforce the island. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and after a close review we have submitted your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty. Such things [as the death of the grand admiral] have always happened during battles. We only hope that this is a prologue to our salvation and victory, an allowance for our prospective successes with the help of God. By His Imperial Majesty's will, the former vizier Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of the *sancaks* of Ankara and Çankırı, who currently serves at Patras, has been appointed the new grand admiral. Likewise, Muhtar Bey, *Kapudana* of the imperial navy, has been made the deputy grand admiral and sent the necessary instructions. While we expect that the troops paid by the month and the local recruits are about to cross to Chios, we have sternly reiterated orders just in case with a courier. However, it is clear that such slaughter and execution of the innocent *reaya*, who had been granted pardon is a violation of both the sharia and His Imperial Majesty's acquiescence. Obviously, it is part of your duty to keep such ruffians in check and to prevent them from abusing the blameless *reaya*. You should pay utmost attention to their protection. Following His Imperial Majesty's will, we ask of Your Excellency by this letter to guard the innocent *reaya*, who were granted royal protection against all forms of oppression.

1 The Ottoman Grand Admiral Nasuhzade Kara Ali Pasha was killed by fireships under the command of Konstantinos Kanaris on the night of June 18–19, 1822.

[576/9, *regarding the death of the grand admiral and measures to be taken*]
*To the Kapudana Muhtar Bey, serving in the capacity of Deputy Grand
 Admiral, to Patrona Bey, and to other captains and officers
 of the imperial navy*

June 26, 1822

We have learned from the current report that while the imperial navy was at anchor off Chios three ships flying the Austrian flag came near the navy; upon producing passports that allegedly proved the crews' genuine Austrian identity, the inspectors let them sail among the naval ships. However, they turned out to be [Greek] pirate boats, and on the night of the 29th day of *Ramazan* [June 19, 1822] they sent in fireships and set ablaze the flagship of the former Grand Admiral Ali Pasha, who was reported to have drowned and died in the incident. This event happened because the late grand admiral falsely assumed that it was the Franks whom he trusted and accepted the passport shown to him in an infidel ship without questioning its authenticity. Nevertheless, the laxity and negligence of duty of the officers of the imperial navy must also account for this affair. In such a time, it is obviously incumbent on all officers to trust nobody and always stay alert and vigilant. It is His Imperial Majesty's decree that no foreign or *müstemen* ship shall ever be allowed to come close to the imperial fleet from now on. By night and day, you must closely scrutinize the surroundings with utmost attention. Thus, we instruct you by this letter to pull yourselves up and carry out your duties with diligence. You must never allow a foreign ship to come close to the imperial fleet and must watch your surroundings vigilantly.

[576/10, *regarding the death of the grand admiral and informing the commanders on Crete about his death*]

To the Castellan of Izmir Hasan Pasha

June 26, 1822

We have received the news from the imperial navy at Chios that while the navy was at anchor off Chios three ships flying the Austrian flag approached; as they produced allegedly authentic passports at the regular inspection, the inspectors did not doubt their Austrian identity. However, they turned out to be [Greek] pirate boats and sent in three fireships at around 6 o'clock that evening, setting ablaze the flagship of the former Grand Admiral Ali Pasha. Praise be to God, no other ships were harmed, but Ali Pasha himself fell overboard and drowned. It is no secret to Your Excellency that such incidents have always happened during battles. We only hope that it is a prologue to our salvation, victory, and prospective successes with the help of God. By His Imperial Majesty's will, the former vizier Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of the *sancaks* of Ankara and Çankırı, who currently serves at Patras, has been appointed the new grand admiral. Similarly, Muhtar Bey, *Kapudana* of the imperial navy, has been appointed the deputy grand admiral. It is now essential to relay the turn of events to Halil Bey, commander of the fleet at Crete, as well as to the commanders of the Egyptian and Barbary fleets. Relevant orders addressed to them instruct them to land all the troops and supplies destined for Crete and to join the imperial navy without losing a moment. We have sent these orders to Your Excellency and ask of you by this letter to forward them to the aforementioned commanders at Crete by an appropriate *müstemen* ship or by any means possible. By His Imperial Majesty's decree, Your Excellency must exert yourself to ensure the arrival of these orders at Crete by whatever means is at your disposal.

[576/13, *regarding the new instructions of the imperial navy*]

To the Deputy Grand Admiral Kapudana Muhtar Bey

June 27, 1822

Upon Grand Admiral Ali Pasha's death in the recent incident [at Chios], His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, former vizier and current *Mutasarrıf* of the Ankara and Çankırı *sancaks*, who is now in Patras, has been appointed as the new grand admiral. Until the imperial navy arrives at Patras to enter under the command of Mehmed Pasha, you are to act as deputy grand admiral. We have sent you the relevant imperial order of appointment and trust that you will perform your duties with due care. The imperial navy currently requires reinforcement and to proceed to the Morea. To that end, five ships of the line and some shallots had already been fitted out and dispatched to the Dardanelles. However, according to the recent decree of His Imperial Majesty, you must leave the shallots at the Dardanelles, as they might not be suitable for serving in the Mediterranean, and sail out with the remaining five ships mentioned above. Subsequently, after the troops assigned to Chios cross to the island, presumably within a few days, and after the naval detachment to Crete—which is supposed to disembark the troops, supplies, and provisions there these days—returns from Crete, you shall join these detachments and proceed to the Morea altogether, take aboard the grand admiral from Patras, and follow his directions loyally. We have sent the necessary orders to Captain Halil, who is in charge of the aforementioned ships of the line at the Dardanelles to join the imperial navy. We have relayed another set of orders to His Excellency Hasan Pasha, Castellan of Izmir, which he should promptly dispatch aboard a *müstemen* ship or by any other means to Halil Bey of Çeşme, commander of the naval detachment at Crete, and to the commanders of the Egyptian and Barbary fleets, who are also employed at Crete. We have instructed them by these imperial orders to leave Crete immediately after delivering the troops, supplies, and provisions in order to join the imperial navy. We have dispatched a copy of this order to you, so that you also do your utmost to ensure that it reaches Crete. We had previously instructed the late Grand Admiral Ali Pasha to set sail to the Dardanelles with favorable weather and to receive the grain ships currently waiting at the strait. You shall fulfill the same order and, to that end, when you arrive in the waters around the island of Tenedos,¹ you shall pick up the aforementioned ships of the line at the Dardanelles and proceed to Chios. You will then patrol around Chios and Lesbos pending the completion

1 Tenedos (Turk. Bozcaada, Gr. Τένεδος): island of Turkey in the northeast Aegean Sea, at the entrance of the Dardanelles.

of ferrying the troops over to Chios. Until then, it is all the better if the detachments from Crete return to join the navy. If not, you must patrol those waters for some more time awaiting their arrival and then set sail to the Morea altogether in order to meet the grand admiral at Patras. Following his directions, you should demonstrate your diligence and zeal by taking revenge on the infidels.

[576/15, *regarding the death of the grand admiral and the new instructions of the imperial navy*]

To the Kapudana Bey

June 27, 1822

We received and reviewed your report composed in the form of a joint petition by the naval officers. You relay to us the developments after the treachery of the infidel corsairs against the imperial navy and the death of the Grand Admiral Ali Pasha as a result. Accordingly, the imperial fleet left Chios and arrived at Ayazmend¹ as necessitated by the circumstances. As all captains of the fleet are united in vigor to further safeguard the imperial fleet, you assure us that the *müstemen* ships will also not be allowed near the imperial fleet from now on. You state that the fleet is in need of a few thousand men and that a man of consequence and influence must be chosen as the new grand admiral. The news of the death of Ali Pasha had previously arrived from Your Excellency and also from Chios. It is clear that Ali Pasha met his end because of his own fault; disregarding the fact that all infidels are united in enmity against Muslims, he trusted the infidels just because they produced a passport [during the inspection]. Moreover, it is not convenient to wait at anchor at a narrow anchorage such as Chios, and in times of sedition such as these no *müstemen* ships should be allowed anywhere near the fleet. Thus, in our letter of admonition addressed to you and all naval officers, we warned you by His Imperial Majesty's order against letting *müstemen* and foreign ships come close to the navy. Further dispatches addressed to you bore the orders to proceed to the shores of Tenedos in order to pick up the supply ships and five ships of the line waiting at the Dardanelles and to then return back to your station. We expect you to follow these instructions. The question of dispatching more troops to the imperial fleet before you depart was ruled unnecessary. You have the instructions to unite with the aforementioned ships at the Dardanelles, as well as the naval detachments returning from Crete, and to then proceed to Patras in order to deliver the navy to the new Grand Admiral Mehmed Pasha. Known for his courage and valor, he was chosen for this post at your recommendation. The details of your instructions are to be found in our dispatches; together with Mehmed Pasha, you should exact revenge upon the infidels in fulfillment of your commission. Mehmed Pasha has a substantial force at his disposal, while Hurşid Pasha, Governor of Rumelia and the victorious Commander-in-Chief, is about to ferry over a great number of skilled troops to the Morea. Therefore, once you arrive at Patras, you should discuss the matter of shortage of men in the navy with Mehmed Pasha, so that he will find as many men as needed

1 Ayazmend (Gr. Αγιάσμάτι): coastal town in west Turkey, across from Lesbos, now Altınova.

for the navy. We ask of you by this letter to act in unison in the fulfillment of your obligations and show diligence and zeal in order to reach salvation in this world and the next.

Postscript: In your correspondence that has just arrived, you request us to send new nautical cables for the ships, as you had cut the cables when leaving Chios and it was impossible for you to recover them immediately. We have negotiated the matter with the harbor master and forwarded your request to the honorable superintendent of the imperial arsenal. While we will obviously send as many cables as possible, it is still essential to recover the cables left in the harbor of Chios. We have communicated to Abdi Pasha, Castellan of Chios, to deal with the salvaging of these cables. Once you gather the vessels waiting at the Dardanelles and proceed back to Chios, you should also show due care to recover these nautical cables.

[576/16, *regarding the new instructions of the imperial navy
and preparations for the operation in the Morea*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

June 27, 1822

As explained in our other letter, His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, who is now at Patras, has been appointed as the grand admiral. We have told him in his order of appointment that we informed Your Excellency about this decision. His instructions are to take charge of the imperial navy as soon as it arrives and ferry over the forces assigned to operate in the Moreot hinterland in communication with Your Excellency. He shall use the ships and shallops of the imperial navy, as well as the merchant ships available in the region. We let him know that he must take account of the current conditions in the performance of his task, always follow Your Excellency's guidance in the naval operations in the Morea, and restrain and coerce the peninsula from the sea with due care. He is not to leave Moreot waters before the incident is over. After the pacification of the Morea, the grand admiral shall take aboard enough troops to deal with the islands in communication with Your Excellency. He shall then grant amnesty to those who seek it, as long as they accept the four conditions on which we have previously agreed. We have sent him these instructions in a letter as well. There is no doubt that he will pay attention to communicating with Your Excellency in carrying out his instructions. However, Your Excellency is aware of the circumstances under which his past commission was given and the way in which he stayed in Patras. As Mehmed Pasha will leave with the imperial navy in order to carry out his new task as explained above, it is necessary for His Excellency Yusuf Pasha [of Serres], *Mutasarrıf* of Aydın, to take care of the defense of Patras, as in the past. We have also informed both Mehmed Pasha and Yusuf Pasha about this issue and dispatched the copies of this correspondence to Your Excellency. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to communicate to them these matters as well, support Yusuf Pasha by any possible means, and forward the aforementioned correspondence to Mehmed and Yusuf pashas. We expect Your Excellency to end this trouble in the Morea as swiftly as possible.

[576/20, *regarding the Geg Albanians' failure to obey orders*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

June 27, 1822

We have sent each of the Geg [Albanian] pashas separate letters explaining His Imperial Majesty's will that they obey your orders instantly and report to their assigned posts accordingly. They were also promised royal gifts [cash] upon reaching their posts. In your present correspondence, you point out that while sending confirmation of receiving their orders they dragged their feet to comply with the instructions. There is no implication in your letter suggesting we should reiterate their orders to the effect that they should mobilize on your demand immediately. We need clarification on this issue from Your Excellency as to whether you would prefer us to rebuke them for their sluggish conduct or you will summon them for an audience to handle the situation without our intervention. We ask of you by this letter to send us elucidation on the proper course of conduct.

[576/21, *regarding the troops on Chios*]

To Ilyaszade, the Kapıcıbaşı assigned to Chios

June 27, 1822

We have received your petition in which after relating your loyal service in the defense of the necessary places on Chios, you request a brief leave of absence in order to replenish and reorganize the troops under your command and refresh your supplies. We have no doubt about your devotion to your task at hand as a loyal and diligent servant of ours. Yet, it is impermissible that our functionaries abandon their assigned posts, for the Greek infidels are persistent in their rebellion. Besides, you must be aware of the treachery committed against the imperial navy, which caused the death of the Grand Admiral Ali Pasha and the ensuing massacre of the guiltless *reaya* of Chios carried out by the troops, contrary to the holy law and [His Imperial Majesty's] acquiescence. As this incident required immediate measures, we have entrusted the post of grand admiral to the vizier Mehmed Pasha, who is currently in Patras, and appointed the *Kapudana* Muhtar Bey as the deputy grand admiral. Following his instructions, Muhtar Bey will transport the assigned troops to Chios and then set sail to the Morea, along with the imperial navy and other detachments sent to Crete and the Dardanelles. At present, it is not permissible for you to leave Chios. It is still possible that you can receive fresh troops and supplies through the services of your men across [in Anatolia] without abandoning your post. We instruct you by this letter to remain on the island as required by your commission and, most important of all, to pay attention to prevent the harassment of the peaceful *reaya*, which is contrary to the holy law.

[576/26, *regarding the sale of abandoned Greek property*]

To the Castellan of Kuşadası

June 28, 1822

You have already communicated that the sale of the abandoned property, goods, and animals of the infidels who had fled to the island of Samos from the villages around Söke¹ yielded a sum of 241,743 piasters. You have informed us that you would forward this sum to the imperial capital in three equal installments of 80,581 piasters. We understand from your communication that you sent the first installment, whereas the second and third ones were due at the end of each month, starting as of the 19th day of *Şaban* of this year [May 11, 1822]. We have decided on how to transfer these sums in specified amounts to the identified recipients and sent an imperial decree to you and the deputy judge of Kuşadası containing the instructions on how to handle these transactions. Accordingly, we have assigned to Hüseyin Bey, the former superintendent of the imperial bombshell foundry, 40,580 piasters from the first installment to clear partially his financial claims from the treasury. Ahmed Pasha, Castellan of Anapa,² will receive the remaining 40,000 piasters from the first installment as part of his salary, equal to 100,000 piasters. We have arranged from the second installment a remittance of 60,000 piasters to pay the remaining amount of his salary. You will forward the rest of the second installment to Hüseyin Bey, in addition to roughly 54,000 piasters from the third installment to settle his account with the treasury. Finally, Ahmed Agha, the superintendent of the imperial gun foundry, will receive the rest of the final installment in compensation for his claims from the treasury. We instruct you by this letter to send the second installment, which is already overdue, and especially to expedite the transfer of 60,000 piasters that we earmark to pay a portion of Ahmed Pasha's salary. You should also exert yourself to forward immediately the rest of the second installment and the entire third installment, as they are assigned to Ahmed Agha and Hüseyin Bey.

1 Söke (Gr. Σώκια): town in southwest Turkey, near the Aegean coast.

2 Anapa (Turk. Anapa, Gr. Ανάπα): town on the northern Black Sea, near the Sea of Azov, Russia; annexed by Russia after the Treaty of Edirne in 1829.

[576/29, *regarding the Chiots protected by foreign consuls*]

To the Castellan of Chios [Abdi Pasha]

June 30, 1822

We have received your report on the protection of three to four thousand *reaya* of the island of Chios by the French, Austrian, and British consuls, who seek to transport them on vessels to any destination of their wish. You have pointed out that the said consuls stated their determination to follow this policy when you attempted to prevent them and you have thus suggested that the matter needs to be addressed. The present situation requires that you should seize the patents and passports of those [protected] *reaya* of the Sublime State who took refuge with a foreign state and mete out due punishment after demoting them to the status of *reaya*. This communication is to inform you that an imperial decree addressing you and other local authorities on this matter has been issued and dispatched. When you receive it, you should implement it with zeal, so as to prevent this situation from happening again.

[576/30, *regarding the prevention of the flight of Greeks from Izmir with the help of foreign consuls*]

To the Castellan of Izmir Hasan Pasha

June 30, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you mention the role of the French consul in Izmir in assisting those *reaya* of Izmir who wanted to escape from the city. You suggest taking urgent action to prevent an aggravation of the situation. In the face of your strict enforcement of measures against their desertion of the town, you maintain that the *reaya* of Izmir sought to acquire patents and passports from the foreign consuls in order to enjoy consular protection. Furthermore, they try to run away to whichever place they like aboard the *müstemen* vessels by changing their clothes after selling their houses, shops, magazines, and other properties to Franks. When you properly expressed the situation to the foreign consuls, they sought to exonerate themselves from any charge of violating the peace by inviting you to assign an inspector to check the departing vessels. Shortly after, though, they resisted your attempts to search their warships arriving at and departing from the town, as they had secretly boarded several renowned Greek *kocabaşıs* onto those ships, mostly through the machinations of the French consul. It is contrary to the standing treaties to abet the *reaya* who demand protection from the agents of the Christian states, appoint them as consuls or acting consuls, or grant them patents and passports. The *müstemen* merchants are forbidden from marrying *reaya* women and buying land or estate in Ottoman domains for their own use or for their churches and monasteries. Evidently, it is essential to track down such *reaya* who seek refuge with foreign states with the hope of obtaining patents and passports and to punish them after seizing these documents. Similarly, those who sold their estates to the *müstemens* shall know that the deeds of sale at their disposal are legally invalid; local authorities shall compel them to resell those properties to aspiring *reaya* at the market price. We have thus sent relevant orders to you and the deputy judge of Izmir regarding this matter. The *reisülküttab* has also notified the ambassadors that they should instruct their agents against violating treaties by such misconduct. We also expect you to work to prevent the *reaya* from obtaining patents and passports to flee the town after selling their estates. As for the inspection of ships, we had already instituted this practice, due to the recent occurrence of sedition, in order to prevent the escape of the *reaya*, but it involves in effect only the *müstemen* merchant vessels. Foreign warships are not subject to inspection, since they are not supposed to approach our coasts in the first place. You report that the French consul aided the *reaya* in their escape by granting passports and you prove your claim by citing several names of people who fled this way. Yet,

the French were not alone in this misdeed. The British and Austrian consuls here denied any such involvement, since we could not produce any evidence thereof. Still, we told them to warn their agents against violating the existing treaties. We ask of you by this letter to maintain your vigilance in preventing the acquisition of passports and patents, as well as the sale of property to Franks by the *reaya*. You should also keep the foreign warships away from the coast, as it is not permissible to search them.

[576/31, regarding the rules on travel and the petition of the Catholic Greeks]
 To the Castellan of Izmir Hasan Pasha

June 30, 1822

The Latin [Catholic] *reaya* of the islands of Tinos¹ and Syros,² which are tax farms acquired and administered by the imperial mint by imperial decree, have sent a petition and complained that the local judges were not granting them travel permits to go to Izmir and other cities. They pointed out that this was contrary to the regulation in force, by which they were allowed to travel to Izmir, Istanbul and other places, in so far as they stood surety for one another and had their names and physical appearances registered in the court in Istanbul. They pleaded with us to observe the regulation. We have dispatched several orders to the effect that not a single individual, Muslim or members of the three *millets* [official non-Muslim denominations: Greek Orthodox, Jews, Armenian Gregorian] alike, were to be let out from or into Istanbul without a travel permit. By the new regulation, we have made the *kadı* of Istanbul and local judges responsible for issuing a stamped travel permit to those who wanted to leave Istanbul or depart for Istanbul, respectively. The judges shall do so only after registering their names, physical descriptions, hometowns, and purpose of travel. We have reiterated the relevant imperial decree a few times and stressed the strict ban on travel between Istanbul and the provinces without sealed travel permits. No new imperial decree is thus necessary to allow these petitioners to travel to Istanbul with an official permit, as long as they produce guarantors and acquire the necessary papers. We ask of you by this letter to inquire into the matter and report back to us whether the Latin *reaya* are being denied travel permits even though they have guarantors, which is against the existing regulation, or there is a legitimate reason for banning them from traveling to Istanbul.

1 Tinos (Turk. İstendil, Gr. Τήνος): Cycladic island in the Aegean Sea.

2 Syros (Turk. Şire or Şıra, Gr. Σύρος): Cycladic island in the Aegean Sea.

[576/32, *regarding the provisioning of besieged towns with the aid of British vessels*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

July 1, 1822

We have received your letter confirming the arrival of the imperial decree and our relevant letter by which we asked you to ship 1,500 bushels of provisions to the Castle of Athens [the Acropolis], which has been cut off by the rebel bandits, and to Karystos, which has suffered from a shortage of grain. You point out that you discussed with the British, Austrian, and French consuls in Thessaloniki the matter of hiring *müstemen* merchant vessels, which were necessary to ship provisions, as well as the flour and hardtack ordered by Hurşid Ahmed Pasha. In the negotiations, they laid down a condition that we should discuss the matter of insurance with their respective ambassadors in Istanbul, and you plead with us to arrange this accordingly. *Müstemen* vessels are indeed essential for the shipment of the provisions under current conditions. However, the French are not to be trusted, and the recent incident with the imperial navy [the Chios affair] demonstrated the untrustworthiness of the Austrian merchant vessels as well, leaving the British merchant vessels as the only option. We are presently sending provisions from Istanbul by the British vessels at any rate. Thus, the *reisülküttab* negotiated the matter of insurance with the British ambassador, who provided separate letters to his consul in Thessaloniki, concerning the shipments to Athens and Karystos. We have attached these letters to the present correspondence. We ask of you to avoid hiring French and Austrian vessels and present the letters enclosed to the British consul in Thessaloniki in order to arrange for the insurance with him for the dispatch of the provisions by the British vessels to their destinations.

[576/36, *regarding the incompetence of the imperial navy*]

To the Kapudana Bey

July 5, 1822

We have received the joint submission you have sent together with the *patrona bey* and other captains of the imperial navy. You suggest that we reinforce the navy by a few thousand fresh recruits, so that the fatigued land troops in the navy could have some rest. You also ask for the replacement of chain cables that you cut and left at the bottom [of the sea off Chios], as well as the replenishment of rations. We are at a loss to understand why you complain about the weariness of the troops, the need for reinforcements, and more rations, since the imperial navy has left the imperial capital only recently, fully manned with soldiers and sailors, and enough rations for seven months. Since your departure, you have only sailed out to Chios and stayed there at anchor; you have not even engaged the infidel ships in battle. Our impression is that, afraid of such little boats of the cursed infidels as the caiques of Chios, you want to run back to the Dardanelles, although the ships under your command resemble sailing fortresses. We have prepared these ships for the imperial navy over the last two years at the cost of thousands of purses with many difficulties. Last year, the late grand admiral and you brought the navy back with no particular reason, without an ounce of effort in the Morea and any fear of God or our sultan. Your course of action was the obvious reason for the fall of Tripolitsa and other places into the hands of the infidels, causing the ruin of all those Muslim men, women, and children therein. Just like last year, you are inclined to make up excuses to drag your feet and waste time, which is tantamount to cowardice and outright treason against [our] religion and state. It is not becoming that believers and servants who owe their fortunes to His Imperial Majesty such as yourselves take this path; nothing good can come of this. To top it all, you praise the late Grand Admiral Ali Pasha for his competence. You all pretend to master the intricacies of naval warfare and boast of being experienced seafaring men, yet you act as if you know nothing of naval art. How is it possible for experts of naval warfare to let more than twenty ships lay at anchor at such a narrow spot as Chios without patrols and detachments? Your own negligence accounted for the recent harm inflicted on the navy. Is it wise to let another ship of a friendly power or otherwise come close to the navy regardless of its place of anchorage? How do you explain allowing an infidel ship to visit the navy in that area of sedition, when we do not let even a single person pass by the arsenal in Istanbul after sunset? How can it be possible to cope with your demands for more chain cables and wires when you cut and leave them here and there for the most trivial reasons, although you are aware of their scarcity in the imperial arsenal? In short, you are apparently capable of nothing

but wasting resources. Neither God Almighty nor our sultan can condone this. Therefore, gather your wits together and remember that you are honor-bound to your profession, your religion, and your sultan. Gratitude and zeal require that you attend to your duties to the best of your ability. Thus, as ordered previously, you should take the ships of the imperial navy and the supply ships that are currently at the Dardanelles, ferry the troops across to Chios, unite with the fleet at Crete, and set sail to the Morea without wasting a moment, without letting any foreign ships, friend or foe, come close upon the imperial navy. Once you arrive in the waters of the Morea, you shall deliver the command of the navy to the grand admiral at Patras and enter his service yourself. Obviously, you will be rewarded for your efforts eventually, as you demonstrate your loyalty and render the services expected of you by His Imperial Majesty. Otherwise, you should all fear the consequences of your failures. We write this private letter to advise you all to serve diligently and save the dignity of your corps by achieving your task.

Postscript: The superintendent of the imperial arsenal has prepared eleven anchors of different sizes, eleven chain cables, twelve topmasts and masts, sixteen sails, and other equipment. We have sent them to the Dardanelles aboard an appropriate vessel; you should receive them when you go to the island of Tenedos to pick up the aforementioned five naval ships and the supply ships.

[576/38, *regarding the buying and selling of Greek slaves*]

To His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha, to the Bostancıbaşı, to the Kadıs of the Three Boroughs [Eyüp, Galata, and Üsküdar], and to the Customs Master
July 7, 1822

Per sharia law, the dependents and offspring of infidels from the *dar al-harb*¹ captured during combat are considered spoils of war, and buying and selling them is lawful. However, as such transactions have stirred up trouble among Muslims [unclear phrase], plenty of care to act according to the law is the duty of all Muslims. Meanwhile, a bunch of avaricious women, who are lacking in intellect and care for religion, are clandestinely selling the Greek captives who were brought to the imperial capital from Chios and other places to infidels, in order to make excessive profits. And some, favoring wishful deceit, even sell them overpriced as Circassian slaves, taking them to the environs of Anapa, only to bring them back later. As information has been heard at this time that they dare to engage in such prohibited acts—this state of evil not being tolerable by standards of the holy law or governance—it is against His Imperial Majesty's will. It is urgent that those who dare to engage in these wicked acts shall be disallowed and warned. Obviously, those necessitated by the state of affairs have been warned with imperial edicts. You as well shall summon the warden of slave traders, neighborhood imams, and others who may be necessary and make them understand clearly that: whoever dares to sell Greek slaves to infidels out of avarice or send them in some way to the environs of Anapa, upon receiving information of such a transaction, both the seller and the buyer—no matter who they are—shall be punished without a minute's delay. The neighborhood imams shall be warned to inform such people that they should avoid such abominable acts, and it shall be reiterated to them that they shall from now on immediately report the names and designations of anyone, buyer or seller, who makes such transactions. You are to pay the utmost attention to prevent such illicit acts.

¹ *Dar al-harb*: "abode of war," adjoining non-Islamic lands that do not have a treaty of non-aggression or peace with a Muslim state.

[576/42, *regarding the buying and selling of Greek slaves*]

Separately ordered to the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs

July 7, 1822

Information has been received that some avaricious people clandestinely sell the Greek captives brought from Chios and other places to the *reaya* in order to make excessive profits. The *reaya*, in order to save their own, dare to devise some means to purchase those Greek captives and covet doing so. The buying and selling of captives—who are the spoils of war of the community of Islam—in such manner to the *reaya* is not sanctioned by the holy law. His Imperial Majesty has decreed that those who engage in such transactions shall be dealt with, and the necessary authorities have been warned with imperial orders. Whoever from your community may have, or may in the future, dare to buy in any manner any captives who are spoils of war—and whoever the buyer may be—will be executed on the spot to serve as an example to others. You shall inform your community properly that this matter will be monitored through the appointment of undercover surveillants and forbid them from such acts.

[576/46, *regarding the restoration of the confiscated property of Chiots who did not rebel and the granting of amnesty to mastic-producing villages*]

To Şerif Efendi, who was sent to Chios on official duty

July 9, 1822

We have read your letter demanding clarification on certain issues. You communicate to us that the Latin [Catholic] subjects on the island of Chios showed no sign of rebellion, but went into hiding out of fear. As they are now petitioning to get back their confiscated property, you have asked the due course to be taken on this matter. You also ask for imperial decrees that grant amnesty to the *reaya* of the mastic-producing villages who submitted peacefully and that order the troops to deliver the official share at the rate of one-fifth in return for the goods and property they seized [as booty].¹ Finally, you have demanded the delivery of your rations from the mainland [Anatolia]. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and your letter was presented to His Imperial Majesty, who approved of the suggestions listed below. First of all, the property of the obedient Latin subjects on the island of Chios who hid themselves out of fear should be given back upon request. Secondly, it is the law that the confiscated property of those who did not participate in the rebellion or who took the offer of royal pardon must be restored to them if they are alive or transferred to their legal inheritors if they were killed by the troops unjustly. The law should be honored after carrying out the necessary investigation. Also, terms and conditions of legal protection of the mastic-producing *reaya* shall be written down in an imperial decree. As for your provisions, the castellan of Chios shall be informed to instruct the commissary officer to supply you with provisions of meat and bread. Finally, no word about the official one-fifth share of the booty is to be uttered, since the previous imperial decrees have declared it permissible by holy law to grant to the soldiers the goods and property they captured. The imperial decrees concerning the restoration of the confiscated goods and property in accordance with the suggestions above and the protection of the mastic-producing *reaya* have been sent, and the decision on the matter of your provisions has been pointed out to the said castellan. You shall make do with the rations to be procured by the commissary officer without making further demands and serve loyally with determination as required by your official duty.

Postscript: An imperial decree that commissions you with confiscating and making a list of the goods and property of those infidels who fled from the region of Çeşme has also been sent to you. You are required to prove your pledged loyalty under all circumstances.

1 According to sharia law, one-fifth of war spoils belongs to the ruler.

[576/47, *regarding the measures to be taken on Chios*]

To the Castellan of Chios [Abdi Pasha]

July 9, 1822

Şerif Efendi, who was commissioned with surveying the property of the bandits and fugitives on Chios, requested an imperial order that communicates the official decision on the matter of the mastic-producing *reaya* who had submitted peacefully; he also petitioned for the delivery of his rations from the mainland [Anatolia]. The aforementioned [rebellious] *reaya* were put to the sword after the death of the former Grand Admiral Ali Pasha by his soldiers. However, it was expected that a number of them must still be alive here and there. Although it has already been communicated to you to protect those who were presently on the island asking for mercy, a new imperial decree that contains the terms of surrender is issued in compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will. Accordingly, from now on, no admission to Chios should be granted under any condition to the *reaya* of Chios who had previously fled to the islands that revolted, and they shall all be detained. Also, sending rations to the said inspector [Şerif Efendi] from the mainland is inappropriate, and you should rather charge the commissary officer with providing him with the necessary amount of bread and meat. The said inspector had previously suggested that one-fifth of the booty at the disposal of the troops should belong to the central treasury. Nevertheless, the past imperial orders that announced the legal permission for enslavement also allowed the troops to keep whatever they grabbed. Therefore, we have let the said inspector know that he should avoid mentioning this matter and also be content with the rations to be procured by the commissary officer as required by the imperial decree. This dispatch is sent to you to make sure that you will serve with determination in fulfilling the imperial will stated above concerning the aforementioned matters.

[576/50, regarding the mercenary deployment to the Morea, the Souliot uprising, and the imperial navy]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

July 11, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence through your agent in Istanbul and the enclosed letter from Arif Efendi, army commissioner in charge of organizing the supply lines from Larissa to the armies in the Morea and Ioannina. You relate in your correspondence that after mustering your forces you set out from Larissa on the 12th day of *Şevval* [July 2, 1822] for the Alamana Bridge¹—which is after Lamia—where you took a roll call of the monthly salaried troops [mercenaries] and gave them their one-month's salary. Having dispatched them to the Morea under the command of [Dramalı] Mahmud Pasha, you returned to Larissa. You also state that you will dispatch the Geg [Albanian] pashas from another marching route as soon as they arrive. We understand that you kept the *mutasarrıf* of Trikala and the governor of Sivas with you. As for the Souliots, you instructed the *mutasarrıfs* of Teke and Ioannina to leave a few thousand men in necessary locations and set out for the Morea through Acarnania as agreed upon before—if they failed to pacify the Souliots within a few days. Finally, you inquire about the whereabouts of the imperial navy. Arif Efendi, on the other hand, requests our permission for returning to Istanbul, since he has fulfilled his tasks in Larissa. Upon reading your correspondence, His Imperial Majesty embellished it with his writ containing the prayer: "Thank God, he has exerted himself and sorted things out. May God Almighty grant him success and victory." We have previously communicated to you the appointment of Mehmed Pasha, who is currently at Patras, as the new grand admiral upon the death of the former Grand Admiral Ali Pasha in the incident at Chios, which was his own fault. Accordingly, we made the *Kapudana* Muhtar Bey the Deputy Grand Admiral and tasked him with setting off to the Morea after joining forces with the fleet sent on to Crete and other ships; and to proceed to Patras in order to hand over the navy to the grand admiral. We have received the news that the navy and other vessels at Crete have fulfilled their mission and arrived back at Kos. We have reiterated strict orders to the officers of the imperial navy to join their forces and set sail to the Morea without delay and we hope that they will do so any day now, since the two fleets are near one another. Finally, His Imperial Majesty has granted permission to Arif Efendi to return to Istanbul after consulting with you, as he has completed his assignment. We ask of you by this letter to use every means at your disposal to bring the affairs in the Morea to a good conclusion.

1 Alamana Bridge: bridge over the Spercheios River, 3 kilometers west of Thermopylae.

[576/53, *regarding the inspection of müstemen ships in order to capture fugitive Greeks*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Rhodes Şükrü Bey

July 11, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you confirm the arrival of the imperial decree regarding the detainment of fugitive Greeks even if they are found in *müstemen* merchant ships. While obviously you will do all in your capacity to carry out the order, you suggest that we should have the ambassadors send letters to their respective consuls on Rhodes in order to forestall the latter's possible resistance against the matter of inspection due to the lack of such letters. The rebellion and brigandage of these wicked Greeks are reaching new heights each day. Upon receiving intelligence, we carried out an investigation and uncovered that some of the pirate ships have even been flying Russian colors, apart from their many other tricks. It would be difficult to distinguish them from Russian merchant ships unless they are inspected closely. Thus, we have explained to the Russian ambassador by an official memorandum that we would subject all Russian-flagged vessels to regular inspection until the restoration of security. Following His Imperial Majesty's decree, we then sent out relevant orders to all localities along the coasts of Anatolia, Rumelia, and Albania, as well as other necessary places. Accordingly, all local authorities are required to inspect those ships flying the Russian banner thoroughly, since it would otherwise not be possible to figure out if these suspicious ships are genuinely Russian ships or not by monitoring them from afar. The crew will have to face treatment as bandits, regardless of the banner of the vessel, in case of resistance to inspection. Should they cooperate, the inspectors should board the ship to discover if there are more cannons and ammunition than necessary for repelling the corsair raids or more men than necessary to navigate the ship. Should the inspectors sense any hostile intention, they will seize the ship and report it to Istanbul. However, our local agents must refrain from harassing those ships that carry provisions and supplies to the imperial capital and that do not exhibit any hostile motivations in order to protect the populace of Istanbul from suffering food shortages. In your capacity as a servant of ours, you are empowered by the existing treaties to inspect any *müstemen* ship as long as you suspect it of ferrying fugitives. Therefore, it is not necessary to receive letters from the ambassadors addressing their respective consuls. Besides, it is evident that they would try to obstruct the inspector in the performance of his duty despite such letters, since they consider this practice an insult to their dignity. Therefore, whenever you suspect any merchant ship of the Christian states of hiding fugitives or any suspect goods, you are to insist upon boarding the vessel for inspection as stated in the imperial order.

If you discover any fugitive *reaya* hidden inside, you shall detain them at once and report it to us immediately in justification of your conduct. In case you face obstruction by the consuls, you shall explain to them in a friendly manner that it is His Imperial Majesty's will to inspect any suspicious vessel until the restoration of security and that this practice is in conformation with the treaties, as acknowledged by their own ambassadors in Istanbul. We instruct you by this letter to carry out inspections meticulously and to pay particular attention not to cause any harm to friendly vessels in the process.

[576/56, *regarding the return of the unlawfully captured Greeks of mastic-producing villages to their homeland*]

To the Castellan of the Dardanelles

July 13, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's letter inquiring into the decision of His Imperial Majesty on the issue of the captured inhabitants of the mastic-producing villages [of Chios]. The castellan of Chios and the late grand admiral gave separate vouchers for each captive caught by the soldiers of Islam during the pacification of Chios, so that their owners, by showing the vouchers, would be allowed to take these captives through the Dardanelles wherever they wished. Nevertheless, when the grand admiral died, the soldiers raided the mastic-producing villages that had already been granted amnesty and been put under protection, declaring the men and women folk they captured as their captives. While they [slave-holding soldiers] need to be detained [at the Dardanelles] since they do not have vouchers, this will cause unrest among the [Muslim] rabble. Hence, the question of what is to happen to the captives taken after the granting of amnesty was forwarded to the office of the *şeyhülislam*. Two fatwas were issued stating that those men and women who were captured by the soldiers of their own accord and at a place that had been granted amnesty by the Sublime State do not need to be given vouchers, because they are [already] free and [considered] *reaya*, and their buying and selling is unlawful. Thus, following His Imperial Majesty's will, an imperial decree was sent to you ordering you to seize such men and women and send them back to their hometowns in coordination with the castellan of Chios. This letter is written to you to make sure that you carry out the imperial order with determination. However, should the [Muslim] rabble ignore the imperial order and begin spreading unrest, you shall avoid using force to seize their captives. You should, rather, ward off the situation by explaining to them that the buying and selling of these people is forbidden by religion, as is making the women concubines.

[576/58, *regarding the appointment of indigenous voivodes to Moldowallachia and the end of Fanariot rule*]

To the Governor of Silistra and the Castellan of Vidin, separately

July 13, 1822

We have previously informed Your Excellency that we have summoned to the imperial capital the real indigenous and prominent boyars of Wallachia and Moldavia and understood their intentions and aspirations. We held negotiations with them regarding the appointment of voivodes to Wallachia and Moldavia from among the boyars of Wallachia and Moldavia, since no further confidence can be placed in Fanariot Greeks. We have also explained to Your Excellency His Imperial Majesty's will concerning the prevention of the possible escape of the deputy voivodes sitting in Bucharest and Iași [Konstantinos Negris and Stefanos Vogoridis]. These boyars pleaded with the Sublime State to end the custom of entrusting the Fanariot Greek outsiders with the voivodships of Wallachia and Moldavia, due to all sorts of oppression they have been inflicting and their current sedition. They instead suggested the appointment of local boyars to these offices, following the ancient custom, and forwarded related propositions. In summary, we proposed to deploy two thousand *beşlû* troops¹ in Wallachia and one thousand *beşlû* troops in Moldavia until the restoration of peace and order, provided the stipends and the rations of the military units customarily stationed in the Principalities would be delivered in the same way as in the past. However, this time the boyars were asked to pay for the additional troops to be employed in response to the current situation. We also proposed keeping the children of the voivodes as hostages in Istanbul. In response, they opposed this scheme on the grounds that the use of the term "hostage" would be an insult to their administration, as it implied taking their children by force and imprisonment. Thus, they proposed the employment of one son each in the offices of the voivodes' agents to the Sublime Porte in Istanbul and expressed some other views and pleas of theirs. In the end, considering the current situation, we were resolved to observe the stipulations of the agreement with Russia in making the necessary arrangements. We found it appropriate to appoint the boyar named Ligorî Gika [Grigore Dimitrie Ghica] as the voivode of Wallachia, as he was the most prestigious boyar, as understood from the attitude of the Wallachian boyars who came to the imperial capital. Also, we appointed Yogan Sandil Isturca [Ioan Sandu Sturdza] as the voivode of Moldavia, as he was the most prominent among the Moldavian boyars. We contemplated that the official ceremony of bestowing the robe of honor and donning the [ceremony cap called] *kuka* on the appointees should

1 *Beşlû* troops (Turk. *beşlû neferatı*): troops in charge of securing Moldowallachia.

not be held at the Sublime Porte, lest the Greeks infiltrate in their retinues and accompany the voivodes to the Principalities.² Therefore, we deemed it proper to explain to the appointees secretly the decision to hold the inauguration ceremony in Silistra, to where two accompanying escorts would carry their appointment orders, robes of honor, and *kukas*. When these boyars arrive in Silistra, their appointments should be announced, to be followed by the delivery of their appointment orders, robes of honor, and *kukas*. They should also build up their retinue in Silistra before leaving for their administrative seats. It is essential to appoint commanders of the *beşlî* contingents from among the *ayans* and aghas of Rumelia, who are strong enough to recruit and command men. They are to serve for a year and return to their hometowns when their substitutes arrive at the end of their terms. Thus, we appointed the *Ayan* of Dobrich,³ Kavanozade Hasan Bey, as the chief agha of the *beşlî* troops paid by the month in Wallachia and instructed him to reach your side with two thousand select and robust men he will hire and to go to Wallachia whenever you order him; and he is to keep his men under tight discipline to prevent oppression [of the locals]. As for the commander of the *beşlî* troops in Moldavia, Your Excellency shall appoint by a mandate an equivalent of Hasan Bey from among whichever local prominent dynasty you deem appropriate, and we will then prepare and send his appointment order. You are to keep him ready with one thousand paid-by-the-month *beşlî* soldiers of good standing hired at once, until the arrival of Hasan Bey, the chief agha of the *beşlîs* of Wallachia, at your side. After the public announcement of the voivodeship appointments and the departure of the voivodes for their posts, you shall also send these troops to their assigned posts. Then, you shall immediately send back the troops who are currently in Moldowallachia to their hometowns and arrange for the transfer of the troops in Oltenia to Vidin in communication with the castellan of Vidin. We think it appropriate that Your Excellency should instruct the *beşlî* commanders to scrutinize the activities of the voivodes and warn you and the imperial capital immediately in secret about their potential treason and escape. For example, if the voivodes show reluctance to pass on to us any intelligence about a seditious activity that they got wind of, the aghas must let you and the fortress commanders in the vicinity know about it. His Imperial Majesty approved all of these suggestions and measures of ours as described above and decreed their implementation. Accordingly, we officially informed Ligori Gika [Grigore Dimitrie Ghica] and Yogan Sandil Isturca [Ioan

2 For the investiture ritual of the Moldowallachian boyars, see Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, pp. 21–4.

3 Dobrich (Turk. Pazarcık, Gr. Ντόμπριτς): town in northeast Bulgaria.

Sandu Sturdza] about their appointments to Wallachia and Moldavia, respectively. We assigned the former *telhîstî*⁴ Şakir Bey, a warrant officer in the palace service, to the voivode of Wallachia and another suitable official [to be appointed later] to the voivode of Moldavia to escort them to Silistra. They are about to set off to your side along with the appointment orders, robes of honor, and *kukas* necessary for the ceremony. We expect you to announce their appointments upon their arrival in Silistra and have them organize their retinues in the town before leaving for their administrative seats. We have appointed Kavanoszade Hasan Bey as the agha of the *beşlû* troops in Wallachia and sent him his appointment order. We ask of you to appoint by a mandate an equivalent of Hasan Bey from among whichever local prominent dynasty you deem appropriate as the chief agha of the *beşlû* troops in Moldavia. Send him at the head of one thousand men of good standing of his own choice, along with Hasan Bey, as the voivodes set out for their administrative seats after explaining their instructions to them secretly and confidentially. Then, you must see to the recalling of the troops who are currently stationed in Wallachia and Moldavia. At the present time, İstefanaki [Vogoridis], deputy voivode of Moldavia, [Konstantinos] Negri, deputy voivode of Wallachia, and Samurkaşoğlu [Ioannis Samourkassis], deputy voivode of Oltenia, are likely to escape, and it is impermissible to keep them there. Since the new voivodes will appoint their own deputies from among the local boyars, it is essential to remove and detain the current [Fanariot] deputies before the news break out by the arrival of the imperial decrees announcing their replacement with local deputies. Your Excellency expressed the view that there is no need to wait for the appointment of the indigenous deputies for recalling the current deputies from their posts and detaining them by an imperial decree. In your opinion, it would be a sufficient precaution to exhort the local boyars to take care of their domestic affairs until the appointment of indigenous deputy voivodes. Therefore, following His Imperial Majesty's will, we have written to the castellan of Vidin to summon Samurkaşoğlu from Oltenia to Vidin and to put him in custody. The said castellan has instructions to caution the local boyars to manage the internal affairs of Oltenia until the appointment of a deputy by the [new] voivode of Wallachia. His Imperial Majesty also willed you to call İstefanaki [Vogorides] and [Konstantinos] Negri from Wallachia and Moldavia, respectively, to put them under custody, and to enjoin the local boyars to administer their domestic affairs quietly until the new appointments to Iaşi and Bucharest. You shall also check the account book of Samurkaşoğlu after the voivodes take office and inform us about the process. Based on His Imperial

4 *Telhîstî*: official charged with making summaries of reports for the sultan.

Majesty's decree, we instruct Your Excellency with this letter to have [Konstantinos] Negri and Istefanaki [Vogorides], the former deputy voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia, brought to Silistra immediately and by any means and to keep them in custody as indicated above.

Postscript: We had officially informed the foreign ambassadors to the imperial capital that the new voivodes would be announced shortly, and, as they incessantly inquired into this matter every now and then, it became imperative to explain to them the way we handled the appointment process. Thus, memoranda were sent from the office of the *reisülküttab* to the embassies to announce the new appointees. It is not impossible that the former deputy voivodes will escape if they get wind of this through the consuls, to whom the ambassadors will possibly pass on the news in their correspondence. Therefore, it is impermissible to be negligent and lax in the detainment of the former deputies, and we urge you to have them brought to Silistra before their possible flight.

[576/61, regarding the granting of amnesty to the Chiots]

To the Castellan of Chios [Abdi Pasha]

July 14, 1822

We have received your letter in which you relate that you received the order concerning the protection of the guiltless *reaya* of Chios and its villages who asked for royal mercy. You inform us that you appointed officials in order to see to the restitution of the property, goods, and offspring of the *reaya* of the mastic-producing villages who had demanded royal mercy. You also state that you will take care of the protection of the guiltless *reaya* who ask for clemency. You inform us about the arrival of one thousand salaried soldiers dispatched from Edirne to garrison Chios and state that they are given the necessary rations. Finally, you ask how these soldiers will be paid their monthly salaries in the future. Unnecessary persecution of the guiltless *reaya* who asked for mercy is against religion and the consent of His Imperial Majesty. The diligence and resoluteness you exhibited in the solution to this matter is proof of your determination and devotion to religion. It has been decided that the *mutasarrıf* of Ormenio will be in charge of the monthly payment of the aforementioned troops. You are expected to continue to protect the *reaya* who are granted mercy and keep the said troops in good order.

[576/66, *regarding the prohibition of the unauthorized slave trade*
To His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha, the Kadı of Istanbul and the Three
Boroughs [Eyüp, Galata, and Üsküdar], the Customs Master, and
the Bostancıbaşı

July 14, 1822

Per sharia law, the captured offspring and dependents of infidels from the *dar al-harb* taken during combat are considered spoils of war. The functionaries authorized by an imperial firman may issue vouchers for the captives taken by the soldiers of Islam at the time of the conquest of such places. It is lawful for Muslims to buy and sell such captives, as well as to make them their concubines. However, it is also a religious obligation to guard the lives and property of those infidels who ask for mercy after witnessing the might of Islam and submit to becoming *reaya*. We have been informed that some impertinent men with no comprehension of religion and the holy law attacked some *reaya* of Chios, who had already asked for mercy, and took their offspring and dependents as captives with the vain intention of selling them anywhere they like. The office of the *şeyhülislam* issued a fatwa, ruling that such men and women who were captured by soldiers of their own accord in a place that had been granted mercy by the Sublime State do not need to be issued vouchers, since they are [already] free and [considered] *reaya*. Selling and buying them is illegal, and making their women concubines is forbidden by religion. The castellan of the Dardanelles was thus ordered to seize such men and women in compliance with the fatwa and to send them back to their homeland. As it is anticipated that they would bring to Istanbul and sell such captives without vouchers, the relevant authorities have been instructed to prevent such transactions by an imperial decree. You shall summon the warden of slave traders, neighborhood imams, and others who may be necessary and warn them against engaging in such trade.

[576/71, *regarding the mobilization of Geg Albanian pashas and punishment of the former commander-in-chief of the Morea*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

July 16, 1822

Your Excellency's agent at the Sublime Porte has delivered your communications, in which Your Excellency suggests the dispatch of threatening letters to the Geg [Albanian] pashas due to their procrastination in fulfilling their tasks. You also complain about Seyyid Ali Pasha, former commander-in-chief of the Morea. The contents of Your Excellency's communications have thus become known to us, and your letters have been presented to His Imperial Majesty. One of the pashas of Gegëria, the former *Mutasarrıf* of Skopje, Malik Pasha, had already informed us that he sent his nephew, Yaşar Pasha, to serve under you. Besides, in addition to the insistent mobilization orders in compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will, we have sent, depending on the situation, intimidating and motivating letters alike to Hüseyin Pasha of Vranje;¹ Arslan Pasha, son of Numan Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Dukakin;² Seyfeddin Pasha of Gjakova;³ Mahmud Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Prizren; Abbas Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ohrid; Mahmud Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Elbasan; and Receb Paşazade Mustafa Hıfzı Bey of Tetovo.⁴ We had previously promised them royal gifts [cash] upon their arrival at their designated place of deployment. On this occasion, we hope to motivate them for a quicker march by telling them that their gifts have been sent to you, so that you would distribute them once they arrive at their location of service. We have sent to Your Excellency 120,000 piasters and trust your diligence to distribute 15,000 piasters to each of these seven functionaries and the aforementioned Yaşar Pasha. As for Seyyid Ali Pasha, it is obvious that no good service will come from him anymore in [the Morea], and if he lingers there this may even provoke disorder among the troops. Furthermore, considering his insistence in his inappropriate actions despite all the aids and warnings, it has become apparent that no further admonition would be useful to change his ways. Therefore, in line with His Imperial Majesty's decree, we will send you a secret imperial order for the confiscation and sale of all his goods and belongings in order to deliver the troops' pay that fell in arrears. Your Excellency shall inform us if the sum does not cover that amount. The decree also deprives him of his vizieral rank and orders his banishment to the town of Bolu. This letter is written to ask Your Excellency to fulfill His Imperial Majesty's orders with dedication and inform us about the process.

1 Vranje (Turk. İvranya or İvranye, Gr. Βράνιε): town and district in south Serbia.

2 Dukakin (Alb. Dukagjin): historical Albanian *sancak* with Lezhë (Gr. Αλέσιον) as its capital, northwest Albania.

3 Gjakova (Turk. Yakova, Gr. Τζιακόβιτσα): town and district in southwest Kosovo.

4 Tetovo (Turk. Kalkandelen, Gr. Τέτοβο or Καλκάνδελε): town and district in northwest North Macedonia.

[576/74, regarding the mobilization of Geg Albanian pashas]

To Hüseyin Pasha of Vranje; Numan Pasha, Mutasarrıf of Dukakin; Seyfeddin Pasha of Gjakova; Mahmud Pasha, Mutasarrıf of Prizren; Abbas Pasha, Mutasarrıf of Ohrid; Mahmud Pasha, Mutasarrıf of Elbasan; and Receb Paşazade Mustafa Hıfzı Bey of Tetovo

July 16, 1822

You have already been ordered by an imperial decree to set out to your designated place of deployment on the orders of His Excellency Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, Governor of Rumelia and glorious Commander-in-Chief with full discretionary powers, with as many soldiers and whenever he demands. Your merit and loyalty require you to obey his orders readily, since disorder and rebellion due to the sedition of the Greek infidels have not been suppressed in many places yet. It was also pointed out to you that you would receive royal gifts [cash] as soon as you report to your designated place of deployment. The correspondence of the commander-in-chief reveals that he has arrived at the Alamana Bridge—which is situated after Lamia—and has begun sending in columns of troops into the Morea; however, you have not arrived in that region yet. You are diligent and loyal servants of the Exalted Sultanate from whom we expect great service. Besides, the matter at hand is a war of religion and defies comparison to other affairs. At a time when the infidels risk their wicked lives and take to the field to serve their fallacious religion by trampling upon our brothers in religion and committing all sorts of rascality and treachery, and when it is a religious obligation for all believers to show these infidels Muslim diligence and the might of the Sublime State, frankly speaking, it is very unbecoming of you that you have not arrived at the commander-in-chief's side in violation of your orders. This is the moment to take revenge on these infidels and make a glorious name for yourselves. Yet, you contradict His Imperial Majesty's will by wasting your time. Thus, a follow-up decree has been sent to you to this effect, as required by His Imperial Majesty, and the royal gifts promised before have been sent to the commander-in-chief to be delivered to you upon your arrival in your designated place of deployment. If you have not started out yet by the time of the arrival of the imperial order and our letter, you shall prove your diligence and loyalty by immediately reporting to whatever location you are assigned to and with the number of troops demanded by the commander-in-chief. If you do not want to be remorseful in this world and the next, you should serve [our] religion and state by not wasting a single minute to report to your posts and make a glorious name for yourselves.

[576/78, *regarding the new regulations in Moldowallachia*]
To the Mutasarrifs of Prizren, Ohrid, and Elbasan, and, as explained,
to Hasan Bey, Voivode of Dobrich [Kavanoszade Hasan Bey]
July 16, 1822

As is known to all, due to the widespread sedition of the Greek *millet*, it is out of the question to put any further trust in the Fanariot Greeks, and it is impermissible to continue with the custom of entrusting with them the offices of the voivode of Wallachia and Moldavia. However, the Principalities await the appointment of new voivodes at present, as Russia raises this issue, and foreign ambassadors in Istanbul continuously inquire into the matter. Since a favorable change in the system of appointment of the voivodes was a necessity, two men from among the most prominent indigenous boyars who had previously been brought to Istanbul, Ligorî Gika [Grigore Dimitrie Ghica] and Yogan Sandil Isturca [Ioan Sandu Sturdza], were appointed to the voivodeships of Wallachia and Moldavia. Nevertheless, the customary official ceremony that involves the bestowing of a robe of honor and the donning of the *kuka* on the appointees presents a drawback if were to be held in Istanbul, as Greeks may blend in the retinues of the new voivodes and go [to Moldowallachia] with them. Therefore, a decision was made to avoid holding the investiture ceremony here. Two escorts will accompany the voivodes to His Excellency Vizier Mehmed Selim Pasha, Governor of Silistra and Commander-in-Chief of the Danube. The letters of appointment, robes of honor, and *kukas* have also been entrusted with these escorts, so that the said pasha would officially announce their appointments in Silistra and deliver their robes of honor and *kukas*. One of the requests of the indigenous boyars is the abolition of the Fanariot custom of recruiting chief musketeers, commanders of light cavalry and rank-and-file to serve under them from among the Greeks and Albanians. They pleaded with the Sublime Porte that, from now on, the commanders should be appointed by the indigenous voivodes with the approval of the *divan efendi*¹ and the chief *beşlî agha*, while the rank-and-file under these officers should be recruited from among the local *reaya*—who will have guarantors [of their decency]—after negotiations conducted with the boyars. Although the Fanariot voivodes had the custom of appointing their own *divan efendis* and *beşlî aghas*, these boyars also pleaded that hereafter the Exalted State should appoint the *divan efendi* and an able chief *beşlî agha*, under whom two thousand *beşlî* soldiers from among decent Muslim folk will be employed for the protection of the country. They are to serve alongside native officers and rank-and-file to keep peace and security and content themselves with the allocated salary and

¹ *Divan efendi*: high chancellor and the secretary of state.

rations. Unlike in the past, they will neither interfere with domestic affairs nor demand extortionate contributions from the locals. His Imperial Majesty's will regards the security of the country and ease of the poor *reaya*, and it is His Imperial Majesty's will that the post of the chief *beşlî agha* of Wallachia is bestowed on you [Kavanoszade Hasan Bey, Voivode of Dobrich], since you are a loyal and diligent servant of the Exalted Sultanate. While the imperial decree announcing your appointment has been sent to you, confidential instructions concerning your new duties have been dispatched secretly to the governor of Silistra. This letter is to instruct you to assemble two thousand *beşlî* troops and to set out for Silistra immediately. You shall go to Wallachia at the head of your soldiers whenever the governor of Silistra orders you and make sure that your troops will not demand extortionate contributions from the locals. Finally, you shall pay utmost attention to keep to yourself the secret instructions that are to be explained to you by the governor of Silistra and proceed with them as necessary.

[576/82, *regarding the instructions of the imperial navy to set sail to the Morea*]

To the Kapudana Bey

July 18, 1822

We have reviewed your letter in which Your Excellency confirms the arrival of our past correspondence and assures us about your selfless commitment to the accomplishment of your assignment for the sake of religion and state. According to your letter, in line with your orders you arrived off Tenedos with the imperial fleet, only to discover that *Bahr-i Vesi* [Broad Sea], one of the five ships of the line at the Dardanelles, and a feeder vessel were unable to maintain speed. Thus, you tied up both ships at the strait after distributing their crew among other ships. You inform us that you then took along three other ships of the line and six supply vessels, but left one shallop and several water carriers at the harbor of Tenedos, because it would be inappropriate to dispatch them all together. Your Excellency reports that you proceeded to the waters between Chios and Lesbos in order to transfer the soldiers bound for Chios; and that you will immediately set sail to the Morea in compliance with your orders if the ships sent to Crete were to return and join you in the meantime. However, no sound intelligence has arrived yet as to whether these ships are on their way back to Chios from Crete. Thus, you demand clarification of your instructions if you should set sail to the Morea without waiting for their arrival. After expressing your gratitude for the dispatch of 25,000 piasters as a royal gift, you inform us that the new anchor cables and other equipment have not arrived so far and you ask us to rush them to your side. The contents of your correspondence have thus become known to us, and we presented your letters to His Imperial Majesty. As is known to all, it is an obligation for all pious men who follow the right path to abandon all comforts of life and to work relentlessly and sacrificially for the sake of religion and state in such dire times. You are all among the servants of the Exalted State who are satiated with royal favors, and now it is time for you to unite and strive toward the demonstration of your devotion to His Imperial Majesty and preservation of your regimental honor as naval officers. We have heard on several occasions that the detachment at Crete was on its way back, but no confirmation could be obtained. We also received information that all the troops bound for Chios have been ferried over. Therefore, His Imperial Majesty decreed that you have no further duty at Chios, and you shall proceed at once to the Morea to deliver the command of the navy to the grand admiral at Patras. It would be all the better if the ships from Crete rejoined you soon. Nevertheless, in case they cannot make it, we have dispatched an imperial decree via Izmir to Halil Bey, commander of the naval detachment at Crete, and to the commanders of the Egyptian and

Barbary detachments, ordering them to join forces with the imperial navy and at once set sail to the Morea. In case these detachments should sail away from Cretan waters before the arrival of this imperial decree, we have sent separate letters by His Imperial Majesty's will to Hilmi Pasha, Castellan of Kos, to the castellan of the Dardanelles, to the Castellan of Chios Abdi Pasha, to the *mutasarrıf* of Rhodes and to the superintendent of Lesbos to convey the order to proceed to the Morea. Apart from this, the courier who brought your communication testified that he saw the ships carrying the new anchor cables and other equipment you have requested passing through the Dardanelles. They must have been delivered to you by now. We ask of you by this letter to strive to accomplish your mission and set sail to Patras together with the detachments if they have already arrived from Crete; otherwise, leave on your own without wasting time, as soon as the supply ships arrive.

[576/83, regarding the flight of several notable Greeks from Buca
and the confiscation of their property]

To Sefer Agha, Mütessellim of Aydın

July 20, 1822

The infidel named Antimon, who is the priest of Güzelhisar in the province of Aydın, and his accomplices, including the *kocabaşı* named Istrati [Stratos] and his nephew, Çakıroğulları the cloak maker, as well as the infidels named Benlioğlu and Değirmencioğlu, somehow managed to transfer all their possessions to the place named Buca¹ and they themselves fled last year to the island of Samos. The *naib* of Güzelhisar wrote to us for permission to grant the possessions—worth five thousand piasters—found in the houses of these infidels to the local have-nots. Also, the Patriarchate appointed a priest upon the notification sent by your predecessor following the flight of the said priest last year. However, to our knowledge no notification has come about the flight of the other infidels whose names are listed above. Having said that, it is impossible for those infidels to have carried all their possessions along when they fled, and, thus, they must have left behind a considerable number of belongings. This letter is to put you in charge of conducting an investigation, inquiring into the social standing of these infidels and how they fled and carried away their effects. You are to serve the state by making a true assessment of the possessions, properties, and goods they left behind.

¹ Buca (Gr. Βουτζάς): district in Izmir province, west Turkey.

[576/87, regarding supplying the army encamped in Lamia and the news that the imperial navy is headed to the Morea]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

July 28, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you relate that large quantities of supplies have been sent on wagons from Larissa to the army headed to the Morea, although difficulties will be experienced due to the steep roads and growing restlessness among the troops [uncertain translation]. Your Excellency suggests that the army should be supplied in an urgent manner from Thessaloniki by sea. Finally, you point out that the imperial navy should be coerced to rush to the Morea. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us, and we presented your letters to His Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency had already communicated to us that the army at Lamia should be provisioned from Thessaloniki by sea. When the matter was forwarded to the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha], he reported that letters should be secured from the ambassadors [in Istanbul] for hiring *müstemen* ships and once the letters arrive in Thessaloniki, he will send supplies to Lamia or any other required location. Obviously, all merchant vessels, except for the British ships, are vulnerable to the attacks of pirate [Greek] boats, which will surely seize all the provisions aboard the ships. Therefore, a letter addressing the British consul at Thessaloniki was secured from the British ambassador here and forwarded to the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki, including an insurance policy. In compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will, we have written to the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki to transport supplies to the army assigned to the Morea immediately and to then inform Your Excellency. With the help of God, you will not suffer from lack of supplies, as he will strive to obey the orders. Praise be to God, the fleet dispatched to Crete and the Egyptian and Barbary detachments returned safely and joined the imperial navy, anchored off Ayazmend, under the command of the *kapudana bey*. News has arrived that the entire imperial navy set sail to the Morea on the 3rd day of *Zilkade* [July 22, 1822], and, if the weather permits, God willing, it will arrive off the Morea soon.

[576/88, *regarding the provisioning of the fortress of Athens and of the troops marching to the Morea*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

July 28, 1822

Your Excellency had previously written that you negotiated with the Austrian, French, and British consuls in Thessaloniki regarding the matter of hiring *müs-temen* ships for the immediate transportation of 1,500 bushels of grain to the fortress of Athens [the Acropolis], as well as the supplies of flour and hard-tack demanded by Hurşid Pasha. You pointed out that they agreed to handle the matter of insurance through their respective ambassadors to the Sublime Porte. We have in turn communicated to you that since French and Austrian ships cannot be trusted,¹ the *reisülküttab* made arrangements with the British ambassador for the insurance of the two consignments. We forwarded to you the ambassador's letter addressing the British consul at Thessaloniki on this arrangement. Hurşid Pasha has recently informed us that provisions for the large number of troops assigned to the Morea are being transported on wagons from Larissa; however, due to the steep roads and the fact that the army has crossed the Fontana Defile and is growing restless daily [uncertain translation], there will be difficulties in the transportation of supplies. Hence, he suggested that the supplies should be purchased in and shipped from Thessaloniki by sea. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that you dispatch Hurşid Pasha grain from Thessaloniki without delay and notify him and us about the process. We have already informed Hurşid Pasha about the situation. This letter is to urge you to exert yourself to rush grain to Hurşid Pasha in every way possible and inform us and His Excellency.

¹ See documents 576/9 and 576/10 herein.

[576/92, *regarding the march of the army to the Morea, the battle in Souli, and Geg Albanian pashas avoiding service*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

July 28, 1822

We have received your correspondence describing the way in which Your Excellency took a muster roll of the glorious troops that had gathered at the Alamana Bridge in order to demonstrate, with the help of God Almighty, the might of Islam and the power of the State of Muhammad to those infidels who, owing to their natural animosity to the Exalted State, have been committing all sorts of abominable deeds against so many *sayyids*, *sayyidas*, men, women, and children in the Morea. The glorious troops of His Imperial Majesty that Your Excellency dispatched to Mahmud Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, as well as to other viziers and functionaries passed the Fontana Defile without battle and continued their march forward in the size and quality described in your correspondence. Your Excellency relays the instructions and directives given to Mahmud Pasha and notes that you forwarded him 250,000 piasters to cover the expenses related to his office. While you assigned the former governor of Sivas, Süleyman Pasha, to defend Lamia after reinforcing him with the necessary number of men, Your Excellency points out that you might be required to send him to either the region of Karpenisi and Amfissa or to the rear of the army of the commander-in-chief as reinforcement. You also report that, upon receiving intelligence that the infidels from Ioannina had arrived at Plaka¹ on their way to Souli, Your Excellency rushed to Larissa from the Alamana Bridge in a day and night in order to take measures to crush them. In the meantime, the correspondence of His Excellency Reşid Pasha and of the castellan [*sic*] of Ioannina arrived, heralding that they had crushed these infidels, praise be to God.² Having informed us that you have attached their correspondence to yours, Your Excellency states that these forces are soon to be ferried over to the Morea via Nafpaktos, as you consider that the Souliot affair will be settled smoothly in a few days. Your Excellency also mentions the need for an abundance of ammunition for the army and suggests dispatching gunpowder to the army to prepare ball cartridges by using the lead confiscated from the slain Ali Pasha. Your Excellency has demonstrated the piety and zeal inherent in your character by dedicating yourself to the dispatching

1 Plaka (Turk. Pilaka, Gr. Πλάκα): village located to the southeast of Ioannina, northwest Greece.

2 Referring to the Battle of Plaka, which took place on July 11, 1822, near the village of Plaka in Epirus. The battle resulted in the defeat of the Greek forces commanded by Markos Botsaris. Having lost a hundred men, Botsaris retreated to Peta.

of the forces beyond the [Fontana] Defile, in a manner befitting the glory of the Exalted State; and by arranging for the transfer of the forces to the Morea over Nafpaktos, as well as bringing the Souliot affair to an end by suppressing the infidels gathered there. We have presented your correspondence with full satisfaction with your deeds and suggestions to His Imperial Majesty, who in turn penned in his imperial rescript the following prayer: "His zeal and attention are beyond any criticism. May God render him successful." There is no question about Your Excellency's dedication to render good services to religion and the Exalted State with utmost diligence. We believe that, by the grace of God, Your Excellency will succeed in the occupation and pacification of the Morea by transporting our troops to the Morea, since the Souliot affair must be over by now, given the defeat of the wretched rebels gathered in the village of Peta near Souli.³ By imperial decree, Your Excellency shall use your own discretion in the deployment of Süleyman Pasha. It is of utmost importance that Your Excellency should act as duty obliges and complete your mission as soon as possible. Moreover, the matter of gunpowder is of paramount importance. The shipment of lead ball cartridges from here, as suggested in your correspondence, will prove rather difficult. Therefore, His Imperial Majesty approved your proposal and decreed that the chief treasurer arrange for the dispatch of a proportionate amount of gunpowder required by the army, so that ball cartridges can be manufactured by using the lead confiscated from the slain Ali Pasha. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to continue to demonstrate your zeal and diligence.

Postscript: We understand from your correspondence that no Geg [Albanian] pashas other than Mahmud Pasha of Leskovac⁴ and Arslan Pasha—son of Numan Pasha—presented themselves for service and that Your Excellency wrote letters to the absentees. As communicated to you, we have recently sent them the imperial orders that reiterate their instructions in strong language and sent their due gifts [cash] to Your Excellency. Moreover, I also wrote them strict letters. The measures Your Excellency has taken for the conduct of this affair is of a right and satisfactory quality. We pray to God the Merciful for the arrival of the joyful news soon from your side to delight the Muslims. We sincerely hope that Your Excellency will put full efforts into taking and implementing the necessary measures in accordance with the full discretionary powers at your disposal.

3 Referring to the Battle of Peta, which took place on July 16, 1822, near the village of Peta in Epirus. The Greek forces were composed of the regulars commanded by Alexandros Mavrokordatos, irregulars commanded by Markos Botsaris, Varnakiotis, and others, and a battalion of European philhellenes. The battle resulted in the defeat of the Greek forces.

4 Leskovac (Turk. Leskofça, Gr. Λέσκοβατς); town and district in south Serbia.

[576/100, *regarding the Battle of Peta*]
To the Governor of Karaman [Reşid Pasha]
August 4, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's communication in which you mention that you received the imperial order and our letter with regard to the quelling of the strife of the infidels of Souli and your march on the Morea. You report that eight thousand infidels had come from the Morea and Acarnania; and after spending several days in a village named Komboti¹—which is two and a half hours from Arta—they left around two thousand men there and then moved to the village of Peta²—which is one hour from Arta. Notwithstanding their evil intention to besiege Arta, they did not dare to do so; some of them remained there [at Peta], and the rest went to the mountain named Plaka—which is close to Ioannina—so as to help the infidels of Souli. They also incited the *reaya* of Arta, Ioannina, and other districts to rebel and rallied a great many infidels. Therefore, you dispatched your steward to the mountain, along with three thousand soldiers from the troops that were mustered under your command. With the remaining soldiers, you launched a crushing attack upon the infidels who had gathered in Komboti, put the infidels in the village to the sword, took many heads and informants, and then returned. Your steward also fought the bandits on the said mountain. He scattered the infidels and seized all their victuals, ammunition, and other military stores, captured two of their chieftains, and took many heads and some captives. Furthermore, your steward fought the bandits who had fortified themselves in the village of Pranesta [uncertain reading. Pramada?], attacked them in a pincer movement, and gained victory, by God's aid. To serve as an example to all Muslims, he captured two cannons, all their ammunition and victuals, banners and bugles, and many informants and heads and executed five of their chieftains. Those who survived fled to the Morea and Acarnania and to the mountains of Agrafa. Thus, their troubling attempt to help the infidels of Souli has been suppressed. The news about these victories, as well as the aforementioned heads, were sent to Hurşid Pasha, the victorious Commander-in-Chief. Finally, Your Excellency reports that, God willing, you will put an end to the strife of the infidels of Souli in a few days and depart for the Morea through Acarnania. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us. Your Excellency is verily one of the greatest viziers of the Sublime Sultanate, who is adorned with heroic zeal and firmness of faith. Furthermore, you achieved wonderful victories, praise be to God, which are the outcome of your endeavors and zeal,

1 Komboti (Tr. Konbot, Gr. Κομπότι): village to the southeast of Arta.

2 Peta (Turk. Peta, Gr. Πέτα): village to the east of Arta.

and of God's help and favor, and of the good augury of His Imperial Majesty. In view of this, your service and efforts have occasioned great joy and received the due commendation. Your Excellency's dispatch has been presented before His Imperial Majesty, who has considered it with his benevolent eye. As for the aforementioned heads, banners, and bugles, Hurşid Pasha tossed them on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace], so that they can be publicly held in derision. Moreover, the following prayer for Your Excellency has been addressed to God repeatedly: "May God bless all men who bravely labor for the fortunes of religion and the Sublime State, as the governor of Karaman does, with all kinds of success in this world and the next, amen!" Hence, this letter has been written in order to urge you to continue to demonstrate zeal and firmness of faith and thus justify the increasing favor which His Imperial Majesty shows toward you.

[576/105, regarding the surveying of the confiscated Greek property on Chios]
Order to the Chief Accountant

August 5, 1822

At this present time, the state of the island of Chios is in disarray, and so many properties, shops, gardens, and arable lands have been left unattended. Şerif Efendi, the official appointed to survey the island, has been found unfit to carry out his mission. His Imperial Majesty has therefore decreed that he be dismissed and replaced with Yusuf Bey, one of the imperial chamberlains and former *mutasarrıf* of Rhodes, who will determine and register the properties on both Chios and across, on the coast of Çeşme. Furthermore, one clerk from the office of the chief accountant and one clerk from the land registry office will join Yusuf Bey's retinue, along with one clerk from the office of the *şeyhülislam*, who will oversee the requirements of the holy law and justice as regards the matter of the disputed properties. Yusuf Bey has already been appointed accordingly; and the appointment of the clerk from the office of the *şeyhülislam* has been affirmed by the *şeyhülislam* himself. Hence, you shall make sure to issue the necessary order and shall arrange for the appointment of the clerks to Yusuf Bey's retinue, one of whom is to be from the office of the chief accountant and the other from the land registry office.

[576/109, *regarding the confiscation of the property of Greeks who took flight*]

To the Castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha]

August 5, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's letter stating that you appointed an official by a mandate in order to collect a debt of 6,600 piasters owed by the community of the district of Karaburun¹ to a *zimmi* named Mavridi the quilt maker, who was a resident of Izmir and had previously fled [the town]. However, it was reported that seven or eight years ago Mavridi had sought protection from Russia; hence, you ask for advice in this regard. As is known to Your Excellency, the inheritance of such infidels, namely who are subjects of the Sublime State and who took flight, should be seized for the benefit of the treasury, in accordance with the imperial decree. Furthermore, it is expressly prohibited that subjects of the Sublime State seek the protection of foreign countries by obtaining patents or passports from consuls. In view of this, if you ascertain that Mavridi and his ancestors were in fact subjects of the Sublime State, the said debt must be seized on behalf of and dispatched to the treasury. Hence, this letter has been written to inform you that you should investigate Mavridi's circumstances properly and, if you ascertain that he was a subject of the Sublime State, you shall seize the aforementioned claims and inheritance on behalf of the treasury.

¹ Karaburun: peninsula and district with the same name in the province of Izmir.

[576/III, regarding the new regulations for the governance of Thessaloniki]
 To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

August 6, 1822

We have previously received your formal letter in the form of a memorandum. You point out in your correspondence that no hideouts for the bandits remained within the territory in the possession of Muslims in the *sancak* of Thessaloniki. The sub-district of Leptokarya is by the sea, however, and boats from the nearby islands and other places regularly come and go. Thus, you suggest that the construction of a fortification to garrison forty to fifty men is necessary for surveilling the region. Your Excellency reports that Naousa also needs a similar kind of fortification. According to your memorandum, the passageways on the Aliakmonas and Nestos rivers should also be fortified by the construction of towers, accommodating five men each. Your Excellency claims that development and revivification of Veroia and Katerini are possible only through lifetime appointments of men such as Boz Veli, *Ayan* of Zagora, as the *ayan* of Veroia and Rüstem Bey of Bitola as the notable of Katerini. Your Excellency remarks that the majority of the *reaya* in this region turned into bandits because of the negligent behavior of the *çiftlik* owners and estate holders. Their priests set up more than two hundred churches deep in the forests and river valleys, which the bandits used as bases to capture Muslim lands. Prevention of such a situation falls under the responsibility of governors; however, it is a custom to dismiss governors after a short time. Thus, if a vizier was appointed to Thessaloniki for life, he would have the aforementioned fortifications and towers built from his own pocket and take good care of their maintenance. You also suggest that governors should be entrusted with guarding the defiles; this way, Albanians would be moved out gradually from the provinces, an action with many benefits. Four to five Albanians [soldiers?] reside in each *çiftlik*, and governors have no knowledge of the numbers and condition of the *reaya* therein. *Çiftlik* owners have been detaining and punishing the *reaya* [as they wish]. Roughly, ten thousand *reayas* live in Muslim towns for this reason. Your Excellency suggests that, from now on, *çiftlik* owners should be banned from intervening with issues not pertaining to cultivation of land, and governors should be the sole authority over the affairs of the *reaya*. In this way, it would be possible to force out the *reaya* from such towns back to their villages. Estate holders should not keep their harvest on their *çiftliks*; they should bring it all inside the town, and those who live outside of Thessaloniki should also move their harvest to Thessaloniki. Your Excellency states that the *çiftlik* owners cheat [the authorities] by storing their wheat on the *çiftliks*, claiming that it is set aside as seed corn [for planting the following year]. They, nevertheless, have dealings with the foreign consuls and infidel [foreign] vessels that come

to the piers located between Katerini and Stomio to smuggle wheat and silk. Those piers should be destroyed, and all the produce, including grain, should be taken to Thessaloniki. The produce of those who refuse to do so must be confiscated for the benefit of the treasury. You have submitted the suggestions summarized above to the Sublime Porte and pledged to implement these regulations, with the help of God, if appointed for life as the governor of Thessaloniki. In Your Excellency's letter to your agent in Istanbul, which arrived later, you inform us about the question of defiles, among other matters. You recount that you had previously written to Hurşid Ahmed Pasha on this matter, since the supervision of the defiles was put under his control. You pointed out to Hurşid Pasha that brigands had rebelled, and the *reaya* insurgents had joined them in submission because of the negligence of the *derbend aghas*. Your Excellency maintains that all this treason and abjectness had been possible only because these officers did not maintain troops in sufficient numbers to guard the defiles at Veroia and Edessa, despite the dues they had been collecting for this purpose from the districts. Had the defiles been protected by a brave and resolute man at the head of select troops, the brigands could not have risen in rebellion, and the *reaya* would not join them. Upon Your Excellency's suggestion to Hurşid Pasha, the *derbend agha* was replaced by a certain Süleyman Kondo of Ioannina, but he did not live up to expectations regarding the protection of the defiles. In the meantime, Your Excellency has received intelligence that the accursed Yamandi [Adamantios Nikolaou Olympios], who had fled to the islands of Skyros¹ and Skopelos² at the time of the clashes, was planning to embark on the shores in the vicinity. Therefore, you dispatched forces to safeguard Leptokarya, Kolindros,³ and Veroia and thwarted the mischief of this bandit in the region. Stating that the protection of this defile had always been assigned to the *mutasarrıfs* of Thessaloniki until the slain Ali Pasha of Tepedelen seized it by force, you want to be put in charge of this defile on the condition of maintaining a sufficient force for its protection and keeping the brigands away from its vicinity. Your Excellency also informs us that you have submitted to us the register of the estate of the late Salih Bey, the *Ayan* of Katerini. You suggest that his son, Halil Bey, who was presently in Thessaloniki, along with the mother of the deceased, be granted a sufficiently large allowance. Besides, you think it would be beneficial to appoint a loyal and studious

1 Skyros (Turk. İskiros, Gr. Σκύρος): one of the Sporadic Islands, to the east of Euboea.

2 Skopelos (Turk. İşkapulos, Gr. Σκόπελος): one of the Sporadic Islands, to the northeast of Euboea.

3 Kolindros (Turk. Gilindir, Gr. Κολινδρός): village between Thessaloniki and Katerini, north Greece.

man to the vacant post, on the condition that he would protect the region from the ravages of the bandits by keeping a sizable force in accordance with his revenue. We have informed His Imperial Majesty that most of your suggestions are indeed appropriate and applicable. As you are among the viziers trained in the court of His Imperial Majesty, your good service and obedience to the state of [the Prophet] Muhammad in the future is to be expected. Thus, we have found it proper to grant you the administration of Thessaloniki for life, so that you can erect towers and place soldiers for garrisoning them, send the *reaya* gathered in the towns in massive numbers back to their villages, and prevent the sale of the *merces prohibita* [prohibited goods] to foreign merchant ships. We have deemed it useful to put you in charge of implementing many other measures as listed above that would bring good management, security, and order to Thessaloniki. With the death of aforementioned Salih Bey, the matter of the *ayanship* of Katerini is considered to have been resolved in a natural way. A half share of the tax unit of Katerini has already been held by the imperial mint, which is to retain the other half owned by the deceased *ayan* and appoint a suitable functionary from within the institution who would manage the tax unit, as well as the district, with his own retinue, as is the case in many other places. Thus, no *ayan* from outside is to be appointed to the post anymore. An inspector is to be sent to survey his estate and *çiftlik*s, and the decision regarding what properties his son and mother should be allowed to keep from his inheritance is to be made afterward. Finally, Leptokarya is indeed an unsuitable port village, and an imperial decree is to be issued to fortify this place. All of our recommendations above have been approved by His Imperial Majesty, who ordered that the administration of the district of Thessaloniki be bestowed on you as a lifetime tenure and that the tax unit of Katerini be passed to the administration of the imperial mint. The matter of dispatching an inspector for registering the probate inventory of the deceased Salih Bey has been forwarded to the chief accountant. An imperial decree has been sent to you, as well as the *mutasarrıf* of Trikala, concerning the fortification of Leptokarya, since it is located in between Thessaloniki and Trikala. As stated above, you have been put in charge of establishing order and the good management of Thessaloniki and erecting forts at the necessary locations. Nevertheless, it is not appropriate to ruin the [Muslim] notables of Thessaloniki by putting too much strain on them, although they have always been good-for-nothings. Thus, in the matters that threaten their vested interests you should impose your authority without jeopardizing the good management of the district. For the time being, you should secure their cooperation by avoiding confrontation with them in such matters, so long as the district administration is not endangered.

Postscript: It has been understood from your correspondence that you are willing to be assigned to protect the defiles of Veroia and Edessa. As opposed to your request, it is not proper to separate the management of these two defiles, since Hurşid Pasha is the superintendent of them. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that you broach the matter with him, and, as you had the protection of the aforementioned defiles assigned to Süleyman the Albanian in the past, you should this time request it exclusively for yourself and forward the agreed fee for keeping the office in full. You are expected to exert yourself to serve loyally and diligently.

[576/113, *regarding the consternation of Ottoman functionaries facing self-sacrificing Greek revolutionaries and the measures to be taken*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

August 9, 1822

In your latest dispatch Your Excellency set forth that the Greek infidels preferred to abandon their malignant souls in their vicious rebellion and that, although you have spared no efforts, their obstinacy threw you into consternation. After we acquainted ourselves with your communication, which contains evidence about this and other matters, we presented it to His Imperial Majesty. Although the Greek infidels were given all kinds of permits and benevolence under the compassionate protection of the Sublime Sultanate, they have been ungrateful and engaged in betrayal and abominable acts against the Sublime State and its religion. Not only have they sought no pardon or mercy for one and a half years, but they have also dared to occupy territories, undeterred by the many troops deployed therein. As is known to Your Excellency, however, there is no place for doubt that God himself—to whom be praise and whose name be exalted—protects and preserves the eternal being of Islam and the Sublime State. It is true that, in view of the facts, the brigandage and rebellion of the Greek rebels are acts of their entire *millet*. Furthermore, in light of the many villainies and abominable deeds they have committed hitherto, it will be impossible to restore the previous peace and harmony between them and the Muslims. Should they be approached in the manner suggested by the ambassadors of the foreign powers, who pretend to be friends of the Sublime State [i.e. giving Greeks autonomy and various concessions], this will in any case bring more damage and destruction than their current rebellion. For these reasons, the Greeks must—with the Creator's succor—be quelled by putting them to the sword and thus be brought back into submission; and we must never lose grip on *bedeviyet* and the path of fortitude, which have now united us and, as a result, the entire people of Islam in the union of hearts, but we must eventually strengthen them day by day. That said, at this very moment the center of the Greeks' seditious unrest is in the Morea. Therefore, we hope that with Your Excellency's endeavors the peninsula will soon be put into good order and that divine providence will restore the ordinary course of all affairs, God willing! Thanks to your zeal, many troops have been deployed into the Morea, and many others are being dispatched thereto, praise be to God! Furthermore, it is expected that in several days the functionaries dealing with the infidels of Souli will—by the Grace of God—put into good order the affairs of that region. As for the imperial navy, we suppose that it has already arrived in the Morea. On this account, we pray that great victories will be achieved, by God's grace, in the Morea in the forthcoming days. Hence, this letter has been written to

remind you that you should bear in mind, as befits your innate sagacity and zeal, that our religion is supreme, and our state is the state of [the Prophet] Muhammad, and its patron [God] is great. Notwithstanding the fact that these infidels, who are enemies of [our] religion, abandoned their malignant souls for the sake of their fallacious religion and asserted themselves, Your Excellency should remember that God, the Great Avenger and Subduer, will overpower them for the glory of the everlasting sharia of our master Muhammad, the last Prophet—may God bless him and grant him salvation—and will support the soldiers of Islam with the ever-victorious forces of the other world, so that they take revenge on the infidels for their damnable treachery to the community of [the Prophet] Muhammad. Under no circumstances should you pay attention to the infidels' demands, but you should lean upon God's assistance and put them to the sword, as required by your firmness of faith and heroic character, and take revenge of their damnable treachery to so many noble and common men and women and children of the people of Islam. You should act with great courage for the sake of the eternal being of Islam and the Sublime State and labor hard to demonstrate outstanding service, which will secure your acceptance by God and His Prophet. In this way, you should again prove and confirm the good trust which His Imperial Majesty places in Your Excellency.

[576/119, *regarding the repatriation of unlawfully enslaved Chiots*
To the Castellan of Chios [Abdi Pasha]

August 10, 1822

The troops stormed the *reaya* of the mastic-producing villages of Chios after the death of the late Grand Admiral Ali Pasha; however, it is forbidden by religion to buy and sell them, men and women alike, owing to the official mercy that had already been granted. Thus, Vizier Mustafa Pasha, Castellan of the Dardanelles, was instructed by an imperial decree to detain such enslaved men and women and send them back to their homeland, no matter who owns them. Mustafa Pasha has recently communicated to us that a certain Şaban Agha of Izmir brought along two captives with certificates issued by you that testified to their status. Nevertheless, these captives made a claim for freedom. Should they be taken from their owner, it would cause rumors because of the official papers you supplied. Vahid Pasha, who was then the castellan of Chios, had issued vouchers for those *reaya* who were enslaved during the battle. If the process of distribution of vouchers for such captives had remained incomplete, you must have completed it by now after replacing Vahid Pasha in this post. Therefore, we previously cautioned you to protect the *reaya* who were granted official pardon, since it is forbidden by religion to buy and sell them and make their women concubines. It has been understood from the present correspondence of Vizier Mustafa Pasha and their own testimony that these captives are from the mastic-producing villages who had been granted official mercy. Hence, it was inappropriate of you to issue vouchers for them and was in open contradiction with the holy law and His Imperial Majesty's will. This letter is to instruct you to protect the *reaya* who have been granted official mercy from oppression and molestation and to stop issuing vouchers for them.

Postscript: Abdi Pasha, Castellan of Chios, stated in his correspondence that he would proceed as required by the imperial decree, that he would not issue vouchers for the pardoned *reaya* from now on and that he would send them back to their villages [September 9, 1822].

[576/120, *regarding the appointment of the new Greek Orthodox patriarch*]
Mandate to the Commoners and Notables of the Greek Millet
August 10, 1822

As your patriarch has passed away,¹ it is necessary to appoint a new patriarch, who will be keen on inquiring into both the benevolent and malicious activities in his community and who will reprimand those who engage in the latter and report them in a timely fashion to the Exalted State if they insist on their faulty ways. [The new patriarch] shall breed loyalty toward the Exalted State, so as not to jeopardize the well-being of his community. We invite you by this letter to nominate a patriarch who will best impose on your community to fulfill the obligations of subjecthood and always serve the Exalted State with loyalty. The nominee should be someone who would never put his community in danger by encouraging sedition and would immediately report the bandits, ill-wishers, and misfits in his community to the Exalted State. You are to submit your decision, and the Exalted State will officially appoint the nominee as your new patriarch.

1 Eugenius II died on August 8, 1822, and was succeeded by Anthimus III, who sat on the patriarchal throne until July 21, 1824.

[576/143, *regarding the military operations in the Morea, the revolt in Souli, and supplying the army*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

August 26, 1822

We have received your correspondence, along with the appended documents, and reviewed their contents. In his correspondence to Your Excellency, the grand admiral remarked that, although the imperial navy had anchored off Patras, sojourning in those waters will not be without disadvantages. Therefore, he asked for permission to set sail to cruise around Methoni, Koroni, Nafplio, Argos,¹ and Ioannina. He also relayed that the army assigned to the Morea had passed from the defile [the Isthmus of Corinth] and conquered the Fortress of Corinth, advancing to Nafplio, Argos, and Tripolitsa. He took [seized?] the grain of three to four ships that had arrived at Patras and sent it to the army of the Morea. Lastly, the grand admiral communicated his shortage of funds. We understand from your correspondence that Your Excellency agrees with the grand admiral that it is not of any advantage to keep the navy off Patras. Accordingly, Your Excellency wrote to the grand admiral to cruise in the localities he had indicated in his report after leaving some five to six ships at Patras to ferry the forces from Acarnania to the Morea; and, in conjunction with the officers of the army of the Morea, the navy should do its utmost in order to suppress and punish the enemy. The grand admiral also requested Your Excellency to send cash funds to Emin Agha, Castellan of Nafpaktos. However, Your Excellency points out that honoring the financial requests of the grand admiral and Emin Agha would put a huge burden on your finances and that you told the grand admiral that the requested sums would be forwarded to them from Istanbul. Appended to your correspondence is a letter from Hasan Pasha, former governor of Sivas and current castellan of Euboea, to his brother in Istanbul regarding the relief of Nafplio from the besieging forces. In addition, you have also forwarded the reports of the functionaries dealing with the Souliots sent in response to your stern orders. According to your correspondence, the efforts of Mahmud Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, are commendable, and, as the Souliot rebellion is almost quelled, the suppression of the revolt in the Morea is to be hoped for, by the grace of God. In short, you request us to dispatch cash funds to the grand admiral and Emin Agha and the shipment of flour and hardtack to the army of the Morea from Thessaloniki. Finally, having noted that two thousand purses of piasters that had been sent from Istanbul has not arrived, Your Excellency asks for more money to be sent, since the stated amount would not be sufficient to pay the

1 Argos (Turk. Arhos, Gr. Ἀργός): town in the east Peloponnese.

troops currently stationed at Souli. The contents of your correspondence have thus become known to us. By the grace of God and through Your Excellency's diligence, the troubles in the Morea and Souli have taken a favorable course, and we are looking forward to the complete liberation of the Morea in a short time. The happy coincidence of the news of victory with these blessed days [*Kurban Bayram*: Feast of the Sacrifice] is an occasion for merriment for the entire Muslim community, since it almost amounts to a double celebration. Therefore, Your Excellency's zealous efforts defy any criticism, and we utter the prayer "May you have God's help on your side" for you. Meanwhile, we have received the report of the grand admiral announcing his taking command of the imperial navy. We have submitted to His Imperial Majesty your correspondence, along with the appended documents and the report of the grand admiral. Since the troubles in Souli are almost over and the incident in the Morea is about to take a favorable course, we pray to God to hear rejoicing news, owing to Your Excellency's efforts. We have sent 100,000 piasters as a royal gift to the grand admiral, along with a sufficient number of robes of honor and shawls to reward those who demonstrated valor. At Serres, the couriers who brought your correspondence to Istanbul encountered those couriers carrying these gifts. Therefore, the grand admiral must have received the aforementioned sums and gifts by now. Nevertheless, as Your Excellency reports that rushing cash and grain is the most critical issue at this time, His Imperial Majesty issued an imperial rescript for the dispatch of three thousand purses of piasters in cash to be shared among Your Excellency, the grand admiral, and the castellan of Nafpaktos. From this sum, Your Excellency shall transfer all the money requested by the castellan of Nafpaktos, then an agreeable amount to the grand admiral. You shall use the rest to pay your troops. Your Excellency must be assured that no efforts will be spared in forwarding you cash sums at intervals in order to reinforce your power. Besides, the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha] informed us that he contracted two English vessels to transport wheat in one of them and hardtack and flour in the other to Lamia for the consumption of the army of the Morea. He assures us that he will continue to send grain whenever English ships are available in Thessaloniki. In compliance with His Imperial Majesty's decree, we have instructed him to send only flour and hardtack at intervals. Moreover, to make sure that the soldiers of Islam currently operating in the Morea do not suffer from any lack of grain, no time will be lost in devising a way to supplement their victuals from Istanbul as well. We trust that Your Excellency will not lose a moment to take all necessary precautions to extinguish the rebellions in Souli and the Morea completely. While we understand from your correspondence the way in which Your Excellency responded to the grand admiral's request about the

course of action of the imperial navy, your correspondence does not contain any reference to your responses about his other requests. Thus, we are at a loss to infer your intention by forwarding the grand admiral's correspondence to us without mentioning your answer to him. Would you like us to take care of these requests, or have you already dealt with them? After all, such matters are within your purview in your capacity as commander-in-chief. Therefore, we ask of Your Excellency by His Imperial Majesty's will to either inform us about your response to the grand admiral on these matters or clearly state that we should deal with them here in Istanbul.

[576/144, *regarding the operations of the imperial navy*
To His Excellency the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Pasha]

August 26, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency, having expressed your gratefulness for your promotion to the office of grand admiral, informs us that the high-ranking viziers who had gathered around Lamia advanced into the Morea and recovered the Fortress of Corinth, by the grace of God Almighty. In the meantime, Your Excellency took command of the imperial navy after its arrival [at Patras] and relieved the Castle of Nafplio, which was besieged by the infidels. You assure us about your commitment to following the future orders and instructions of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief Hurşid Pasha regarding the naval operations against the infidels. Having read your report, His Imperial Majesty issued his decree, which contains the following prayer for you: "May God render his banner victorious by providing His supreme aid." Your Excellency is among the most faithful and resolute viziers, who are constantly concerned with rendering distinguished service to [our] religion and state. Your Excellency has served the Eternal and Exalted State with due piety, diligence, and loyalty. Therefore, you have earned the favor of His Imperial Majesty. We understand from your correspondence and the report of the commander-in-chief that, praise be to God, the imperial navy arrived just in time and that the land forces under the high functionaries made for there by an overland route. We pray to God for His divine intervention for the immediate occupation and pacification of the Morea. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to exert yourself loyally to settle the Moreot question as instructed as soon as possible, in order to earn further favor from His Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency should never neglect keeping in communication with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, as stated in your instructions.

Postscript: Your Excellency requested us to send the salaries of the captains, officers, and crews in the imperial navy and of those of the ships of the line that spent the winter at Preveza, as well as the captains and the crews of the fleets from Algiers, Tunisia, and Tripoli due for the year of AH 1237 [September 28, 1821–September 17, 1822]. Your Excellency has also reminded us that the state's merchant vessels received two months' pay in advance before their departure from Istanbul. Having served with the imperial navy for a long time, their monthly pay has fallen into arrears, and you request us to forward their pay as well. We have forwarded the necessary sums to His Excellency Hurşid Pasha through the intermediacy of the superintendent of the imperial arsenal, as decreed by His Imperial Majesty after a close review of the case.

[576/145, *regarding supplying the army in the Morea*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

August 27, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency confirms the execution of the imperial decree that ordered the hiring of two English vessels for dispatching wheat by one ship and flour and hardtack by another to the army in the Morea. Noting that you would continue to send supplies whenever English ships are available, you request us to forward 12,055 piasters as the freight cost for the ship loaded with wheat. Hurşid Pasha, the glorious Commander-in-Chief, has recently reported that His Imperial Majesty's forces had advanced through the Defile of the Morea [the Isthmus of Corinth] and relieved the Castle of Nafplio from siege after recovering the Castle of Corinth, praise be to God. His Excellency Hurşid Pasha also noted that while it is not difficult to transport supplies to the Morea by an overland route, it is essential to send flour or hardtack supplies from Thessaloniki to the army in the Morea, since grinding wheat at the encampments is difficult. We have presented to His Imperial Majesty both sets of correspondence. By the ensuing imperial decree, Your Excellency shall send hardtack and flour from now on at regular intervals. Following His Imperial Majesty's orders, we have notified the chief accountant to arrange for the transfer of the freight payment. Thus, we instruct Your Excellency by this letter to make your best efforts to supply flour and hardtack from now on at regular intervals and observe all necessary measures to forestall supply shortages in the army in the Morea.

Postscript: We have sent to Your Excellency a letter signed by the British ambassador containing instructions for his consul in Thessaloniki to the effect that he should give you full support in hiring whatever sort of vessel you need. You should deliver this letter to its recipient consul.

[576/148, regarding supplying the army and fortresses in the Morea]

To the Castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha]

September 3, 1822

We have received your correspondence and the appended letter sent to you by His Excellency Ali Namık Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala, his note to his agent in Istanbul, and the bill denoting the cost of the supplies Your Excellency sent to him, as well as the cost of freight. Accordingly, Ali Namık Pasha, who is presently in charge of defending Nafplio, requested you to rush him a sufficient amount of provisions by a French ship escorted by a French warship due to the supply shortages. He suggested that the related costs could be covered either by the Exalted State or his moneylender. Even though an imperial decree is requisite to dispatch the requested supplies, Your Excellency decided not to lose a single moment when the French captain who brought Ali Namık Pasha's letter to Izmir testified to the dearth of supplies in Nafplio as well. Thus, Your Excellency authorized Mustafa Agha, Voivode of Menemen and holding the title of *kapıcıbaşı*, by issuing a mandate to purchase 8,100 bushels of wheat at the rate of 6 piasters and 13 *paras*¹ per bushel. Then, you contracted a French merchant vessel to transport the supplies at the agreed freight cost of 43 *paras* per bushel, on the condition of sailing in the escort of a French warship. Your Excellency requests us to reimburse Mustafa Agha through his moneylender in Istanbul and to deliver the receipt to you along with the relevant imperial order. Indeed, the transportation of supplies from one place to the other requires an imperial order adorned with an imperial rescript. However, this case was a matter of religion and it required immediate action, whereas following the regular procedure would cause a waste of time. Therefore, we endorse your attentiveness in the quick resolution of this matter. However, given the supply shortages that wear down our troops in the Morea, it will be a better option to send flour rather than wheat, for grinding will be a major problem [there]. Besides, it is apparent that the current state of affairs necessitates making insurance policies for the shipments. Moreover, Your Excellency would do a great service to religion and state if you also organized the dispatch of as much flour as possible, in addition to the wheat supplies to Nafplio or any other place in the Morea under the occupation of the Muslim troops, by French merchant ship or any other *müstemen* ship. Thus, apart from the requested imperial order that authorizes the shipment of wheat, we have also sent to Your Excellency another one authorizing the dispatch of flour to the Morea. We are arranging for the delivery of the sum of money that will cover the cost of the 8,100 bushels of wheat, as suggested in your correspondence,

¹ *Para*: currency unit, equaling one fortieth of a piaster (*kuruş*).

and we assure Your Excellency that we will cover the expenses related to the purchase and transportation of the flour destined for the Morea. We ask of Your Excellency to demonstrate your zeal and diligence by carrying out the aforementioned imperial orders at once. You should make insurance policies for the shipment of supplies if it does not take much time. However, if the evident Frankish procedure causes loss of time, then you should abstain from doing it and immediately send the shipment by an available *müstemen* vessel, with the addition of some quantity of flour, in the escort of a warship. Your Excellency shall spare no efforts to rush supplies immediately by any means to the Muslims in the Morea.

[576/152, *regarding the unrest of Albanian mercenaries in the Morea and supplying the army*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

September 5, 1822

We have received your letter, along with the appended correspondence sent by the viziers deployed to Your Excellency in the Morea, and submitted them to His Imperial Majesty for review. Explaining the unrest in the army of the Morea because of lack of supplies, Your Excellency informs us about several measures taken regarding the military operations in the region. Accordingly, Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, and Reşid Pasha [Kütahı], Governor of Karaman, are about to advance into the Morea directly over Souli in the forthcoming days, while Your Excellency is planning to bring Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Teke, to Larissa and dispatch him with his troops, along with a force under your own arms bearer, into the Moreot interior at once. Having noted that the two thousand purses of piasters previously received were all used to pay off the soldiers operating at Souli and that financial aid was extended to many viziers and functionaries at their request, Your Excellency brings forth the question of supplies. You point out that it was not possible to transfer supplies to the Morea from the surrounding regions either by land or by sea in the current situation. Even the victuals recently sent from Thessaloniki to Lamia aboard British merchant ships were intercepted by the pirate [Greek] boats. Thus, Your Excellency suggests that provisions must be rushed to the Morea from Istanbul by whatever means available. Finally, you request that we forward substantial amounts of cash to Your Excellency. Having deliberated on the matter of unrest, we have come to the conclusion that if the lack of supplies had been the real reason for such misbehavior of the troops in the Morea, then they should have tried to find victuals rather than pointlessly wasting such great amounts of ammunition, pack animals and men. Moreover, if this mischief was about shortage of provisions, the commissary officer would not leave the supplies at his disposal to the merchants. This clearly indicates that this incident was a result of some plot, and those instigators will certainly suffer divine punishment. Therefore, what is necessary now is not grief, but a demonstration of allegiance and faithfulness by doing our best, with our trust be placed in God. While it is possible to supply all the equipment requested by the functionaries in the Morea, the procurement of victuals is the utmost priority. Thus, we have considered a few solutions to overcome this problem and submitted them for His Imperial Majesty's approval. Accordingly, although we are working on the matter of shipping grain and hardtack to the Morea from Istanbul, this will require some time due to the unreliability of the *müstemen* ships, as is known to Your Excellency. Conversely, no time is to be lost

in supplying victuals. Therefore, we have thought it imperative to arrange for purchasing provisions in the surrounding regions and to transport them to the Morea through your intermediacy. We have lately allotted to Your Excellency three thousand purses of piasters and we will ensure a steady supply of substantial sums in the future. According to this plan, Your Excellency might perhaps lease some three to four thousand pack animals from Larissa and Thessaloniki on behalf of the treasury and transport those supplies overland to the Morea. Alternatively, Your Excellency might follow the suggestion of Yusuf Pasha of Serres, who had proposed to buy grain from Zakynthos and Kefalonia and to transport it on any *müstemen* ships available, provided Your Excellency sent him a great amount of cash for this purpose. In both cases, Your Excellency should not mind the costs involved in achieving our goal. Another solution that has come to mind is the option of shipping provisions from Thessaloniki. The seaborne supply from Thessaloniki aboard *müstemen* ships has proven to be insecure. Thus, in communication with the grand admiral and [Ebulubud] Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki, Your Excellency might decide whether it would be safe to escort the supply ships at Thessaloniki by a squadron of twenty to thirty ships sent from the imperial navy, which is currently composed of roughly one hundred vessels. As the treachery of the *müstemen* ships has been proven in the recent incident, those carrying victuals to Patras are likely to bring their cargo from the hold up to the deck [uncertain translation] for doing us harm as soon as they realize that our troops are short of supplies and no victuals are coming from the Well-Protected Domains [other Ottoman domains] to the region. With this consideration in mind, we have suggested that it would be safe to ship grain from the nearby port of Shkodër, as the imperial fleet is cruising in the vicinity now. Accordingly, we might send to His Excellency Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, a special imperial decree by an agent that explains the dire conditions in the Morea and the severe shortage of grain and asking him to ship whatever grain in whichever quantity to the Morea by sea on behalf of the treasury. We have also suggested the dispatch of Mustafa Bey, a veteran of the janissary corps, as an agent with 100,000 piasters as part of the reimbursement. Lastly, we have recommended that we might ask of the *Mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki to hire pack animals and bring forth supplies at least up to Lamia. As His Imperial Majesty approved all these proposed measures, we have dispatched to Mustafa Pasha an imperial decree as suggested; we are about to send Mustafa Bey as our agent with a pre-payment worth 100,000 piasters to him. Besides, we have communicated to the *Mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki our suggestion, and the implementation of this plan begs Your Excellency's diligent attention. We leave the decision to Your Excellency to take whichever of the two options is more suitable. Your

Excellency may lease pack animals from Larissa and Thessaloniki on behalf of the treasury to rush provisions or else arrange supplies through the intermediacy of Yusuf Pasha, following his suggestion. You must never be concerned about the costs, since we assure you that we will be forwarding substantial sums on a regular basis from now on. We also ask of Your Excellency by this letter to send a special messenger to Mustafa Pasha to discuss the matter of supplying our troops in the Morea from *Shkodër*.

Postscript: You indicated in a past correspondence that we should send a great quantity of cartridges from Istanbul and, that if this was not possible, to supply gunpowder in order to produce cartridges with the musket balls requisitioned from Ali Pasha of Tepedelen. In turn, we sent four hundred barrels of gunpowder good for the production of more than 200,000 dozen cartridges, along with other ammunition by ship to Tekirdağ to be transported overland to your side. Then afterward we received the report of Hasan Tahsin Efendi that emphasized the necessity for an abundance of cartridges and ammunition in the vicinity, and we sent you an inquiry to learn if the cartridges we had shipped were sufficient or not. However, we then surmised that you were probably in great need of more cartridges, considering the condition of the army in the Morea and, following His Imperial Majesty's decree, we have instructed the chief accountant to arrange for another consignment of four hundred barrels of gunpowder in the same manner as described above without waiting for your answer to our inquiry.

[576/156, *regarding the retreat of the army in the Morea on the pretext of a lack of provisions*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha Bushati]

September 7, 1822

Our functionaries have reported that the forces dispatched by Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, Governor of Rumelia and victorious Commander-in-Chief, marched to the Defile of the Morea [the Isthmus of Corinth], and, despite its recent fortification and reinforcement, the infidels could not withstand the onslaught of our forces, who, after passing through the defile, recaptured the fortresses of Corinth and relieved Nafplio from the brigands. The soldiers of Islam were on their way to Tripolitza with the intention of crushing the infidels who gathered nearby in a holy war; but the lack of provisions caused unrest among them, and therefore the army was forced to return to Corinth without fighting the infidels they encountered on the way back. The infidels will surely be emboldened by the withdrawal of our forces to Corinth due to the shortage of food at a time when the operations in the Morea had almost reached a successful end. Since the beginning of this sedition, countless *sayyids* and *sayyidas*, as well as many notables, women and children, have been isolated in the Morea and, God forbid, in danger of falling into the hands of the infidels. They were just on the point of deliverance from the inconceivable treachery and mischief when the soldiers of Islam advanced into the Morea. Now, this setback will clearly cause grief and weariness among them. Besides, so many soldiers of Islam are now left without victuals among a horde of infidels. Therefore, those who have the smallest place for Islam in their hearts must abandon all comforts of life and assemble all their forces to bring forth victuals to the Morea, thereby ending the distress of our soldiers over the issue of provisions. It is incumbent on all to take revenge on those infidels who are enemies of our religion. A solution will be crafted to bring forth great amounts of victuals to the Morea from Istanbul. However, supplies previously sent aboard two British ships from Thessaloniki to Lamia were captured by pirate [Greek] boats. With the lack of reliability of the *müstemen* ships and due to the current course of affairs, supply shipments from Istanbul will clearly require some time. However, doubtlessly, there is not a single moment to lose because of the severe scarcity of victuals in the Morea. His Imperial Majesty has no doubt that Your Excellency will render good service to the state and religion as a vizier bestowed with piety and zeal. Moreover, we believe that Your Excellency would like to be absolved from all due responsibility in this world and the next by providing all possible aid to the community of Muhammad who suffer from a scarcity of food in the Morea. By His Imperial Majesty's will, we ask of Your Excellency to ship whatever provisions available in whichever quantity from Shkodër to the Morea by sea. The

sancak of Shkodër is fairly near to the Morea, and it is possible to transport victuals under the escort of the imperial fleet, which is currently nearby. We have appointed Mustafa Bey, a veteran member of the janissary corps, as an agent and have sent him to your side with 100,000 piasters as part of the reimbursement for the ordered victuals. This is the time for the demonstration of Muslim zeal and loyalty for deserving royal favors. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to live up to the good will of His Imperial Majesty by buying grain of whatever kind and in whichever quantity by the funds at our agent's disposal and sending them by ships to the Morea without wasting a single moment. You should keep communicating with Hurşid Pasha and exert yourself to show the zeal and diligence expected of you.

[577/10, *regarding the execution of Ilias Mavromichalis and difficulties in provisioning Euboea due to the Greek blockade*]

To the Mütesellim of Karystos [Ömer Bey]

September 23, 1822

We have received your communication in which Your Excellency relates that the enemies of religion who had attempted to raid Karystos were routed at the battle, by the grace of God, and that Ilias, the accursed son of the infidel named the Bey of Mani [Petrobey Mavromichalis] was executed, and that his severed head was sent to Istanbul.¹ Your Excellency also reports that you reinforced the Castle of Karystos by erecting new redoubts at the necessary spots and need us to send ordnance and munition including cannons, mortars, round balls, and gunpowder for the castle and the bastion at the port area. The contents of your communication, the report of the man you have sent here, and the public petition [of the Muslims of Karystos] have thus become known to us, and all these documents have been presented to His Imperial Majesty. The severed head of the traitor named Ilias was tossed on the ground in disdain in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace]. As a loyal and gallant servant of the Exalted State, you have lived up to our expectations by exerting yourself to capture the said traitor. Bravo, be prosperous! You and all those serving religion and state deserve the favors and benefaction of His Imperial Majesty. In recognition of your services, we will honor whatever you request from the Exalted State, provided your request does not violate your current post [uncertain translation]. It is expected of you to continue serving religion and state diligently and to exert yourself to take revenge on those infidels who are the enemies of our religion. As for your demand for supplies, it is also the Exalted State's primary preoccupation to dispatch provisions and munitions to Karystos. However, as of yet, the troubles caused by the boats of the infidel bandits have not been suppressed, and it is difficult to send munitions and provisions either by land or by sea. We are currently looking for a way to send them from here. We have written to the grand admiral to spare for Karystos, if possible, a portion of the provisions sent to the imperial navy aboard the ships of *müstemen* merchants, as well as munitions from the inventories of the imperial navy. This letter is to encourage you to make a name for yourself by joining forces with others and defending Karystos and seeking retribution from the infidels, who are the enemies of our religion.

¹ Ilias Mavromichalis was executed during combat at Styra in Euboea.

[577/11, *regarding the provisioning of the fortresses of Crete*]

To the Governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha]

September 23, 1822

The recent communication from Crete reports the battle with the infidel insurgents and mentions the shortage of supplies and munitions in the fortresses of Irakleio and Rethymno. The communication also includes a request for the shipment of provisions and munitions. Praise be to God, provisions and munitions exist in the domains of His Imperial Majesty; however, as is known to Your Excellency, while it is not possible to dispatch these consignments by land, the sea routes have been cut off. This leaves us no choice other than shipping the requested cargo aboard the ships of *müstemen* merchants. Nevertheless, we cannot put our trust in them. The English are potentially trustworthy and yet they make excuses to avoid transporting ammunition and armaments. Under the current circumstances, it is impossible to ship the requested cargo to Crete from here, which leaves the Cretan affairs completely to the prowess of Your Excellency. We are aware that you have duly served in this affair up to now, and it is obvious from previous manifestations of your piety and devotion that you will not spare any effort to supply and reinforce Crete. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that we communicate to you the shortage of food and ammunition on Crete and ask of you to exert yourself to send the listed articles requested from Crete to the fortresses of Irakleio, Rethymno, and Chania. The list of the requested supplies is appended to this letter, which is written to assign you to making a genuine effort to send a sufficient quantity of ammunition and foodstuff to the said fortresses.

[577/19, *regarding the cooperation of Theodoros Kolokotronis with the Albanian mercenaries in the Ottoman army*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

September 26, 1822

You have forwarded us the Greek letter sent by the accursed [Theodoros] Kolokotronis to the Albanians in the army in Corinth, along with its translation provided by Yusuf Pasha of Serres. It is understood that the intention of Kolokotronis is to incite the Albanians in compliance with the deal he had struck with Elmas, son of Meço Bono.¹ We have read these documents and presented them to His Imperial Majesty as well. It is evident that the infidels will try to exhaust the soldiers of Islam as necessitated by their treason and abominable deeds against Muslims. Moreover, the commanders of the Albanian soldiers [mercenaries] are indifferent, and it is understood that they will covet money and commit blasphemy [betray us]. This letter is to inform you that it is His Imperial Majesty's will that, if you could find a way, you are expected to see to the execution of Meço Bono's son, Elmas.

¹ For the *besa* struck between Elmas Meçe and Theodoros Kolokotronis, see document 574/271 herein.

[577/20, *regarding the provisioning of the army and its march to the Morea*]
To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

September 26, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's communication in which you relate that, as the troubles in Souli have been suppressed with the help of God Almighty and efforts of His Imperial Majesty, you ordered Ömer Pasha [Vrioni] to join Reşid Pasha [Kütahi] and advance into the Morea at once and that you ordered Mehmed Pasha [*mutasarrıf* of Teke] to rush to your side. Accordingly, Your Excellency reports that as soon as Ömer Pasha sets out, you will instruct your treasurer—who is currently in the region of Tourkochori—and other officers to proceed to the Morea and that you will dispatch Mehmed Pasha to follow them in the rear. Moreover, Your Excellency states that, in addition to the measures you have already taken, you sent letters to all the functionaries and have already distributed the three thousand purses of piasters that we sent to you among the viziers and other functionaries. Finally, you inquire into your repeated request for the shipment of provisions from the imperial capital to the army of the Morea. We have received with great joy your news about the quelling of the troubles in Souli and preparations for advancing into the Morea with substantial forces. We have submitted your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty, together with that of the aforementioned functionaries that you forwarded to us. Your God-given traits and praiseworthy manners were demonstrated in your past deeds, and it is the prayer of both commoners and dignitaries to God the Facilitator that you succeed in bringing this incident in the Morea to a favorable conclusion. May God the Facilitator enable your every good deed and render all your measures useful, amen. As supplying the army of the Morea required our utmost attention, we have previously communicated to you that supplies of flour ground in the imperial granary in Istanbul were loaded aboard an English ship. In addition, the superintendent of the imperial granary had previously hired three ships from an English merchant called Black to bring to Istanbul the provisions bought on the spot in Egypt. Upon their arrival at the Dardanelles, we agreed on revising the contract with the said merchant and rerouted these ships loaded with provisions directly to the grand admiral; he has instructions to send a portion of the cargo to Karystos, and the remaining to those locations in the Morea that suffer badly from food shortages. It is understood from his correspondence that the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha] is also about to ship roughly ten thousand bushels of flour and hardtack by an Austrian vessel, apart from the shipments he had delivered previously aboard three English ships. God willing, these cargo ships will

arrive at your side safe and secure to relieve you of shortages. Obviously, matters related to supplies and provisions will never be neglected on our part in the future. This letter is to encourage you to exert yourself to reconfirm His Imperial Majesty's trust in you by adding this matter to your record of accomplished missions.

[577/25, *regarding change in the governance of Chios and emancipation of the enslaved mastic-producing villagers*]

To the Castellan of Chios, Yusuf Pasha

September 27, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which you relate that you took up office immediately upon your arrival on Chios. You mention the misdeeds of [your predecessor] Abdi Pasha and the current state of affairs concerning the *reaya* of the mastic-producing villages. Finally, you point out the unsuitability of Haffazade Seyyid Mehmed Efendi as the *naib* of Chios and relate relevant statements against him. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us, and we presented your letters to His Imperial Majesty. As you are a loyal and competent servant of the Exalted State, you are always expected to serve religion and state diligently. You are granted the title of *mir-i miran*, along with the revenues of the *sancak* of Karesi, on the condition that you carry out your initial task of inspecting the estates survey and stay at Chios as its castellan. The *mutasarrıf* of Hüdavendigar has been ordered to collect the revenues of Karesi as in the past and send you 5,500 piasters monthly as the remittance fee. The relevant imperial decree and your instructions have been sent to you. Also, the imperial decree required for the dismissal of Haffazade Mehmed Efendi was penned in the way you suggested and forwarded to the office of the *şeyhülislam*. The said deputy judge has thus been replaced with another one. Your predecessor, Abdi Pasha, does not need to stay on Chios any longer. We have instructed him to join the retinue of Hasan Pasha, Castellan of Izmir, and informed the latter about the situation. In return for the royal favor you enjoy, you shall demonstrate your diligence and loyalty by defending Chios, carrying out the estates survey, and keeping order among the troops, as stated in your instructions. Finally, you shall pay attention to prevent the unacceptable affairs that you have previously pointed out and complete the process of freeing the captives taken from the mastic-producing villages contrary to the holy law.

[577/29, *regarding the emancipation of the enslaved mastic-producing villagers*]

To the Castellan of the Dardanelles [Mustafa Pasha]

September 30, 1822

Esad Bey, the agent of Abdi Pasha—former castellan of Chios—at the Sublime Porte, sent us a memorandum to inform us about the correspondence he had received from Mehmed Sirri Efendi, vessel inspector at the customs of the Dardanelles. According to this, a group of captives, eight men and women in total, sent by Abdi Pasha from Chios to Istanbul aboard the ship of an English captain named Stephens, were detained at the Dardanelles. The said captives testified that they come from the mastic-producing villages [of Chios]. You had already been notified that, in compliance with the official mercy granted to them, the buying and selling of the *reaya* of the mastic-producing villages on Chios is unlawful, and it is forbidden by religion to make their women concubines. Therefore, you had been instructed to seize such men and women—no matter who owns them—based on the religious rulings and send them back to their homeland. As pointed out by the said inspector, the captives in question are without doubt from the mastic-producing villages. Thus, we have communicated to Yusuf Pasha, Castellan of Chios, that they should be returned to their villages. This letter is to instruct you to deliver these captives to Yusuf Pasha safe and secure in return for a delivery note from him.

Addendum: The note from the castellan of Chios dated January 4, 1823, is recorded here by imperial decree. It relates that two people from among the eight captives mentioned above converted to Islam and were detained by the said vessel inspector, Sirri Efendi. The remaining six were sent to Chios in the escort of Arkadaş Yusuf Agha, the arms bearer of the castellan of the Dardanelles, along with twenty-five captives who claimed the mastic-producing villages of Chios as their home place and were thus kept at the Dardanelles. According to the registers submitted by the castellan of Chios, these captives returned to their villages as required by law.

[577/30, *regarding the emancipation of unlawfully enslaved Chiois*]
To the Castellan of Chios [Yusuf Pasha]

September 30, 1822

Your predecessor Abdi Pasha's agent in Istanbul sent us a memorandum to inform us about the correspondence he had received from Mehmed Sirri Efendi, vessel inspector at the customs of the Dardanelles. According to this, Abdi Pasha sent from Chios—aboard the ship of an English captain named Stephens—eight male and female captives to his agent and some of his servants in Istanbul with the necessary vouchers. Nevertheless, upon arriving at the Dardanelles, these captives testified that they come from the mastic-producing villages on Chios, which necessitated their detainment at the Dardanelles. We had already warned the relevant authorities that, in compliance with the official mercy granted to them, the buying and selling of the *reaya* of the mastic-producing villages on Chios is unlawful, and it is forbidden by religion to make their women concubines. Therefore, based on the religious rulings, we had ordered the authorities to seize such men and women from their possessors and return them to their homeland. According to the report of the said inspector, the captives in question are without doubt from the mastic-producing villages, and we have ordered the castellan of the Dardanelles to deliver them to you safe and secure and to take from you a written acknowledgement proving the receipt of the delivery. Seven vouchers issued by your predecessor, Abdi Pasha, for these captives are appended to this letter of ours for your information. No battle was fought on Chios in the months of *Şevval* and *Zilkade* [June 21–August 17, 1822], the dates shown on these vouchers, which clearly demonstrates that these captives are from among the mastic-producing villagers who enjoyed official mercy. This letter is to instruct you to pay utmost attention to detecting the truth of the matter. When you receive these captives, you should investigate whether they are really from the mastic-producing villages. If that is the case, you shall return them to their villages and learn the reason for issuing vouchers for them by your predecessor. If they were captured in battle, in conformity with the relevant religious ruling during the term of Vahid Pasha, then you shall find out why the dates on the vouchers are late. In summary, it is contrary to the holy law to enslave the *reaya* who submitted peacefully, and it is forbidden by religion to treat such women as concubines, which requires you to be attentive to the protection of the *reaya* who were granted official mercy.

[577/36, regarding Greek naval activity in the Eastern Mediterranean]
 To the Grand Admiral

October 2, 1822

His Excellency Mehmed Ali Pasha, Governor of Egypt, has communicated to us that when he received the news that the assigned forces to the Morea had passed through the Defile of the Morea [the Isthmus of Corinth], with the help of God, he sent as a gift on two *müstemen* ships eighteen thousand Istanbulite bushels of wheat, three hundred *erdebs*¹ of rice, eight thousand *vukiyyes* of clarified butter, and fifty *kantars* of coffee. While it was possible to ship the cargo to Your Excellency, Mehmed Ali Pasha maintains he sent them to His Excellency Yusuf Pasha, since you are already expected to navigate in that vicinity. His Excellency Mehmed Ali Pasha's couriers who brought his correspondence stated that the brigands have been sailing in the vicinity of Adrasan [uncertain reading], Cyprus, and the Strait of Damietta² since the Feast of the Sacrifice and attacking boats they come across off Cyprus. Also, the tax collector of Cyprus has reported that ten ships belonging to Hydriot infidels have been sailing along the coast of Paphos³ at a distance of forty to fifty miles off shore and maliciously attacked and tried to seize the ship of Captain Mahmud of Algeria, who was carrying coffee and salt from Alexandria to Antalya.⁴ Accordingly, the said captain pierced a hole in his own ship [in order to sink it], got on the yawl with his crew, and saved themselves by entering the port of Paphos. These infidels captured a ship from Damietta at the place called Cape Arnaoutis.⁵ They also captured off the village named Kormakin [uncertain place name] in Cyprus the provisions, munitions, and other supplies from the ship of Captain Seydi of Crete. Another ten pirate boats were spotted off Famagusta,⁶ but they could not land ashore to perform malignancy due to the presence of a sufficient number of soldiers protecting the coastline. However, these infidels cruised in the vicinity of Karpasia⁷ and dared to harass the ship of Captain Ibrahim

1 One *erdeb* equals five bushels.

2 Damietta (Turk. Dimyat, Gr. Δαμιέτη or Νταμιέτα): port city on the Mediterranean coast of Egypt.

3 Paphos (Turk. Baf, Gr. Πάφος): coastal town in southwest Cyprus.

4 Antalya (Gr. Αττάλεια): coastal town in southwest Turkey.

5 Cape Arnaoutis (Turk. Arnavud Burnu, Gr. Ακρωτήρι Αρναούτης): cape at the western-most part of Cyprus.

6 Famagusta (Turk. Magosa, Gr. Αμμόχωστος): also known as Ammochostos, coastal town in southeast Cyprus.

7 Karpasia (Turk. Karpas, Gr. Καρπασία): the finger-like peninsula in northeast Cyprus.

of Damietta. They also blockaded the parts of Cyprus that are close to the Anatolian coastline. According to the report of the *muhassıl* [tax collector], three of their [Greek] ships have three masts, while the rest have only two, and each of them are manned by thirty to forty infidels at most. This letter is written to inform Your Excellency about the situation.

[577/40, *regarding the emancipation of an enslaved Chiot girl*]

To the Castellan of Chios [Yusuf Pasha]

October 4, 1822

Seyyid Hacı Mehmed of Alexandria submitted a petition to the imperial stirrup and reclaimed the captives that he bought on Chios after the battle, whom the late Ali Pasha, former grand admiral, took away despite the vouchers he presented. Hacı Mehmed claims in his petition that he was on a boat bound to Izmir, along with his captives, six females and one male, when two sergeants of the late Ali Pasha intercepted him and his captives. He was kept under arrest on Ali Pasha's ship for a while, until Ali Pasha released him. Nevertheless, his captives were not returned to him, but rather they were brought to Istanbul, along with Ali Pasha's own captives. As Hacı Mehmed demanded these captives back through legal intervention, the matter was asked after by the superintendent of the imperial armory, who was Ali Pasha's agent at the Sublime Porte and is now in charge of preparing his probate inventory. The case was referred for a hearing in the Audience Hall [the Chamber of Petitions in the Topkapı Palace] last Friday with the participation of Hacı Mehmed and the agent of the late Ali Pasha. After voicing his claim, Hacı Mehmed requested the returning of the Christian girl named Marouka, who was present at the hearing, roughly seventeen years old and of medium height with wide-set eyebrows. He also formally demanded the remaining five concubines and the male slaves to be handed back from the inheritance of the late Ali Pasha or the payment of a cash compensation in lieu of them. The late Ali Pasha's agent was not interrogated about the plaintiff's claim over the five concubines and the male slave mentioned above [uncertain translation]. Nonetheless, Marouka said in the court that she is a free-born *reaya* from Tatlısu [uncertain place name], a mastic-producing village on Chios, and that she was detained by a group of soldiers, although her enslavement was contrary to the imperial decree since she was never a rebel. Seyyid Hacı Mehmed, she continued, bought her from the aforementioned soldiers to make her his concubine, but, as he was about to take her along with his other captives to another place, the late Ali Pasha detained her to set her free, since she was from a mastic-producing village. She argued that she was in the possession of the late Ali Pasha only because he died during the process of her release and requested her freedom in the court. As she produced witnesses to prove her claim, she was set free based on the court ruling. Enslavement of the *reaya* of the mastic-producing villages who submitted peacefully is not permissible and thereby the aforementioned girl must be returned to her village. Since no agent has been assigned to you in Istanbul, we have sent Marouka to Chios through the services of Tahir Efendi, the treasurer of the imperial arsenal, who

presently takes care of some of your affairs here. This letter is to instruct you to deliver her to her relatives when she arrives on Chios and inform us upon completion of the matter. We expect you to be diligent and attentive about protecting the *reaya* who did not participate in the rebellion and brigandage, as required by past and present imperial decrees.

[577/41, *regarding the incompetence of the imperial navy and further instructions*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

October 4, 1822

As is known to Your Excellency, the imperial navy and its auxiliary Egyptian and Barbary vessels—which amount to some eighty to ninety ships—set sail at such enormous cost and with countless efforts, but have accomplished nothing for two years, cruising idly backward and forward. They proved incapable of countering the caiques of the infidels with the sailing-fortresses under their command, only wasting [precious] time. This situation originates from the cowardice and laziness of the navy men. It seems that, just like in the previous year, they will idly cruise around the Morea and then, finding some excuse, will return back to the Dardanelles without prior authorization. This [attitude] is intolerable unless the situation in the Morea takes a favorable turn, with the help of God Almighty. In compliance with His Imperial Majesty's decree, we have sent a threatening letter to His Excellency the grand admiral explaining that they will suffer grievous consequences lest they fail to fulfill their duty and if they sail back to the Dardanelles without prior authorization. We have also appended to our letter His Imperial Majesty's rescript granting the grand admiral unlimited authority over naval officers. Your Excellency is expected to contrive to deliver our communication to His Excellency the grand admiral by any means necessary.

[577/43, *regarding Greek naval activity cutting off Ottoman maritime communications*]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Pasha]

October 4, 1822

The suppression of the rebellious brigands in the Mediterranean is only possible by sending the imperial navy into action; however, the course of events suggests that [the brigands] will prevail all around the Mediterranean, God forbid, cutting off maritime communications completely. As laid out in the other letter that was meant to be read to all officers of the navy, senior commanders of the navy and their unfounded fears are accountable for the failure of the navy sent to the Morea. Not only have they not fulfilled any of the instructions up to now, but they have also frightened away all of the grand admirals appointed until now, as well as the Egyptian and Barbary squadrons, from taking action. It is clear that the imperial navy will return to the Dardanelles without any success as in the previous year. However, this course of action is unacceptable, given the situation in the Mediterranean. We have deliberated on this matter and made the suggestions below to His Imperial Majesty. Should the navy be permitted to return from the Morea due to the onset of winter, then the squadrons of His Excellency the governor of Egypt shall return to Alexandria, along with the squadrons of Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli. They should winter there until the arrival of new instructions in the spring. However, this should not mean they sit idle in the interval. His Excellency the governor of Egypt must send due detachments to patrol around Crete, Cyprus, and other places deemed necessary. In the meantime, Your Excellency shall proceed at once in command of the imperial navy to Cyprus and load as much of the fifty thousand quintals of hardtack as possible to the navy ships and the rest to merchant ships. Then, you shall proceed to the southern Archipelago [the Dodecanese] and patrol among the islands throughout the winter. You must first send to the Dardanelles the cargo ships and the large ships of the line, which are unsuitable to anchor in the Aegean ports. The ships requiring repairs and refitting may return to the imperial arsenal in Istanbul, but those suitable for service shall wait in a suitable anchorage at the Dardanelles. The hardtack cargo should be stored at the Dardanelles in suitable places or kept at the stores of the Gallipoli hardtack bakery in the absence of such a place. Thereafter, you shall prevent a total blockade of the maritime routes by patrolling the Archipelago—as the weather permits—by frigates, corvettes, and brigs at your disposal. You may return to the Dardanelles for short durations when necessary in the process of eliminating the boats of the brigands. In the meantime, you shall fall upon Samos island, which is a seedbed of the brigands like Chios, after communicating with the castellans of Izmir and Kuşadası. We will send orders to them

to give you more troops if need be. His Imperial Majesty has approved of our suggestions, and we are sure that you will strive to follow due instructions to be sent concerning Samos in the near future. The supply shortage will obviously be over when you receive the hardtack from Cyprus as explained above. We will send the remaining of the winter provisions, as well as the wages and bonuses, from here. However, we still need to search for the possibility of keeping the mariners in the navy in wintertime, since we promised to disband them after the summer in the difficult process of recruitment. His Imperial Majesty's decree strictly orders the Egyptian and the Barbary squadrons to winter at Alexandria and to send detachments to Cyprus and Crete occasionally; and the imperial fleet to patrol the southern Archipelago in order to crush especially the brigands of Samos after taking the hardtack supplies from Cyprus and sending the ships of the line to the Dardanelles. Your orders are firm and certain, and no alteration is possible. There is no doubt that the senior officers of the navy will raise a variety of objections, given their cowardice and malice. You must disregard them completely. If they prove to be uncooperative, they will be subject to punishment. As mentioned above, there is no doubt that the winter hardtack for the fleet will be supplied from Cyprus and the rest of the supplies from Istanbul. However, it is still a matter of debate as to how we can persuade the sailors to continue to serve in the winter. By way of example, we may discharge the sick and the old while detaining the crew of the ships of the line, luring them into the service by providing woolen coats and cloaks and cash bonuses. Following His Imperial Majesty's will, we would like Your Excellency to convey to us secretly your opinion on this matter, so that we would know beforehand the right course of action to follow. Nevertheless, this is not to say that the essence of the imperial order as outlined above is open to negotiation. We ask of you by this confidential letter to inform us only on the matter of the mariners as soon as possible. We trust that Your Excellency will consider all these points without losing sight of the pressing state of current affairs and will refuse to listen to any possible objections in the implementation of the orders.

[577/44, regarding the announcement to be made to naval officers]

To the Grand Admiral [Kara Mehmed Pasha]

October 4, 1822

As is known to everyone, the Exalted Sultanate's aim in ship building through the establishment of the Naval Corps [*Tersane Ocağı*] and paying so many captains and fulltime sailors is to dispatch the navy when enemies appear, to commission the navy to take revenge from the enemy, to protect the realm and subjects, and, finally, to defend the honor of the state. It is incumbent upon all naval officers to be aware of this fact and worthy of the bread they receive from His Imperial Majesty through selfless and unyielding commitment to serve both His Imperial Majesty and their faith. They are obliged to demonstrate to friend and foe the determination of their corps to preserve their dignity, which is possible only by achieving their duties with the help of God Almighty. Unfortunately, all these principles have been swept aside. This is the Sublime State of [the Prophet] Muhammad, and anybody who calls himself a Muslim must perform deeds for its sake. The ungrateful *reaya*, who have been enjoying countless generosity and favors of the Sublime State, rebelled without cause, which is an unprecedented act of sedition within the realm. They have brought forth their enmity against the bearers of the true faith in order to promote their fallacious religion. So far, they have committed countless atrocities against many *sayyids* and *sayyidas*, as well as our brethren in religion, including men, women, and children. No human soul can remain calm in the face of the abominable deeds they have performed, the sight of which would soften even the hardest rock. The Sublime State has outfitted an imperial navy at a cost of one thousand purses of piasters and with great difficulty, hoping that it would serve the true religion and the Sublime State by seeking retribution for those atrocities, with the help of God the Avenger. It also commissioned the diligent and pious governor of Egypt to support the navy with able troops and officers. Moreover, it supplemented the navy with the squadrons of the Barbary Regencies, which have a great reputation for their piety and bravery. Yet nothing has been accomplished up to now. Our ships—which look like fortresses—cannot effectively counter the puny boats of the infidels. They do nothing but navigate aimlessly. How diligent is this course of action? We are not sure to say whether it is befitting the dignity of [our] faith. In the meantime, pleas for more supplies, victuals, and this and that on your part are never absent. The Mediterranean is the sea of the Exalted State; however, while the imperial navy is operating in its own sea, the infidel brigands have dominated the Mediterranean and cut off the maritime routes, despite the presence of so many naval ships. We are trying to ship victuals aboard Frankish vessels against all odds and at exorbitant freight rates. Even then, it is not always worth the

trouble. Does this situation not make the imperial fleet defective and incompetent in the eyes of so many states? Do high-ranking naval officers have no fear of God the Omnipotent, the creator of all from nothingness? Are they not embarrassed before His Imperial Majesty? What will they have to say on the Day of Judgement, while they are loitering around by finding excuses to play for time until *Kasım*, so that they can return instead of taking revenge and helping our brethren in faith who suffer from persecution and atrocities? This is happening, although there is no weakness on our part to carry out the imperative holy war, praise be to God. Are they not disgracing themselves by doing so in front of our Prophet, may peace be upon him, the owner of our religion and state? Then, when will such a large fleet be put to use if not now? Even a man with the least diligence and zeal cannot tolerate this situation. Last year, so much money was wasted because they [high-ranking naval officers] accomplished nothing. Moreover, they did not show any sign of shame after the infamous incident at Chios [the killing of the Ottoman grand admiral by Greek revolutionaries].¹ In the aftermath, since the day they arrived in the waters of the Morea, they have been loitering on the pretext of carrying victuals to Nafplio with around 80–90 ships at their disposal, as if this were the hardest task ever. We are at a loss to understand why you are so afraid of the enemy—whose religion is separate from yours—despite having such a navy under your command. Obviously, the infidels cannot withstand the might of Islam, with God Almighty on our side. Yet they now realize perfectly that there is no vestige of zeal in the [imperial] navy, so that they cruise around as they desire without fear. We have informed you in a separate letter about the way in which they appeared in the waters around Cyprus and the harm they inflicted. Praise be to God, our navy is not in want of anything, since the Sublime State has supplied everything in abundance. When your predecessor passed away, the high-ranking naval officers pleaded with us for the appointment of a brave, diligent, and honest grand admiral, and we selected Your Excellency [Kara Mehmed Pasha] for this office, because of your innate qualities befitting the requirement of the post. Nevertheless, to our astonishment, the same laxity and deficiency in zeal still prevails. It is the desire of His Imperial Majesty that you discuss all naval matters and the means of achieving your principal task, which is to crush the infidels, with the naval officers, as well as the commanders of the Egyptian and Barbary squadrons. Without an unfailing commitment, you must at least succeed in performing the kind of deed that will restore the reputation of the navy among the enemy before the onset of winter. His Imperial Majesty strictly forbids the navy to return to the Dardanelles without

¹ See documents 576/8, 576/9, and 576/10 herein.

permission, as was the case last year. Let it be known to Your Excellency that the unauthorized return of the navy to the Dardanelles before gaining any military success would have serious consequences for the naval officers. Thus, we ask of you by this letter to deliberate on this matter with the officers and show solidarity to win at least one face-saving success against the infidels by any way you see fit. In your capacity as grand admiral with full discretionary powers, Your Excellency is free to reward or punish your subordinates in the faithful execution of your office.

[577/45, regarding the Serbian hostages held in Istanbul]

To the Castellan of Belgrade

October 5, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency informs us that the Serbian Chief Knez Milosh [Obrenovich] spread news that the knezes held [as hostages] in Istanbul were executed and that he dispatched letters to Your Excellency, announcing his intention to send an Armenian to confirm the news.¹ We understand that Your Excellency has delivered proper answers to his inquiries and that you decided to forward to us his letters addressed to His Excellency the *reisülküttab*, as well as the Serbian knezes held here. You suspect that Milosh's insistence in this way is based on his malicious intention to have the knezes replaced with some other infidel knezes of dubious identity whom he would send to the imperial capital. Finally, you also mention Milosh's policy regarding the currency in circulation [*rayic nukud*]. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us, and we presented your letters to His Imperial Majesty. It is obvious from the beginning that the aim of the Serbians and Milosh is, in fact, to rescue the knezes, especially one very prominent man among them, from the custody of the *bostancıbaşı* by any means and then to follow whatever course of action they desire. At this point, it is inappropriate to discharge them, and it is necessary to keep them in their present location. With the approval of His Imperial Majesty, we have instructed the *reisülküttab* to summon them for the delivery of the letters from Milosh and to discuss the matter with them. Afterward, the *reisülküttab* exclaimed the following: "Milosh complained to the office of the *reisülküttab* that he could not receive any news from you. Why are you not sending letters to your nation from time to time? The Exalted State neither prohibits you from communication nor imprisons you for having suspicion of treachery from the Serbians. It has hosted you in the imperial palace as guests only for your own safety. If you are kept in Fener² or any other place outside the palace, you are likely to perish before you have a chance to declare your identity in a disorder that is expected to occur any time in reaction to the on-going sedition of the Greek *millet*. Thus, we have decided to host you in the imperial palace. That said, the Exalted State has no time to consider the Serbian demands when it is preoccupied with quelling the Greek sedition. Besides, the Exalted State has not taken any issue with the Serbians, since they have been following the imperatives of subjecthood and showing obedience

1 For the knezes held as hostages in Istanbul, see document 573/132, n. 4, herein.

2 Fener (Gr. Φανάρι): neighborhood in Istanbul where the Ecumenical Patriarchate and aristocratic Greek families (Fanariots) were located.

up to now. Likewise, they should continue doing so in order to receive protection and good treatment from the Exalted State. In this regard, there is no need to replace you with others." The *reisülküttab* had them write letters explaining the reason of their stay at full length. The letters are attached to our current correspondence. We would like to inform Your Excellency by this letter that by His Imperial Majesty's will you shall deliver these letters to Milosh and tell him that he may send his man to check the condition of the knezes if he is not convinced by these letters. We ask of Your Excellency to monitor the affairs of the Serbians vigilantly in demonstration of your innate zeal and comprehension.

[577/60, regarding Konstantinos Negrîs and Stefanos Vogoridis]

To the Governor of Silistra [Benderli Mehmed Selim Pasha]

October 16, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency confirms the reception of the royal gifts bestowed on you and the other functionaries in a formal ceremony. After expressing your gratitude for the royal favor, you state that Your Excellency also delivered the *kukas* to the voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia and sent them to their official seats, as ordered. Finally, having confirmed that the former deputy voivodes [Konstantinos] Negri and Istefanaki [Vogoridis] were detained in Silistra, Your Excellency states that you will treat them in whatever way His Imperial Majesty wills. We are pleased by Your Excellency's attentiveness regarding the conduct of the ceremony and presented your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty. Upon our suggestion to banish Negri and Istefanaki to some place in Anatolia, His Imperial Majesty ordered their banishment to Göynük¹ and Seferihisar,² respectively, in the *sancak* of Hüdavendigar. We have dispatched the relevant orders to Your Excellency and appointed escorts for each one of them. We have also sent the necessary orders to the authorities along the route to ensure that they are guarded along the journey. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to deliver the former deputy voivodes to their escort guards as soon as they arrive. You shall take all the necessary precautions to prevent their escape on the way to their places of banishment.

1 Göynük: town in northwest Turkey, east of the Marmara Sea.

2 Seferihisar: district on the Aegean coast of Turkey, to the southwest of Izmir.

[577/68, *regarding the treason of Albanian warlords, the granting of amnesty to the villages in the plain of Ypati, the affairs of the imperial navy, and the march of the army to the Morea*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

October 17, 1822

We have received your correspondence, along with the appended pack of documents, in which Your Excellency confirmed the arrival of our letter regarding the imperial decree about [the execution of] Elmas, the treacherous son of Meço Bono. Your Excellency points out that he was not alone in this treason and that there were five or six more [warlords]. You explain that Elmas had previously taken refuge with Tahir Abbas and Mühürdar Ago and thereby enjoyed the amnesty granted [to the officers of Ali Pasha of Tepedelen].¹ Your Excellency expresses your wish that due punishment be meted out to him and his accomplices. Your Excellency also explains the contents of the mandate concerning the question of Vlorë and your ideas on this matter. You inform us about all the measures taken regarding the question of the Morea and mention that the force under Mehmed Pasha [*mutasarrıf* of Teke] that was called back to Larissa was paid their salaries and was about to leave to join your treasurer, who is currently advancing on the Morea with the *mir-i mirans* and troops under his command, as well as taking provisions and munitions. As for the imperial navy, the grand admiral communicated to you that he left Patras and informed Your Excellency on some other matters. We understand that you have included in this report a copy of your correspondence with Süleyman Pasha, the Castellan of Lamia, as well as the translations of the Greek letter written by the [Albanian] major under his command, who is in charge of guarding Ypati. Furthermore, Your Excellency describes your considerations and the measures taken about the imperial navy. Having mentioned the shortage of money, you request us to make substantial funds available to you. It was notified by the Castellan of Lamia that the *reaya* of the villages in the plain of Ypati—who had previously been granted official pardon—as well as those of all the villages demanded the distribution of jizya documents [for the finalization of the amnesty procedure]. Süleyman Agha, the jizya collector of Larissa, had already received a sufficient number of jizya documents through a special jizya collector. You plead with us to send jizya documents to be distributed among the listed villages that asked for official mercy through Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], along with the sack of jizya documents for Ypati. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us, and we presented your letters to His Imperial Majesty. Since Your Excellency

1 For the activities of the former officers of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha's court, see the "Introduction" herein, pp. 16–24.

has not provided details surrounding the matter of Vlorë, we are at a loss to understand the matter in its entirety. Nevertheless, this state is the Exalted State of [the Prophet] Muhammad, and whoever commits abominable and treacherous deeds against it will surely meet their punishment, with the help of God the Avenger and the Overpowering. The treason committed by Elmas is grave indeed and, if God allows, he will clearly pay for it at the first opportune moment. It would be rather redundant to instruct Your Excellency on the proper course of conduct, as we know in depth all your insuperable efforts and precautions toward the occupation of the Morea. There is no question that the reconquest of the Morea will be a great service to the Sublime State that would immortalize your glorious name, for which reason we pray for the success of your measures. May God make these measures successful, amen! As we have informed Your Excellency in the past, we had approved your suggestions concerning the imperial navy and asked you to forward to the grand admiral the relevant confidential and explicit instructions, along with the necessary imperial rescript. We learn from your present letter that the grand admiral sailed to Nafplio. We have also received correspondence brought by his chief orderly by boat, in which he relates that when His Excellency had left Patras in order to rush provisions to Nafplio he came across a large number of bandit ships upon his arrival at the shores of Hydra and Spetses. After sinking some of them and burning others, he was waiting for appropriate weather to sail to Nafplio. Because [the grand admiral] left Patras, His Imperial Majesty ordered us to duplicate our aforementioned letters containing the relevant instructions and the imperial decree, just in case. The grand admiral's attendant is about to leave with the documents on an English vessel. At the present time, the Exalted State is almost running out of cash due to infinite expenses, yet nothing can be accomplished without money. Therefore, by His Imperial Majesty's will, we will work out a solution to send Your Excellency 1,500 purses of piasters after handling the payment of the wages. With regard to the *reaya* who beg for official mercy, we have previously sent you a copy of the conditions of eligibility for royal pardon. First, the officers must search for arms in their possession such as cannons, muskets, pistols, knives, gunpowder, and ball cartridges and send them to the imperial armory in Istanbul, along with a proper inventory. Second, they should send to Istanbul two respected people, such as a priest or a *kocabaşı*, who would be kept as hostages until the full restoration of peace and order. Third, they must pay all the taxes and fulfill all other financial obligations that were left undelivered for the duration of their uprising. Fourth, they must pay their *jizya* per capita in person from now on. We have no doubt that Your Excellency will handle this subject in line with the order described above. Lastly, we would like to inform you that the chief accountant will take care of arranging for the dispatch of the sacks of *jizya* documents.

[577/77, *regarding the occupation of the Morea and the Geg Albanian defection*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

October 25, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you relate that you sent a mandate to the Geg [Albanian] pashas who were under your treasurer's command, because they hesitated to march forward from the plain of Tourkochori [Esedabad] to the Morea and desired to return on the pretext of the approach of winter. You suggest that we should send threatening orders to them, reiterate to Ömer [Vrioni] and [Kütahi] Reşid Pashas the orders of mobilization, and prompt Numan Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Dukakin, to join you with the troops you have demanded immediately. You also demand the rushing of troops enrolled on an unsalaried basis from the *sancak* of Ormenio. Your Excellency points out that, although you received the imperial rescript on naval issues and our correspondence sent via Preveza, you were unable to deliver them to the grand admiral due to the lack of concrete information on the whereabouts of the imperial navy. You therefore suggest that the letters addressed to the grand admiral should be rewritten and sent through *müstemen* vessels. You also mention the situation of the troops that abandoned Euboea. You explain that the papers that arrived with you from Çarhacı Ali Pasha, as well as the copies of the mandates addressed to the [Geg] Albanian pashas and of the documents sent by your treasurer, are included in your correspondence. Finally, you relate the way in which Mehmed Pasha [*mutasarrıf* of Teke] would be deployed in the Morea. The contents of all these letters have become known to us, and we have submitted them to His Imperial Majesty for review. As is known to Your Excellency, due to their inherent qualities of cupidity, the Albanians say: "If the fighting ends, there will be no need for us, and we will be deprived of the chance to earn money." As the Albanians would dare to stir all kinds of sedition, it is not permissible to let things drift in this matter. The current state of affairs dictates us to spare no effort to turn the situation into a more favorable form. Thus, it is completely befitting of your office of commander-in-chief with full discretionary powers that you have written those stern mandates to the Geg [Albanian] pashas and taken the measures you list, which are praiseworthy. God Almighty willing, as a consequence of your brave efforts and wise actions, every order you send to the functionaries will alarm them and oblige them to fulfill the needs of their tasks. May God ease all of your affairs and make your prudent measures befitting in all situations, amen! As His Imperial Majesty has approved your suggestions, we have dispatched admonishing decrees addressed to the Geg [Albanian] pashas under your treasurer's command. We have also sent separate orders to Ömer and Reşid Pashas, who are in

Acarnania, counselling them on the proper course of conduct. Lastly, we have sent stern orders addressed to Numan Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Dukakin, which reiterate his instructions to report to your camp with a sizable force at once. It has already been written to you that the two thousand troops enlisted from the towns of the *sancak* of Ormenio on a non-salaried basis have been transferred in four groups via the route of Komotini, as related by the *mutasarrıf* of Ormenio. Moreover, in the letter we sent a few days ago in response to your previous correspondence, we inform Your Excellency about the dispatch of the duplicates of our letter and the imperial decree addressed to the grand admiral. We have entrusted this correspondence containing the instructions for the imperial navy with the grand admiral's servant, who had delivered his correspondence to Istanbul. As written to Your Excellency, his man left with the correspondence aboard a British vessel. It is obvious that by this time you will have already learned all of this with the arrival of all of our correspondence to your side. We assure Your Excellency by this letter that we have not wasted a single moment here in taking the necessary measures regarding all the matters you raise and will not spare any effort in this respect in the future either. Even if some distressing developments might make you uneasy, it is our greatest expectation of you to work out the measures for occupying the Morea by any means, especially as the Muslim troops have already entered the Morea and arrangements have been made for more to follow, owing exclusively to your efforts. Your office requires you to give full attention to matters of great importance, and we ask of you to continue in your dedicated service for the sake of the True Religion in future as in the past.

[577/83, *regarding caution against foreign vessels and the wintering of the imperial navy*]

To the Grand Admiral [Kara Mehmed Pasha]

October 28, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you relate the measures you have taken to consign grain to the Castle of Nafplio and the victories you have been able to record in the battles against the rebel ships that you have come across on your way. You state that you sent four ships from the imperial fleet to the Bay of Nafpaktos, together with merchant vessels, to respond to the request of the functionaries in the Morea; and in response to the Commander-in-Chief Hurşid Pasha's written demand, you sent two ships to Preveza. Your Excellency also states that when the imperial navy reached the shores of Hydra and Spetses you encountered a French ship navigating aimlessly and communicated with its captains. You are asking for an imperial decree that grants the request of Mahmud Pasha, Governor-General of Tunis, regarding the substitution of a few ailing Tunisian ships serving in the imperial navy with new ones. Similarly, you plead with us to supply hardtack as soon as possible, since the stocks are very low. Your Excellency also wants to know where to winter with the navy, as winter is approaching. Since such deployment of the navy in the Bay of Nafpaktos will by all means be a support to the Moreot army, your decision to send the ships there was wise; and the situation stirred praise and was confirmed as proof of your wisdom when your letter was presented to His Imperial Majesty. It is no secret to Your Excellency that the imperial navy must be protected from all hazards, and it is certain that you will pay attention to this matter. Nevertheless, if these ships are genuinely French ships, as you maintain, then they must be cruising there only to assist the rebels or the Greeks fleeing the islands. In case they are not genuinely French, they must be bandit boats that fly foreign flags in an attempt to either evacuate their fellow Greeks from the islands or to conceal their treacherous intention to attack the imperial navy as fireships, as they have done before. The incident at Chios [the killing of the Ottoman grand admiral by Greek fireships] happened because some brigands had raised Austrian flags on their vessels and purported to be Austrians. Besides, it should be obvious that even if these ships were genuinely from countries that are at peace with the Sublime State, it would not be permissible for even the friendly boats to range freely in the midst of a navy mobilized for war; the news they might provide would be trivial. In sum, since the infidels will fabricate all sorts of deceptions for treason and malice, you must never be beguiled by such deceptions and never let any foreign ships near the imperial navy, as you have previously been warned. It is the principal duty of all naval officials to be vigilant and attentive in this matter. Thus, by His Imperial

Majesty's will, the imperial navy shall not let any foreign ship come close. His Imperial Majesty also grants permission to Mahmud Pasha to send the new Tunisian ships into service with the imperial navy, since the addition of new ships always has the potential to augment the strength of the fleet. We expect Your Excellency to carry out your duties as outlined above with due diligence and sagacity. Actually, we sent you two separate letters on the matter of hardtack supplies and the wintering of the navy in the past. When you had pointed out in a previous letter that hardtack supplies were running low in the navy, we shipped five thousand *kantars* of hardtack on merchant vessels, following His Imperial Majesty's decree, as written in one of our letters mentioned above. We also informed you that the imperial navy would not be permitted to return [to the Dardanelles] on the occasion of the approach of winter and that Your Excellency must strive to attain as much success as possible until winter. We also included in our correspondence the instructions for the wintering of the imperial navy. We understand that Your Excellency sent out this current correspondence before receiving ours, which must have arrived by now, so that His Imperial Majesty's will has become manifest to you. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to prove your piety and zeal in performing your duty, which is to take revenge on these infidels. You will most certainly act wisely and bravely, as required by your wisdom, to increase His Imperial Majesty's countenance of you. You should pay attention to act along the lines of previous warnings and requests and strive for wise and insightful behavior.

[577/84, *regarding the arrest of the kocabaşı of Enez and the head priest of Skaloti Monastery for burying cannons in the monastery*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Ormenio [Mehmed Salih Pasha]

October 30, 1822

It has now been reported with certainty that a *zimmi* named Mihal [Michalis], who is the *kocabaşı* of Enez and also the brother of the bishop of Thessaloniki, had buried two cannons in the ground just to the right side of the Iskarloti Monastery [Panagias tis Skalotis]—located one and a half hours away from Enez—within the knowledge of the monastery's head priest, Martanyos [Matthaeus]. It requires no explanation that his audacity to confront [state authority] is against the law of subjecthood and that it is necessary to unearth the cannons. Your Excellency shall secretly send men to this monastery and inform the relevant functionaries about the issue. After bringing the cannons to the surface without revealing a hint, you shall detain and imprison the said Mihal and the priest Martanyos before they can escape and inform us about the matter.

[577/86, regarding the wrongful enslavement of Chiot women]

To the Castellan of Chios [Yusuf Pasha]

October 31, 1822

A hearing took place in our presence for a Christian woman named Katerina, daughter of Dimitri, and a minor named Maria in her company, who had been captured in the battle of Chios. Katerina reported that she is from the Eftapente [?] neighborhood of one of the mastic-producing villages; her father, Dimitri, used to be the *kocabaşı* in the mentioned neighborhood prior to his death more than eight years ago; her older brothers from the same parents are Michalis, Stamatis, and Yorgi, who are known by the sobriquet Makri and whose current status and whereabouts are unknown; her mother is Vangero and is known by the sobriquet Çupcine [?]; and also the priest named Konstantin Despodari [?] is her brother. The said minor [Maria] reported that she is from Vouno,¹ another mastic-producing village of Chios, and is the child of a *zimmi* named Dimitri and his wife, Angela. Although such were their testimonies, the matter required your investigation for the clarification of whether they are genuinely of the mastic-producing villages' folk who submitted peacefully or of the rebels of Chios who had previously been combatants and captured in the battle. If they are genuinely of the mastic-producing folk and have been enslaved in one way or other after the battle, buying and selling them and having them as concubines is forbidden by religion. Therefore, you shall investigate and verify the matter and promptly write back to explain the situation.

Postscript: The contents of a note sent by the Castellan of Chios, dated January 11, 1823, have been added as explanation. Accordingly, the watchmen in the mentioned mastic-producing villages have questioned both Muslims and the *reaya* of the villages and verified that the woman and the minor were born in and are residents of these villages and that they were seized by force.

1 Vouno (Turk. Vuno, Gr. Βουνό): mastic-producing village in southeast Chios.

[577/87, *regarding the return of several Greek families to their homeland on Cunda*]

To the Castellan of Cunda

October 31, 1822

An imperial order had been issued in accordance with the fatwa previously provided by the office of the *şeyhülislam*, for the capture and enslavement of the *reaya* of Ayvalık and the island of Cunda, due to their actions defying the imperatives of subjecthood. Although the majority of the island's *reaya* had fled aboard rebel ships, some twenty-five households could not flee and took refuge in the monastery, which is located on the coast of the island. When they were attacked, and lost all hope of salvation, they asked for mercy. In total, thirty men, thirty women, and sixty-nine minors were transported to Lesbos and held there. At the time, an order was written to the then castellan of the island, Reşid Pasha, to treat these *reaya* with forgiveness and to settle them on the island until the restoration of peace and order, when they would return to their homeland. At present, the aforementioned *reaya* have submitted a petition, asking for His Imperial Majesty's permission to be relocated back to their homeland. Allowing them to return to their homeland is useful for the rejuvenation of the island. However, these infidels had submitted as a last resort for saving their lives and were sent to Lesbos afterward. By necessity, we inquire from you whether they could dare to go against the imperatives of subjecthood again if they were to be allowed to return to their homeland and if you guarantee to keep them in order. We ask of you by this letter to deliberate on the advantages and disadvantages of relocating them to Cunda and to reply to us so that we can decide on this matter.

[577/88, *regarding the affairs in the Morea taking an unfavorable turn and new orders to march on to the Morea despite the advent of winter*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

November 3, 1822

We have received your correspondence, as well as the appended documents, in which Your Excellency points out that you have forwarded us the letters received from the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, His Excellency Mahmud Pasha, Ömer Pasha, Yusuf Pasha, and the Commissary Officer Ahmed Agha, as well as other functionaries. Having explained the contents of the mandates you sent to the functionaries assigned to the Morea, Your Excellency urges us to dispatch separate admonishing orders by special couriers to the commander-in-chief of the Morea and those viziers, *mir-i mirans*, *ayans*, and functionaries serving under him; to Ömer Pasha and Reşid Pasha; and to Mehmed Pasha and those *mir-i mirans* in his retinue. Your Excellency also raises your concerns about the exhortation by the [British] general of Corfu toward English vessels from now on to accept neither Muslim nor *reaya* passengers on board. Since this would result in the rupture of our communication with the functionaries in the Morea, Your Excellency suggests discussing the matter with the English ambassador in Istanbul in order to abrogate this policy. Your Excellency also pleads with us to forward substantial sums of money. Moreover, you ask of us to send the past imperial decree addressed to the grand admiral regarding the imperial navy again directly to him, because, given the recent English policy, Your Excellency is not sure if you would be able to deliver the imperial decree and our letter to him, which were sent from Preveza. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us, and we have presented your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. As we have learned from Your Excellency's report, you have thoroughly extended the necessary help and the required advice to the functionaries. Nonetheless, nothing could be accomplished due to their lack of effort and the deficiency of religiosity from which the troops under their command suffer. Therefore, the Moreot affairs have taken an unfavorable turn. However, there is no need to mention to Your Excellency that those infidels of different creed will, by the grace of God Almighty, fall into the very hideous pit they have been digging for us, thanks to the great holder of our religion and the state. We pray to God the Easer of Pains that all the affairs will be settled shortly through your selfless efforts and that we will wreak revenge upon the enemies of our religion. In God the Avenger, the spiritual aid of our prophet who is the holder of the holy law, and the sacred grace of our sultan, who is the caliph of the prophet and the shadow of God on earth, we trust. It is apparent that the scantiest speck of flaw and negligence in the conduct of this most noteworthy religious obligation, God forbid,

will incur such a great remorse both in this world and the next. Thus, following His Imperial Majesty's decree and based on Your Excellency's suggestion, we have dispatched stringent imperial orders with special couriers to those listed above. The commander-in-chief of the Morea and the functionaries in his retinue now have clear instructions to stop staying idly in Corinth and, rather, fully commit themselves to occupying the Morea without resorting to the pretext of the advent of winter. The imperial order addressed to Mehmed Pasha strictly instructs him to advance with all the available forces, such as the troops of the *mir-i mirans*, the provincial fief holders, and the *Evlad-ı Fatihan* recruits, either through the Defile of the Morea [the Isthmus of Corinth] or from the ports of Livadeia, Thebes, or Amfissa, in order to crush the infidels there. Ömer Pasha and Reşid Pasha are ordered to depart from the Castle of Nafpaktos at once for the Morea and to join forces with the Moreot army in order to fulfill their task. Moreover, we are currently discussing with the English ambassador here the aforementioned English policy. As for the issue of money Your Excellency has recently raised, while we suffer from lack of cash due to exorbitant expenses, we also acknowledge that Your Excellency is in dire need of cash funds. Therefore, we sent you in the past 1,500 purses of piasters in cash and in promissory notes one thousand of which five hundred purses are from our receivables that remained in the slain Ali Pasha of Tepedelen's effects and five hundred purses are from the imperial mint. We believe that you have brought up this issue again in your latest correspondence, because you had not received this sum at the time of writing. However, it is obvious from your correspondence that you need substantial sums by necessity. Given the difficulties involved in providing cash funds immediately due to the unfavorable times and circumstances, we have arranged for another consignment of 1,500 purses of piasters to be raised from the most sound receivables remaining in Ali Pasha of Tepedelen's effects, in compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will; we have issued the necessary orders for collecting these receivables. It is hoped that Your Excellency will feel content and immediately put your trust in God the Omnipotent and the favor of our most blissful prophet and, without showing any sign of negligence, prompt those functionaries to fulfill their duties and dedicate yourself to the observation of the necessary measures at once. We expect Your Excellency to exert yourself to carry out promptly your duties as the commander-in-chief, with the help of God, as a demonstration of your piety and zeal. As we have recently informed Your Excellency, we sent by sea a sealed duplicate of the imperial rescript to the grand admiral, containing the instructions for the imperial fleet, along with our letter. Presently, the contents of the grand admiral's recent letter confirm his receipt of our letter and the imperial rescript. That said, the grand admiral states that the navy was

unable to drop anchor anywhere during the southwesterly storm and had to go to Tenedos. He assures us that the imperial navy did not intend to desert its duty by coming back. It merely drifted so far for lack of shelter due to the magnitude of the storm. Therefore, he maintains, the navy will set sail for the Mediterranean in accordance with the imperial decree, as soon as the weather improves in a few days. Indeed, the withdrawal of the imperial navy from those waters is against our goals and contrary to His Imperial Majesty's will. Let Your Excellency be informed by this letter that we will not let the imperial navy linger here and will send it back into service as soon as the weather gets better. Having learned the contents of this letter, we ask Your Excellency to continue exercising prudence and to stay vigilant in the execution of his office.

[577/92, *regarding the combat at the port of Souda and the Egyptian aid to Crete*]

To the Governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha]

November 6, 1822

His Imperial Majesty has put Your Excellency in charge of subjugating the rebel bandits who unfurled the standard of rebellion on the island of Crete and restoring peace and order by bringing them back under submission. With the sincere intention of purifying the island from the filth of the bandits, Your Excellency then sent Hasan Pasha at the head of a force along with ammunition, supplies, and provisions. You have undoubtedly spared no effort to remove the filthy bodies of these brigands from the island in order to restore peace and order. However, the recent report by the Grand Admiral Mehmed Pasha relates that when they arrived at the port of Souda¹ in bad weather to take in water, the infidel rebels stationed on the coast tried to prevent them. He immediately disembarked some soldiers and attacked the rebels, killing more than one hundred of them on the spot and forcing the remaining who could not withstand the might of Islam to take shelter in the mountains. While the imperial navy replenished its water supplies, the residents of the Castle of Souda expressed their need for provisions, and the castellan of Irakleio asked for additional troops for the garrison. The imperial navy thus left provisions in Souda from its inventory and sent one thousand land troops to serve under the functionaries on Crete. In order to remove the filthy bodies of these bandits from Crete, it is essential to muster and send a sufficiently large force to Crete before the obedient *reaya* join the rebels. There is no doubt that Your Excellency devotes himself to serve the true religion and the Sublime State loyally and piously, as appreciated by all. In this vein, we are sure that Your Excellency does not need further notification to provide as much aid as possible to Crete in order to restore order, since the resolution of the Cretan question is your exclusive assignment, whereas the grand admiral is commissioned to set sail to the Morea. His Imperial Majesty inscribed on the upper margin of the grand admiral's report in his royal handwriting the following: "I hope the governor of Egypt will rush aid to Crete. Write to him again!" This being the imperial decree, we would like to remind you by this letter that it is our utmost expectation of Your Excellency to resolve the Cretan affair with due diligence by dispatching troops, supplies, and ammunition, which is a requisite of the royal confidence in you and a further proof of your piety and vigilance.

1 Souda (Turk. Suda, Gr. Σούδα): port and town in northwest Crete.

[577/98, *regarding the replacement of hostages sent to Istanbul from Lemnos*]

To the Castellan of Lemnos

November 11, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which you relate that the families of the eight hostages from Lemnos who have been kept under the custody of the *bostancıbaşı agha* request their replacement with new hostages, as they claim to have no one to attend to the farms and vineyards on the island. Hence, you plead for the replacement of these hostages with several notable *reaya* of the island. We have presented your letter to His Imperial Majesty, who approved the replacement of these men by others of the same social standing. This letter is to inform you that the hostages will be released when the new ones arrive [in Istanbul].

[577/108, *regarding troop deployment in Lesbos*]

To the Superintendent of Lesbos

November 20, 1822

We have received your communication in which you inform us that the troops in the garrison of Lesbos asked for permission to disband, because some of them are sick and the rest use the advent of winter [as a pretext]. In your correspondence, you plead with us to issue an imperial decree that authorizes you to recruit an abundance of soldiers from among the troops passing through the region. For the protection of the island, initially 550 soldiers from the stipulated districts in the *sancaks* of Karesi and Hüdavendigar were mustered on the condition of raising their monthly salaries from the local resources of the island. The reprehensible Greek infidels, in the meanwhile, insist on their defiance of Muslims by rebelling and looting here and there. They navigate the Mediterranean aboard their ominous vessels in order to bring damage to the Muslims they come across and even fall upon the localities on the [Anatolian] coast whenever they can. Although we commissioned the imperial navy to eliminate their mischievous actions, it had to return to the Dardanelles due to the storm. Thus, the sinful infidels will definitely have the intention of getting their heinous hands on wherever they like on the futile supposition that now is the time. It is apparent that the functionaries are required more than ever to exert their best efforts for, and to focus their attention on, the protection of the places all around, since nowhere is safe. We have put you in charge of safeguarding the island, as you are a reliable and distinguished servant of the Sublime State. Besides, considering that you were born on Lesbos, we assume that you would spare no efforts to protect the island, unlike any other official coming from outside. Accordingly, you are to inform us if you are convinced that the enemies of our religion will not be able to inflict any harm on the island, despite the disbandment of the current garrison. When there is clearly no need to keep the current troops in garrison service, you must gather a satisfactory number of select and well-equipped men to replace them and disband them afterward. This letter is to instruct you that, as written above, you shall disband the troops when they can no longer endure service and you shall muster a sufficient number of troops instead, on the condition of covering their monthly payments by using the island's resources. Thereafter, you shall inform us on this matter. You should realize that the infidels are persisting in their rebellion and presently wandering in the Mediterranean on board some ominous vessels with heinous intentions. You shall never grow neglectful and must stay vigilant day and night. We trust that you will strive to demonstrate the diligence expected of you by paying the utmost attention to the protection of Lesbos.

[577/109, regarding military operations, punishment of insubordinate commanders, and news regarding the imperial navy]

To His Excellency Hürşid Pasha

November 20, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency points out that you had received successive reports from the functionaries in the Morea and from the grand admiral through your steward. Your Excellency requests the dispatch of the imperial navy to the Morea once again. According to the report relayed by His Excellency Mehmed Pasha to Mahmud Pasha Zokaoğlu, Mehmed Pasha [*mutasarrıf* of Teke] had crushed the infidels at the Inn of Gravia;¹ capturing their cannons, he then entered Amfissa and took the necessary precautions. Your Excellency's treasurer and the *mir-i mirans* [Albanian pashas] subsequently followed him into Amfissa. Other relayed information was that Their Excellencies Ömer and Reşid Pashas marched on Missolonghi through the route of Acarnania and captured the town. Your Excellency reminds us of your previous demand to issue the imperial orders addressed to the functionaries in the Morea as soon as possible. You also urge us to send two imperial decrees concerning the case of Ismail Bey of Vlorë and his brother, Bekir Bey, who caused mischief. You suggest that one of the decrees must order their exile to Didymoticho,² whereas the other must order their execution in case they refuse to accept exile. If they do not, then the second decree will be null and void. Another document appended to your correspondence is the scratch copy of the missive Your Excellency had sent to Süleyman Pasha [former governor of Sivas], containing some issues and relevant advice. Finally, citing our decision to bring Muhtar Pasha's son, Hüseyin Pasha [Tepedelenli Ali Pasha's grandson], to Edirne and Süleyman Pasha to Istanbul, Your Excellency objects to Süleyman Pasha's stay in Istanbul and suggests relocating him in the vicinity of Bursa.³ The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted your letter and all the appended documents to His Imperial Majesty after a close review. The astuteness with which Your Excellency carries out his duties is commensurate with the high confidence placed in you and thereby a source of joy; our prayers are for your success and victory. You suggest the return of the imperial navy to the Morea. The former grand vizier communicated to Your Excellency that the navy had been forced

1 The Inn of Gravia: inn on the road from Lamia to Amfissa, where a battle was fought in May 1821 between the Greek forces under Odysseas Androutsos and the Ottoman forces under Ömer Vrioni, resulting in the defeat of the latter.

2 Didymoticho (Turk. Dimetoka, Gr. Διδυμότειχο): town in Greek Thrace.

3 Bursa: town and province in northwest Turkey, to the southeast of the Sea of Marmara.

to take shelter at Tenedos because of the storm and would sail to the Morea again. In the meantime, the report of the grand admiral reached us in which His Excellency recounts the course of action of the navy. Accordingly, the navy had indeed left Patras for Nafplio and battled with the brigands' boats that joined forces in front of the islands of Spetses and Hydra. Then the grand admiral forwarded provisions aboard a *müstemen* ship to Nafplio and took the navy to Souda harbor at Crete to replenish water supplies, but on the way back they were caught in a storm and took shelter at Tenedos. He assures us that the navy would immediately sail to the Mediterranean with the serviceable ships available, as ordered by the imperial decree, and asks us to send equipment to the fleet from behind. In a following memorandum, the grand admiral reported about a skirmish which happened on the night of the 26th day of *Safer* [November 12, 1822]. Taking advantage of a strong southerly wind, infidel bandits sent about fifteen fireships into the imperial fleet. When three of them managed to come too close, the imperial ships cut their cables and set sail, sinking one of them with gunfire. But by God's will, the remaining two did grapple and inflicted damage to the *Burc-ı Nusret* [Bastion of Victory], the three-decker galley of the line. Upon this misfortune, the rest of the fleet was forced to retire to Kepezaltı Point⁴ in the Dardanelles, but, because this place was unsuitable to anchor, they had to retreat further back into the strait and take shelter at Cape Nara.⁵ We will inform Your Excellency about our decision on the further course of action of the navy after deliberating on the matter. There is no need to recount to Your Excellency how much favor and care the Sublime State has granted to the naval forces and that we will never fail to deal with the matter at hand regardless of the season. We have no doubt that Your Excellency will accomplish all the tasks with ease by divine favor. While we understand from your correspondence that the commissioned functionaries show laxity and negligence in performing their duties, the trouble in the Morea will surely be over when Your Excellency demonstrates your prudence and faith in figuring out a way to allow our forces to reach you overland into the Morea to crush the infidels and rush grain to Nafplio. His Imperial Majesty indeed decreed that Your Excellency must encourage the functionaries to carry out operations by marching into the Morea. You should carry out your duties in a cheerful spirit with zeal and determination as expected of you and rush victuals to Nafplio. As for the requested imperial orders addressed to the functionaries, Your Excellency must have received them by now, as we had already

4 Kepezaltı: location on the Anatolian side of the Dardanelles.

5 Cape Nara (Turk. Nara Burnu): headland on the Anatolian shores of the Dardanelles, also the narrowest point of the strait; Nagara Point in English sources.

sent them. Following His Imperial Majesty's will, we have also dispatched the alternative orders concerning the case of Ismail Bey of Vlorë and his brother, Bekir Bey. As you suggested in the memorandum, one of them rules their banishment to Didymoticho, whereas the other orders their decapitation and the dispatch of their severed heads to Istanbul if they display insubordination in the execution of the first punishment. Your reservation about keeping Süleyman Pasha in Istanbul is well-taken. The idea of sending him to Bursa at once upon his arrival in Istanbul arose in past deliberations. Due to the obvious drawbacks of his accommodation in Istanbul, he will obviously be sent away to Bursa immediately after his arrival. Lastly, we approve the content of the letter Your Excellency sent to Süleyman Pasha, who is now in Lamia. Your Excellency states that the laxity shown by our functionaries is testing your perseverance. Nevertheless, there is no time for exasperation. We trust that you will do whatever is necessary as the commander-in-chief with full discretionary powers and demonstrate the zeal expected of you.

[577/110, *regarding the naval defeat and inability of the imperial navy to relieve Nafplio*]

To His Excellency the Grand Admiral [Kara Mehmed Pasha]

November 21, 1822

In your previous correspondence Your Excellency confirmed the arrival of the imperial rescript and the related letter from our predecessor in office.¹ In addition, you urgently pleaded for carpenters to repair ships in bad condition and requested the salaries, bonuses, winter clothing, hardtack, and rations for the sailors of the imperial navy. In response, we sent three shipwrights at once from the imperial arsenal [in Istanbul] to the navy and made arrangements to fulfill your other requests. We then inquired from Your Excellency the state of the navy and the equipment shortages. Immediately after the arrival of your answer, we received another report with astonishing news. Accordingly, on the night of Sunday, on the 26th day of *Safer* [November 12, 1822], the infidels sent about fifteen fireships into the imperial fleet, taking advantage of the southerly winds. Out of the three that succeeded in coming closing by, one was sunk by gunfire. However, the other two managed to grapple the ship of the line *Burc-ı Nusret* [Bastion of Victory] and burned her. Then, the rest of the fleet cut their cables and retired to Kepezaltı Point in the Dardanelles.² However, the three-decker galleys had to retire further into the straits and take shelter at Cape Nara, because they could not lay anchor at the former place. At present, each ship is left with only one coil of cable and one small anchor. Your Excellency states that the navy was confounded by the incident and requests an imperial decree that lays out the future course of action for the navy. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted your report to His Imperial Majesty after a close review. In the last two years, the imperial navy has been lavished with so much care and money, but it has accomplished nothing. In contrast, the infidels, with puny boats not bigger than the cockboats of our ships, come rain or shine, have been toiling to do all they can in the way of treachery and wreaking much damage. This situation astonishes all faithful believers and imposes pain in their hearts. The current situation suggests that dispatching the imperial navy into the Mediterranean again and keeping it cruising during the winter is inadvisable. However, the correspondence from His Excellency Hurşid Pasha warns that the garrison of the Castle of Nafplio

1 On November 11, 1822, the sultan's favorite Halet Efendi, the Grand Vizier Hacı Salih Pasha, and the *Şeyhülislam* Yasincizade Abdülvahab Efendi were deposed and banished after the janissary mutiny on November 9. Abdullah Hamdullah Pasha was appointed as grand vizier, and Sıdkızade Ahmed Reşid became the *şeyhülislam*.

2 Referring to the naval battle of Tenedos. The Greek flotilla commanded by Konstantinos Kanaris burned the second flagship of the Ottoman navy.

has been presently reduced to extremity by scarcity of grain and that, if the imperial navy did not sail to the Morea, the situation would become dire. In light of the current state of the navy on the one hand and the developments in the Mediterranean and the Morea on the other, the matter is perplexing and denies an easy solution. Thus, we convened the Imperial Council to deliberate on the matter with the participation of Ahmed Bey, Harbor Master of Istanbul, Ali Bey, Commander of the Golden Horn [Shipyard], and other captains [of the fleet]. The council proposed the following resolution to His Imperial Majesty: it is of the opinion that the Sublime State cannot leave the Morea to its fate while it has all this naval power [at its disposal]. By virtue of religion and zeal, a solution has to be found, despite all the potential drawbacks and difficulties. At present, Your Excellency demands new anchors and cables to outfit the commissioned ships in the imperial navy. With respect to the inventory of the naval stores, should we send them to you, we would run the risk of leaving the entire navy without anchors, cables, and wires in case the imperial navy suffers another such incident. Last year, the Egyptian, Algerian, and Tunisian ships escorted Your Excellency with some four to five thousand troops from the Dardanelles to Patras and then they sailed to Alexandria. This time, it might again be possible to sail to Patras with the serviceable ships selected from the imperial navy, as well as the Egyptian and the Barbary fleets, leaving behind the three-deckers and the unfit vessels. It is of prime importance to supply the Castle of Nafplio by whatever means possible. At least an attempt might be made to put together a squadron composed of the ships of the imperial, Egyptian, and Barbary fleets in order to carry some fifteen to twenty thousand bushels of grain from the imperial granary directly to Nafplio and deliver it to the garrison no matter what. According to Hürşid Pasha, if the imperial navy does not sail to the Morea, the affairs there will take a critical turn. The Castle of Nafplio, with its strength and location, is the lock of all of the Morea; its inhabitants are on the verge of starvation for want of victuals. Up to now, we have contracted *müstemen* ships seven or eight times to supply Nafplio with promises of huge freight payments. However, none managed to accomplish the mission, which demonstrates that the idea of supplying the fortress through *müstemen* shipping is out of place. The only remaining solution is to gather a convoy of merchant vessels loaded with grain and to dispatch them to the Dardanelles to join the imperial fleet, so that they will set sail to Nafplio under the escort of the imperial fleet. However, the prudent number of escorts must not be less than some thirty to thirty-five vessels, and it is currently unknown to us if such a number of serviceable vessels do exist in the navy for immediate operations. After long discussions, the council decided that it is advisable to dispatch the honorable superintendent of the imperial arsenal, together with the Harbor

Master Ahmed Bey, to the Dardanelles in order to inspect the condition of the navy firsthand. It will then be possible to determine the best course of action, relying on their express report. On that subject, the council decided to ignore the opinions of the serving officers in the fleet, who will most likely come up with all sorts of excuses in order to return to Istanbul. As His Imperial Majesty approved the suggestions of the council, we have dispatched the superintendent and Ahmed Bey to the Dardanelles. We call upon Your Excellency to leave aside slackness and to disregard the inattention of the fleet officers. You shall join forces with your two incoming colleagues to find answers to the following questions. How many ships of the imperial navy are serviceable and fit enough to carry grain to Nafplio? Are they sufficient for the task? How much grain can they carry? What is the truth of the matter regarding the possibility of the Egyptian and Barbary ships going to Alexandria and what is the final statement of their commanders on this matter? Your Excellency shall make a complete review of every matter and send us a comprehensive report on which we can act. Protection of the fleet from any harm and keeping it intact is as crucial as rushing victuals to Nafplio. Therefore, you shall pay attention to every detail of the matter at hand. We ask Your Excellency to disregard the craven comments of the fleet officers and cooperate with the superintendent and Ahmed Bey to find the best possible solution under the light of the current state of affairs without losing sight of diligent, zealous, and faithful service.

[577/113, *regarding the settlement of Muslim Athenian refugees in Izmir*
To the Castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha]

November 22, 1822

Your Excellency informed us in your previous correspondence that you had assigned to the houses of wealthy and powerful men the poor [Muslim] folks of Athens, who had escaped the brigands with their lives and somehow managed to come to Izmir. Your letter addressed to your agent at the Sublime Porte also testifies that Your Excellency had treated these destitute people well and watched over them. Yet they sent us a petition and complained that they were loathed and forced out from the dwellings where they were hosted. They claim that they were loitering around in the coffeehouses miserably and in need of His Imperial Majesty's compassion. These are some destitute Muslim refugees, who were separated from their goods and homeland because of the invasion of the Greek infidels. They somehow managed to arrive in Izmir, barely escaping with their lives, after all the insults they had to endure in Athens. It is completely contrary to religion and compassion not to provide for these helpless fellow Muslims and let them succumb to misery in such a big town. Izmir is not comparable to other towns. It is brim with merchants and well-to-do individuals. Therefore, we do not deem it proper that they are left homeless and helpless. Clearly, this is contrary to His Imperial Majesty's will as well. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to quarter them in the houses of well-to-do individuals of Izmir if these folks are indeed in a desperate condition and homeless. You must make sure that they are properly hosted, catered for, and secured until they return to their homeland.

[577/116, regarding Hurşid Pasha's suggestion to ward off Greek fireships]
*To the Superintendent of the Imperial Arsenal and His Excellency
 the Grand Admiral*

November 25, 1822

His Excellency the victorious Commander-in-Chief Hurşid Pasha has pointed out in his recent correspondence that if the imperial navy did not set sail from Anatolia to Nafplio or Patras, the army in the Morea would be of no use. In case that fear of fireships was the reason for the navy's inaction, His Excellency maintained, the solution was to make a few dilapidated boats anchor at the head of the fleet when sailing to Nafplio or any other likely place, so that the fireships would hit these boats, and the boats would ward off the fireships and dissipate concerns, as advised to him by the Englishmen. Based on this, His Excellency urgently demands the imperial navy to sail to Nafplio and Patras. There is no need to remind you of His Excellency's insistence and warnings about the dispatch of a navy to the Morea, whereas the current situation with the imperial navy is evidently known. However, God forbid, if we do not find a way to support the army in the Morea this winter, the situation will deteriorate. The current conditions oblige us to work out a solution at all costs and by necessity, as pointed out by His Excellency. Therefore, His Imperial Majesty ordered us to inform Your Excellency about Hurşid Pasha's correspondence and inquire into your response to His Excellency's suggestion. This letter is to ask Your Excellency to deliver to us immediately your suggestions about His Excellency's opinion that it would be improper if the navy did not go to the Morea, as well as his advice about the fireships. Your Excellency must explain the proper course of conduct in response to Hurşid Pasha's demand, the ways in which to take action in the shortest possible time, and the measures Your Excellency is planning to implement to conduct this affair.

[577/117, *regarding shipment of supplies to the Morea*]

To the Castellan of Izmir Hasan Pasha

November 25, 1822

We have received and reviewed your correspondence in which Your Excellency relates that you contracted two English merchant vessels to carry the flour you supplied to either Nafplio or Corinth. When you learned that the ships were captured by the bandit boats after leaving the port of Izmir, you invited the British consul to discuss the matter. After negotiations, Your Excellency managed to rescue half of the captured cargo and had it sent to its destination, while the other half was about to be sent as well. You also point out that after sending cable, an anchor, and a certain amount of hardtack to an imperial corvette which took shelter in Çeşme due to stormy weather, you communicated the affair to the grand admiral. Finally, you relay in detail the news that the infidels are laying a plot in Psara. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted it to His Imperial Majesty. It must be stressed that Your Excellency is among the great viziers of the Exalted Sultanate, endowed with bravery, zeal, prudence, and fidelity. Your accomplishments laid out in your correspondence are highly appreciated as felicitous news. When we brought it to his attention, His Imperial Majesty wrote on the correspondence: "I am indeed pleased by his course of action." The infidels are surely insistent on their abominable deeds and uprising against the righteous religion and the Exalted State. Therefore, it is incumbent on every faithful man with dignity to serve the religion and state with the utmost strength in such a time. We have full confidence that Your Excellency will aid the Muslim community at all times and render good services to the righteous religion and the Exalted State in order to gain reputation in this world and the next as a token of your zeal and faith. We ask of you by this letter to prove us right in our confidence in you by exerting yourself to carry out your duties with the same degree of prudence and competence.

[577/118, *regarding the march of the army toward the Morea and measures taken regarding the navy*]

To His Excellency Hurşid Pasha

November 25, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency relates that His Excellency Mehmed Pasha [*mutasarrıf* of Teke] burned Amfissa and its villages and then advanced upon the Inn of Gravia on his way to Livadeia. As he left Gravia and arrived in Dadi,¹ he encountered some infidels in the monastery and attacked them. After crushing them with the help of God, he severed the heads of two captains and eighty bandits. He sent them, as well as two captured flags, to Your Excellency, which, as you point out, were forwarded to Istanbul.² The interrogation of the captured captain whom Mehmed Pasha sent to Your Excellency revealed that the infidels were in the village of Stylida³ and that once routed they would not be able to regroup anywhere else. Your Excellency expects that it would then be easy to send troops into the Morea through the defile [the Isthmus of Corinth]. Your Excellency also requests us to rush the imperial navy to Nafplio and Patras immediately, while advising certain precautions for saving the fleet from any danger posed by the fireships. Moreover, Your Excellency confirms the arrival of the imperial orders, as well as five hundred purses of piasters in cash and in promissory notes. Praise be to God, His Excellency Mehmed Pasha is advancing victoriously, owing to Your Excellency's attentiveness and diligence. We hope that Mehmed Pasha's arrival in the Morea via the defile will rekindle the zeal of all our forces and that thereby the affairs of the Morea will take a more favorable turn; this is all we pray for to God the Deliverer. We have exhibited the severed heads, and the flags were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to serve as an example. As observed by Your Excellency, it would indeed be inappropriate to keep the imperial navy afar from the Morea. Thus, it is our primary concern to send it back regardless of the season. We mentioned in our previous letter to Your Excellency that the imperial fleet was forced to return to the Dardanelles after being attacked by the infidel bandits who had treacherously steered their fireships into our navy off Tenedos and that we would inform you about our decision on this matter. Due to the importance of this issue, we set aside the reports of the grand admiral and naval officers

1 Dadi (Turk. Dadi, Gr. Δάδι): now Amfikleia, town in east-central Greece, at the foothill of Mount Parnassus in the valley of the River Kifissos.

2 Referring to the Battle of Dadi, which took place on November 13, 1822. The Greek forces under Odysseas Androutsos were routed by Köse Mehmed Pasha.

3 Stylida (Turk. İstiliçe, Gr. Στυλῖδα): port village in the Maliac Gulf, east-central Greece.

and put the superintendent of the imperial arsenal, as well as the harbor master [of Istanbul], in charge of inspecting the fleet at the Dardanelles and preparing a report on the damages and losses to the imperial navy. Based on this report, we are planning to put together a new fleet for serving in the waters of the Morea by replacing the ships unfit for service with new ones and reserving the necessary number of ships in the fleet. Nevertheless, following His Imperial Majesty's decree, we have sent urgent letters after the superintendent addressed to him and His Excellency the grand admiral that contained Your Excellency's demand for the dispatch of the fleet to the Morea and suggestion about the precautions against the fireships. We waste no time and spare no efforts in working out a solution to this matter. We ask Your Excellency to exert yourself to have these infidels punished and crushed by ensuring the advance of His Excellency Mehmed Pasha and other officers into the Morea.

[577/120, *regarding the death of Hurşid Pasha and the appointment of the new governor of Rumelia*]

To Yusuf Pasha of Serres and Hasan Pasha; the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea Mahmud Pasha and Ahmed Erib Pasha; the Former Grand Vizier Ali Pasha; the Mutasarrıf of Trikala Namık Pasha; the Mutasarrıf of Ioannina [Ömer Vrioni]; the Governor of Karaman [Reşid Pasha] and Mehmed Pasha

[No date, but between November 26–29, 1822]

The former grand vizier Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, while handling with all due diligence the troubles in the Morea in his capacity as the governor of Rumelia with full discretionary powers and the superintendent of the defiles, died a natural death in Larissa on Wednesday, the 5th day of *Rebiülevvel* [November 20, 1822], and ascended to the palatial rose garden of paradise.¹ It was essential to find immediately a man of equal virtue as the deceased, who would perform his tasks carefully by supplying aid and assistance to the functionaries in the Morea, dealing with the problems related to their responsibilities, and finally handling the matters in a timely fashion. A quick succession of the deceased in office in Larissa was imperative to eliminate a likely setback that Your Excellency might suffer in the struggle against the enemies of the righteous religion in the interior of the Morea. His Imperial Majesty has appointed His Excellency the Governor of Bosnia Celal Pasha as the governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia with full discretionary powers, with the addition of the post of the superintendent of the defiles. Celal Pasha has already proven his honor by serving loyally and vigilantly as a wise, brave, and venerable vizier. We fully trust that His Excellency will exert himself to serve diligently and with the utmost care in the management of the affairs in the Morea in all respects. We have sent him the relevant order of appointment that instructs him to go to Larissa immediately from Bosnia to take up his new post. Similarly, we have sent out imperial decrees to His Excellency the governor of

1 The way in which Hurşid Pasha died remains a mystery. In Greek historiography there are elaborate and detailed descriptions of how he decided to commit suicide by drinking poison after learning about the imperial order for his beheading. The reported reason for the imperial order was that he did not send the slain Tepedelenli Ali Pasha's confiscated treasure to Istanbul in its entirety and saved the larger part for himself. A very trustworthy source, William Meyer, the British consul at Preveza, also conveys the rumors about Hurşid Pasha's suicide (TNA/CO 136/448/504–508, in *EAGR*, 2/337). Be that as it may, not a single Ottoman source is to be found to confirm this story. The letters sent from Larissa to inform the Sublime Porte about his death by his steward, Salih Agha, and also by the *naib* and notables of the town report a natural death (see BOA/HAT 35275). In any event, Ottoman forces and functionaries, Turkish and Albanian alike, fell into complete disarray as a result of Hurşid Pasha's death and could not recuperate until the arrival of the Egyptian forces.

the Morea and other viziers, as well as Your Excellency, based on His Imperial Majesty's will that we instruct each office-holder to continue performing his assigned duty as diligently as before. We have also asked of Celal Pasha to perform his duties more eagerly than before for the sake of facilitation. We are sure that Your Excellency will act upon the instructions as stated in the imperial decree as a token of your loyalty and honor. There is no need to reiterate the imperial decree in this regard. Nevertheless, we cannot let military operations in the Morea falter in such troubled times. This is the time to serve the state and religion with all one's heart and soul to gain fame and reputation. It is unacceptable to show even a tiny bit of weariness in the execution of your office because of the loss of Hurşid Pasha. We ask of you to carry out your duties in cooperation and solidarity with other viziers and functionaries as before. You must seek the approval of the new commander-in-chief in your decisions and act in unison with him in order to prove that the royal favor and confidence bestowed on Your Excellency is well-deserved.

[577/124, regarding the instructions of the new governor of Rumelia]

To Celal Pasha, New Governor of the Province of Rumelia

November 29, 1822

Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, the former grand vizier who was lastly the governor of Rumelia with full powers and the superintendent of the defiles, passed away from natural causes on Wednesday, the 5th day of *Rebiülevvel* [November 20, 1822], while he was exerting himself in the affairs of the Morea. He was a loyal, diligent, attentive, and virtuous servant with devotion to duty, who never procrastinated in supplying and provisioning the forces deployed in the Morea. It is of utmost importance that he must immediately be succeeded in the post by someone like him. You are one of the viziers of the Sublime State who is equipped with the aforementioned qualities. Besides, you have performed all the tasks entrusted to you with perfection up to now and demonstrated your dignity in Bosnia by diligently preserving order and security in the province after your appointment. The late Hurşid Pasha's principal commission was to punish the sinful infidels who raised the standard of rebellion and to conquer and liberate the Morea. His Imperial Majesty has full confidence that you would piously perform this service to religion by abandoning worldly pleasures and devoting yourself to this task. Thus, you have been appointed by imperial decree as the governor of Rumelia, the superintendent of the defiles, and commander-in-chief of Rumelia with full powers. Selim Sırrı Pasha, former *Mutasarrıf* of the *sancak* of İçel,¹ who currently resides in Sofia, has been appointed governor of Bosnia. We have written to him to stop slackness from now on and show due diligence in his duty; and we have instructed him to learn the details and intricacies of the administration you established in Bosnia and manage the affairs of the province accordingly. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that you appoint a man as the deputy governor to run the province until the arrival of Selim Sırrı Pasha and move at once to Larissa to take up your new post. You shall take along only your retinue and leave your goods and effects behind. We have sent you the decree to appoint the deputy, wherein the name of the appointee is left blank. As soon as this letter of ours reaches you, you shall immediately appoint a suitable person from your household or from among the native pashas of Bosnia as the deputy governor of the province by inserting his name into the aforementioned appointment decree and then rush to Larissa. This is the time to demonstrate your piety, loyalty, and perseverance by serving the religion and state. You are required to protect the defiles and pay utmost attention to supply and provision the forces in the Morea. This letter is to instruct you to exert yourself to the tasks required of you to demonstrate

1 İçel: district on the eastern Mediterranean coast of Turkey; İçil in the documents.

your diligence and loyalty. You shall follow the example of your predecessor, the late Hurşid Pasha, in matters of troop deployment and logistics, as well as giving due treatment to your subordinates in order to capture and liberate the Morea as soon as possible.

Postscript: As His Imperial Majesty ordered the dispatch of motivating letters to the dignitaries commissioned in the Morea—who are listed below—we have sent separate imperial orders and letters of encouragement to inform them about your appointment: the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Morea Mahmud Pasha and Hasan Pasha, who are now in Corinth; Ahmed Erib Pasha; the former grand vizier Seyyid Ali Pasha; the *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala Ali Namık Pasha, who is now in Nafplio; the Castellan of Patras Yusuf Pasha of Serres; the *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina Ömer Pasha, who is about to cross to the Morea from Acarnania; the Governor of Karaman Reşid Pasha; and the *Mutasarrıf* of Teke and Hamid Vizier Mehmed Pasha, who is about to pass the defile [the Isthmus of Corinth], along with Geg [Albanian] pashas in his retinue. We assured Ömer [Vrioni] Pasha, the *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, in the relevant letter that we had recommended you to do your best, as your predecessor did, to favor his requests. We also warned *Kapıcıbaşı* Salih Agha, former *kaymakam* of the Morea and the steward of the late Hurşid Pasha, against the disbandment of the household of the late Hurşid Pasha, since you were instructed to employ him and the aforementioned household in your service upon your arrival in Larissa. When this letter reaches you, you should act accordingly and rush to Larissa immediately. You are expected to be scrupulous about the handling of the affairs of the province of Rumelia and give the necessary aid to the forces in the Morea.

[577/128, regarding the possibility of an uprising at Agrafta following Hurşid Pasha's death]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

November 30, 1822

Celal Pasha, former governor of Bosnia, has been appointed the governor of Rumelia and the superintendent of the defiles with the title of commander-in-chief of Rumelia with full powers in order to replace the late Hurşid Ahmed Pasha, who died in Larissa. He shall supersede the late Hurşid Pasha in sending military aid to the functionaries in the Morea and perform the relevant tasks. We have sent two messengers to him, carrying the imperial order explaining his duty and urging him to rush to Larissa. We have also communicated to *Kapıcıbaşı* Salih Agha, the late Hurşid Pasha's steward in Larissa, to keep the late pasha's household intact until Celal Pasha arrives in Larissa. We have additionally dispatched due instructions to the functionaries in the Morea. However, we have been distressed by the possibility that, should the infidels of Agrafta and other infidels take advantage of the death of Hurşid Pasha to rebel, the shortage of troops at Larissa would cause panic. Thus, His Imperial Majesty wills you—as a vizier who is praised for his piety, competence, courage, and diligence—to be alert against such an incident until the arrival of the new governor of Rumelia in Larissa, since your province of Thessaloniki is nearby. We have sent you the relevant imperial decree that instructs you to communicate with Mesud Agha, *Mütesellim* of Trikala, and Salih Agha, steward of the late Hurşid Pasha, and send them troops if they share our concern about a possible incident. This letter has been drawn up to ask you to exert yourself to rush military aid to whichever district needs it until the new governor of Rumelia arrives in the vicinity.

[577/137, regarding the necessity of hiring mercenaries for garrisoning Chios]
 To the Castellan of Chios, Yusuf Pasha

December 4, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence, as well as the appended court decree and the joint petition [of the Muslims of Chios] regarding the desertion of some of the troops raised from Saruhan and Sığla for garrisoning Chios. You also report that some of those who arrived on Chios were neither fit for service nor in good health. You thus suggest the recruitment of five thousand fresh troops to replace the said troops. As the garrisoning of Chios is of the utmost importance, we previously ordered the recruitment of one thousand salaried soldiers from the districts in the *sancak* of Ormenio, as well as two thousand *nefir-i amm* troops—one thousand from the *sancak* of Aydın, five hundred from Saruhan, and five hundred from Sığla. Should we follow your suggestion and renew the recruitment orders, the people of these districts would fail to raise and keep five thousand troops, as they have been badly hampered in recent years because of the sedition of the Greeks. Moreover, *nefir-i amm* troops are of no use. Experience has shown that some of them would desert as soon as they leave their hometowns and some others during the march, while most of them would desert at some point after they arrive at Chios. Therefore, the garrison of Chios would continue to suffer from a shortage of troops. At this point, winter has arrived, and we have already recruited one thousand mercenaries from Ormenio. Salaried mercenaries are not like the *nefir-i amm* soldiers; they are useful and perseverant. If they are supplemented with one thousand additional men, they will be the equal of four thousand *nefir-i amm* soldiers and they will guard Chios and its vicinity properly. Due to the present [financial] condition of the locals, if we were to reduce the number of winter troops to be recruited by half and recruited one thousand soldiers from the said *sancaks* and agree on a monthly pay of 30 piasters for each man, we will send strict orders to the *mütesellims* of these districts to deliver these sums to you each month, so that you can pay one thousand mercenaries as suggested above. They would not desert and they will prove useful, since you will be paying them on a monthly basis. This is the solution we have thought of; however, you shall first inform us whether it is possible to hire one thousand mercenaries from the aforementioned *sancaks*. This letter is to urge you to reply to our inquiry about the possibility of recruiting one thousand salaried winter soldiers from these *sancaks*, if we were to order the *mütesellims* to send you cash each month, in addition to the mercenaries to be recruited from Ormenio. We urge you to spare no efforts in guarding [Chios] and to be alert day and night in performing your duties.

[577/140, *regarding the leave of the Egyptian fleet*]

To His Excellency the Grand Admiral [Kara Mehmed Pasha]

December 5, 1822

An item in the joint correspondence penned by Your Excellency and the superintendent of the imperial arsenal mentions the statement of the commander of the Egyptian fleet that he would follow a safe route through the Archipelago, should he be given permission to sail back to Alexandria, God willing. According to the correspondence of the governor of Egypt, as well as the verbal statements of his agent at the Sublime Porte and his messenger, His Excellency has prepared the military aid and reinforcements that the island of Crete desperately needs; however, he could not ship them without the escort of warships. He therefore pleads in his correspondence to dispatch them [the escort] immediately for the relief of Crete, should we grant permission to the Egyptian fleet to leave for Alexandria. This is obviously the most proper course of action to take. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that the entire Egyptian fleet be granted permission to leave. They should be supplemented in Alexandria with the imperial frigate *Yıldız* [Star], which is currently there, and the other Egyptian ships readied by the governor of Egypt. We have written to His Excellency that the Egyptian fleet must immediately leave Alexandria to rush the reinforcements, supplies, and ammunition to Crete, since it is expected to join the imperial navy next spring, as was the case this year. We have requested from the said governor to exert himself to prepare the necessary equipment and victuals of the Egyptian fleet after it returns from Crete. We have dispatched another letter to the commander of the Egyptian fleet, granting him permission to leave. This letter is to instruct you to grant the Egyptian fleet permission to leave for Alexandria.

[577/142, *regarding the condition of the imperial navy*]

To the Grand Admiral and to the Superintendent of the Imperial Arsenal

December 5, 1822

We have received the report Your Excellency penned together with the honorable superintendent of the imperial arsenal. The gist of the report is that the imperial navy has five derelict transports and some thirty-four warships, of which twenty-four are in need of repair. The Barbary Regencies altogether possess nineteen ships, of which seventeen are in need of repair. Those unfit vessels are required to go to Istanbul for repairs. The remaining three galleons, three frigates, three corvettes, and five sloops, along with two Tunisian vessels, are solid and serviceable, and, as listed in the relevant register, the cables and anchors they lack must be sent from Istanbul. It is possible to arrange other missing equipment and ammunition at the Dardanelles. However, the majority of the Egyptian ships are not fit to sail into Nafplio, due to badly fouled bottoms. As for the aforementioned sixteen serviceable ships, they are not adequate to the task of carrying grain to Nafplio. Besides, the capture of the Castle of Nafplio by the infidel bandits makes it unfeasible to send these ships to Nafplio. Immediate occupation of the islands of Hydra and Spetses by embarking land troops carried aboard the imperial navy is necessary for supplying and relieving the Castle of Nafplio in your opinion. You maintain that the enemy ships will be driven away by such a military undertaking. Lastly, you state that since the available manpower of the entire navy is about eight thousand men, it will be necessary to recruit some more men, in case these sixteen ships are commissioned to sail in the Mediterranean. We have closely reviewed this report summarized above and the following correspondence you sent in association with the superintendent of the imperial arsenal. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted both of the documents to His Imperial Majesty. The Imperial Council has deliberated on your report and reached the following conclusions and decisions. The participants of the council are convinced that your comments and requests are a reflection of your intimidation by the enemy. Previously, you arrived off the coast of Nafplio from Patras with a navy composed of some eighty to ninety vessels that were in an excellent state, yet you were unable to devise a way to supply the Castle of Nafplio then. Therefore, it is clear that nothing can be accomplished with some sixteen ships. In any event, in light of the present situation, we understand that the Barbary vessels will not be able to go to Alexandria this winter. Thus, those imperial and Barbary ships that need a thorough repair in the imperial arsenal should immediately set sail for Istanbul, so that they can be outfitted until next spring. However, if we withdraw the entire navy from the Mediterranean, the brigands will roam freely in the Mediterranean and grow more brazen. They will most probably molest the

supply of olive oil, soap, and other necessities destined for Istanbul. Actually, they have already begun to do so, according to the incoming reports from local authorities. Although the timorous officers of the imperial navy have no courage to engage these infidels, the presence of some imperial warships at sea during the winter will still keep them in check, so that they will not be able to pillage as they please. Galleons and frigates are incapable of patrolling the Archipelago and navigating in the shallow waters where the bandit boats take refuge. Therefore, the serviceable galleons and frigates should return to Istanbul as well. Alternatively, a new patrol fleet must be put together, including the corvettes, brigs, schooners, and sloops that are currently in the area of operations, as well as the vessels of similar class from the imperial arsenal reserves. The crew for this flotilla and the missing equipment must be met from the vessels returning to Istanbul for the winter. Based at the Dardanelles, the flotilla shall patrol the waters around Tenedos, Lesbos, Molyvos, and other islands in good weather and eliminate the bandit boats they come across. In case of a violent storm, it shall retreat into the straits. The superintendent will take the imperial and the Barbary ships in need of repair to Istanbul and supervise the shipment of the equipment to be sent from the inventories of the imperial arsenal to the flotilla. He will also undertake the outfitting of the corvettes and sloops destined to reinforce the patrol fleet, dispatching them from the imperial arsenal to the Dardanelles. The council decided that Your Excellency must stay in the Dardanelles and supervise the outfitting of the winter flotilla and repairs to be undertaken locally. Your Excellency is also in charge of supplying the flotilla with the crew and grain transferred from the ships ordered to Istanbul. When the new ships from the imperial arsenal arrive, you must combine all the ships into a single flotilla and put it under the command of a competent fleet commander. You shall not ask for permission to return to Istanbul before you have sent the flotilla out of the Dardanelles and you must submit a report on its departure. Such is the decision taken in the Imperial Council and approved by His Imperial Majesty. Thus, we have written to the superintendent in order to inform him about his instructions. We send Your Excellency this letter to reiterate the imperial decree issued in conformation with the decision of the council. Accordingly, you shall set aside whatever corvettes, brigs, schooners, and sloops you can for patrolling the Archipelago in the winter and outfit them by transferring the necessary soldiers, crew, victuals, ammunition, and equipment from the ships ordered to Istanbul. You shall also send the naval ships and the Barbary ships that need to undergo repairs in the imperial arsenal under the command of the superintendent. You shall stay at the Dardanelles for the time being in order to put the winter flotilla in order and shall not ask to return to Istanbul before the ships dispatched from the imperial arsenal join the flotilla and sail out together from the Dardanelles.

[577/146, *regarding the protection of the coasts against Greek attacks*]
To the Castellans of the Dardanelles, Chios, Kos, Kuşadası, İzmir,
*and Lemnos; the Mutasarrıf of Rhodes; and the Mütesellim of Menteşe*¹
December 6, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which you report that roughly thirty brigands in a pirate boat attempted to land on Chios to exact contributions from the mastic-producing villages in the form of livestock and grain. As they were about to disembark from the boat docked at the coast by these villages, the troops deployed at that location by the castellan of Chios attacked them, killing some, and capturing one of their numbers. When interrogated, he confessed that the infidel brigands were planning to raid Çandarlı² for provisions with forty-six pirate boats after the imperial navy passed through the Dardanelles into the Sea of Marmara and they were about to sail out for to commit robbery. The contents of your correspondence have thus become known to us, and we have presented your letter to His Imperial Majesty. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that all the authorities on the islands and along the coasts should be alerted against the tricks and deceits of these infidels day and night and to give utmost attention to the matters of defense and fortifications, demonstrating prowess as required by their duty. It is likely that the infidels who have gathered on Samos and Psara will attack Chios and other places in search of supplies and ammunition as the imperial navy arrives at the entrance of the Dardanelles. Thus, even minor negligence and lethargy will obviously make you liable for breach of duty. This letter is to instruct you to spare no efforts to thwart such probable raids, rout these infidels with the help of God, and deny them even a single grain of wheat or a piece of lead, as required by your official duty.

1 Menteşe: historic province in southwest Anatolia, across from Rhodes; Menteşe in the documents.

2 Çandarlı: coastal town north of İzmir.

[577/150, *regarding the failure to relieve Nafplio*]
To the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea Mahmud Pasha
December 6, 1822

We have sent provisions from Istanbul on several occasions in order to relieve Ali Namık Pasha of his desperate need for provisions in the Castle of Nafplio. Besides, His Excellency Yusuf Pasha—who is in Patras—purchased plenty of provisions from *müstemen* ships, while His Excellency the governor of Egypt shipped an abundance of grain. Finally, grain has been arriving on a regular basis from Alexandria and Izmir. In short, there is an abundance of provisions stored in the Morea at present. Although it is of utmost importance to supply Nafplio on a regular basis in order to prevent any shortage, this has been neglected, despite the evident consequences of such slackness one would have to face in this world and the next. We understand from the documents dispatched from Larissa by Salih Agha, steward of the late Hurşid Pasha, that until now Nafplio has received from the army of the Morea only two shipments of supplies loaded on pack animals. Apparently, this amount in question was too negligible to relieve Nafplio. Your Excellency has stated in your correspondence that from now on it is impossible to send provisions to Nafplio by pack animals, because the infidels seized them on the return after delivering grain to Nafplio. However, it seems to us very plausible that a high-ranking vizier can easily transport provisions to Nafplio in substantial quantities, since there are plenty of provisions in the Morea as mentioned above—praise be to God—and the route from Corinth to Nafplio is quite short and not steep. Hence, only a lack of zeal and sense of honor can explain the transportation of such a small amount of provisions on pack animals, then handing over the animals to the infidels, and subsequently standing about in wonder. The matter at hand is one of religion. In this world, His Imperial Majesty will not excuse those who exhibit even a slight laxity in this matter, and they will definitely suffer punishment in the hereafter. In his recent royal rescript, His Imperial Majesty has stated the following: “As I have been told, the road between Corinth and Nafplio goes through flatland, and it takes eight hours. Evidently, it is only because of spiritlessness that no aid is provided to Nafplio, even though there are so many viziers and troops available. If they continue to show laxity, there will be no escape for these viziers. Notify them accordingly.” One should contemplate a little on the implication of failing to achieve anything with so many troops in Corinth and a great amount of provisions in the Morea. It is beyond comprehension that you do not even send supplies to such a significant castle as Nafplio, let alone a relief force. From now on, you must find the means of delivering abundant supplies to Nafplio at all costs. This is, above all, Your Excellency’s primary duty in your capacity as commander-in-chief

and governor of the Morea, more than anyone else. God forbid, if the castle is breached, you will be unable to answer to His Imperial Majesty and will suffer royal wrath. We write this letter to advise Your Excellency to stop this slackness and to show some loyalty and diligence. Your Excellency shall strive toward finding a way to deliver supplies to Nafplio by pack animals in order to avoid punishment, which no regret can help.

[577/156, *regarding Serbia*]
To the Castellan of Belgrade
December 7, 1822

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence relating the arrival of an envoy from Milosh [Obrenovich], Serbian chief knez, with regard to the policy of fixed exchange rates among various coins [uncertain translation] and the return of the Serbian representatives who have been kept in the imperial capital. Your Excellency states that Milosh's man reiterated the chief knez's loyalty to the Sublime State and that you dispatched their requests along with the man named Yovance and your courier [uncertain translation]. We have also received a letter from Milosh addressing the same matters to the *reisül-küttab*. After a close review, we presented these documents to His Imperial Majesty, along with your correspondence. The contents of his letter are about the policy of fixed exchange rates among various coins and a request for the release of his men who have been kept in the imperial capital.¹ However, the Sublime State's confidence in the loyalty of the Serbian *reaya* and Milosh is evident. We had relocated his envoys inside the imperial palace as guests for their own safety, because all Muslims had armed themselves in reaction to the Greek sedition that had become apparent in the days following the arrival of the Serbian representatives. We have been treating them with cordiality and the utmost care, and the slanders fabricated by some rabble among the Serbians are all without foundation.² The envoy sent by Milosh this time has witnessed the situation for himself, meeting and conversing with the Serbian representatives. As emphasized above, we lodge them here for their own safety, reassuring the Serbians' confidence in the Sublime State. Praise be to God, we are not in need of obtaining assurances to feel safe and secure from the Serbians, and this measure is only for protecting them. With the help of God, order and peace will soon be restored, and we will settle every matter properly. As for the matter of currency, fixed exchange rates among various coins [uncertain translation] is part of the regulations concerning state administration that applies to the Serbian lands and subjects as well, since they are within the domains of the Sublime State. It would be contradictory to the Serbians' and Milosh's statements of loyalty if it were not accepted among the Serbians. It is thus obvious that no credence can be given to excuses and pretexts in this matter. Therefore, following His Imperial Majesty's will,

1 See document 573/132 herein.

2 See document 577/45 herein.

we have issued and sent an imperial decree that reiterates the previous order. This letter is to instruct you to explain to Milosh that the implementation of this order regarding the fixed value of coins is His Imperial Majesty's strict will. You must in any event strive to serve diligently by carrying out your assigned tasks in the best possible way.

[577/159, regarding increased alertness at the frontier fortresses due to information on Russian mobilization]

To the Governor of Silistra, the Castellan of Brăila, the Mutesellim of Ruse, and the Castellans of Giurgiu, Isaccea, Mačin, Tulcea, Hârşova, Constanţa, Vidin, and Nikopol

December 11, 1822

Part of the duty of the castellans of major castles has always been to stay vigilant against all likely threats at all times, in order duly to maintain a constant state of preparedness, and to pass on any intelligence they can collect to the imperial seat. The current state of affairs demands much more attention to the observation of this time-honored principle. According to the intelligence forwarded to us, the Russian king's brother, Konstantin, is currently recruiting soldiers from Russia's Cossack *reaya*. Moreover, the chief priest of the monastery of Golia, which is one of the Greek Orthodox monasteries in the town of Iaşi, had run away, along with some other priests, by crossing over the Prut River during the previous trouble in Wallachia and Moldavia. Now there is news that they gathered and armed brigands with the malicious intention to infiltrate the lands of the Sublime State. Even though the Exalted State is at peace with Russia nowadays, none of the European states and especially Russia are trustworthy. Thus, His Imperial Majesty has decreed us to reiterate to the castellans of the frontier fortresses their instructions that they should be studious in the protection of the fortifications at all times, whether this news is true or not. As we have informed those who are concerned about His Imperial Majesty's decree to be on the alert, we write this letter to duly inform Your Excellency as well. We ask Your Excellency to honor the ancient custom that is still in use, as mentioned above, that requires you to act vigilantly and warily in monitoring the neighboring lands and collecting intelligence on the developments along the frontier. Your Excellency should duly strive toward protecting the royal castle and its environments in all respects.

[577/161, regarding the implementation of the treaty with Russia
for the extradition of fugitives]

To Yunus Agha, the Castellan of Sulina¹

December 11, 1822

We have received your communication in which you recount that a number of Cossacks—who are genuinely native Russian *reaya*—fled to our side of the border, together with their wives and children. You plead with us for sending an imperial decree ordering the course of conduct to follow with these fugitives and those likely to follow in the future. Accordingly, when you interrogated them about the reason for their desertion, they stated that they could not endure the military conscription carried out by the Russian king's brother, who had begun mustering those who are capable of bearing arms among them. They also said that more would come gradually if the Danube was frozen. The runaways who had arrived at the time of writing amounted to one hundred families and were sent to the town of Babadag. As stipulated in the treaty signed between the Sublime State and Russia, those *reaya* of one of these states who try to take refuge and hide in the other due to the charges of committing crime, disloyalty, or treason should neither be accepted nor protected on any pretext, unless they have converted to Islam in the Sublime State or to Christianity in Russia. They should be returned immediately or at least expelled from the state in which they took shelter. If a person, either Muslim or Christian, takes refuge in the other state after committing a crime of any kind, he should be returned without any delay upon demand. The Exalted State is paying attention to honor this clause, as both states are obliged to abide by the treaty. However, those *reaya* of the Sublime State who instigated the sedition that occurred among the Greek *millet*, as well as many *reaya* whose treason against the Sublime State is clear and proven, were all accepted by Russia when they fled. Despite all our invitation to and insistence on the proper implementation of the relevant clause on fugitives, Russia has not returned them. We should thus reciprocate by procrastinating on the matter of returning runaway Russian subjects. We must hasten neither to return them at once, nor accept them overtly. The fugitives should be guided properly and moved from the frontier to the interior. Thus, we must turn a blind eye to the Russian runaways who flee to our side on their own initiative and gently escort them away from the frontier in a most prudent way. When the Russians demand us to return the fugitives by providing a list of the names of the runaway soldiers, you must pretend ignorance about the fugitives in your communication with the Russians and make sincere statements

1 Sulina (Turk. Sünne, Gr. Σουλινάς): port town on the Sulina branch of the River Danube, at the easternmost point of Romania.

to convince them. You must thus state: "The Sublime State is surely observing the stipulations of the treaty in the fullest sense and always reiterating orders to its functionaries to honor the treaty. Delivery of the fugitives is a principle." You must also assure the Russians that you would search for the fugitives to convince them of your sincerity. We instruct you by this letter to demonstrate your tactfulness in adapting to the present state of affairs by pretending ignorance to the Russians and tolerating the fugitives.

[577/166, *regarding the execution of Greeks in Pleven*]

To the Castellan of Vidin [Derviş Mustafa Pasha]

December 12, 1822

My predecessor had previously sent a letter regarding the execution of twenty-eight Greek infidels—who were natives of Konitsa¹ and other districts in the *sancak* of Ioannina and headed to Wallachia—because they were caught in Pleven² in possession of some documents in the Greek language. In response, Your Excellency stated that one of them died of disease, while six had already been allowed to return to their homeland before the arrival of the imperial decree, as it was understood that they were some tenant peasants, and you provided us with a list of their names. Your Excellency also stated that you have deemed three more to be worthy of pardon and mercy, since they were minors. These three remained in the dungeon until the arrival of the imperial decree. Finally, Your Excellency had the remaining sixteen executed by imperial order and sent their severed heads to Istanbul. The contents of your correspondence have thus become known to us, and we have submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty after a close review. The severed heads were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to serve as an example. Based on Your Excellency's correspondence, it has been established that the *zimmis* whose names are recorded in the aforementioned list are some tenant peasants, and therefore they should be released. As for the three *zimmis* who were kept in the dungeon, they should also be released as they are minors. We write this letter to Your Excellency to inform you that His Imperial Majesty has thus ordered their release through your diligent efforts and we ask Your Excellency to exercise prudence in all matters at all times.

1 Konitsa (Turk. Koniçe, Gr. Κόνιτσα): town in northwest Greece, north of Ioannina.

2 Pleven (Turk. Plevne, Gr. Πλεώνα): town in north-northwest Bulgaria.

[577/168, *regarding news of Greek collaboration with the Druze and Nusayris*
To the Governors of Damascus¹ and Sidon

December 12, 1822

We have heard that the Greek rebels have allied with the Druze² and Nusayri³ sects in order to spread the sedition and malignancy that they dared to attempt against the Muslims and that in the meantime they also engaged in correspondence with these sects with the ambition of instigating them to rise up against the Muslims. As has become known to everyone, the Greek brigands have spared no effort to achieve their seditious ambition of committing treachery and malice against Muslims. It is obvious that they will collaborate in their abominable deeds and dare to incite these sects to employ all sorts of fabrications, so as to occupy the Sublime State from all sides. In this respect, it is manifest that no trust can be placed in the villainous Greek *millet* owing to their sedition. Your Excellency, being the most illustrious governor of his province, is entrusted with the duty of continuously scrutinizing the conduct and the demeanor of the said Druze and Nusayri sects. It is evident in such times as these that it must be established whether there is any sort of news of actual correspondence between the Greek rebels and the Nusayri and Druze sects, as we have heard from these provinces; in this regard, the necessary understanding and awareness of the matter must not get out of hand, by any means. It is therefore commanded that Your Excellency notifies us, with the requisite diligence and acuity, as to whether you have heard of any correspondence between the Greek rebels and the said Druze and Nusayri sects; and also, if there should be any such news, to approach the matter with the utmost attention, to exercise extreme caution and circumspection, and in any case to demonstrate wisdom and care.

1 Damascus (Turk. Şam, Gr. Δαμασκός): town and province in southwest Syria.

2 Druze (Turk. Dürzi, Gr. Δρούζοι): Arabic-speaking ethnoreligious group, historically living mainly on Mount Lebanon and Jabal al-Druze [Mountain of the Druze] and now primarily in Lebanon, Syria, Israel, and Jordan.

3 Nusayri (Turk. Nusayri or Arap Alevi, Gr. Νουσαϊρίτες or Αλαουίτες): the name Nusayri is used as a pejorative in modern times. The members of this Arabic-speaking ethnoreligious group call themselves Alawites and live on the eastern Mediterranean coast and towns and mountains near the coast, primarily in Syria, stretching from Turkey's Hatay province to Lebanon.

[577/169, *regarding travel permits for merchants traveling to Moldowallachia*]

To the Governor of Silistra [Mehmed Selim Pasha] and the Mütessellim of Ruse

December 14, 1822

It has been reported by His Excellency the Castellan of Brăila that some people who travel with travel permits back and forth to Moldowallachia have embarked upon some improper activities. While so much labor has been spent to cleanse Moldowallachia from the brigands' filth and to restore order, the fact that these people venture into such dissatisfactory affairs, so as to ply their evil trade, will cause new disruption of the region's order; therefore, the matter must be sorted out in a proper manner. Previously, in order to travel to Moldowallachia, the *reaya* have been applying to the *kadı* of Istanbul for travel permits by registering their names and physical traits. This shall hereafter not be sufficient, and they shall also declare their purpose and, should they travel to collect a debt, how much the debt is and from whom they will collect it. Once this is established, they shall produce permits from the agents of the voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia who are located in Istanbul. In case they travel to Wallachia, they shall obtain the permits from the Wallachian agent; and in case they travel to Moldavia, they shall obtain the permits from the Moldavian agent. Having thus obtained their permits, they shall not immediately receive travel permission; but the matter shall be reported to His Excellency the *reisülküttab*, who shall enquire into the circumstances and the purpose [of the travel]. If he should establish that it is actually necessary for them to travel to Moldowallachia, the purpose and the circumstances of the travel shall be declared, and the travel permit shall be issued by the *kadı* of Istanbul. As for the flour wholesalers and their partners and agents who are not *zimmis* but Muslims and who travel to Brăila, Galați, Silistra, Ruse, or thereabouts, they shall be informed and duly inspected by the superintendent of the wholesale market; and the butter and honey wholesalers shall be informed and duly inspected by the inspectors of their respective wholesale markets, as to whether the purpose of their travel is indeed trade. The *kadı* of Istanbul has been instructed by an imperial firman to pay attention to people whose circumstances have not been thus inspected and ensure that they do not travel to the said places and especially to Moldowallachia. We have already communicated the matter to the castellan of Brăila and *mütessellim* of Ruse. It is commanded that Your Excellency also make every effort and swiftly take, with the necessary wisdom, the opportunity to bar those Muslims and *reaya* who do not possess travel permits from traveling to Moldowallachia.

[577/172, *regarding the conversion of Ioannis Samourkassis to Islam*]
To the Mutasarrıf of Ormenio [Salih Pasha]

December 16, 1822

It has been brought to our attention that the former *kaymakam* of Craiova [Ioannis Samourkassis (Samurkaşoğlu)], who has been honored by the glory of Islam [converted to Islam], has arrived in Edirne from Vidin, as ordered by His Imperial Majesty's rescript and has been allocated a house. The reports on the matter have been presented before His Imperial Majesty. As is known to Your Excellency, it is improper to put much trust in their [the Fanariots'] conversion to Islam at the present time. Also, it is manifest that [Samourkassis] must not be neglected, and attention must be paid to his actions and behavior, despite the fact that he has been honored by the glory of Islam. In this regard, it is His Imperial Majesty's will that Your Excellency not neglect him, notwithstanding his conversion to Islam, and pay attention to his actions and behavior with the requisite wisdom and acuity.

[577/174, regarding supplying the army in the Morea]

To the Mutasarrıf of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha]

December 17, 1822

It has been commanded by an imperial order that Your Excellency secure and dispatch a sufficient quantity of provisions to the army in the Morea and that Mustafa Bey, one of the senior imperial courtiers, be assigned to this task. It has been brought to our attention by Your Excellency's reports that the sum of 100,000 piasters with which Mustafa Bey was entrusted has arrived and that initially one thousand loads of provisions have been sent, followed by a further nine hundred loads. Your Excellency also reports that in the future you will strive to purchase provisions through Mustafa Bey and dispatch them to the Morea. Thus, by swiftly enforcing His Imperial Majesty's will, Your Excellency has demonstrated the zeal which is expected of you and has caused great pleasure, earning approval for yourself. The reports and the requests have been presented to His Imperial Majesty, who has considered them benignantly. As is known to everyone, it is a great service to religion and the state to dispatch provisions to the armies of Islam that have been deployed to crush and quell the infidels in the Morea, who have raised the standard of rebellion and committed all kinds of treacheries against Muslims. As Your Excellency is among the most industrious and skillful viziers of His Imperial Majesty, it is evident that you will employ all of your merits so as to perform such important service. It is [therefore] required, as necessitated by Your Excellency's zeal and official post, that Your Excellency continues to secure plenty of provisions hereafter, purchase them through the said Mustafa Bey, and dispatch them to the Morea. If possible, you should also dispatch some provisions through Acarnania to Their Excellencies the Governor of Karaman Mehmed Reşid Pasha and the *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina Ömer Pasha, who are fighting at present near Missolonghi with the mission to quell the rebels; do not be afflicted with the difficulties of supplying the armies in the Morea and of Mehmed Reşid and Ömer Pashas with provisions, but do your utmost to fulfill your duties.

[577/178, regarding the contribution of Algeria to the imperial navy]

To the Viceroy of Algeria

December 17, 1822

It has been reported by the Grand Admiral that Your Excellency prepared and positioned five additional vessels in front of the Fortress of Algiers and requested to send them to the imperial navy, in order to fulfill your religious duty of jihad, as demanded by your piety and zeal. We have also been notified that two frigates among these vessels will be sent to join the imperial navy and that the others will remain in front of the Fortress of Algiers, lest the fortress be deprived of vessels. By thus demonstrating excellent service to the fortunes of [our] religion and the Sublime State, Your Excellency has proved and confirmed your zeal and piety and amply delivered the expected satisfaction. The Regency of Algeria is a regency of His Imperial Majesty that is naturally embellished with the utmost firmness and zeal and is praised for its renowned heroic piety. It is obvious that all its inhabitants will protect the religion and state wholeheartedly. It is also manifest that Your Excellency is one of His Imperial Majesty's servants who employs all your merits to prove your loyalty and serves the imperial fortunes of our Majestic Master [the sultan]. At the present time, as the winter season draws nigh, the imperial navy has withdrawn beyond the Dardanelles, in order to be repaired and supplied with equipment for the [next] campaign. The whole fleet will, however, be mobilized and equipped in the spring for the purpose of eliminating the sedition of the Greek *millet* and taking revenge, with God's help, on these infidels for the treachery and malignancy that they have committed against Muslims. When the spring season sets in, Your Excellency shall hold back three of the said five vessels and send the two frigates to join the imperial navy, and they shall, by God's help, arrive on time and join the fleet when it will be put out to sea at the beginning of spring. Furthermore, Your Excellency shall hereafter promptly set himself to work, so as to thoroughly fulfill your duties.

*[577/183, regarding the prevention of the disbandment of Albanian troops]
To the [Albanian] pashas and various military chiefs who have been assigned
to quell the rebels and are now at the Alamana Bridge in the plain of Lamia
and under the command of His Excellency Vizier Mehmed Pasha, Mutasarrif
of Teke and Hamid*

December 20, 1822

The late Hurşid Ahmed Pasha had previously put you all in charge of crushing the rebels in and around Amfissa, as well as in the Morea, under the command of Mehmed Pasha. While you were carrying out your orders to quell the infidels of Amfissa, Gravia, Amfikleia, and Vonitsa,¹ you ran out of provisions due to the death of Hurşid Pasha and returned to the Alamana Bridge together with Mehmed Pasha. His Excellency Mehmed Pasha has informed us that you asked for permission to be disbanded, as you declared that the agreed term of your service was over. The Governor of Rumelia, His Excellency Vizier Celal Pasha, succeeded the late Hurşid Pasha as commander-in-chief with full discretionary powers. He is about to arrive in Larissa, and it is your duty to follow his orders. He will no doubt take the proper precautions. The task you have been assigned is not a routine matter; it is rather a service to the true religion. Hence, it is incumbent on all functionaries of the Sublime State to toil selflessly at all costs and against all odds. Those who act otherwise will be regretful in this world and pay dearly in the next. Therefore, it is His Imperial Majesty's absolute will that, until the arrival of the Governor of Rumelia and Commander-in-Chief Celal Pasha in Larissa, you must all persevere under the command of His Excellency Mehmed Pasha and follow his orders resolutely. Even if your troops desert, you shall not leave Mehmed Pasha's command. We have sent a letter to His Excellency Mehmed Pasha informing him about the imperial rescript. By this letter, we ask you to continue to serve under His Excellency Mehmed Pasha by maintaining your forces and to render good service to religion by demonstrating perseverance in the fulfillment of your duty. You must not fail to obey the imperial rescript in order to avoid punishment.

¹ Vonitsa (Turk. Voniça, Gr. Βόνιτσα): coastal town in the Ambracian Gulf, western Greece.

[577/185, regarding the royal pardon requested by Odysseas Androutsos and the desertion of Geg Albanian troops]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Celal Pasha]

December 21, 1822

In his correspondence His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Teke and Hamid, has informed us that after he destroyed the rebels in Amfissa, Gravia, Amfikleia, and Vonitsa, the rebellious infidels sent a petition to ask for mercy. In response, His Excellency wanted [to talk to] a few of them who listen to reason. The infidels who came to his side demanded a permit to repair their churches, which were damaged during battle, and an imperial order appointing Captain Disava [Odysseas Androutsos] as chief captain. Agreeing to pay the outstanding *jizya* for two years and asking for an imperial order remitting their crimes, they pled for mercy. Since they have been participating in the uprising over the last years, His Excellency issued a mandate of mercy for twenty-one days in order to check the accuracy of their application. His Excellency asked for an imperial order [for amnesty] to be sent, which will be shown to them if they prove sincere about accepting subjecthood. Otherwise, he will crush and quell them, as he was previously ordered. Furthermore, His Excellency has been suffering from a lack of provisions following the death of Hurşid Pasha. The [Albanian] *mir-i mirans* and various military chiefs in his retinue insisted on returning under the pretext of a lack of provisions. Many of his soldiers were either sick or dead. As a result, His Excellency returned to the Alamana Bridge in the plain of Lamia by necessity and set up a camp there. Yet, His Excellency reported that the [Albanian] *mir-i mirans* and other military chiefs demanded their discharge and that the serviceable soldiers under their command have deserted. If it is understood that the said infidels who asked for mercy will remain obedient, there is no harm in issuing an imperial order for their pardon, in accordance with sharia law and the stipulations of amnesty that were decided upon unanimously [in the Imperial Council]. Yet, it would be inappropriate to issue a decree to promote the said Disava [Odysseas Androutsos] to captain or to repair the ruined churches. We have dispatched to Mehmed Pasha the copy of the stipulations of pardon, which shall be proposed to the said infidels, if they are sincere in their intention. No firman has ever been issued by the state granting the captainship they are demanding. Such captains were always chosen and appointed by the *derbend aghas*, and this case is still valid. The reparation of the churches may be reconsidered when order is restored. Mehmed Pasha should declare these conditions to them. If they accept the conditions fully and act accordingly, the imperial order shall be implemented. If other *reaya* also ask for mercy, they should be pardoned in the same way. If the said captain [Odysseas Androutsos] asks for royal mercy, he should also be

pardoned according to sharia law. The infidels of these regions are accustomed to carrying arms since time immemorial. If they refuse to submit their arms and if Mehmed Pasha understands that this will show their intention to rise up again, in such a case His Excellency should keep the imperial order [for amnesty] secret and try to appease them for now in the following way: with the condition of applying the stipulations after the restoration of order in the Morea, with the help of God Almighty, His Excellency should decree a pardon of his own accord—so that they will not be frightened—just as Ömer [Vrioni] Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, did when he pardoned the infidels in Acarnania on his own accord following their petition. His Excellency should try to appease rapidly those who insist [on getting imperial firmans for amnesty], either by issuing mandates or oral promises or by taking hostages of importance; in short, in every way possible, without demanding a firman from the Sublime State. It was secretly written to His Excellency that those who insist on unacceptable demands should be crushed. A copy of the four stipulations of pardon and an imperial firman including these stipulations have been dispatched to Mehmed Pasha. He has retreated to the Alamana Bridge by necessity. He could at least try to persevere there and, if he is compelled, he could retreat to Lamia. However, he should do his best to avoid retreating beyond Lamia. We have written to Mehmed Pasha to persist and prevent the disbandment of the Geg [Albanian] pashas and other officers until the arrival of Your Excellency in Larissa. We have also written to the Geg [Albanian] pashas and other military chiefs that they should remain under the command of Mehmed Pasha until Your Excellency's arrival in Larissa, even if their soldiers desert. Our predecessor has also written to Salih Agha, steward of the late Hurşid Pasha who is now in Larissa, to deliver provisions to Lamia regularly. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that Your Excellency exert yourself to arrive in Larissa as immediately as possible and to take the necessary precautions.

[577/187, regarding the battles in the sancak of Nafpaktos]

To Reşid Pasha, Governor of Karaman, who is in the vicinity of Acarnania,
and to Ömer Pasha, Mutasarrıf of Ioannina

December 21, 1822

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency relates the operations carried out in the *kazas* of Kravara,¹ Apokouro,² and Karpenisi in the *sancak* of Nafpaktos. You report that the rebels in these locations asked for royal mercy when they were overpowered as a token of your zeal and firmness. Yet, a few thousand infidels came to help them from the Morea. Joined by the infidels who had fled from Acarnania, Amfissa, and its vicinity, they stormed the said *kazas*. You also report that you sent the *Mutasarrıf* of Nafpaktos Ismail Pasha and Ahmed Pasha against these rebels with one to two thousand troops, putting most of them to the sword at the Skala pass [?] and taking forty to fifty captives and severed heads. Your Excellency assures us that you are making diligent efforts to finish with the ongoing troubles and will afterward rush to the Morea as ordered. The courier who brought your correspondence here also testified to your dedication and selfless efforts in the suppression of the said brigands. In addition, he also stated that you were suffering from a scarcity of provisions, although His Excellency Yusuf Pasha had made some quantity of grain available. The contents of your correspondence have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters and the verbal report of the courier in written form to His Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency is among the great viziers distinguished by courage, piety, diligence, and zeal. We fully endorse your praiseworthy service of suppressing the rebels as related in your correspondence, which demonstrates the pious zeal expected of you. We are aware of the hardships Your Excellency has to endure. However, this is a matter of religion, and those who render resolute and relentless service to the state and religion will not be left in oblivion. Obviously, Your Excellency will also be worthy of many royal rewards. Besides, with the likelihood of the prolongation of the troubles in Missolonghi and the need to supply the Morea in time, and in particular the Castle of Nafplio, His Imperial Majesty decreed to rush provisions in advance. Following the imperial decree, we have bought provisions and contracted in Istanbul three *müstemen* ships to dispatch them. One of these ships will sail directly to Missolonghi and the other to Corinth, while the last one will also deliver the shipment to Corinth, which will then

1 Kravara (Turk. Kravari, Gr. Κράβαρα or Κράβαρη): historical *kaza* in the *sancak* of Nafpaktos encompassing approximately ten villages.

2 Apokouro (Turk. Abukor, Gr. Απόκούρο): historical location in Acarnania, northeast of Lake Trichonida.

be transported overland to Nafplio. We have also reiterated to Celal Pasha, Governor and the Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia with full powers, to provide all sorts of support to Your Excellency. Moreover, His Excellency Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrif* of Shkodër, is following his instructions to transfer food supplies to the Morea on a regular basis. We have sent a letter asking him to send a few shiploads of grain to Missolonghi from among those destined to the Morea if possible, in order to support Your Excellency. We pray that Your Excellency has already concluded the matter of Missolonghi in line with our expectations. Your Excellency has no doubt earned the appreciation of His Imperial Majesty in recognition of your distinguished record of service in this affair. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to conclude the matter of Missolonghi soon by suppressing the infidels therein with unflinching resolution and prowess and to advance to the Morea to crack down on the brigands, which is your primary duty. It is His Imperial Majesty's absolute demand from Your Excellency to wreak revenge on those rebels for the treachery and mischief committed against so many Muslims. By doing so, Your Excellency will no doubt earn rewards and fame both in this world and the next.

[577/189, regarding supplying the army in Acarnania]

To Yusuf Pasha, who is guarding Patras

December 21, 1822

We have received a joint report written by His Excellency Reşid Pasha, Governor of Karaman, and His Excellency Ömer Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, who are both in Acarnania. They relate that, although they almost brought the rebels of the *kazas* of Kravara, Apokouro, and Karpenisi in the *sancak* of Nafpaktos to the verge of surrender, some three to four thousand infidels came from the Morea as succor to the rebels of Missolonghi. Moreover, the infidel rebels who had fled from Acarnania, Amfissa, and its vicinity regrouped and stormed the abovementioned *kazas*. The said functionaries sent the *Mutasarrıf* of Nafpaktos Ismail Pasha and Ahmed Pasha against these rebels at the head of a couple of thousand troops. In the resulting battle, they slayed many of the rebels at the Skala pass [?] and put the rest to flight in confusion. The courier who brought the report told us that Your Excellency had sent the said functionaries from the Castle of the Morea a boat laden with provisions upon learning of their distress caused by the shortage of supplies. Later on, Reşid Pasha sent his wardrobe master to request more provisions, upon which you promised to do so. As a token of your religious and firm character, which can be found among the great viziers, Your Excellency strove toward proving your diligence and loyalty through delivering the provisions. We have no doubt that you will honor your promise of aid to the said functionaries. As they are currently involved in military operations, it is imperative to keep them supplied with grain. Although we search the means of rushing victuals from Istanbul, the delivery will take time due to the closing of the sailing season and the brigands' boats pervading the Mediterranean. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that Your Excellency should rush a sufficient amount of provisions to the army in Missolonghi, since Patras is close to the location of operations. We assume that there is likely to be plenty of provisions in the stores of Patras. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to carry out the imperial decree, since the matter at hand denies comparison to any other issues. Your Excellency must treat this task as a religious obligation, for which reason delay and negligence in the process are unacceptable. As a demonstration of Your Excellency's faithfulness and zeal, we ask of you to ensure that a sufficient quantity of grain reaches the army in Missolonghi at all costs and by any means possible.

[577/191, regarding supplying Nafplio]

To the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, the Former Grand Vizier Ali Pasha, Erib Pasha, and Hasan Pasha

December 21, 1822

Based on the desperate situation of His Excellency Ali Namık Pasha in the Castle of Nafplio due to the scarcity of foodstuff, we had previously instructed you to send grain regularly to Nafplio in order to forestall the suffering of the Muslim folk inside the castle from provision shortages. We then informed you in a letter about His Imperial Majesty's decree ordering the transfer of supplies overland; supplying Nafplio by sea would be impossible, as the imperial navy had to return to the imperial seat for repairs before the advent of winter. You had instructions to carry provisions from Corinth, which had plenty of supplies, to Nafplio, accessible through a short and plain route. Furthermore, we also warned you in our letter that even a bit of slackness might result in regret both in this world and in the next, as stated in the imperial decree. While it is obvious that until now much attention must have been given to the transfer of the provisions to Nafplio in order to remove the local distress, His Imperial Majesty ordered us to reiterate the abovementioned decree, since this is a matter of religion that holds no comparison to any other issue. Therefore, we inform you by this letter that it is incumbent on all of us to dwell on this matter with full devotion. It goes without saying that no excuse will be accepted if any harm befalls the Castle of Nafplio. Laxity and negligence must end now, and you all should strive to the utmost of your ability to rush an abundance of grain to Nafplio in order to avoid future regret.

[577/194, *regarding the condition of the imperial navy*]

*To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]*¹

December 21, 1822

We have submitted to His Imperial Majesty your memorandum, which was read out in the Imperial Council meeting the day before, regarding the deliberations with the deputy superintendent of the imperial arsenal and other functionaries on the matter of outfitting the imperial navy prior to its departure in the spring, with the help of God Almighty. According to your deliberations, the boats of the brigands consist of the puny boats of the *reaya*, which they use in whatever way they like; whereas [our] double-decker galleys are incapable of patrolling the shallow waters frequented by these bandits and can sail only with favorable weather. Besides, because our smaller ships cannot leave the escort of [the larger ships in] the imperial navy, those accursed bandits enjoy a free hand to practice their malice and treachery. Hence, you agreed on the futility of dispatching large imperial galleys against the bandits and argued that the employment of such lighter ships as frigates, corvettes, and other small ships would suffice. In consideration of these concerns, you decided in the meeting to propose to outfit one three-decker and four double-decker ships, along with twenty sloops, in addition to the Mediterranean squadron, which consists of fifty-two frigates, corvettes, and other smaller vessels, as stated in the list presented. These additional ships would remain in the Golden Horn to safeguard the Bosphorus or, if the need arises, they might also be sent to reinforce the Mediterranean squadron, as in the past. Accordingly, Your Excellency is to undertake the task of recruiting the provincial levies, with the exception of the petty officers, while the deputy superintendent of the imperial arsenal is to arrange their pay, victuals, and munitions. As His Imperial Majesty has approved of these suggestions, we have written this letter to Your Excellency to ask you to arrange for the pay, victuals, and munitions, to undertake the outfitting of seventy-seven ships needed for these two squadrons, and to raise the provincial levies, with the exception of the petty officers.

1 Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha was appointed grand admiral on December 9, 1822. He had served as the grand admiral between 1811 and 1818. His predecessor, Kara Mehmed Pasha, was appointed governor of Ankara.

FIGURE 12 Title page of BOA/Aynîyat Register 578

[578/1, *regarding the pack animals for supplying the Morea*]
To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]
December 23, 1822

You have confirmed in your latest correspondence the arrival of our letter regarding the imperial decree that instructs you to send reinforcements to the steward of the late Hurşid Pasha and the *mütesellim* of Trikala whenever they need until the arrival of the present Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia His Excellency Celal Pasha at Larissa. We understand from your correspondence that you have already communicated to them, following the imperial decree, that you have begun assembling a new force to support them in case of need. You point out that you collected roughly 250 pack animals from the *sancak* of Thessaloniki and sent them to Larissa in order to overcome the surmounting difficulty of provisioning the Morea by sea. Considering the limited amount of supplies which can be carried by such a meagre number of animals, you make a suggestion for assigning wealthy *ayans* to serve under the Commander-in-Chief Celal Pasha for the transportation of supplies to the army of the Morea. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted your letter to His Imperial Majesty. You have demonstrated your diligence and competence by procuring the beasts from your *sancak* to fulfill the orders, by virtue of which you are honored by the prayers of His Imperial Majesty. Your suggestions concerning the pack animals and troop recruitment are to the point and feasible indeed. However, we previously arranged for pack animals from Anatolia as well, while the late Hurşid Pasha was likely to have many more animals in his possession. Thus, we have sent an inquiry to the present Governor of Rumelia and Commander-in-Chief His Excellency Celal Pasha regarding these matters. Furthermore, we have sent special directives to the steward of the late Hurşid Pasha and the probate registrar in charge of recording the goods and effects of the late commander-in-chief and instructed them to transfer the beasts of burden in the late Hurşid Pasha's possession to Celal Pasha. Having informed Your Excellency on these developments by this letter, we ask of you to continue to carry out your duty with due diligence and dedication.

[578/2, *regarding the pack animals for supplying the Morea*]
To the Governor of Rumelia [Celal Pasha]

December 23, 1822

We had formerly arranged for the procurement of camels and mules from Anatolia to transport supplies and ammunition in the army of the late Hurşid Pasha, your predecessor in office. Furthermore, we had seized 151 camels and 84 mules from the inheritance of the late Hüseyin Pasha, former *mutasarrıf* of Kayseri, and delivered them to the imperial stables. Then we corresponded with the late Hurşid Pasha to learn if he needed such a number of camels and mules immediately; we suggested to him that we send these animals on request once spring arrived, since the animals were likely to perish in transport, as winter was approaching. However, our correspondence arrived after his sudden death, leaving our inquiry unanswered. Surmounting difficulties in shipping supplies to the Moreot army by sea leaves no other option than supplying our forces by land. Thus, we have been receiving cautionary recommendations that we had better arrange for requisitioning a satisfactory number of animals from the *kazas* of Rumelia in advance. Moreover, the troops in Larissa have been vanishing following Hurşid Pasha's death, while a body of able troops must be present to serve Your Excellency upon your arrival at Larissa as Commander-in-Chief. We have thus received suggestions that we should commission influential *ayans*, such as Veli Agha, *Ayan* of Zagora, to assemble sizable forces with accompanying special inspectors, since the *nefir-i amm* soldiers will not persevere in military service, as is known by experience. Even though these cautionary warnings are convenient, after deliberating on the matter we have suggested the following points to His Imperial Majesty. The procurement of animals from the *kazas* of Rumelia will be a new burden on the poor, on top of the ones they already bear. Also, as it was explained, we had previously arranged for the collection of animals from Anatolia for the supply train and confiscated the animals of the late *mutasarrıf* of Kayseri for this purpose. We were awaiting a response from the late Hurşid Pasha about how to proceed. The latter is likely to have had a great number of animals in his possession. Your Excellency should detain them and make an inventory to be sent here. Meanwhile, we must inquire from Your Excellency whether you need at present the animals collected from Anatolia and those seized from the late Hüseyin Pasha's probate. Depending on your answer, we can deal with this matter in the coming spring. This situation should be handled under the guidance of Your Excellency. In addition, it would not be proper to appoint random officials from here to serve under your command. You have served in those regions and familiarized yourself with the prevailing conditions in every locality, as well as the manners of the aghas and *ayans* of Rumelia. We should thus

first ask Your Excellency to inform us about whom to assign and how many troops to order them to raise before taking action. His Imperial Majesty has approved of our suggestions. Based on the imperial decree, we have instructed the late Hurşid Pasha's steward, Salih Agha, who is presently in Larissa, and the probate officer Yusuf Agha to hand over to Your Excellency the animals registered in the probate of the late Hurşid Pasha, so that you use them in the supply train. They will also send us an inventory that lists the number of these animals. We ask Your Excellency to exert your best efforts immediately and expressly to relate to us your opinion regarding the matter of the beasts of burden and the necessary measures to be taken for the assignment and the appointment of the officials of your choice to serve at your command.

Postscript: The *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha] has communicated that he requisitioned 250 beasts of burden from the *kazas* within the *sancak* of Thessaloniki and sent them to Larissa to be used in overland transportation of supplies to the Morea, as it is almost impossible to ship supplies by sea. Such a meagre number of beasts cannot carry many supplies. Therefore, we expect Your Excellency to point out the proper course of conduct concerning the transportation of supplies.

[578/7, *regarding the sons of the voivodes of Moldowallachia kept as hostages in Istanbul*]

To Mehmed Pasha

December 23, 1822

The sons of the voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia, along with two boyars to serve as their agents, were previously brought to Istanbul; and the sons were accommodated in Çengelköy.¹ His Imperial Majesty decreed that, in the face of prevailing conditions, we should duly protect them and appoint guards from the janissary corps to stand guard in front of their houses day and night, so that no Greek outsider could visit them. By imperial decree, these guards should accompany them for their safety if they need to go out for some reason and in no way prevent the boyars serving as agents to visit them for conducting their affairs. The imperial decree lets these boyars live anywhere they wish. Nor should the sons of the voivodes be guarded in a way befitting a prisoner, but they should be watched well in a discreet manner. Following the imperial decree, we hosted the sons of the voivodes in Çengelköy and put Mustafa Bey, an agha of the inner palace [*Enderun*] in charge of their protection. Presently, the guarding of that vicinity has been entrusted to you, which leaves the responsibility to guard the sons of the voivodes to your authority. As we have recalled Mustafa Bey, you should appoint an experienced and trustworthy man to replace him. We ask of you to take the necessary measures for their safety, without making them feel like prisoners as explained above, and keep us informed about the process.

¹ Çengelköy: district on the Anatolian side of the Bosphorus.

[578/11, regarding mercenaries harassing functionaries for delayed salaries]

To the Castellan of Lamia Süleyman Pasha

December 24, 1822

We have received your correspondence and the court decree which relate that the troops under your command have been demanding their pay, which has fallen into arrears since the last payment made by the late Commander-in-Chief Hurşid Pasha for the month of *Zilhicce* [August 1822]. We understand that these troops have been harassing Your Excellency ever since. Nevertheless, such matters apparently fall under the responsibility of the commander-in-chief and need to be handled by him. As in the past, Your Excellency is obliged to refer them to His Excellency Celal Pasha, who has been appointed as the governor of the province of Rumelia with the title of commander-in-chief, so that you may deliberate on a collaborative solution. We inform Your Excellency by this letter that we have forwarded this issue to Celal Pasha and ask you to show prudence and vigilance by communicating the matter to him as well.

[578/12, regarding the resignation request of the commissary officer in Larissa]

To Süleyman Agha, Commissary Officer of the Larissa Army

December 24, 1822

Even though you have hitherto served well and faithfully as the commissary officer, your request to resign on account of exhaustion [of your resources] has reached us. Since you are a faithful servant of the Exalted State, it was apparent that you would perform great services in the office you were assigned to, and it is well known that you have exerted much effort since you were appointed commissary officer. It is also true that no efforts in the service of the Exalted State are ever wasted, and they are bound to bring all sorts of rewards. You will also enjoy rewards should you continue to serve faithfully in this office. Moreover, His Excellency the commander-in-chief is about to arrive [in Larissa] any time soon and will spare no efforts in procuring the means for the alleviation of the burden of your duty. You should faithfully know that we pray to God for the auspicious resolution of the ordeal in the Morea, with the help of God. This letter has been written to inform you that you are expected to exert your best efforts to prove the loyalty desired of you by forcing yourself a little while longer for the better management of the affairs under your responsibility, in accordance with necessities of your zeal.

[578/17, *regarding the exile of Seyyid Ali Pasha due to his failure in the Morea*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Celal Pasha]

December 25, 1822

The *çiftliks* and tax farms owned by the slain Tepedelenli Ali Pasha and his lot were seized by the imperial mint. Ismail Agha of the royal guardsmen was appointed as the salaried steward to collect the revenues due in the year of AH 1236 [October 1820–September 1821] from the *çiftliks* in the *kazas* of Domeniko,¹ Elassona, and Ypati and the tax farms of the royal demesnes of Domeniko, Ypati and Canhisari [?] in the *sancaks* of Trikala and Nafpaktos. As the death of Ismail Agha from natural causes necessitated his replacement, His Imperial Majesty willed Ali Raik Bey from the secretariat of the Imperial Council to perform this duty; he is currently in Larissa to carry out other tasks. His principal duty was to carry the secret order of confiscation of all the goods and belongings of the former grand vizier Seyyid Ali Pasha, whose vizieral status was annulled. The order was to be carried out with the judicial supervision of Hurşid Pasha, who was to sell all the confiscated goods to pay the troops in the former's retinue. Ali Raik Bey would present to us the register of the unpaid amount, should this sum not meet all of the military salaries. However, the order could not be fulfilled, since Seyyid Ali Pasha marched into the Morea before the arrival of Ali Raik Bey in Larissa and Hurşid Pasha passed away afterward. Ali Raik Bey and Hasan Agha, who was dispatched as the agent to escort Seyyid Ali Pasha to his place of banishment in Bolu, have been staying in Larissa since then. We have reasoned that it was unknown when and in what condition Seyyid Ali Pasha would return from the Morea and that it would not be proper to countermand the order about him. Now it is His Imperial Majesty's will that Hasan Agha should stay in Larissa and that Ali Raik Bey should deliver the secret order to you upon your arrival in Larissa and manage the affairs concerning the aforementioned *çiftliks* and tax farms. We have instructed Ali Raik Bey to deliver this order to you secretly when you arrive in Larissa and to take care of his principal duty. We have also ordered Hasan Agha to stay in Larissa and seek your approval in all his acts. We ask of you with this letter to exert yourself to carry out the secret order about Seyyid Ali Pasha at an opportune moment.

1 Domeniko (Turk. Dömenik, Gr. Δομένικο): village in Larissa, east-central Greece.

[578/19, regarding the confiscation of the property of Greek runaways and the prevention of the interference of foreign consuls in affairs concerning Ottoman subjects]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

December 25, 1822

We have received your correspondence sent through your agent at the Sublime Porte that pleads for the dispatch of an imperial decree to substantiate your mandate concerning the flight of the infidels named Bimaho, Lisandro, and Tayfaro [incomprehensible Greek names], grandchildren of the late Nano, from Thessaloniki to France. Although it necessitated the confiscation of their properties, such as inns and stores, to be sold for the benefit of the treasury, you issued an affirmative mandate upon the request of the French consul; this granted them a period of six months to return to Thessaloniki to retain their subjecthood and keep their goods and properties, which would be confiscated by the treasury, should they fail to show up within the stipulated period. It is known to Your Excellency that it is His Imperial Majesty's will to confiscate all the deeds and properties of those Greek *reaya* punished after establishing their involvement in the sedition, as well as those who flee to another country. Furthermore, the confiscation policy targeting such fugitives is a domestic affair of the Sublime State, and interference from officials of foreign states is irrelevant. We have witnessed many Frankish intrigues and hypocrisies since the beginning of this sedition, such as helping the *reaya* to flee or making pretexts to protect some fugitives. Therefore, it is improper to accept their involvement through tricks in *reaya* affairs. As a matter of fact, if a subject of a foreign state holds a claim against a fugitive, the prosecution of the case will be contingent upon the return of the fugitive to his country and his detainment. Such is the principle upheld in Istanbul at present concerning *reaya* affairs, and it should be maintained in other parts of the Well-Protected Domains. It is thus at your discretion to take the proper course of action about the said fugitives. While their flight may have been due to the fact that they committed an offence, it may well have been the result of a groundless fear that made them deem it wise to leave the Well-Protected Domains for some time. However, the circumstantial evidence points to their guilt, as three of them fled together, leaving so much property and lands behind, despite the fact that we protect by law the honor, property, and life of the members of their community who did not participate in the sedition and treachery. If they indeed participated in the sedition and escaped for fear of punishment, an imperial order will be issued to enable the treasury to confiscate and sell their properties and lands. If, by contrast, they fled as a result of their delusion, they will have to return to their hometown. Neither of these alternatives requires

intermediation or intervention on the part of the Franks. Besides, even if one of the Sublime State's subjects who commits a crime is in the service of a foreign state, the existing treaties will not give them the right to protect him, and you will still have to give this subject due punishment. It is not beyond the realms of possibility that the intention of the French consul is to deploy yet another Frankish trick. Accordingly, he grabbed an affirmative mandate granting the said fugitives a six-month period of grace, so as to rule out the possibility of confiscation of their properties and lands for some more time, or else to bring the fugitives out of hiding after securing the mandate, or else to find other means of getting their way after the termination of the grace period. This letter is to instruct you to investigate the real condition of the aforementioned fugitives and to do whatever the outcome of the investigation requires at your own discretion. From now on, whenever the foreign consuls and officials intervene with the affairs concerning the *reaya* of the Sublime State, you should answer authoritatively: "The duty of the officials of friendly states is limited to the affairs concerning their own subjects. When they present a petition about their own subjects and merchants, we will give it due consideration in line with the provisions of the existing treaties. However, it is our business to take care of the subjects of the Sublime State, and it goes beyond the confines of the officials of friendly states." You should inform us if they do not appear at the end of the six-month period or, in case they appear within the grace period, if they deserve punishment because of committing an unforgivable offence.

[578/21, *regarding the misconduct of the castellan of Chios*]

To the Castellan of Chios [Yusuf Pasha]

December 26, 1822

We have received sound intelligence from those who visit Chios and other sources concerning your various acts of misconduct in office. We instructed you to carry out on behalf of the treasury the survey and confiscation of the properties and crops of the infidel bandits on Chios and in Çeşme, who either were executed or have fled. However, deceived by your steward, İzzet Efendi, you registered only a small number of the properties and crops you seized, selling the rest secretly and embezzling the sum. The people of Çeşme had owed a communal debt of 400,000 piasters to the rebels of Chios [Greeks of the island], while the latter had taken individual loans worth 200,000 piasters from the former. You reduced these debts by half, or sometimes by one third, and intended to manipulate the original promissory notes by declining to make an official register of these transactions. The court official and the surveyor we have attached to your retinue to carry out on behalf of the treasury the confiscation of the goods and properties belonging to those rebellious *reaya* who had fled from Chios are genuinely striving to accomplish their task. Nevertheless, you have appointed Ali Çelebi as overseer and kept him as your adviser, although he is the son of a wicked notable of Chios called Salyaroğlu [?] Mina, who fled from the island as an apostate [i.e. he converted to Christianity] to Psara. Following Ali Çelebi's advice, you permitted the runaway infidel islanders to return and carry away their olive harvests. Because of your permissive attitude, the infidel bandits on the islands went to Chios and, taking their olive harvests and other belongings, sold them wherever they wished. The infidels of the Archipelago, who are still in revolt, now have no shortage of olives and olive oil, because of your toleration. Apparently, you hold the *reaya* of Chios and the infidel bandits in high regard and consider the Muslim residents despicable. Besides, those rebels who could not come from Psara to Çeşme were able to collect their debts through the services of Ali Çelebi, who issued relevant permits. Moreover, you distributed to the bakeries five thousand bushels of grain stored in the Castle of Chios, even though grain was to be kept as a precaution for times of emergency. You acted in compliance with Ali Çelebi and let the rebellious bandits go to Chios from the islands with no fear in their hearts; you never undertook an investigation of any sort. The father of Ali Çelebi is an apostate and currently the ringleader of the bandits of Psara. He participated in the previous raid on Chios and has been exchanging correspondence with his son. They should not be trusted in any way. The said court official and surveyor and the members of the local community attempted to warn you to put an end to your wrongdoings, but you did not listen. You stated

rather curtly: "This is none of your business. I answer only to the Exalted State," and went your own way. Although the court official and surveyor wanted to communicate to us these issues as required by their sense of duty, they were afraid to do so, because you always intercepted and read their correspondence before forwarding it to Istanbul, as we are told by those who visited Chios and other interested parties. We chose you as the castellan of Chios on the supposition that you would render good service to the Sublime State with unfailing loyalty and would perform every assigned task with a pious and incorruptible heart. We had even granted you adequate revenues for your prosperity and wellbeing. Assuming that you would serve faithfully, we then put you in charge of registering the probate inventories of those fugitive and executed infidels. You should have worked toward earning great fame and gaining more favors by accomplishing your duty in an appreciable way. Yet, you abandoned the correct path from the start and violated the sense of honor and loyalty by your actions, which do not suit piety and decency. One may comprehend with no trouble the dire consequences and regrets your misdeeds are bound to cause. Indeed, the Exalted State will hold you responsible for any affair on Chios, as it has tasked only you with the defense of that island and taking a survey of the belongings and estates of the slain and fugitives. While this is obvious, you allowed yourself to be misled by your steward and the son of a wicked apostate in following an improper course of action. It is a mystery how you, as the sole authority on Chios, would be able to answer to and escape the wrath of His Imperial Majesty if, God forbid, an incident occurs on the island due to your negligence of duty and greed. Just as selfless service to religion and state in such difficult times will bring rewards in this world and the next, such condemned actions will no doubt cause disappointment and regret. We are hereby warning you out of sincere concern for your wellbeing. This letter is to tell you that you should come to your senses from now on by sending away those aforementioned men and fulfilling your duties properly for your own salvation. You should meticulously defend the island, so that those rebel bandits cannot frequent Chios, and fully register the belongings and estates through the court official and surveyor. In order to avoid contradicting His Imperial Majesty's will, pay utmost attention to refraining from acts of greed and make sure that not a single piaster is hidden away from the officials.

[578/24, *regarding the confiscation of Greek property in Izmir*]

To the Castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha]

December 27, 1822

You have communicated to us that before fleeing a *zimmi* named Yanaki, a resident of Izmir and subject of the Sublime State, entered into a fictitious arrangement against the law, by which he sold to Tarouma, the Christian wife of the Dutch resident consul in Izmir, who is his relative, his half share in a commercial building known as Cuba Hanı [uncertain reading] in the Frankish quarter of the town. Realizing that the transfer of the share was null and void, and it was to be confiscated by the state, based on the relevant imperial decree, the consul reported Yanaki had not fled, but was in hiding. Upon your warning that he should reveal himself, the consul brought Yanaki along and returned in your presence the half share to the latter in his capacity as the legal representative of his wife. Therefore, you ask for clarification on whether the half share should be confiscated or left in the possession of its genuine owner. However, Katibzade Ahmed Agha, who is in charge of registering the properties of the fugitive infidels in Izmir, reported that the consul had attempted to seize the half share of Yanaki during his time in hiding, arguing that: "Yanaki sold the share to my wife, Tarouma, in return for the 50,000 piasters he owed me, and the transaction has been documented by the judge of Izmir." According to his report, the fact that the value of the half share is much higher confirms the fictitious nature of the transaction, while the disappearance of Yanaki once more after confessing his 50,000 piasters of debt to Tarouma at the time of abrogation of the transaction in your presence proves his treachery. Thus, Katibzade Ahmed Agha suggests confiscating Yanaki's half share in the building, along with all his goods and effects, by an imperial order. In light of the evidence, there is a discrepancy between your account and Ahmed Agha's report that causes some misgivings, and it is questionable whether Yanaki can be called a fugitive because he is hiding. For the time being, we leave aside both of the options of confiscation and return of the property to the owner, until the matter is adequately clarified and verified. We ask of you by this letter to review this matter when Ahmed Agha presents the final version of the registration of properties and probates, completed and signed. Once you discover the truth of the matter, you should bring to our attention the accurate information in a report.

[578/27, *regarding the depletion of provisions in Larissa, the main Ottoman military station for operations in the Morea*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Celal Pasha]

December 30, 1822

Based on the imperial rescript that ordered the appointment of an official reputed for loyalty, industriousness, and diligence to Larissa to investigate why provisions ordered from various locations have not been delivered before the arrival of Your Excellency, we have sent el-Hac Ahmed Efendi. Belonging to the scribal rank of the Imperial Council, he formerly served as the clerk of the imperial gun foundry as a dignified servant of the Sublime State. The underlying reason for this decision is the gravity of the current situation. We have heard that the grain stores in Larissa are almost exhausted, whereas Lamia and Alamana are still to be supplied from Larissa by His Imperial Majesty's will. Besides, Your Excellency will obviously be in need of abundant provisions after arriving in Larissa in order to concentrate a substantial force in the town. Surely, there are other commissary officers assigned to the task of administering the military rations, and the matter of rations is and will be their responsibility, as in the past. This inspector, by contrast, is responsible first for assessing how much of the grain was left undelivered from the amount that the late Hurşid Pasha, your predecessor in office, had ordered by mandate from the *kazas*, as well as other locations. Then, he will collect and procure this amount by consulting local knowledgeable men on how much grain each locality can afford to contribute. Finally, he will immediately collect and store the amount of provisions Your Excellency stipulates and dispatch them to the places of your choice. Ahmed Efendi will act loyally upon his instructions as laid out in the imperial decree at his disposal and, with God Almighty's help, earn your appreciation by his good record of service, which is our most sincere expectation of him. The definition of his task does not include the distribution of military rations, which will be carried out by commissary officers. He is merely in charge of promptly collecting the undelivered amounts of grain ordered by the mandate of your late predecessor. He is also responsible for the collection of the grain you order from the *kazas* and to send it to the places of your choice. His appointment is meant to alleviate your hardships as the illustrious governor of the province of Rumelia and the glorious commander-in-chief with full discretionary powers. The success of Ahmed Efendi in his task is possible only by your support of his timely supervision of this most important matter of the Sublime State, as well as his demonstration of hard work to gain your appreciation. Therefore, we ask of Your Excellency by this letter to work toward providing proper support and to protect him in every aspect as required by your innate qualities of sagacity and determination. It is our special plea that Your Excellency does whatever is necessary for the smooth handling of his task.

[578/28, *regarding the situation in Serbia and the return of Mahmud Pasha from the Morea to Kruševac*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Celal Pasha]

December 31, 1822

We have written in the past to Hüseyin Pasha, Castellan of Niš, to disband the two thousand salaried soldiers under his command, because of the surmounting expenses of the imperial treasury and the lack of bellicosity, for the time being, on the part of the Serbs. He was instructed rather to maintain a state of preparedness by expanding his household troops and, in case of need, by raising men from the surrounding areas. Following His imperial Majesty's will, we had also ordered Şehsuvar Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Kruševac, to help Hüseyin Pasha if required. However, in his current correspondence, Hüseyin Pasha refers to the plea written to him by Şehsuvar Pasha. He communicated to Hüseyin Pasha that, despite the recent instructions to send reinforcement to Niš when necessary, he had already been overburdened with the task of guarding the strongholds and the bridge over the Morava River in the *sancak* of Kruševac. Thus, he requests the reassignment to Kruševac of his son, Mahmud Pasha, who is in command of his select troops in the Morea. Şehsuvar Pasha had come forward with the same request last year, and when the matter was referred to the late Hurşid Pasha, your predecessor in office, he left the decision to redeploy him in Kruševac to us, remarking that Mahmud Pasha brought around two hundred troops to Larissa. We then told Hurşid Pasha to keep Mahmud Pasha under his command and employ him duly, since his departure from Kruševac with the stated force to take up service with Hurşid Pasha could not possibly jeopardize the defense of the town. Moreover, had we sent him back, troops from other *kazas* would have followed suit. It would also cause rumors of a new Serbian uprising. Lastly, the Serbians are unlikely to start a rebellion on their own without cooperating with the Muscovites, who have hitherto not shown signs of mobilization. We have also informed Şehsuvar Pasha about His Imperial Majesty's will that he should always be on the lookout and ready and that he must send reinforcements to Hüseyin Pasha in a time of emergency. In response, he assured us that he was implementing precautionary measures by assigning troops to the places under his administration that needed protection and promised to support Hüseyin Pasha to the best of his ability. As pointed out to Your Excellency recently, we have sent instructions to the Geg [Albanian] pashas under Mehmed Pasha's command to persevere in their assigned posts, despite the desertion of their soldiers. However, it is His Imperial Majesty's will that we refer such matters to Your Excellency, since you have been empowered to

make the final decision as the commander-in-chief. We have thus communicated to Hüseyin Pasha His Imperial Majesty's decree that he consult you on the question of Mahmud Pasha and other similar issues. We ask of you by this letter to consider the matter at hand thoroughly and to decide on the request for Mahmud Pasha's return to his father's side.

[578/29, regarding the dispatch of several Greeks to Istanbul to be questioned about Ali Pasha's hidden cash]

To Celal Pasha, Governor of Rumelia

December 31, 1822

It is His Imperial Majesty's will that Your Excellency delivers the *zimmis* listed below to Derviş Mustafa Agha, a veteran sergeant in His Imperial Majesty's court, who will escort them to Istanbul for interrogation. These *zimmis*, who are all at the moment in the custody of the late Hurşid Pasha's steward, Salih Agha, are: the moneylender of Hurşid Pasha, the Armenian [H]Acı Antuan of Aleppo, and his chief assistant; Mihalaki, a clerk from Trikala, and his chief assistant, Zafiri of Ioannina, whom the former commissary officer the late Edhem Agha employed in his financial transactions; and Kosti, Zafiri's brother. We have instructed Derviş Mustafa Agha to deliver this letter to you immediately upon your arrival in Larissa and to bring the said *zimmis* directly to the imperial seat. We ask of you by this letter to send the *zimmis* mentioned above with Derviş Mustafa Agha and to take necessary measures to prevent their desertion on the way to Istanbul.

Postscript: In the relevant investigation, these *zimmis* were clearly implicated in hiding the cash of the slain Tepedelenli Ali Pasha and the receipts of the state funds he had embezzled. In the case of delivering one of them to the exclusion of others to Derviş Mustafa Agha or disclosing the imperial orders unwittingly, they are likely to escape, given that they remain altogether under the custody of Salih Agha. Although the moneylender of the late Hurşid Pasha is an Armenian from Aleppo,¹ he had collaborated with the others [Greeks]. Therefore, it is necessary to deliver them together to Derviş Mustafa Agha, and you should exert yourself to take measures to prevent their escape on the journey to Istanbul.

1 Aleppo (Turk. Halep, Gr. Χαλέπι): town in northwest Syria.

1823

[578/31, regarding granting royal pardon to the Greeks of several towns in Anatolia]

To the Mütesellim of the Sancak of Menteşe

January 2, 1823

We have received your letter asking for the course of action regarding the imprisoned *kocabaşı* named Dimitri and the listed group of *reaya* from the towns of Taşlıca and Tarahiye, as well as the village of Akyün, in the *kaza* of Mandalyat within the *sancak* of Menteşe, who had fled their towns at the beginning of the sedition and now ask for royal mercy. It was previously agreed unanimously in accordance with sharia that those infidels who ask for royal mercy after violating the imperatives of subjecthood by rebelling shall be granted pardon by the Islamic principle of compassion, if they accept the four conditions [of pardon]. It is His Imperial Majesty's will to grant them royal pardon, when they accept these four conditions by word and deed in a convincing manner. Therefore, we append a copy of these four conditions to this letter for your information. In the case that these *reaya* beg for forgiveness wholeheartedly and sincerely, there is no need to implement the condition about delivering hostages, since they are not from an island, but residents of Muslim villages. You should rather follow whatever local custom is available for seeking assurances. We ask of you by this letter to offer them the remaining three conditions and let them return to their hometowns should they accept them completely by word and deed, as required by holy law. If they do not accept the conditions as they stand and persist in their rebellion, then you must bring about the means of their suppression. As far as the mentioned *kocabaşı* is concerned, he has also asked for forgiveness, and the same conditions apply to him. If you consider his repentance genuine by word and deed, you should grant him royal mercy and release him, along with his children and dependents, in compliance with the imperial decree.

[578/35, *regarding the situation in Albania*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Celal Pasha]

January 3, 1823

His Excellency Ömer [Vrioni] Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, sent us correspondence from Acarnania about the misbehavior of Ismail Bey of Vlorë. He recounts that a year before the late Hurşid Pasha ordered Ismail Bey to assemble a force of one thousand men and enter the service of His Excellency Yusuf Pasha of Serres, *Mutasarrıf* of Aydın, in charge of the defense of Patras. Witnessing the ferocity of the uprising of the Moreot infidels, Ismail Bey communicated with the infidels and went back to Vlorë with his men on a few Frankish ships soon after. Although he deserved punishment for his act, the late Hurşid Pasha decided to deal with him later, since the incident of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha was not settled at that time, and induced Ismail Pasha to participate in the suppression of the Souliots. Again, he had acted improperly in the army operating against the Souliots and deserted with his troops at night. Upon arrival in Vlorë, he seized the public treasury and collected due taxes, with which he paid salaries and bonus money to Albanian folks [soldiers]. Gathering some lowlifes this way, he dared to display insubordination. Therefore, the late Hurşid Pasha sent his own coffee maker with a mandate to bring Ismail Bey to Larissa without resorting to the use of force, and when he refused to comply with the mandate, Hurşid Pasha imprisoned Ismail Bey's brother, who was in Larissa at the time. His Excellency then sent his seal keeper Hasan Bey to Vlorë at the head of a small contingent to carry out the punishment of Ismail Pasha and sent in a cavalry force of few hundred men as reinforcement under the command of his own head of cavalry. Yet, the latter returned to Larissa, due to the death of Hurşid Pasha, while his seal keeper Hasan Bey stayed in Vlorë to carry out his orders. Ömer Pasha states in his letter his concerns that the trouble of Vlorë may trigger a revolt in Albania and suggests that we issue imperial orders to the seal keeper Hasan Bey, as well as other functionaries, instructing them to carry out the punishment of Ismail Bey. He also demands that we send special agents to Vlorë and Delvinë with orders that require all judges, beys, aghas, and company commanders within these districts to take up service under his command. He thinks Ismail Bey's brother, Ahmed Bey, must be kept in prison in Larissa, whereas Ibrahim Pasha's son, Süleyman Pasha, and Muhtar Pasha's son, Hüseyin Pasha, should be expelled from the town. Finally, Ömer Pasha finds it essential to carry out the punishment of the arms bearer of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha [Silahdar Ilyas Poda] and others, whom the late Hurşid Pasha had brought to Larissa [and put under custody?] because of their temerity to stir up trouble in Albania. The late Hurşid Pasha then communicated to us that Ismail Bey of Vlorë and his brother, Bekir Bey, tried to stir up sedition in Vlorë upon their arrival in the

town. They seized Vlorë after expelling the *mütesellim* of Ömer Pasha from the town. In order to avert a diminution of Ömer Pasha's prestige and his resentment, Hurşid Pasha thought Ismail Bey and Bekir Bey should not get away with this. His Excellency thus suggested the dispatch of two imperial orders to himself in secrecy, which he might use alternatively depending on the turn of events. The first imperial order must decree the banishment of Ismail Bey and Bekir Bey to Didymoticho. The second one must order their execution if they do not yield. With the approval of His Imperial Majesty, we sent these two imperial orders secretly to Hurşid Pasha. However, we are at a loss to know as to which one of them His Excellency preferred to apply, as he passed away at that time. Besides, we are told that Ismail Bey is Ömer Pasha's equal in terms of prestige and power in Albania, based on his dynastic background and tribal connections. Should we take the suggestion of Ömer Pasha and instruct Hasan Bey and other functionaries to carry out Ismail Bey's punishment, they would be unlikely to perform the task smoothly, and, God forbid, this will likely stir up a great sedition in Albania. Conversely, should we follow a reconciliatory course, Ömer Pasha would obviously grow suspicious and show reluctance in serving in the Morea. He may even abandon his duties and leave the Morea abruptly with a worried mind. As a matter of fact, Ömer Pasha's conduct and state of mind was expressed in the memorandum of the wardrobe master of Reşid Pasha, which we appended to our previous letter to you. In consideration of the convincing rumors, Ismail Pasha seems to be just as powerful as Ömer Pasha. Therefore, we have recommended to His Imperial Majesty as the optimum solution to stress the following points in our response to Ömer Pasha: that having notified the late Hurşid Pasha about the mischief of Ismail Bey, we instructed him to do what was necessary as required by the situation; that after he passed away unexpectedly, we forwarded the matter to his successor in office, because it is our priority to resolve it the situation as well; that we have granted to his successor the same full discretionary powers as the late Hurşid Pasha, who had enjoyed great prestige in the Sublime State; and that he should not be preoccupied with this issue and, rather, focus on performing his task. Upon His Imperial Majesty's approval of our recommendation, we have sent a letter to Ömer Pasha detailing these points. As for his suggestion regarding Ibrahim Pasha's son, Süleyman Pasha, and Muhtar Pasha's son, Hüseyin Pasha, we have informed him that the former was settled in Istanbul and the latter in Edirne by imperial decree, so that they cannot remain in contact with Albania. Furthermore, an officer was sent to escort Hüseyin Pasha's mother from Libohovë¹ to Edirne. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that Your Excellency follows a course of conduct that suits the current state of affairs and promises

1 Libohovë (Turk. Libohova, Gr. Λιμποχώβα): town in southeast Albania.

a solution to this problem at hand. We expect you to inform us of your opinion and measures regarding this matter as the commander-in-chief. We understand that Ömer Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, wants us to assign to you the punishment of the slain Ali Pasha's arms bearer [Silahdar İlyas Poda] and some other Albanian *beys* who are currently in Larissa. However, the late Hurşid Pasha previously pointed out that Kolokotronis, the chief of the rebels in the Morea, obviously intended to provoke the Albanians in agreement with Elmas, the son of Meçopo [Meço Bono]. It is no secret that the Albanian commanders are insensible and would commit blasphemy for the sake of money. Therefore, we had sent Hurşid Pasha a copy of the imperial decree that he should seek a way to execute Meçopo's son, Elmas. Nevertheless, in his response Hurşid Pasha had written that Elmas was not alone in this treachery, and five to six men were discovered to be his accomplices. He continued that the treacherous Elmas had already taken refuge with Tahir Abbas and Mühürdar Ago in line with their agreement and assured us that they would be punished deservedly in due course. Indeed, it is impossible to do away with them overtly, since they have their own retinue and followers. Therefore, His Imperial Majesty decreed that this be written to Your Excellency with the knowledge of Ömer Pasha. We hereby notify Your Excellency that we have informed Ömer Pasha about this matter and ask of Your Excellency to conduct a prudent course that suits the times and conditions in performing your duties. Keep us informed about the course of events.

[578/37, regarding Ömer Vrioni and Albanian mercenaries in the army]
To the Governor of Rumelia [Celal Pasha]

January 3, 1823

The Governor of Karaman, His Excellency Mehmed Reşid Pasha, and the *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, His Excellency Ömer Pasha, have sent us a joint letter on the matter of the military pay that fell in arrears and the supply shortages. The former has also communicated to us separately on some issues and indicated that his wardrobe master would soon arrive in Istanbul with a special message. Accordingly, Reşid Pasha and His Excellency Ömer Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, have been carrying out operations near Souli, Arta, and Acarnania for the last six to seven months. Learning about the death of Hurşid Pasha, their forces worried about their salaries that the late Hurşid Pasha had pledged to pay and thus delivered pay certificates to Reşid and Ömer Pashas. Based on the relevant correspondence of the late Hurşid Pasha, the latter distributed them among the troops through regimental and company commanders. They complain in the joint report that they were harassed by these troops, who demand to be paid fully, as their pay were already five months overdue. By contrast, Reşid and Ömer Pashas did not have even half of this sum. They suggest that the imperial treasury should cover the overdue payment. Moreover, the commissary officer, Ahmed Agha, failed to procure military rations to their forces, since he did not have any money. While His Excellency Yusuf Pasha of Serres sent some provisions, it fell below the required quantity. Reşid and Ömer Pashas plead with us to send another commissary officer with a large amount of money in order to buy provisions from the Frankish merchants in the vicinity. In his separate correspondence, Reşid Pasha points out that he spent all his cash funds and borrowed a considerable amount of money for the maintenance of his force, as well as for the protection of places in need. Even though the late Hurşid Pasha had accepted paying for three thousand troops, Reşid Pasha still had to spend more than one thousand purses of piasters to wage battles and defend Arta and Vonitsa. Moreover, he distributed 2,800 pay certificates to the mercenaries who came from Chameria. He calculates the total debt incurred as 616,000 piasters. This includes the pay of the aforementioned three thousand men and that of the 2,800 men from Chameria. The former fell in arrears for four months from the month of *Zilhicce* [August 1822] to *Rebiülevvel* [November 1822], while the latter fell behind by two months, including *Safer* [October 1822] and *Rebiülevvel*. He pleads with us to cover all of these expenses as soon as possible. Finally, he reports that Ismail Pasha, Castellan of the *sancak* of Nafpaktos, was busy with reestablishing his authority in the *kazas* of Nafpaktos. In short, Reşid Pasha requests us to cover the overdue military pay and to dispatch a new commissary officer with considerable

sums, while his wardrobe master arrived in Istanbul to relate verbally some inappropriate actions of Ömer Pasha [Vrioni]. Having read these reports, we suggest to His Imperial Majesty the following. First of all, Ahmed Agha still serves as the commissary officer under the command of both governors, and there is no need to replace him with another one. As for the pay in arrears, it is not clear how many men Ömer Pasha has under his command and how much of their pay is overdue. Furthermore, we are also not sure about the nature of the pay certificates delivered by the late Hurşid Pasha, as claimed by Ömer Pasha. Should we decide to send an amount of money in advance on the condition of deducing them later from the payments to be made in the future, all other officers assigned to serve in the Morea would ask us to cover their expenses on the first occasion. This would be unsustainable. There is news coming from several sides that Reşid and Ömer Pashas are nowadays granting royal pardon to the *reaya* of Acarnania at the request of the locals, provided they fully pay the *jizya*, which is two years overdue, along with all other accrued taxes. Acarnania has many subjects and plenty of provisions. Even if Reşid and Ömer Pashas demand some locals to deliver a sufficient amount of grain in lieu of the *jizya* and other cash taxes, the tax revenue to be collected from other locals should still cover, without a doubt, the pay in arrears. It is improper that they fail to mention this and like to have the Sublime State honor their financial obligations. Thus, no particular response is to be given regarding this matter, and, instead, they should be reminded that their request is within your purview in your capacity as the commander-in-chief, as in the past. Assuring them that we are forwarding the matter to Your Excellency, we should ask them to follow the formal procedure by communicating such issues to Your Excellency in future and to stay vigilant in carrying out their duties. Based on the formal procedure established by your predecessor in office, Your Excellency must inform us about the total sum needed to cover the military pay and other expenses in the Morea and distribute the funds we send upon your request proportionately among the functionaries. Nevertheless, the Sublime State experiences a shortage of cash, due to the infinite expenses it currently incurs. It is inappropriate that our functionaries there request us to send money in extortionate amounts when they are collecting the *jizya* and other taxes that are two years overdue from the *reaya* of Acarnania. In addition, large sums are accruing from other subjects. Our functionaries, however, simply pocket the money. Under these circumstances, we have suggested to His Imperial Majesty to ask of Your Excellency to exercise prudence and be diligent in carrying out the procedure described above. On the one hand, our functionaries should not be affected by any financial inconvenience in the execution of their task. On the other hand, Your Excellency must never lose sight

of the delicate fiscal situation in addressing the requests for financial support forwarded by either Reşid and Ömer Pashas or other functionaries. Therefore, Your Excellency should make every effort to decrease the demanded amount of money through making deductions by reference to past remittances and curtailment on occasions before indicating to us the total sum, so that we shall forward it in the form of cash or assignments. Upon the approval of these suggestions by His Imperial Majesty, we have sent letters in response to Reşid and Ömer Pashas to this effect. Besides, His Imperial Majesty also ordered us to send a copy of the statement of the said wardrobe master about Ömer Pasha, since, most probably, it reflects the truth. We are sending Your Excellency a copy in the attachment to this letter, so that you will have detailed knowledge about this as the commander-in-chief and glorious governor with full discretionary powers of that region. As Your Excellency will realize from its content, Ömer Pasha is hoping to have himself appointed as the superintendent of the defiles by exerting his influence on Reşid Pasha. However, it is clearly known to everyone that it can never be permissible to detach the supervision of the defiles from the governorship of Rumelia. The troubles caused by the accursed Ali Pasha left no doubt that neither the supervision of the defiles nor the governorship of Rumelia should be entrusted to an Albanian. Thus, even if Ömer Pasha indulges in negligence or procrastination in his assigned post on the pretext that he is denied the office of the superintendent of the defiles, it will still be impermissible to detach this office from the governorship of Rumelia. We inform Your Excellency by this letter that His Imperial Majesty desires you to communicate to us as a faithful and prudent servant among our great viziers your decision on this matter after a thorough and cautious examination based on the local state of affairs. Your Excellency should always strive to demonstrate the diligence and prudence expected of you, as described above.

Postscript: We assume that Reşid Pasha had sent out his correspondence and wardrobe master before learning of your appointment to the office of the superintendent of the defiles, along with the governorship of Rumelia. Although Ömer Pasha had asked for his intercession in his favor on the matter of the defiles, Reşid Pasha did not even mention this topic in his correspondence, and, instead, sent his wardrobe master to us. Thus, we deemed it necessary to ignore this matter in our response to the joint correspondence from Ömer and Reşid Pashas, so that no reason will be given for despair and resentment, nor will a clue about the affair be disclosed. We instead inserted a phrase to the effect that we would deliberate on the matter brought to our attention by the wardrobe master and do whatever is necessary.

[578/38, *regarding the instructions of Reşid and Ömer Pashas*]

*To the Governor of Karaman Reşid Pasha and the Mutasarrıf of Ioannina
Ömer Pasha*

January 3, 1823

We have received the joint correspondence Your Excellency sent together with His Excellency Ömer Pasha [Vrioni]. In the quest to accomplish your mission to penetrate into the Morea, you advanced to Vrachori¹ together with Ömer Pasha and pacified the *kazas* of Acarnania, as related in your correspondence. Your Excellency states that you began operations to crush the rebellious infidels who gathered in Missolonghi and persisted in their uprising. You assure us about capturing the town soon, thereby opening up the route leading to the Morea. You also bring to our attention that the troops under your command have not been paid in the previous five months, due to the death of Hurşid Pasha. Hard-pressed by their insistent protests and demand to be paid, Your Excellency pleads with His Imperial Majesty to undertake the payment of their salaries. Finally, you request the appointment of a new commissary officer with large funds at his disposal to make supply purchases, since the commissary officer of Acarnania put you in a desperate situation by failing to supply your troops properly. Having reviewed your joint correspondence and rejoiced at your demonstration of zeal, diligence, and dexterity in quelling the rebellious infidels and your intention to cross over to the Morea, we have submitted it to His Imperial Majesty. Indeed, it is most commendable to relieve our functionaries of any plights regarding the military pay and rations. That said, it is His Imperial Majesty's will that His Excellency Celal Pasha, the new governor of Rumelia and the commander-in-chief, should deal with this matter, following the existing procedure. His Excellency is about to arrive in Larissa, by the help of God. Therefore, we communicated to him His Imperial Majesty's decree, which also requires Your Excellency to inform him about this matter and similar others. By His Imperial Majesty's will, Your Excellency should commit yourself with an unflinching heart to your mission and advance upon the Morea at once in demonstration of your zeal and diligence. You should maintain good communication with the commander-in-chief on every matter and decision, as you are a faithful and upright vizier of whom we always expect good and loyal service. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to cross over to the Morea immediately, right after ending the troubles in your current zone of operation in communication with the commander-in-chief. Suppression of the incident

¹ Vrachori (Turk. İvrahor, Gr. Βραχώρι); now Agrinio, a town in western Greece.

in the Morea will no doubt distinguish Your Excellency among your peers and confer on you a great reputation.

Postscript: We took note of every matter your wardrobe master told us. We assure you we will deliberate on them comprehensively and take necessary actions. We expect Your Excellency to carry out your tasks with devotion.

[578/50, regarding the garrisoning of Izmir by mercenaries]

To the Castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha]

January 11, 1823

We have received your correspondence submitted through the secretary of your administrative council. You communicate to us that you were obliged to hire 1,500 mercenaries in order to augment your household troops to fulfill your prime duty as castellan, which is the defense of Izmir and its surroundings against the bandits. Convinced that the protection of such a significant town could only be possible with a strong garrison, you undertook to pay them from your own pocket. Your Excellency states that, although you have somehow managed to pay them until now, their pay began to fall into arrears, and your debts have piled up gradually. According to Your Excellency, the solution is to order the *sancaks* around Izmir to raise two thousand militia men and then compute this into a financial obligation, by which they have to pay a compensation fee for each man. This fund, you argue, must be assigned for the payment of the mercenaries serving with you. In addition, the financial burden of their rations must also be eliminated by making due allotments from some other fiscal resource. Your agent to the Sublime Porte has also submitted a memorandum on this matter. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted your letter and the memorandum to His Imperial Majesty. His Imperial Majesty had appointed you as castellan and put you in charge of the protection of the *müstemens* in Izmir and the loyal *reaya* from the likely attacks of the rabble and brigands at the beginning of the sedition of the Greek infidels. Your Excellency employs only two hundred men, as confirmed by our inquiries, despite your claim to have hired 1,500 mercenaries, while a couple of past incidents and troubles in Izmir sufficiently prove that you do not have a strong retinue. Our investigations have also shown that you amassed a fortune when dealing with the matter of the goods and effects of the fugitive infidels of Izmir, as well as other matters. Besides, building up a strong garrison is futile, since Izmir needs no large garrison for protection. We inform Your Excellency of the imperial decree that instructs you to maintain the force at your disposal from your own resources and refrain from keeping the Sublime State busy by bringing up such trivialities. As a token of your prudence and comprehension, you should pay attention to implementing your duty with the available troops without hiring more men, as ordered by His Imperial Majesty.

[578/51, *regarding the failure of the mütesellim of Menteşe in garrisoning Kos*]

To the Mütesellim of Menteşe Yahya Bey

January 12, 1823

His Excellency Ibrahim Hilmi Pasha, Castellan of the island of Kos, has sent us a letter complaining about your misconduct on the matter of garrisoning the island. We have previously ordered nine hundred troops from the *sancak* of Menteşe to serve on the island on rotation, both in summertime and wintertime. When he asked you to dispatch them in the summer, you sent four hundred men and agreed to pay a compensation fee at the rate of 15 piasters per man for the absent soldiers. However, you have failed to forward the agreed sum as the compensation fee. He thus had to hire mercenaries on a monthly basis to make up the quota and took loans to pay them. Moreover, when he sent [his agent], İskender Agha, to discuss the matter of the winter troops to be sent to the island, the locals clearly stated their incapacity to raise them. İskender Agha was forced in the negotiations to accept their offer to supply 350 men. Accordingly, they would send two hundred men to serve in the garrison and pay 20 piasters per man each month as a compensation fee for the remaining 150 men. Despite the commitments made, the *sancak* sent two hundred useless men, who did not even have weapons and proper clothes. Therefore, His Excellency was obliged to hire mercenaries on a monthly basis; and neither did the locals deliver the compensation fee. Ibrahim Hilmi Pasha informs us that you turned a blind eye to this misconduct. As is known to everyone, the Greek bandits dared to commit treason and mischief against the Muslims, by which necessity we had to take measures to defend the places of strategic importance of the Well-Protected Domains. The imperial order for raising summer and winter troops from the *sancak* of Menteşe is part of that policy. It was the obligation of the *sancak* to send fully armed, robust men. Evidently, you did not send the troops; nor did you observe the agreement you reached with Ibrahim Hilmi Pasha through his agent. What accounts for this failure is your own laxity and negligence of duty. God forbid, in case of any inconvenience in the protection of the island, you will surely be held responsible, due to your failure to supply the soldiers. We write this letter to warn you to take account of possible consequences of your misconduct and to carry out firmly the plan agreed with Ibrahim Hilmi Pasha by sending capable, fully armed men.

[578/53, *regarding the death of Celal Pasha, Governor of Rumelia*]

To Erib Pasha (in the Morea), to Yusuf Pasha, Castellan of Patras (now at Patras), to Hasan Pasha (in the Morea), to the Former Grand Vizier Ali Pasha (in the Morea), to the Mutasarrıf of Trikala Mahmud Pasha (in the Morea), to the Mutasarrıf of Ioannina (now at Acarnania, about to cross over to the Morea), to the Governor of Karaman (now at Acarnania, about to cross over to the Morea)

January 15, 1823

We have received the news of the death of Ali Celal Pasha, who was previously appointed as the governor and the commander-in-chief of Rumelia with full discretionary powers, as well as the superintendent of the defiles, at Travnik,¹ by God's will, due to the exacerbation of the illness which afflicted him when he was about to depart from Bosnia to Larissa to take up his new post. A man of authority must immediately be present in Larissa [the main Ottoman military station for the operations in the Morea] with the current situation, in order to prevent any disruption of the conduct of operations that involve aiding our functionaries who are toiling to crush the enemy in the Morea and dealing with all other relevant matters. In light of this consideration, His Imperial Majesty has appointed His Excellency [Köse] Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Teke and Hamid, as the governor and the commander-in-chief of Rumelia with full discretionary powers, as well as the superintendent of the defiles. His Excellency is currently in Lamia in close proximity to Larissa. Besides, based on his previous record of service, he will surely show the necessary courage, determination, and diligence in his new post. We have already sent him the relevant imperial decree strictly reiterating his duties and instructing him to go to Larissa. We inform you by this letter that, following His Imperial Majesty's will, we have sent to Your Excellency and other viziers the imperial orders for carrying out your duties with determination, as in the past. We have no doubt that Mehmed Pasha will faithfully follow his orders without further reiteration. However, the current state of affairs is at the moment tense, and the operations in the Morea should not be allowed to falter. This is surely the right time to gain eternal fame through sincere service to religion and state. The loss of Ali Celal Pasha should in no way interfere with the execution of your duties. You must continue to exhibit prowess in the name of religion and state and show solidarity with other functionaries in the execution of your office, so that no setback will ever occur in the operations. Lastly, you should submit to the authority of the new commander-in-chief and thereby gain the favor of His Imperial Majesty.

¹ Travnik (Turk. Travnik, Gr. Τράβνικ): capital town of the province of Bosnia.

[578/54, regarding the instructions of the new governor of Rumelia and the need to appoint a new commander-in-chief to the Morea]

*To Mehmed Pasha, who is appointed as the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia with full discretionary powers
January 15, 1823*

We have received the news of the death of Ali Celal Pasha, who was previously appointed as the governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia with full discretionary powers, as well as the superintendent of the defiles, by God's will, due to the exacerbation of the illness which afflicted him when he was about to depart from Bosnia to Larissa to take up his new post. This compelled us to search for an appointee just like the late Hurşid Pasha: that is, a reasonable, brave, resolute, and faithful person who never puts off for tomorrow his task at hand; and who gives due consideration to every matter and is capable of providing the necessary support and assistance to our functionaries deployed in the Morea. Your Excellency is gifted with these qualities and is among the great viziers on whose good service and diligence we can count. Actually, as we have written to you in a previous communication, His Imperial Majesty would have looked favorably on your appointment to this post due to his confidence in you at the time of Hurşid Pasha's death, but you were further away [from Larissa]. On this occasion, His Imperial Majesty has ordered your appointment as the governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia, as well as the superintendent of the defiles, since you are currently at Lamia and thereby in close proximity to Larissa. In his decision, His Imperial Majesty is confident that Your Excellency will not pause for a single moment in the execution of your new office and serve with distinction [our] religion and the Sublime State as expected. Based on His Imperial Majesty's decree, we have sent the order of appointment, along with relevant instructions regarding your new post as the governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia with full discretionary powers, as well as the superintendent of the defiles. This is the right time to demonstrate the diligence and loyalty expected of Your Excellency by sparing no efforts in the accomplishment of the assigned tasks, so as to earn the gratitude of all and particularly the appreciation of His Imperial Majesty, as did Hurşid Pasha in the past. With full confidence in your diligence and zeal, we expect Your Excellency as the commander-in-chief to proceed to Larissa at once, assume your new duties, and strive to provide support to our dignitaries serving in the Morea and Acarnania. We are confident that Your Excellency will finally bring this incident in the Morea to a successful end with a skill and eagerness matching those of Hurşid Pasha. Meanwhile, as you are aware, the late Hurşid Pasha had appointed Mahmud Pasha of Drama as the commander-in-chief of the Morea. Yet, we have recently received the news of Mahmud

Pasha's death as well. It is imperative to delegate the offices of the governor and of the commander-in-chief of the Morea to a skillful vizier. However, the Morea brings almost no revenue to speak of to its holder. The governorships of Teke and Hamid that were granted to Your Excellency are currently vacant due to your new appointment. We think that we should not make appointments to these vacancies, so that Your Excellency may grant them out of necessity to whomever you appoint as commander-in-chief of the Morea. Based on His Imperial Majesty's will, we send Your Excellency this letter to ask your opinion as to which vizier should replace the late Mahmud Pasha as commander-in-chief of the Morea and whether it is necessary to grant the *sancaks* of Teke and Hamid to the prospective governor of the Morea, given the latter's incapacity to yield any revenue. We ask Your Excellency to forward your opinions on these matters, so that we can take due action immediately.

Postscript: Following His Imperial Majesty's order to boost the morale of the dignitaries serving in the Morea, we have sent out motivating and encouraging imperial rescripts to Erib Ahmed Pasha, Seyyid Ali Pasha, Hasan Pasha, and the *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala Namık Pasha, who is in Corinth; to the Castellan of Patras Yusuf Pasha; and to Ömer Pasha and the Governor of Karaman Reşid Pasha, who are about to cross from Acarnania to the Morea. In addition, we have sent each of them separate instructions regarding their duties and hereby inform Your Excellency on this development.

[578/59, *regarding reducing the expenses of the imperial navy*]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

January 16, 1823

We have reviewed the memorandum and the two ledgers presented by the honorable superintendent of the imperial arsenal, regarding the expenses of the two squadrons prepared for the coming spring, as well as the additional funds required to supplement the regular revenues necessary to cover the yearly expenses of the imperial arsenal. Accordingly, one of these fleets will sail to the Mediterranean under your command, and the other will stand in reserve at the Golden Horn. The superintendent also verbally expressed the need to arrange for the payment of the sailors. After deliberating on these matters, we have come to the conclusion that the current state of affairs dictates cutting down such costs as much as possible. While it is inadvisable to cancel the outfitting of one three-decker and four two-decker galleys and twenty shallops for the Golden Horn squadron, we can achieve a considerable cost cutting by keeping those ships of the line and the majority of the shallops at anchor off the Golden Horn rather than off Beşiktaş as in the previous year, while a small detachment of brigs and shallops patrols the Bosphorus. It will still be possible to tow these fully equipped ships out of the Golden Horn up the Bosphorus in a time of emergency. Therefore, we have presented a memorandum to His Imperial Majesty, explaining our opinion, and have asked his permission to instruct the superintendent to recalculate and reduce the costs accordingly, so that we can deliberate on the matter. Upon reviewing our memorandum, His Imperial Majesty remarked: "The Golden Horn squadrons have been outfitted for a few years, only to cause waste of money, while it is imperative to keep a few light ships on patrol in the Bosphorus. The main focus of the efforts should be the outfitting and dispatch of the vital Mediterranean squadron." His Imperial Majesty ordered us to instruct that those ships in need of repair must be singled out at once by the superintendent and Your Excellency, and the costs should be recalculated by the superintendent at a reduced rate before resubmission to His Imperial Majesty. We have informed the superintendent about His Imperial Majesty's decree and are asking of you by this correspondence to take care of the ships in need of repair in collaboration with the superintendent, as ordered by His Imperial Majesty.

[578/63, *regarding the housing of Muslim refugees from Nafplio in Izmir*
To the Castellan of Izmir and to the Mütessellims of Aydın and Saruhan
January 18, 1823

The castellan of Kuşadası reported that some 2,500 men and women who had surrendered at the Castle of Nafplio in the Morea to the invading infidel rebels were loaded into some ten Hydriot ships and sent to Kuşadası, one of them having already arrived with its Muslim passengers. These helpless brothers and sisters in faith have survived [the occupation of] the enemy and reached the shores of salvation in a miserable state. Norms of hospitality and Muslim compassion now require that they are given suitable shelter until, by God's help, their homeland is liberated from the filth of the infidels. His Imperial Majesty decreed some of these people to be sojourned in the households of some well-to-do Muslims at Izmir. We have relayed this decision to the castellan of Kuşadası. We firmly require Your Excellency by this correspondence to quarter our religious brethren from Nafplio in the houses of the well-to-do Muslims upon their arrival from Kuşadası to Izmir, to pay the utmost attention to their protection, and to treat them with compassion in line with Muslim brotherhood.

[578/64, *regarding the fall of Nafplio and the Muslim refugees therefrom*
To the Castellan of Kuşadası [Reşid Pasha]

January 18, 1823

We have received your correspondence in which you recount the capture of the Castle of Nafplio by the rebel infidels and the transportation of some 2,500 Muslims from inside the fortress, men and women, on ten Hydriot ships to Kuşadası. Accordingly, one of these ships arrived safely, and the Muslims aboard were sojourned as guests in suitable places. You point out that the rest will be redirected to Izmir and Manisa as the ships arrive. The passengers who survived the invasion of Nafplio testified that the infidels did not persecute them during the voyage until reaching the shores of Kuşadası, where they stripped them of their valuables before landing them. Thus, you state that they should be treated with due compassion. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted your letter to His Imperial Majesty. All our attempts to rush provisions to Nafplio failed against our best efforts, and fate dictated that outcome. By God's help, these infidels will not get away with the treachery they commit, and we entreat God the Avenger to have our revenge. Based on your report, it is absolutely necessary to provide aid to these poor souls compassionately, forced from the ship to Kuşadası barefoot and naked. As we do not know their exact number, we have allotted some 15,000 piasters for the time being to assist their needs, based on His Imperial Majesty's will. Following the imperial order, you must provide these poor souls who have already arrived or are still en route with winter clothes for protection against cold weather, as well as some subsistence cash until they are sheltered in proper places nearby. His Imperial Majesty also approves your suggestion to shelter them in Manisa, Aydın, Izmir, and any other suitable locations. We have communicated this decision to the castellan of Izmir and the *mütesellims* of Aydın and Saruhan, firmly instructing them to distribute the Muslims from Nafplio among the prosperous Muslim households in their jurisdictions. We reminded them that receiving guests is an imperative of the Muslim fraternity, by reason of which they must treat these needy Muslims with compassion in all their earnestness. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to exert yourself to supply those coming from Nafplio with warm clothing, deliver them subsistence money, and accommodate them in suitable places as a token of your zeal and piety.

[578/65, regarding the fall of Nafplio]
 To the Governor of Rumelia Mehmed Pasha
 January 19, 1823

According to the latest dispatch of His Excellency Reşid Pasha, Castellan of Kuşadası, the Muslims in the Castle of Nafplio were unable to continue their resistance due to a lack of grain. The rebellious bandits first captured the Fortress of Palamidi¹ at night, on Thursday, the 28th day of *Rebiülevvel* [December 13, 1822]; and then, on the second Monday of *Rebiülahir* [December 16, 1822], they captured the Castle of Nafplio.² The Muslims who were in the fortress, around 2,500 men and women, were embarked on ten ships from Hydra and sent to the coast of Kuşadası. One of the ships arrived in good condition, and another was seen near Samos, but the whereabouts of the other ships are unknown. The dispatch also states that His Excellency Ali Namık Pasha [castellan of Nafplio] and Salim Pasha, former castellan of Nafplio, each together with several men, were taken captive and were imprisoned in the Castle of Nafplio. The janissary officer of the Castle of Nafplio was among the Muslims who arrived in Kuşadası and reported the above news. The dispatch concludes with vexing news about how, despite the fact that the infidels did not abuse these Muslims on the journey to Kuşadası in any way, when they approached the coast, the infidels stripped them all naked and set them down thus on the coast. Owing to the indolence of some functionaries, it was impossible to dispatch grain to the Castle of Nafplio by land or sea, notwithstanding all endeavors that have hitherto been spent on that. However, fate's decree thus fulfilled, we hope that divine providence will ensure that all lands will, God willing, soon be purged and cleansed with the spiritual aid of our Master [the Prophet Muhammad]—may God bless Him and grant Him salvation—and that Your Excellency will be successful in the task of cleansing the Morea of the infidels' filth. This matter has been communicated to Your Excellency in conformity with His Imperial Majesty's command. Hence, this letter has been drawn up in order to remind you that your endeavors and quick fulfillment of your duty are a matter of high priority for us. It is intolerable that these infidels have captured the Castle of Nafplio and imprisoned one vizier and one *mir-i miran*, owing solely to the indolence of some functionaries; and all that after the infidels have perpetrated so many treacheries and damnable deeds on the Muslims. Considering Your Excellency's piety and heroism, and taking into account that it is forbidden to

1 Palamidi (Turk. Palamuda, Gr. Παλαμύδι): heavily fortified fortress on the hill that dominates Nafplio.

2 The Ottoman garrison at Nafplio surrendered to the Greek forces under Theodoros Kolokotronis on the condition of safe passage to the shores of Anatolia.

everyone who calls himself a Muslim to tread upon this path [of indolence] any more, you should make every effort, relying upon God's help, in order to put this unrest in the Morea to a good end immediately and at any cost and to take occasion to exact revenge upon these infidels. You should also employ your mastery, so as to prove your true piety and heroism, which His Imperial Majesty expects of you.

[578/66, *regarding the reasons for the fall of Nafplio and the punishment of those responsible*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

January 19, 1823

Yesterday [*sic*], it was communicated in detail to Your Excellency how the Castle of Nafplio had fallen into the hands of the rebels, due to a lack of grain, and how the Muslim men and women therein had been expelled from the castle. Care had hitherto been demonstrated for the supply of grain for this fortress by land and sea. A great deal of grain had been dispatched even by His Excellency Yusuf Pasha in Patras, who had purchased it through *müstemen* vessels, and by His Excellency the governor of Egypt; and plenty of grain had come and continued to come from Izmir and Alexandria. As a result, large quantities of grain were accumulated in the Morea. It was imperative that every effort had to be made for the continuous supply of the Castle of Nafplio. Taking into consideration that the distance between Nafplio and Corinth is not long and the terrain is not difficult, but is a plain, and it is only eight hours away, it had been written to the viziers at Corinth time and again for them to work with rigor to support of the fortress at any cost. It was also communicated to them, according to His Imperial Majesty's command on the matter, that they would experience His Imperial Majesty's burning wrath if some sort of calamity should befall the castle and it could not offer any resistance. Furthermore, it was their religious duty to support Nafplio with grain and other supplies, as required by His Imperial Majesty's command and by their piety and zeal. In spite of the fact that the fall of Nafplio into the hands of the malign rebels may have been ruled by fate's decree, the forces which these infidels boast to have gathered in a so-called association or community are a mere nothing compared to the glory of Islam and the crushing power of the Sublime State of [the Prophet] Muhammad. Hence, the capture of Nafplio must have been made possible solely by the indolence and negligence of the functionaries; and they should be duly punished. Furthermore, money and grain were never denied and were sent as much as possible to the viziers and functionaries in the army at Corinth. There is no need to explain how unzealous these officials were by not putting in any effort, even though the distance between Corinth and Nafplio is eight hours and the terrain is a plain, as mentioned above. Although they deserve a most severe punishment, His Imperial Majesty expressly commanded that Your Excellency shall swiftly forward advice as to what procedure should be followed and what measures and actions should be taken in consequence thereof. It is apparent that only impiety and sluggishness have caused the fall of such a strong fortress into the hands of the infidels and the expulsion of so many of our brothers and sisters in faith out of their homeland in such

miserable conditions—for all that the said officials had been instructed time and again, and plenty of grain was available at Corinth. Hence, this letter has been drawn up, pursuant to His Imperial Majesty's command, in order to urge you to inform us swiftly as to what procedure should be followed with regard to the said functionaries and what measures and actions should be taken in consequence thereof.

[578/67, regarding the debt owed to merchant vessels that transported land troops to the Morea]

To the Mutasarrif of Aydın and Saruhan Yusuf Pasha, who is in the defense of Patras

January 19, 1823

Last year, some merchant vessels were chartered by the imperial treasury in return for monthly payments, so as to transport His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, former grand admiral and honorable vizier, and the land troops under his command to the Morea. Of these vessels, six were left in Patras, and two were shipwrecked en route. The captains of these eight vessels have pleaded that the owners of the vessels could not receive their belated monthly payments and presented a petition for the disbursement of the cumulated monthly salaries. The matter has been communicated to the superintendent of the imperial arsenal. He has stated that the said vessels were chartered by the imperial treasury on the 15th day of *Rebiülevvel* in the year of AH 1237 [December 10, 1821], and three months' freight was paid in advance. From this date until the end of *Rebiülahir* in the year of AH 1238 [January 13, 1823], the vessels that are in Patras generated thirteen and a half months' freight, from which 113,129 piasters are outstanding. As for the two shipwrecked vessels, one had earned monthly payments until the 5th day of *Rebiülevvel* in the year of AH 1238 [November 20, 1822] and the other until the 26th of the same month [December 11, 1822], of which 37,799.5 piasters are required. That makes 150,928.5 piasters in total. Although Your Excellency retained these six vessels in Patras, the superintendent advised that they are not worthy of service and that keeping them there will incur monthly payments in vain and cause loss to the imperial treasury; and there are already a few other ships of the imperial navy currently stationed in Patras, apart from the several vessels at your disposal. The superintendent has further requested permission for the return of the said vessels to Istanbul. Hence, this letter has been drawn up in order to instruct you to grant permission to these vessels to return to Istanbul, as a measure protective of the imperial treasury, since retaining them in Patras will cause a vain loss to it.

[578/68, *regarding pack animals as the only way to transport provisions*
To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

January 19, 1823

We have previously made arrangements to send camels and mules from Anatolia to transport supplies and ammunition from the military depots of the late Hurşid Pasha, in addition to 151 camels and 84 mules confiscated from the probate of the late Hüseyin Pasha, former *mutasarrıf* of Kayseri, and to have them delivered to the imperial stables. However, we then decided to inquire from the late Hurşid Pasha if he needed these animals before the spring, since they were likely to perish on the road, should we dispatch them in wintertime. His death left our inquiry unanswered, and he was replaced by the late Celal Pasha. Hardships in maritime transportation of supplies to the army of the Morea left overland transportation as the only option, which required the collection of a substantial number of pack animals from the *kazas* of Rumelia. Moreover, the late Celal Pasha would have needed a strong army at Larissa, but the troops there began to scatter after the death of Hurşid Pasha, while the *nefir-i amm* troops to be recruited were unlikely to persevere. Therefore, some functionaries suggested that wealthy *ayans*, such as Veli Agha, *Ayan* of Zagora, should be employed with their crowded retinues in the army service to overcome these problems. However, the requisition of animals from Rumelia would be too much of a strain for the *kazas* that have already contributed so much to the war effort. Also, although our previous inquiry was left unanswered because of Hurşid Pasha's death, we assume that he had many animals at his disposal. Thus, based on His Imperial Majesty's will, we wrote to Celal Pasha to make a register of the animals that turned up in the late Hurşid Pasha's probate inventory. Moreover, we inquired from the late Celal Pasha if and when he needed the aforementioned transport animals from Anatolia and how many men and which functionaries he would like to have under his command. We instructed Salih Agha, the steward of Hurşid Pasha, and Yusuf Agha, the agent sent to prepare his probate inventory, to deliver the transport animals at the late Hurşid Pasha's disposal to Celal Pasha and to send us the register. Nevertheless, Celal Pasha died as well, and our correspondence was not answered. The governorship of Rumelia is now granted to you with the title of commander-in-chief. We need your quick and extensive response on the proper course of action regarding the aforementioned matter of transport animals and the recruitment of fresh troops.

[578/70, *regarding the situation in Albania*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

January 19, 1823

His Excellency Ömer [Vrioni] Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, sent us a communication from Acarnania about the misbehavior of Ismail Bey of Vlorë. He recounts that the late Hurşid Pasha ordered Ismail Bey a year before to assemble a force of one thousand men and enter the service of His Excellency Yusuf Pasha of Serres, *Mutasarrıf* of Aydın in charge of the defense of Patras. Witnessing the ferocity of the uprising of the Moreot infidels, Ismail Bey communicated with the infidels and went back to Vlorë with his men on a few Frankish ships shortly after. Although [Ismail Bey] deserved punishment for his act, the late Hurşid Pasha decided to deal with him later, since the incident of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha was not settled at that time and induced Ismail Pasha to participate in the suppression of the Souliots. Again, he had acted improperly in the army operating against the Souliots and deserted with his troops at night. Upon arrival in Vlorë, he seized the public treasury and collected due taxes by which he paid salaries and bonus money to Albanian folks [soldiers]. Gathering some lowlives this way, he dared to display insubordination. Therefore, the late Hurşid Pasha sent his own coffee maker with a mandate to bring Ismail Bey to Larissa without resorting to the use of force, and when he refused to comply with the mandate, Hurşid Pasha imprisoned Ismail Bey's brother, who was in Larissa at the time. His Excellency then sent his seal keeper Hasan Bey to Vlorë at the head of a small contingent to carry out the punishment of Ismail Pasha and sent a cavalry force of a few hundred men as reinforcement under the command of his own head of cavalry. Yet, the latter returned to Larissa, due to the death of Hurşid Pasha, while his seal keeper Hasan Bey stayed in Vlorë to carry out his orders. Ömer Pasha states in his letter his concerns that the trouble of Vlorë may trigger a revolt in Albania and suggests that we issue imperial orders to the seal keeper Hasan Bey, as well as other functionaries, instructing them to carry out the punishment of Ismail Bey. He also demands that we send special agents to Vlorë and Delvinë with orders that require all judges, beys, aghas, and company commanders within these districts to take up service under his command. He thinks Ismail Bey's brother, Ahmed Bey, must be kept in prison in Larissa, whereas Ibrahim Pasha's son, Süleyman Pasha, and Muhtar Pasha's son, Hüseyin Pasha, should be expelled from the town. Finally, Ömer Pasha finds it essential to carry out the punishment of the arms bearer of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha [Silahdar Ilyas Poda] and others, whom the late Hurşid Pasha had brought to Larissa [and put under custody?], because of their temerity to stir up trouble in Albania. The late Hurşid Pasha then communicated to us that Ismail Bey of Vlorë and his brother, Bekir

Bey, tried to stir up sedition in Vlorë upon their arrival in the town. They seized Vlorë after expelling the *mütesellim* of Ömer Pasha from the town. In order to avert a diminution of Ömer Pasha's prestige and his resentment, Hurşid Pasha thought Ismail Bey and Bekir Bey should not get away with this. His Excellency thus suggested the dispatch of two imperial orders to himself in secrecy, which he might use alternatively, depending on the turn of events: the first to decree the banishment of Ismail Bey and Bekir Bey to Didymoticho; and the second to order their execution if they do not yield. With the approval of His Imperial Majesty, we sent these two imperial orders secretly to Hurşid Pasha. However, we are at a loss to know as to which one of them His Excellency preferred to apply, as he passed away at that time. Besides, we are told that Ismail Bey is Ömer Pasha's equal in terms of prestige and power in Albania, based on his dynastic background and tribal connections. Should we take the suggestion of Ömer Pasha and instruct Hasan Bey and other functionaries to carry out Ismail Bey's punishment, they would be unlikely to perform the task smoothly, and, God forbid, this will likely stir up a great sedition in Albania. Conversely, should we follow a reconciliatory course, Ömer Pasha would obviously grow suspicious and show reluctance in serving in the Morea. He may even abandon his duties and leave the Morea abruptly with a worried mind. In light of these considerations, His Imperial Majesty willed us to inform Ömer Pasha about our relevant correspondence with the late Hurşid Pasha, which authorized him to use his discretion to bring the matter to a favorable conclusion. Accordingly, we assured Ömer Pasha of our determination to make it our obligation to act on this matter, which had remained unsolved with the death of Hurşid Pasha, and urged him to perform his duties without being confounded by it, since this incident did not diminish his reputation and dignity before the Sublime State. As for Ömer Pasha's suggestion for the banishment of Ibrahim Pasha's son, Süleyman Pasha, and Muhtar Pasha's son, Hüseyin Pasha, we settled Süleyman Pasha in Istanbul and Hüseyin Pasha in Edirne, in order to cut their communications with Albania, following His Imperial Majesty's will. We have sent an agent to bring the latter's mother from Libohovë to Edirne as well. It is understood that by the implication lying behind Ömer Pasha's suggestion for the punishment of the arms bearer of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha [Silahdar Ilyas Poda] and a number of Albanian beys is that we instructed the late Celal Pasha to punish them. However, Hurşid Pasha had previously communicated to us that Elmas, son of Meçoço [Meço Bono], had an agreement with Kolokotronis, the chief of the brigands in the Morea, to seduce the Albanians to rebel. The chiefs of the Albanian troops would commit blasphemy in exchange for money, and thereby His Imperial Majesty had left it to the late Hurşid Pasha's discretion to execute Elmas, based on his report. In response, Hurşid Pasha

had remarked that Elmas was not the only traitor and that there were five to six more whose treason was established. He informed us that the treacherous Elmas has already taken refuge with Tahir Abbas and Mühürdar Ago, in line with their agreement, and assured us of meting out punishment to them. As it was understood that it would be impossible to do away with them publicly due to their large following and dependents, we inquired from his successor, the late Celal Pasha, his intended measures on this matter and wrote to Ömer Pasha for his information. Now you are the successor of the late Celal Pasha in office and, being granted full freedom in your actions as was your predecessor, you are required to inform us about your intended measures on this matter.

[578/74, *regarding the provisioning of the Morea*
To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]
January 22, 1823

We wrote to Your Excellency the day before that we had been taking every measure to rush provisions to the Castle of Nafplio by both land and sea and reiterating orders to the functionaries in the Morea to this effect. We also mentioned that provisions had been sent in considerable quantities in several shipments from Izmir and Alexandria, following the relevant imperial decree. It is necessary to inform Your Excellency properly on the supplying of the Morea with provisions from the abovementioned districts, Istanbul, or other places. We relay the relevant details in the following for your information. We had contracted three merchant ships owned by the English merchant named Black to sail to Egypt to load provisions. When they arrived at the Dardanelles, we sent them to the imperial navy, in order to facilitate the delivery of their load to the places in need. The imperial navy, in return, dispatched these ships to the Morea. His Excellency the governor of Egypt informed us that he had sent a sufficient amount of wheat, oil, and coffee to His Excellency Yusuf Pasha in Patras, upon hearing that the army had begun suffering from supply shortages after passing through the defile [the Isthmus of Corinth]. Furthermore, we shipped 8,000 bushels of wheat and 5,223 bushels of flour, as well as other provisions to the Castle of Nafpaktos and the castles of Rumelia and the Morea, aboard a *müstemen* ship through the intermediacy of the said merchant Black. We instructed His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, former grand admiral, to deliver these either to the army in the Morea or to whichever castle in the Morea was in urgent need. We sent a senior agent to His Excellency Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, with 100,000 piasters in order to facilitate the delivery of the provisions to the Morea. Mustafa Pasha had previously confirmed the shipment of one thousand *yüks*¹ of provisions and nine hundred *yüks* of victuals on two separate occasions to the Morea by two Austrian ships, promising to send more in the future. Moreover, His Excellency Hasan Pasha, Castellan of Izmir, wrote that he had sent the specified amount of flour by two *müstemen* ships to be delivered to either the Castle of Nafplio or Corinth. The *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha] reported that he shipped large quantities of supplies including 20,648 bushels of wheat, 7,800 bushels of barley, 34,719 *kyyes*² of flour, and 1,780 *kantars* of hardtack on Frankish vessels to the army in the Morea. He pointed out that the commissary officer in charge of buying the fixed amount of provisions in the *sancak*

1 1 *yük* in Albania equals 120 *kyyes*, which equals 153.94 kg.

2 *Kyye*: weight unit. 1 *kyye* equals 1 *okka*, which equals 1.28 kg.

of Thessaloniki for the consumption of Istanbul had to set aside these victuals from the Istanbul-bound provisions; he had confirmation of the completion of the transaction. Yusuf Pasha also confirmed the arrival of two of Black's ships. We added this letter to the correspondence sent to you a few days ago. You recounted that this correspondence contained other papers sent to the late Celal Pasha about the Morea, and it had been forwarded to us subsequently by his steward. The letter in question is marked with a title in red ink. Besides, we have been paying the bills of exchange which His Excellency Yusuf Pasha of Serres had used for buying a large amount of provisions for the army in Corinth, as the merchants deliver them to us. We have thus shown no negligence in rushing victuals to the Morea, as described above. We have recently sent to Missolonghi and Corinth 4,300 bushels of wheat and 10,000 bushels of wheat on *müstemen* Austrian merchant ships, respectively. We had ordered the dispatch of half of the consignment for Corinth (5,000 bushels of wheat) to the Castle of Nafplio overland prior to its capture by the infidel brigands. In accordance with the recent imperial order, however, 10,000 bushels of provisions will still be delivered to Corinth and 4,300 bushels of provisions to the army in Missolonghi. We write this letter to Your Excellency to inform you about these transactions and to ask you to carry out your duties accordingly with all due diligence.

[578/75, *regarding the application of Muslim Cretans for relief aid*
To the Kadı of Irakleio and the local Ulema, Sheikhs, Notables, Officers,
Janissaries, and Others

January 22, 1823

We have acquainted ourselves with your petitions stating that the rebels on the island of Crete have intensified their brigandage and committed damnable deeds; and that want of grain and munitions has arisen and you request aid in this regard. The Sublime State has never denied rendering the available aid to any of its lands on account of the treachery and damnable deeds perpetrated by the Greek infidels against the state and Muslims. Even though no help has been sent from Istanbul to Crete with regard to the infidel ships that roam the Mediterranean and perpetrate treacheries on the Muslim vessels they encounter, His Excellency the governor of Egypt has already been entrusted by imperial decree with the task of dispatching soldiers, grain, and munitions. The governor of Egypt previously sent Hasan Pasha, a *mir-i miran*, along with a certain number of soldiers, munitions, and grain. His Excellency, however, wrote to us that he was preparing more soldiers and large quantities of munitions and grain for Crete; however, he was in want of warships. We responded to him that we had sent his warships, which had been in the service of the imperial navy, to Alexandria a month earlier, in order for them to transport soldiers, munitions, and grain to Crete. In view of that, we hope that he will by now have sent, or is about to send, the soldiers and the supplies, God willing! His Excellency will do what he must, in conformity with His Imperial Majesty's decree, for he knows that the infidels have an evil intention to perpetrate treachery on so many boys and girls, men and women in Crete, who are our brothers and sisters in faith. Since we have repeatedly written to him for full support for Crete, his soldiers, munitions, and grain shall arrive soon, and the infidels shall be vanquished, God willing! Hence, this letter has been written in order to remind you that you should never allow for lethargy in your labors. You should follow, as initially stated, the commands of the honorable Vizier His Excellency Şerif Pasha, Castellan of Irakleio. Do bear in mind that our religion and state are supreme and that such enemies of religion cannot—if God wills it—achieve anything. Strive to demonstrate unanimity and take revenge on these infidels. You should follow the orders of the Sublime State and our Majestic Master [the sultan] and promptly set yourselves to work, so as to reap the rewards in this world and the next.

[578/76, *regarding the situation on Crete*]

To the Governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha]

January 22, 1823

Şerif Pasha, Castellan of Irakleio, reported that the rebellious infidels on the island of Crete intensified their brigandage and riot. They burned down the farms in the vicinity of Irakleio, demolished the aqueducts that go into the town, invaded most of its districts, and seized the grain that was to have been stored in state granaries. Until now, the victuals for the Muslim troops have been arranged and managed with the grain supplied from certain places or stored in the state granaries. However, this management is now impossible, and a serious want of grain has arisen. At present, Şerif Pasha and Hasan Pasha—who was sent by Your Excellency—fight with great rigor in order to repel the bandits. In spite of that, infidels from Karpathos,¹ an island close to Crete, docked their vessels in the harbors of Siteia,² Ierapetra, and Melanyo [?], which are located on the distant shores of Crete, and pillaged all grain and livestock they found and took in captivity or killed some Muslims and their children. Therefore, a large number of soldiers and vessels will be needed to stop their havoc. Şerif Pasha states that the available ammunition and other military supplies were depleted in the battles that took place, and on this account the people of Crete have submitted petitions to him and requested to be aided with grain, ammunition, and military stores. He concludes the report by reiterating that a great want of aid has arisen, as described above. He has also forwarded the petitions and a register containing the titles and sorts of the requested munitions. As is known to Your Excellency, and as we have written to you on many occasions, it is impossible to send any help from Istanbul to Crete owing to the fact that the ships of the infidel bandits roam the Mediterranean and attack the Muslim vessels they encounter. Moreover, the Cretan issue has been delegated to Your Excellency, according to the recent commands of His Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency has in fact labored hard, to the greatest possible extent, and has previously dispatched grain, along with soldiers and military stores. Apart from that, it is stated in your letter in response to the dispatch that was sent to you regarding the reports and petitions that were received earlier, and also in your report that was brought by your couriers, that there were four thousand soldiers and plenty of grain and military stores in Alexandria ready to be dispatched to Crete, but there were no warships to escort the merchant vessels that will load them. Therefore, we announced that [Your Excellency's] vessels that were in the service of the imperial navy would

1 Karpathos (Turk. Kerpe, Gr. Κάρπαθος): island to the northeast of Crete.

2 Siteia (Turk. İstiye, Gr. Σητεία): coastal town in east Crete.

be sent to Crete forthwith, if His Imperial Majesty commanded their return to Alexandria. In view of that, permission was given for the return of these vessels, in order for them to be furnished with equipment this winter and to then join and escort the merchant vessels, which would load the munitions, grain, and soldiers that were ready to relieve Crete. They departed a month ago and, with God's protection, will have arrived by now. You have certainly proven with your wisdom, firmness, and piety that you perform your duties with zeal and diligence. It is, however, truly impossible for us to render any aid or help in the current state of affairs and with the given conditions on Crete, as described above. In light of that and of the fact that you have hitherto striven, and continue to strive, to demonstrate all sorts of praiseworthy services for the sake of religion, state, and our Majestic Master [the sultan], we have prepared a copy of the list of the munitions requested by Şerif Pasha and forwarded it to Your Excellency. The copy is enclosed in this amicable letter of ours, as per the decree of His Imperial Majesty, who expects that news of the arrival of the aid for Crete will be received presently. Furthermore, Şerif Pasha has been duly informed that Your Excellency will provide the needed aid. Hence, this letter has been drawn up in order to urge you to do what you must and work with might and main by readily engaging in this momentous matter, so as to demonstrate the necessary wisdom and statesmanship and display exemplary piety and chivalry. Resolving the issue of supplying Crete with grain, soldiers, and munitions will relieve the community of [the Prophet] Muhammad and so many men and women from the treachery and damnable deeds of these infidels, who are the enemies of our religion and state; and protecting an island such as Crete from the subversive plot of the brigands will fulfill your duty to Islam, which will bring you salvation in this world and the next.

[578/77, *regarding the new governor and commander-in-chief of the Morea*]
To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

January 22, 1823

We have previously asked Your Excellency to decide, first of all, who should be appointed as the new commander-in-chief and governor of the Morea with the additional jurisdiction of the *sancaks* of Teke and Hamid, since Mahmud Pasha of Drama passed away in office. Secondly, we inquired of Your Excellency the way in which we should treat the officers in Corinth, as their lack of zeal and negligence of duty caused the situation in the Castle of Nafplio. Lastly, we asked your opinion on what should be done from now on. It is obvious that Your Excellency will deal with these issues properly. It is our chief concern and most precious and sincere wish that Your Excellency quells the troubles in the Morea and takes revenge on the infidel rebels within a short period. It is also the sublime wish of His Imperial Majesty that you achieve the rendering of good service in this great task you undertake as the commander-in-chief. In support of this goal, we think it necessary to share with Your Excellency some of our opinions that came to mind. In this regard, we ask Your Excellency to consider this letter as a notice rather than an instruction. At this point, there is no such vizier in and around the Morea whom Your Excellency would like to see as the commander-in-chief of the Morea. Among those available, a few have passed away lately, further reducing the number of the viziers commissioned at the spot. Thus, we deem it appropriate to bestow commissions to a few viziers reputed for vigor, enthusiasm, courage, and prowess. The illustrious Vizier Yusuf Pasha of Berkovitsa¹ [Berkofçalı Yusuf Pasha], who is now on duty to protect Babadag, is widely renowned for his prowess and tenderness for the rank-and-file. Moreover, he has a wealthy and mighty household. Likewise, Mustafa Pasha, a *mir-i miran* and [who was?] the *mütesellim* of Ruse, who is now acting as the *mutasarrıf* of Skopje, stated that he did not disband the force he had assembled with the hope of receiving a military commission in the service of the state. He expressed his enthusiasm for demonstrating good deeds, while assuring us about his wealth and might. He requested his promotion to vizieral rank, volunteering for assignment. In fact, he has a good record of service from the beginning of his commission in Ruse. As for Yusuf Pasha, we have heard that he had good communication with you in previous campaigns and that there was a good harmony between you. We assume that Your Excellency would like to recommend him rather than anyone else to the post of commander-in-chief of the Morea to serve under you. Besides, we have

1 Yusuf Pasha of Berkovitsa: originating from the town of Berkovitsa (Turk. Berkofça) in north-west Bulgaria, he was the castellan of Brăila when the Greek Revolution broke out.

the impression that Mustafa Pasha might prove to be useful in certain tasks you assign him if attached to your command as a vizier. However, we do not impose these measures on Your Excellency, rather share with you our tentative opinions. It is within your discretion to make decisions on the affairs of the Morea as the commander-in-chief [of Rumelia]. All decisions regarding the commissioning of functionaries under your command are subject to your approval, while naming a candidate for the post of the commander-in-chief of the Morea is the prerogative of Your Excellency. We have mentioned the names of these two pashas because of their cited qualities and circumstances. In the event that you want to employ Yusuf Pasha in your service as the commander-in-chief or in some other capacity, you should recommend him to us in order to make him obliged to you and serve you obediently. Then you might write to him as well, pretending, as in the following: "I have given a good account of you to Istanbul in order to ensure for you an assignment under my command. I believe that my request will be granted, so you must begin preparations right away." In this way, Your Excellency would seem to be doing him a favor by initiating the process of his appointment. In any event, this letter contains only suggestions, as previously mentioned, and they are by no means binding in your decisions, since Your Excellency is the sole authority regarding the matters that fall within the premise of your office. Therefore, we ask of you by this letter to express your sincere thoughts about our suggestions, so that we can proceed accordingly.

[578/79, *regarding the information received about an all-out Greek attack on Crete*]

To the Governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha]

January 23, 1823

We have previously related to Your Excellency in our letter the correspondence and the joint petition sent from Crete that described the abominable deeds the infidel brigands strove to engage in, as well as His Imperial Majesty's decree that willed you to lend military aid to Crete. It is certain that Your Excellency's compliance with the decree is assured by your God-given piety and diligence. However, we then received a communication from Hasan Pasha, Castellan of Izmir, which passed on the intelligence he has gathered. According to this intelligence, many infidels who fled the other islands [in the Archipelago] had gathered on Samos; however, at this point, only the natives of Samos have remained on the island, and the others have left. He then set out to collect intelligence about their whereabouts. Accordingly, he has sound information that these infidels, joined by others, went to Crete. As Nafplio fell into the hands of the infidel Moreots, they sent news to every island, saying: "We took the Castle of Nafplio, and now it is your turn to encourage one another and go immediately to the island of Crete and help out the 'infidels' therein." Even though we made every effort to supply Nafplio with grain, and Your Excellency, as a sign of your sense of honor and impeccable piety, shipped provisions to the Morea, the *müstemen* vessels failed to deliver the cargo to its destination for unknown reasons, while our functionaries in Corinth could not send in reinforcements. Therefore, the Muslims capitulated and handed over the Castle of Nafplio to the infidels by necessity and walked out naked. Hasan Pasha pointed out that the infidels would now grow even more brazen and attack Crete in full force, so as to engage in all the abominable deeds they entertain in their minds. There is good reason to believe that this intelligence is true. It is unnecessary to explain to Your Excellency what the situation would be like in the Mediterranean if, God forbid, an island such as Crete, which was conquered after twenty-seven years of toiling and the loss of so many Muslims, would be lost. As it is impossible for the time being to dispatch reinforcements and supplies to Crete from Istanbul, you have been put in charge of removing the filthy bodies of the bandits from Crete and restoring order on the island, because your diligence in serving the religion and the Sublime State is well known to His Imperial Majesty. His Imperial Majesty appreciates that in the past you have never failed to exert yourself to perform this duty and nor will you in the future. By the aforementioned letter sent in response to your correspondence, your ships in the service of the imperial navy were given permission to leave the imperial navy and they must have arrived in Alexandria by now. There is

no doubt that you have already started preparations to send them to Crete with supplies and reinforcements. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that the aforementioned intelligence be brought to your attention, as these infidels are persistent in their rebellion and in performing abominable deeds. It is expected of you to prove your loyalty and ardor to render service to the Sublime State once more by averting any attempt on Crete by the enemy.

Postscript: There is no question that Your Excellency will exert your best efforts for religion and state. This is a top priority, tantamount to a religious obligation, since the infidels somehow managed to capture Nafplio and brazenly published proclamations to make an attempt on Crete. When you receive this formal letter, you should know that His Imperial Majesty's primary expectation from you is to send reinforcements, supplies, and ammunition to Crete in order to repulse the brigands' attack on the island and to clean Crete of the filthy bodies of the bandits.

[578/85, *regarding the annulment of the boyardoms of those with dubious backgrounds*]

To the Voivode of Moldavia [Ioan Sandu Sturdza]

January 25, 1823

We have received your petition, as well as the appended joint petition signed by the metropolitans, genuine boyars, and the people of Moldavia. You recount in your petition that in the past only noblemen and notable people, whose ancestors had undertaken good service to the country, used to attain the rank of boyardom and other ranks. By ancient customs and the prevailing order of the country, confirmed and reinforced by several imperial rescripts, denial of these ranks to the rabble and lowly is a rule. However, the Fanariots in general and in particular the fugitive Mihal [Michail Soutsos, former voivode of Moldavia] have granted boyardoms and varying ranks and honorific titles to a number of vulgar individuals, both during his term of tenure and while fleeing due to his proclivity to bribery. You state that they also granted documents of exemption to many people. Similarly, a group of unknown people were offered boyardoms and other positions. As a result, the numbers of boyars in Moldavia has increased. These individuals spread all sorts of lies and gossip, damaging the order in [Moldavia] and affecting the poor *reaya* negatively. Hence, you plead that the ranks and boyardoms given to people of unknown origins, whose ancestors had not served the country, should be annulled and that those who do not obey [annulment] and engage in mischief should be banished from the country and expelled beyond the Danube River. The contents of the petition signed by the present metropolitans of Moldavia and the genuine boyars, as well as other members of the community, have thus become known to us, and we have presented the petition for the attention of His Imperial Majesty. It is His Imperial Majesty's wish that order in the country be restored and the safety of its people be assured. In the past, an imperial decree was issued in order to annul the boyardoms of those who somehow had been promoted regardless of their merit and who were of unknown origins. The imperial decree also stipulated that, if they engaged in inappropriate acts, they were to be banished from the country and settled somewhere else. However, we have heard that those who acted with loyalty in helping the Muslim soldiers when they were in Moldavia to quell the rebels [referring to the Ypsilantis revolt] were given boyardoms and other ranks. The annulment of the ranks of such people would be unjust. Hence, an imperial rescript has been issued, revoking the ranks and boyardoms given to people of unknown origins, except those who helped the Muslim soldiers while they were in Moldavia. Those who do not obey [the imperial rescript] and engage in mischief should be banished, in order to protect order in the country, and expelled to the domains of the Sublime State

beyond [the Danube]. We have sent imperial orders to you and to those in charge beyond the Danube for the detention of those who will be expelled from Moldavia. You shall strive toward serving with zeal and loyalty so as to save the order of the country from any wrongdoings and to ensure the protection of the poor subjects.

[578/102, *regarding the prevention of oppression by the dispersed soldiers after Hurşid Pasha's death*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

February 11, 1823

We have received intelligence that, due to the absence of order and discipline in the aftermath of Hurşid Pasha's death, many soldiers scattered to the villages, oppressing the poor *reaya* and causing their flight. We suppose that Your Excellency has already arrived in Larissa and put an end to the oppression of the poor by bringing these dispersed soldiers back [to the army camp] and disciplining them. However, as is known to Your Excellency, those regions are brimful of *reaya*, and, at this point, it is essential to take every necessary measure to protect the *reaya* who have been abiding by the rules of subjecthood. Besides, it goes without saying that God never consents to any incident of oppression or violation, nor would His Imperial Majesty. This letter is to bring the matter to Your Excellency's attention and request you to show due diligence.

[578/105, regarding the instructions to the new governor and commander-in-chief of the Morea]

To the Former Castellan of Babadag Yusuf Pasha of Berkovitsa, who has been appointed as the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, with the jurisdiction of the Sancaks of Teke and Hamid

February 16, 1823

As is known to everyone, the infidel Greek bandits amassing in the Morea have perpetrated all kinds of treacherous and despicable deeds against so many *sayyids* and *sayyidas*, as well as our faithful brethren, including the children, women, and dignitaries within their reach. They have even captured the Castle of Nafplio, because of the laxity of the functionaries in the Morea, and have thus become emboldened. It has become incumbent on us to take revenge on these infidels by taking a tighter line of action for the reconquest of the Morea. The fulfillment of this obligation is possible only by commissioning a person reputed for his faithfulness and prowess, as well as his tenderness toward the rank-and-file. Your Excellency is endowed with all these qualities and is among the viziers who spare no effort to serve the state and religion with bravery, competence, and valor. We are fully convinced of your capability to meet our expectations for good and competent service in the post and to contribute to the suppression of the troubles in the Morea within a short time. His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia with full discretionary powers, has also recommended Your Excellency for the post of commander-in-chief of the Morea, based on your loyalty and vigilance. Therefore, by the imperial rescript of His Imperial Majesty, Your Excellency has been granted the governorship and the post of commander-in-chief of the province of the Morea. The jurisdiction of the *sancaks* of Teke and Hamid has also been assigned to Your Excellency in order to cover your expenses partially. We have appointed Mustafa Pasha, former *mütesellim* of Ruse and *mir-i miran*, to replace Your Excellency as the castellan of Babadag. We have sent you the relevant imperial orders of appointment and mobilization, with the instructions that Your Excellency must depart from Babadag immediately to join the command of the commander-in-chief of Rumelia and recruit as many troops as possible along the march. You should furthermore act upon the orders of the commander-in-chief of Rumelia at all times. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to consider your appointment as an opportunity to attain victory and salvation in this world and the next by rendering a good record of service to religion and state. In fulfillment of the royal expectations for diligent and valiant service, we would like to encourage you to compensate for the royal favors poured on Your Excellency by performing the kind of good deeds you have always been longing to do. His Imperial Majesty has appointed Your Excellency

the governor and commander-in-chief of the Morea with the addition of the jurisdiction of the *sancaks* of Teke and Hamid only by virtue of your loyalty and determination to provide good service. Thus, you must leave Babadag at once to join the command of the commander-in-chief of Rumelia at Larissa, collecting numerous troops on the way, and demonstrate your loyalty by unfailing obedience to your commander in the pacification of the Morea.

[578/106, *regarding appointments to vacant posts*]

*To the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]
February 16, 1823*

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency confirms the arrival of our letter of inquiry on the matter of whom to appoint as the commander-in-chief of the province of the Morea, with the addition of the *sancaks* of Teke and Hamid to his jurisdiction. The possible candidates we mentioned in our inquiry were the Vizier Yusuf Pasha of Berkovitsa and Mustafa Pasha, Castellan of Ruse. Your Excellency points out in your correspondence that you had thought of Yusuf Pasha of Berkovitsa as a suitable candidate and suggested his appointment to us in writing before receiving our inquiry. You rightly consider this coincidence as a fortuitous sign for the future. In your correspondence you remind us of a number of alternatives regarding various appointments to vacant posts. You state that Yusuf Pasha might hold the post of commander-in-chief of the Morea, as well as governor of the province of the Morea, with the addition of the *sancaks* of Teke and Hamid to his jurisdiction. Alternatively, [Ebulubud] Mehmed Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki, may be chosen for the same post on the same terms. In this case, you maintain, the vizier to receive the *sancak* of Thessaloniki should also join the expedition to the Morea. If the removal of Mehmed Pasha from Thessaloniki is deemed to be improper, a *mütesellim* or castellan should take over his responsibilities in Thessaloniki, so that he can join the expedition to the Morea. Presently, the *ayans* of Rumelia are stuck in the Morea. Thus, you maintain, a commander from among the wealthy and powerful viziers must be appointed to lead the levies to be raised from Rumelia and the troops [Turkish mercenaries] from Ormenio. In your opinion, it would be useful if the castellan of Ruse collects some troops to augment his retinue from this side of the Balkans, in case he is ordered to join your command. You also suggest leaving behind the vizier to be appointed as the *mutasarrıf* of Trikala in Larissa, if Your Excellency needs to move to the front from Larissa. The alternative is, you argue, to appoint a suitable person to this post, provided that he joins the expedition to the Morea along with the other functionaries. The contents of your memorandum have thus become known to us, and we submitted it to His Imperial Majesty after a close review. In consideration of your support for Yusuf Pasha's appointment, we have appointed him by the imperial rescript as the governor and commander-in-chief of the Morea and added the *sancaks* of Teke and Hamid to his jurisdiction. We have also sent him the imperial orders of appointment and assignment, instructing him that he must leave Babadag immediately to join Your Excellency and to recruit as many troops as possible from the places along the route of [his] march. Besides, we have sent him a letter that sternly explains

his instructions and related matters. As for the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki, convinced that his participation in the expedition will be a good measure, we have communicated to him that he should advance at the head of his force to the Morea by His Imperial Majesty's will and immediately recommend a candidate for the office of *mütesellim* of Thessaloniki, who will keep the situation in the *sancak* under control during his absence. Previously, we have suggested to Your Excellency that Mustafa Pasha, Castellan of Ruse, might enter your command. Nevertheless, given the current situation, it is inadvisable to neglect the defense of Babadag. Therefore, we have assigned him the task of guarding Babadag for the time being. We understand from Your Excellency's correspondence that the appointment of a capable vizier to lead the levies from Rumelia and Ormenio is necessary. However, you did not specify the number of troops and the method of their recruitment. It will inevitably take a considerable time to clarify this matter through corresponding with Your Excellency. Following the example set in the term of the late Hurşid Pasha, we have sent you an imperial decree addressed to all local authorities of the province of Rumelia that explains to them strictly that Your Excellency has the authority to order them anytime by a mandate or letter to recruit the specified number of troops and rush them to your command immediately. While we have thus arranged for the levies from Rumelia to enter your service, the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki will lead the troops from Ormenio to your side. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to send copies of this imperial decree to the addressees. In the meantime, you should also assemble a satisfactory number of troops and use them aptly in the mission to the Morea as needed. In case of a demand for additional troops and commanders, we welcome Your Excellency's indication, so that we can send you the relevant imperial decrees to this effect. This matter warrants no delay. Close scrutiny of every minute detail and full military preparedness is imperative for taking revenge on these infidels by the pacification of the Morea. It is our expectation of Your Excellency to prove that the royal confidence in you is well-placed by putting forth a good record of service. Since Your Excellency is currently at Larissa, there is no need to have the *mutasarrıf* of Trikala in Larissa. We can re-examine this matter when the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki arrives at your side and make a decision depending on the turn of events. Until then Your Excellency should strive to carry out your duties as the commander-in-chief with diligence and zeal.

[578/107, *regarding the instructions of Mehmed Pasha to march on the Morea*]

To the Mutasarrif of Thessaloniki [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

February 16, 1823

It needs no description that the infidel bandits amassing in the Morea have perpetrated all kinds of treacherous and despicable deeds to the Muhammadan community within their reach. They have even captured the Castle of Nafplio, because of the laxity of the functionaries in the Morea, and have thus grown bolder. It has become incumbent on us to take revenge on the enemies of our religion by taking a tighter line of action for a speedy recovery of the Morea. The fulfillment of this obligation is possible only by commissioning robust viziers reputed for their faithfulness, prowess, and allegiance in the Morea. Thus, the exalted Vizier Yusuf Pasha of Berkovitsa, who formerly served as Castellan of Babadag, has been appointed the commander-in-chief of the Morea. He has been promoted to the governorship of the province of the Morea, with the addition of the *sancaks* of Teke and Hamid to his jurisdiction. Tender and compassionate to the rank-and-file, this vizier is reputed for his bravery. He will enter the command of Mehmed Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia with full discretionary powers, at the head of a considerably large force. Promoted to this rank at the recommendation of Mehmed Pasha, he surely cannot remove the filthy bodies of the infidels from the Morea by his own effort alone. The achievement of this task needs the appointment of a few more brave and loyal viziers who have the potential to meet our expectations. His Imperial Majesty desires Your Excellency to advance into the Morea in cooperation with the other functionaries who have the same assignment. Your commission is based on the conviction that you are just as brave and diligent a vizier as Yusuf Pasha. You have demonstrated your faith and allegiance by clearing the infidel bandits out of the vicinity of Thessaloniki in your former mission. The troops assembled from the province of Rumelia are given to the command of the commander-in-chief of Rumelia. Therefore, you will lead the levies from the *sancak* of Ormenio; we have informed Mehmed Pasha about this plan of action. His Imperial Majesty also ordered us to ask Your Excellency to recommend a candidate for the office of *mütesellim* of Thessaloniki. Surely, we cannot let the situation in the *sancak* of Thessaloniki slip out of control in your absence due to your new task. Your Excellency may recommend a member of your household or someone else for this office, so long as he is capable of guarding the *sancak*. You should let us know immediately if we must grant him the honorary title of gatekeeper [*kapıcıbaşı*] or promote him to pasha of two horsetails [*mir-i miran*] for augmenting his prestige and reputation. We have given Your Excellency the task of joining the expedition to the Morea by

virtue of your faithfulness and diligence, as well as our confidence that you will render good service in the realization of our intention to revenge the infidels by occupying the Morea. By this letter we ask Your Excellency to begin your march after hasty preparations for the expedition and assembling a sizable force. You must coordinate your actions with Mehmed Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia, in the execution of military operations. Finally, you should immediately name a candidate for the office of *mütesellim* of Thessaloniki from among your household or someone else and give us your opinion as soon as possible if we should grant him the honorary title of gatekeeper or promote him to pasha of two horsetails.

[578/III, regarding the situation of the army at Larissa]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

February 17, 1823

We have received your correspondence in which you confirm the arrival of our letter informing Your Excellency about your appointment as the governor of Rumelia with the title of commander-in-chief and also mentioning some other important issues. You relay the information that you left Lamia for Larissa at once only with your household troops, leaving behind in Lamia the light cavalry and other troops under your command, as well as the Geg [Albanian] pashas. Currently lacking troops, the Geg pashas are recruiting idle soldiers [mercenaries] in order to send them to Lamia. Your Excellency states that you intend to give them permission for leave afterward, so that they can return to their hometowns to reorganize their forces. You also state that His Excellency Süleyman Pasha, Castellan of Lamia, gave verbal assurances to serve in the Morea, if he is given an office [generating income]. Your Excellency further relates that you wrote to the former *mütesellim* of Banjaluka¹ Alo Agha, who was in Sofia, and instructed him to enter your service at the head of his troops. Your Excellency states that you made this decision in recognition of his diligent service at the time when the late Celal Pasha had sent him forward to carry out military operations. Your Excellency requests us to send him an imperial decree in support of your mandate, ordering him to go to Larissa at once. Apart from these issues, you relay the information that Ali Bey, son of the late Kara Feyzi Agha, who was the *ayan* of the towns of Breznik² and Tran,³ dispatched one of his men to Your Excellency and expressed his desire to obtain the goods and effects of the deceased and to succeed him in office. Your Excellency informs us that you will grant his request by a mandate, provided that he pays an inheritance fee equivalent to 50,000 piasters to the imperial treasury, clear his father's debts, and enter your command with the required number of troops when ordered. Thus, you ask for an imperial decree that appoints him the *ayan* of these towns. Finally, you state that the *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina Ömer Pasha [Vrioni] sent Your Excellency a report in Greek language from Missolonghi regarding some news and that you have appended it to your correspondence along with its Turkish translation. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted it to His Imperial Majesty. It is His Imperial Majesty's wish that we fulfill

1 Banjaluka (Turk. Banyaluka, Gr. Μπάνια Λούκα): town in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Banaluka in the documents.

2 Breznik (Turk. Preznik, Gr. Μπρεζνίχ): town in west Bulgaria.

3 Tran (Turk. İznebol, Gr. Τράν): town in west Bulgaria.

all the requests you forward to us in your capacity as the illustrious governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia. However, there is no vacant post available that befits Süleyman Pasha, but we will bestow one on him later on when there is a vacancy. By the approval of His Imperial Majesty, we have sent Your Excellency an imperial decree addressed to the former *mütesellim* of Banjaluka Alo Agha to the effect that he should rush to your command at the head of his soldiers. There is no need for an imperial decree to make his appointment official, since Your Excellency has already appointed him the *ayan* of the aforementioned towns by a mandate. However, we have sent a letter to him that confirms the terms of his appointment, by which he must bring the required number of troops to serve under your command whenever you order him to do so. We have agreed to the payment of a lump sum equal to 50,000 piasters as the value of the probate of the deceased, but he must pay off the debts of the deceased. The matter is referred to the chief accountant for the issuance of the necessary imperial decree. Having informed you of these decisions, we ask of Your Excellency by this letter to continue performing your duties with your usual prudence, diligence, and perseverance.

[578/117, *regarding the governor of Acre's alliance with the Greeks*]

To the Governor of Sidon

February 18, 1823

Last year, a sergeant of the imperial navy named Ibrahim was sent by the imperial navy to deliver provisions to the Castle of Nafplio in the Morea. He was captured by the rebellious brigands and imprisoned on the island of Hydra. After a while, he somehow escaped and reached the imperial capital. He reported the events and situations he witnessed while he was held captive by the rebellious brigands. From his statement, it is understood that Abdullah Pasha [governor of Acre], who is the object of His Imperial Majesty's wrath, acts in unison with the infidels [Greeks]. When this report was delivered to the imperial stirrup, His Imperial Majesty willed that Your Excellency be informed about this matter. The sections of the said sergeant's statement on Acre has been copied and sent to Your Excellency. As Your Excellency will notice after reading the report, there is nothing to say about the treason Abdullah Pasha committed together with the Hydriot infidels. By the grace of God Almighty, he will soon get his just deserts. If Abdullah Pasha allows infidel soldiers inside the Castle of Acre and dares to surrender it in treason, it will be difficult [to recapture it], due to its firmness. It is His Imperial Majesty's demand that Your Excellency put an end to the disturbances at Acre. You shall study the said sergeant's report and compare its contents with your own information, so as to rush to take the necessary measures, proving the prowess and loyalty expected from you.

[578/126, *regarding the mobilization of the mutasarrıf of Shkodër to Acarnania*]

To Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], Mutasarrıf of Shkodër

February 22, 1823

As is known to Your Excellency, the Greek *reaya* have revolted in various places, leaving the circle of obedience, in spite of all the blessings and benevolence bestowed upon them by the Sublime State. For a few years now, they have set out on a path of looting and rebellion, martyring so many Muslims. Although the Sublime State has been taking the necessary measures to suppress this depravity and banditry by dispatching functionaries [commanders and soldiers] to the places where needed, the Castle of Nafplio was also captured by the infidels, due to the lack of commitment on the part of our functionaries. They have thus grown bolder, and at present their rebellion has intensified, aggravating the already dire circumstances in the Morea. The brigands of Acarnania and the infidels in its vicinity are once again revolting, and it is incumbent on all Muslims to perform what is required—with a sense of honor and devoutness—in order to overpower them this year after strong military preparations. These infidels have hitherto insulted the Muslims in and around the Morea and engaged in abominable deeds of all sorts against them. They have cruelly martyred so many of our brethren in religion. It is imperative to leave aside all excuses and overwhelm these infidels this year, God willing, by committing ourselves to the matter at hand firmly and serving valiantly and loyally in the name of our religion and under His Imperial Majesty. While we are determined to take the necessary measures to this effect, success is contingent upon the commissioning of men renowned for bravery and persistence. The diligence and loyalty demonstrated thus far by you and your dynasty in many good services to the Sublime State has been beyond comparison in the eyes of His Imperial Majesty. Thus, what is expected of your brave person is to serve in this religious struggle. As a matter of fact, the rebellion and uprising of these infidel rascals is intensifying day by day, and, God forbid, if it is not dealt a blow this year, the harm will spread around thoroughly. Therefore, as required by the fatwa, the entire *millet* of Islam should retaliate against the infidel brigands by committing itself to the cause of religion and state, while the state will no longer use the shortage of cash as an excuse to cut down on military spending. Should they insist in their rebellion, they will be destroyed, their children and dependents enslaved, and their goods and belongings looted. We are sure that you are also preoccupied with the thought of demonstrating loyalty and proving bravery at such a time, since it is a religious obligation to strive together to crush the enemies of religion and the sinful polytheists, with the help of God. Based on this belief, His Imperial Majesty has willed you to

descend on Acarnania at once with a substantial force composed of the gallant warriors of the *sancak* of Shkodër to crush the bandits in its vicinity. We have dispatched the relevant imperial decree embellished with His Imperial Majesty's handwriting at the top. Although the Sublime State is currently suffering from a shortage of cash, we will deliver the necessary royal gift [cash funds], as soon as we receive news of your advance. In compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will, Celal Bey of Ohrid, holding the rank of *kapıcıbaşı*, has been assigned to your service as the commissary officer, and the arrangements for the delivery of sufficient amounts of grain have been made. While it is up to you to decide on the marching route to Acarnania, His Imperial Majesty expects you to discuss with His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia with full discretionary powers, the details of your advance and operations. His Imperial Majesty also ordered us to send you a copy of the stipulations regarding granting pardon for further reference, should any of the infidel rebels beg for mercy when you descend on them. Your Excellency should be aware of the goodwill of His Imperial Majesty toward you and the favors he has conferred upon you. You should exert yourself to perform your duties with bravery, gallantry, and loyalty, so as to deserve royal rewards. Besides, last year you excused yourself from going to Ioannina in person, based on the menace posed by the infidels of Montenegro.¹ There is no sign of hostility between the Sublime State and Russia at present, and there is no reason to anticipate danger from the Montenegrins, so long as Russia does not show aggression. Even if they rebel, the Montenegrins constitute a separate tribe, and thereby it will be easy for the Sublime State to crush them, with the help of God Almighty, by sending force whenever it is necessary. This letter is to invite you to comprehend that the rampage and uprising of the infidel Greeks have become widespread and that their false beliefs follow a wicked path. You should realize the potential harm to the entire realm of Islam that would be caused by its spread and conclude that this is not the time to stand and stare. It is expected of you to exert yourself to rush obediently to your duty in return for the royal favor you enjoy and in order to deserve the rewards promised in this world and the next.

1 See documents 573/244, 573/290, and 574/40 herein.

[578/127, *regarding the course of action to be taken as regards the mutasarrıf of Shkodër*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

February 22, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you inform us that you are trying to enlist new recruits from Albania, as Ömer Pasha [Vrioni] and Reşid Pasha [Kütahi] need reinforcements in Acarnania. You think that commissioning Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, to fight in the Morea or against the brigands of Acarnania will be useful to bring the incident in the Morea to a rapid conclusion. You also remark that the late Hurşid Pasha refused Mustafa Pasha last year, when the latter requested to acquire the tax farms of Durrës¹ and Tirana.² You believe that Mustafa Pasha would obviously renew this request from you as commander-in-chief and that it would be beneficial to give these tax farms to him this time. Lastly, we understand from your correspondence that Mustafa Pasha should be assigned a commissary officer from the region of Albania and that it is necessary to earmark for him a sufficient quantity of provisions to be collected from the *kazas* of Rumelia and the places close to Albania. The contents of your correspondence have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letter to His Imperial Majesty. The situation is presently growing tenser in the Morea, and you have already described the situation in Acarnania very well. It is imperative to make strong military preparations this year and to crush these infidels. We agree with you that the appointment of Mustafa Pasha will indeed be very useful in routing the infidels completely, provided that he leads his forces in person, and the spread of this news would be fruitful. The late Hurşid Pasha had previously frightened and offended him in the affair of Ioannina [the Tepedelenli Ali Pasha uprising]. The notables of Shkodër are indeed brave and gallant men and, as an old, established dynasty, have always been obedient and loyal to the Sublime State. That said, they also expect promises of reward and reconciliation in return for service. Therefore, Mustafa Pasha is likely to obey if the fear instilled in him by the late Hurşid Pasha is dissipated through rewards and praise. Based on His Imperial Majesty's will, we have assured him that the Sublime State appreciates the good service provided by him and his dynasty. We have explained to him the rebellion of the heathen Greeks and particularly the intensifying revolt of the infidels of the Morea and Acarnania. We have informed him of the relevant imperial decree embellished with His Imperial

1 Durrës (Turk. Draç, Gr. Δυρράχιο): coastal town in west Albania in which the Via Egnatia started.

2 Tirana (Turk. Tiran, Gr. Τίρωνα): town in central Albania.

Majesty's handwriting, ordering him to move on to Acarnania at once with a substantial force composed of the gallant warriors of the *sancak* of Shkodër and to crush the bandits in its vicinity. We have also sent a *haseki* to him with an imperial rescript and a dagger, in order to keep him from shirking duty and to prompt him to rush to your side obediently. This decision is based solely on our secret consideration that he would make it easier for you to end the deceits and mischiefs of the bandits and crush the rebels. We have written to him in proper parlance that, although the Sublime State is currently suffering from a shortage of cash, we would deliver the necessary royal gift [cash funds] after receiving news of his advance. He has also been informed that, in compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will, Celal Bey of Ohrid, holding the rank of *kapıcıbaşı*, has been assigned to him as the commissary officer and that a sufficient amount of grain has been prepared. He was left free to follow the marching route of his choice to Acarnania, but we also instructed him to inform you about the details of his advance and operations. We also sent him a copy of the conditions for granting mercy, should any of the infidel rebels beg for mercy when he descends upon them. Given that last year he excused himself from going to Ioannina in person with the pretext of the menace posed by the infidels of Montenegro, he has been told that there is currently no sign of hostility between the Sublime State and Russia and no reason to anticipate danger from the infidel Montenegrins, so long as Russia does not show any aggression. Even if they rebelled, we pointed out to him, the Montenegrins constitute a separate tribe, and therefore it would be easy for the Sublime State to crush them, with the help of God, by sending force whenever necessary. In our letter to him we invited him to comprehend that the rampage and uprising of the infidel Greeks has become widespread and that their false beliefs follow a wicked path. He should realize the potential harm to the entire realm of Islam that would be caused by its spread and conclude that this was not the time to stand and stare. We asked him to exert himself to rush obediently to his duty. In another letter, we let you know that the chief accountant was authorized to deal with the delivery of 190,000 bushels of flour, 230,000 bushels of barley, and 70,000 sheep, as stated in the list you had previously submitted. He was ordered to send one-third of the cost. Nevertheless, we understood from your correspondence that a sufficient quantity of provisions should be set aside for Mustafa Pasha in places near Albania and that he should collect them himself. Thus, we forwarded the matter to the chief accountant again, so that he would prepare the necessary orders to earmark for Mustafa Pasha the provisions requisitioned in the vicinity of Albania as part of the contribution of the *kazas* of Rumelia. As stated above, we paid attention to be flattering and conciliatory toward him. It is required by His Imperial Majesty's will to communicate to you

our decisions in all details and to send you the necessary orders that grant his request for the tax farms of Durrës and Tirana. His Imperial Majesty also wills you to address him respectfully in your communications with him in order to win him over. You should arrange for the transfer of the aforementioned tax farms to be under his authority, should you realize that such a gesture would ensure his obedience. In summary, you should do whatever it takes, flattering or otherwise, to make him zealous and diligent. We have thus sent you the relevant orders for the transfer of the aforementioned tax farms. We assure you that we rewarded Mustafa Pasha with an imperial rescript that contains His Imperial Majesty's handwriting and a dagger with the sole intention of prompting him to perform his duty and lend support to you. You are to pretend not to know about this and to exert yourself to flatter and encourage him by using laudatory language, so that he serves obediently. In case you deem it necessary to keep him loyal, you should give the aforementioned tax farms to him and always be determined to do what is necessary.

[578/128, regarding the unreliability of *müstemen* ships for supplying the locations under siege]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

February 22, 1823

His Excellency the governor of Rumelia has informed us that the transport of victuals to Euboea would facilitate the dispatch of troops to the Morea and that it is also necessary to send supplies to His Excellency Yusuf Pasha [of Serres], who suffers from a shortage of victuals in Patras. The precautions proposed in Your Excellency's memorandum are also congruent with our considerations. At this point, the *müstemen* ships do not transport the provisions to the necessary places for which they are contracted, but through various wiles and guile, they give the supplies to the rebel bandits. It is clear that the transport of provisions cannot be trusted to the *müstemen* ships anymore. God forbid, great calamities may occur unless provisions are sent to Euboea, Patras, and other locations under siege or duress. Therefore, we have considered to hire twenty to thirty [of our own] merchant ships that will set sail together with the imperial navy under Your Excellency's command. We have also ordered some sixty to seventy thousand bushels of the grain which was brought by the *müstemen* ships to be loaded [on the merchant ships]; and as much flour and hardtack as possible to be produced until then. His Imperial Majesty's will is also in line with this course of action. We have already discussed the issue with the superintendent of the imperial arsenal, and a mandate was sent to the superintendent of provisions to carry out the necessary measures.

[578/129, *regarding the mobilization of Albanians*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

February 22, 1823

We have received your recent correspondence in which Your Excellency informed us that you received a report from the commissary officer Ahmed Agha and Bekir Tzokador [castellan of Preveza] on duty in Acarnania and forwarded it to the Sublime State. Referring to the current situation in the Morea, Your Excellency suggests dispatching imperial orders of mobilization to the *sancaks* of Vlorë and Delvinë. You also suggest the appointment of a vizier from Anatolia, due to the enormity of the task. Finally, you recommend taking some precautions about the shipment of victuals and the dispatch of the imperial navy. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted your letter to His Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency has already brought to our attention that the situation in the Morea was pressing and getting even tighter. Your Excellency shall soon learn the precautions we have seen fit to be applied when you receive our letter sent in response to your previous correspondence. Yet, surely, the enormity of the situation requires Your Excellency to be informed continuously and to be up to date. Based on the imperial rescript by which His Imperial Majesty approves of your suggestion, we have sent out orders of mobilization to all the judges, officers, aghas, and beys of the *kazas* within the *sancaks* of Vlorë and Delvinë to the effect that they should mobilize all those faithful men capable of bearing arms for jihad and join the forces of Your Excellency, which you lead as the commander-in-chief. These strictly worded orders were sent along with special ushers. We are deliberating on the matter of victuals, the imperial navy, and the appointment of a vizier from Anatolia. We will inform Your Excellency about the relevant decisions soon. We ask of you by this letter to keep performing your duties with your usual prudence, diligence, and perseverance.

[578/130, regarding the mobilization effort in Rumelia and Albania]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

February 22, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence and the ledger of the soldiers who are due to arrive [from Rumelia and Albania]. Your Excellency recounts that you sent separate mandates for the mobilization of 10,290 men from the *kazas* of Rumelia and of 13,500 men to be recruited by the Geg [Albanian] pashas, composed of both mercenaries and provincial levies [paid by the pashas themselves]. We have dispatched imperial orders of reiteration to speed the process. You point out that the Geg pashas are about to be sent from Lamia to their hometowns in order to assemble the aforementioned mercenaries and the provincial levies. Your Excellency suggests that imperial household couriers should bear the imperial decrees that summon them to join your command and that an amount of cash should be dispatched to the Geg pashas as part of the mercenaries' payment. Similarly, although you sent mandates to the functionaries along the right-hand route of Rumelia and the Via Egnatia, you deem it necessary to send them reiterating orders, so that the soldiers from Rumelia rejoin Your Excellency at the beginning of March. Officers and troop commanders of the *Evlad-ı Fatihan* soldiers were also ordered to rejoin Your Excellency, with the number of troops as set out in the ledger. Your Excellency finally states that Mahmud Pasha, son of Şehsuvar Pasha, was also given similar obligations, so his desire to stay with his father is against Your Excellency's will. The contents of your communication have become known to us, and we have submitted your letter and the ledger to His Imperial Majesty for review. As the current situation requires that those infidels who persist in their rebellion and banditry be crushed in the course of this year, and as this task requires a great number of soldiers, two imperial orders have been issued for the recruitment of around ten thousand soldiers from the *kazas* of Rumelia. Three *hasekis* from the imperial household were dispatched to the Geg pashas, each carrying the imperial orders instructing them to join you with around thirteen thousand soldiers. An amount of cash was also made available to cover the pay of the mercenaries under these pashas; however, in your memorandum you did not set the precise amount required. Therefore, we are waiting for Your Excellency to inform us about how much money we should send and whether it is better to send the money directly to the pashas or to Your Excellency to be distributed by you. Another *haseki* from the imperial household with mobilization orders for the provincial troops of Rumelia was also dispatched, informing them that those who fail to join the army by March will lose their fiefs [*tmar*]. The honorable imperial treasurer was instructed to prepare the order for the mobilization of three thousand *Evlad-ı Fatihan*

troops to join your command. According to Your Excellency, shifting Mahmud Pasha's commission will spread gossip. An imperial order was sent instructing him to join Your Excellency's command with obligations similar to the other Geg pashas. However, if he is really required to stay with his father, then you should be ready to accommodate this necessity.

[578/140, regarding military preparations]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

February 27, 1823

In a previous correspondence Your Excellency related that weariness has come upon the Muslim troops of the garrison of Corinth due to the loss of the Castle of Nafplio to the infidels and the subsequent deaths of Mahmud and Erib Pashas, by the will of God. Thus, the viziers, pashas, and other officers left Corinth for Patras by sea and the remaining troops by land, leaving Binbaşı Abbas of Peć¹ in Corinth with six months' stores of grain and five hundred troops. On the way to Patras, the troops came across a sizable force of infidels, with whom they were involved in many battles, and then retreated to an inn by the sea. Although Yusuf Pasha of Serres [castellan of Patras] rushed to their rescue, no further intelligence was obtained about the circumstances. Your Excellency states that you have received correspondence from Ioannina and Preveza relating the news that the treacherous son of the Bey of Mani [Petros Mavromichalis] incited the *reaya* of the locations to the rear of the Missolonghi army and thereby cut it off from behind. This, as you pointed out, caused a setback for the forces commanded by Reşid [Kütahî] and Ömer [Vrioni] Pashas. Your Excellency remarked that the required precautions should be taken promptly, since the depredations of the infidels have gotten worse, and that, if deemed appropriate, a vizier from Anatolia should be sent to serve under your command. In response, we have communicated to Your Excellency that we would deliberate on the short-term and long-term precautions, such as the appointment of a vizier from Anatolia to the front, and inform you about the decisions. We have fully implemented the measures that you suggested several times, since the situation in the environs of the Morea and Acarnania tends to exacerbate progressively and the nearby infidels rose in rebellion once again, making the situation increasingly unacceptable. Therefore, it has become an obligation upon us to display the might of the Sublime State with a view to suppressing these infidels this year, by the will of God, on sea and land, with battles and blows. Contrary to last year, it is necessary to exercise firm force and make full military preparations. Among the measures we implemented upon Your Excellency's suggestions are the issuance and dispatch of various reiterative imperial orders by special imperial *hasekis*. We sent an imperial order to prompt the dispatch of about 10,000 soldiers you have arranged for from the province of Rumelia with a mandate. We sent another imperial order to the Geg [Albanian] pashas, instructing them to join the expedition with around 13,000 soldiers, and yet another imperial order assigning to

1 Peć (Turk. İpek, Gr. Πέγια or Πετς): town and *sancak* in Kosovo.

Emin Bey, *Ayan* of Xanthi,² the task of joining the army with 1,500 troops. We also mobilized 3,000 *Evlad-ı Fatihan* soldiers, along with the fief holders [*sipahi*] of Rumelia. Finally, we dispatched orders of mobilization by *hasekîs* for all those faithful men capable of bearing arms in the *sancaks* of Vlorë and Delvinë to join your command. His Imperial Majesty willed that all the camels and mules collected from Anatolia be sent to your command. Relevant imperial decrees have also been sent authorizing the collection of grain and livestock from the *kazas* of Rumelia, in the way Your Excellency suggested. We put the *mutasarrıf* of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha Bushati] in charge of descending upon the rebels in Acarnania at the head of his forces and attached a commissary officer to his command with a quantity of grain. We also sent instructions to the *mutasarrıfs* of Thessaloniki and Ormenio regarding their commissions. Finally, we sternly warned Yusuf Pasha [of Berkovitsa], who was appointed the commander-in-chief of the Morea, to arrive at his post immediately, recruiting many troops from the towns he passes along his way. We have already communicated with Your Excellency about the implementation of these decisions, taken in light of your suggestions and recounted above. We have deliberated on your latest suggestions and have come to the following conclusions. All these arrangements make up a quite extensive whole. The serviceable troops of Rumelia consist of the Albanians, native [Muslim] Rumeliots, and Kirdzhali troops, and the measures taken involve their mobilization as mentioned above. We also expect the *mutasarrıf* of Shkodër to act upon his orders and move to the front. Therefore, when these troops are sent out as ordered, we will score many successes, by the grace of God. Nevertheless, considering the enormity of the task, the current state of affairs obliges us to hold a tight grip on the course of events by taking additional precautions and implementing all conceivable measures. That said, your suggestion of dispatching a vizier from Anatolia is clearly inappropriate, due to the war with Iran, the uselessness of the Anatolian troops notwithstanding. We suggested to His Imperial Majesty to inquire of Your Excellency if you would like to have alternative troops of different sorts. Since Your Excellency has previously toured all around Rumelia, you have a complete grasp of the places that can provide serviceable soldiers for the army. Upon your response, we will make the necessary arrangements to honor your further demands for troops. We have considered placing Malik Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of İçel, who is currently guarding Sofia, under your command. You might consider sending him to the Morea by providing him with troops and aid. Although he is not very powerful at the moment, he is the *Ahi Baba* [spiritual leader] of the Geg pashas and, if attached to your command, he

2 Xanthi (Turk. İskeçe, Gr. Ξάνθη): town in Greek Thrace.

would be instrumental in putting more of the Geg pashas to use. Obviously, this idea requires your approval first. As for Yusuf Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, he has orders to recruit numerous troops from the vicinities that he passes through on his way. However, we surmised in the deliberations that it would yield great benefits if rumors spread that he would march to the front at the head of a sizable force. Therefore, we deemed it proper to place under his command 1,250 men from the *sancak* of Silistra and 1,750 men from the *sancaks* of Nikopol and Vidin. Considering that the recruitment of these troops would require time and thereby cause a delay in his march, we suggested the collection of a compensation fee from each area in lieu of their quota of militia, so that Yusuf Pasha might hire mercenaries to be paid monthly with the accumulated funds. Thus, we recommended to His Imperial Majesty that we should communicate to the governor of Silistra and castellan of Vidin this option and instruct them to make the necessary arrangements, provided Yusuf Pasha accepts our suggestion. The administration of grain is also one of the most important matters to be addressed. On this issue, we thought it unwise to send the camels and mules assigned to Your Excellency unloaded from here [Anatolia] to your army camp. Instead, we suggested sending them to Sofia first, so that they can transport the hardtack stored in the town for the consumption of your forces. It would be beneficial to requisition some more pack animals from the available places in Rumelia for the transportation of the remaining hardtack in the stores of Sofia. Upon His Imperial Majesty's approval of our recommendations, we sent the governor of Silistra and castellan of Vidin a communication informing them of the imperial decrees for the mobilization of troops in the suggested way; and we sent expedited orders to Yusuf Pasha to speed up his pace with a sizable force. We have instructed the chief accountant to organize the transportation of the stored hardtack from Sofia by the aforementioned pack animals and the collection of some more beasts from the available areas in Rumelia. It is within your discretion to write here promptly and point out in detail if Your Excellency demands more troops, in addition to those placed under your command, and to approve the appointment of Malik Pasha as we suggest. In your letter that arrived subsequently, Your Excellency demands the dispatch of the imperial navy to Patras and a squadron of seven or eight ships to patrol the waters of Lamia and Euboea. Moreover, you request the immediate shipment of a sufficient amount of provisions by either the navy or *müstemen* ships. Similarly, the letters sent by Yusuf Pasha [of Serres], Castellan of Patras, included a demand for the attachment to his command of some fifteen ships under a fleet commander in the Bay of Patras. However, the dispatch of provisions with *müstemen* ships is presently not safe, due to the likely loss of cargo and surmounting challenges. Nor is it

feasible to send separately a large fleet—as Yusuf Pasha suggests—without the escort of the imperial navy. Nevertheless, the grand admiral is planning to lead the imperial navy soon, upon the completion of naval preparations, and split it into two fleets, with one of them exclusively patrolling the waters of the Morea. He will command the other fleet with the mission of intercepting and routing the bandit boats in the sector between the Morea, Crete, and the Archipelago, particularly along the shores of Anatolia and Rumelia. Although it is not possible to dispatch a detachment to Lamia for the time being, the former fleet has instructions also to patrol the waters of Lamia, and we believe that this would yield all the benefits intended from a separate dispatch of ships to Lamia. Finally, we inform Your Excellency by this letter that the imperial navy will escort our merchant ships loaded with 100,000 bushels of grain, hardtack, and munitions, and the grand admiral will distribute these in sufficient amounts to the places that are in need. With the knowledge of these decisions and measures, Your Excellency should strive to perform your duties with diligence, prowess, and faith.

[578/166, *regarding the mobilization of Albanian notables*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

March 12, 1823

The notables of Përmet,¹ such as the Silahdar Ilyas Bey and Beyzade Bey and their relatives, Ismail Bey of Konitsa, Islam Beyzade, Süleyman Beyzade of Frashër, Ibrahim Bey, Islam Bey, Hasan Bey, son of Tahir Bey, and Süleyman Bey, son of Veli Bey, along with the soldiers they can muster, are to be put under Your Excellency's command. This is so that the matter is undertaken with zeal to suppress successfully the unrest in the Morea this year, with the benevolent help of God, the most auspicious helper. Your Excellency has reported on what sort of imperial firman should be issued to address them, as well as His Excellency Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina. An imperial order as to the manner of their appointments is also to be sent to Şahin Bey, son of Mustafa Pasha of Delvinë, Abdül Bey, son of Kuka, Süleyman Şamid, Ali Many, Yusuf Agha, son of Islam Pervine, Mehmed Çapar, and Tahir Çapar. Furthermore, imperial orders are to be issued to Ismail Bey of Vlorë and Hacı Ahmed Agha, so as to announce the proposal of Your Excellency that they will either be pardoned for their crimes if they join the commander-in-chief with one thousand soldiers or be put to death if they do otherwise. It has been communicated that Bekir Bey, the brother of the said Ismail Bey, has departed for Istanbul and also as to how Bekir Bey is to be summoned and instructed. The reports of Ömer Pasha and Reşid Pasha, Governor of Karaman, have also been forwarded to us. Your Excellency's report on these and other matters, as well as Ömer and Reşid Pashas' reports, have become known to us and have been presented before His Imperial Majesty, who has considered them benignantly. It is His Imperial Majesty's highest priority in respect of the intensifying insurrection of the Greek infidels that measures be taken, so as to crush the vigor of their rebellion. In conformity with Your Excellency's reports, it has been found suitable that imperial orders be issued, so that the aforementioned beys, sons of beys, and other aghas be put under Your Excellency's command. Your Excellency's proposal has, however, openly posed the question of [their] salaries. In spite of that, this question was not mentioned in the previous firmans that were sent to Albania. We have only uttered: "Those faithful men who are capable of bearing arms should march on the Morea." If we mention the question of salaries in the new firmans, this will contradict the previous firmans. Furthermore, there is a lack of resources, and thus it will be impossible to cope with salaries. According to the rescript of His Imperial Majesty, by immediately complementing the previous imperial orders, and including the necessary

1 Përmet (Turk. Permed, Gr. Πρεμετή): town and region in southeast Albania.

instructions for their encouragement, three imperial orders have been issued, one to Ömer Pasha, one to the aforementioned functionaries, and one to the beys of Delvinë, so that Ömer Pasha pays attention to perform his duties with the forces at his disposal; so that the said beys, sons of beys, and others be put under Your Excellency's command; and so that they take the measures to set themselves in motion at once. The imperial orders have also been sent to Your Excellency in order for you to dispatch them to the proper locations as mandates. Although the question of salaries has been disregarded in the said firmans, on account of the reasons that have been explained, those among the said people who need some aid will not be entirely deprived of money. Since rendering the aid they need is a most important concern, His Imperial Majesty wills that the said functionaries should immediately be summoned from their locations and employed, so that the necessary arrangements for the aid should be made. Although a secret imperial order was issued for the execution of Ismail Bey, His Imperial Majesty also wills that its enforcement shall be postponed, since it is not the right time to proceed, and that his brother Bekir Bey, who is in Istanbul, shall be summoned to the Sublime Porte and be secretly instructed as follows: "Here, your brother has been completely pardoned on the condition that he demonstrates zealous service in the Morea. Write to him, so that he joins the commander-in-chief and performs excellent services in the affairs of the Morea. Should he hereafter act inappropriately, there will be severe consequences for him." Therefore, an imperial order has been issued to confirm the pardon and the appointment of Ismail Bey. His brother, Bekir Bey, who is in Istanbul, has been summoned and secretly instructed, so as to write to his brother as described above. It is commanded that Your Excellency makes the necessary arrangements to aid those among the aforementioned functionaries who are in need, with the requisite wisdom; to endeavor to summon and employ them immediately; and to ensure to summon Ismail Bey and set him to work, doing his utmost to enforce the requirements of His Imperial Majesty and at any rate to embark swiftly upon the fulfillment of these conditions and his duties.

[578/167, regarding the relief aid to be dispatched to Crete]

To the Castellan of Irakleio [Mehmed Şerif Pasha]

March 13, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you report that you have labored with might and main, day and night, for the defense of the Fortress of Irakleio, with which you have been entrusted. In spite of that, you relate that it has been difficult to offer resistance to the infidels, for their rebellion spreads little by little on the island, and the people of Crete have shown impiety; and the infidels have found opportunity and seized and wasted the villages in the vicinity. Furthermore, it has been a strenuous task to take revenge on the rebels with the available Egyptian forces and people [of Crete], since the majority of the soldiers who came from Egypt have fallen ill. You also report that *müstemen* vessels only accept cash and have refused to accept bills of exchange as advance payment for the purchase of provisions. Your Excellency relates that there is want of succor in respect of provisions, munitions, and soldiers; and, due to the lack of artillerymen in Irakleio, you request that five artillery and one bombardier regiments fully equipped with artillerymen be appointed and dispatched. Your Excellency's report on these and other concerns have thus become known to us and have been presented before His Imperial Majesty. As is known to Your Excellency, the matter of succoring His Excellency the governor of Egypt, in his task of cleansing the island of Crete from the filth of the rebellious *reaya*, with soldiers, provisions, and the necessary munitions has entirely been devolved upon him. In his latest report, His Excellency refers to the vessels which have previously been sent back to Alexandria and the quantity and quality of the forces that he has prepared for Crete; and he recalls that if it should be commanded that these vessels be detached from the imperial navy and be employed solely for Cretan affairs this spring, as it was done last year, he will dispatch by these vessels the soldiers, provisions, and munitions that are on standby in Alexandria. His Excellency also states that it will be most beneficial for Cretan affairs for these vessels be put on patrol in Cretan waters until the end of their mission, once the brigands are duly crushed and quelled; and that it will also be necessary for them to aid Hasan Pasha, who is currently on Crete, with soldiers and munitions. The patrol of the Egyptian vessels in Cretan waters will both give courage to the Muslim forces and prevent any help for the rebellious *reaya* coming from the traitorous brigands outside of the island and will at any rate be requisite for the achievement of greater advantages. In this regard, permission has been granted to the governor of Egypt, so that the Egyptian vessels will be employed solely for Cretan affairs, according to His Imperial Majesty' will. Furthermore, these vessels will also transport to Crete the demanded provisions, soldiers,

and military stores, as was done last year. His Excellency has been notified to instruct the commanders and the captains of the said vessels that they will patrol Cretan waters and will sink and destroy any brigands' boats that come from outside, thus breaking the brigands' conceit. A copy of the summary of Your Excellency's reports has also been made and sent to the governor of Egypt. According to His Imperial Majesty's will, a sum of 100,000 piasters has been sent to Your Excellency as a royal gift. As a further matter, it is understood from Your Excellency's report that there is a lack of artillerymen in Irakleio. There has been a scarcity of regiments here as well, because most artillery regiments have been deployed in the provinces. Therefore, one artillery regiment and three master cannoneers, along with twelve bombardiers each and three pieces of 22-caliber mortars, have been prepared and are due to be dispatched with the imperial navy to Your Excellency. We have also written to the governor of Egypt, requesting him to send some artillerymen if possible. Ten pieces of artillery and the requisite gunpowder, cartridges, rifles, flint, and a certain quantity of provisions have been prepared, along with the artillery regiment, and will be dispatched by the imperial navy as a reserve. These pieces of artillery will be provided to Your Excellency according to need as soon as His Excellency the grand admiral reaches Crete, by the grace of God, with the imperial navy, whose forthcoming departure has been confirmed. His Imperial Majesty has also sanctioned the decision to render this most needed aid as regards the military stores, ammunition, and provisions; and thus, the necessary arrangements have been made. It is commanded that Your Excellency demonstrates firmness and steadiness, proves your heroic efforts with your braveness and zeal, and rigorously works without delay, so as to secure the defense of Irakleio.

[578/168, *regarding the relief aid to be dispatched to Crete*]

To the Governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha]

March 13, 1823

The rebels on the island of Crete have intensified their brigandage. Although Your Excellency had sent around four thousand soldiers, they fell ill owing to the unwholesomeness of the weather; and the people of Crete wore out their firmness and perseverance. Consequently, Şerif Pasha, Castellan of Irakleio, has requested to be succored with soldiers, provisions, and munitions. The responsibility for Cretan affairs has entirely been devolved upon Your Excellency. Despite that it is alluded in Your Excellency's report, which was received a few days ago, that there is no such distress on Crete to the extent to which it has been complained of, it has been declared with another imperial command that, according to Şerif Pasha's report, the Cretan issue has deteriorated. Therefore, permission has been granted for the vessels that were sent earlier to Alexandria to be employed solely for the Cretan issue. According to His Imperial Majesty's will, Your Excellency has again been entrusted with the task of providing the requested soldiers, provisions, and munitions, as you did last year. A copy of the summary of Şerif Pasha's reports has been sent to Your Excellency, so that you may acquaint yourself with the facts of the matter. Şerif Pasha has requested five artillery regiments. We shall, however, send only one regiment to him, since there is a scarcity of artillery regiments here, for the majority of the regiments are deployed in the provinces. As it is necessary that it be sent together with the imperial navy, we have prepared the artillery regiment and three masters, along with twelve bombardiers each and three pieces of 22-caliber mortars, which are about to be dispatched with the imperial navy to Crete. Your Excellency is thus informed that His Imperial Majesty also demands that Your Excellency send some artillerymen from Egypt, if possible. Be it therefore proclaimed that Your Excellency is entrusted with the duty to send to Crete in whatever way possible the needed soldiers, provisions, and munitions, as you did last year, and if possible some artillerymen; and, by providing the necessary succor, to secure such an [important] island as Crete and save so many *sayyids* and *sayyidas*, dignitaries, and women against the infidels' subversive plot, as required by your piety and zeal.

FIGURE 13 Title page of BOA/Ayniyat Register 579

[579/3, *regarding the retreat of the army from Corinth to Patras and the provisioning of the armies in the Morea*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

March 17, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you point out that you forwarded the report of Yusuf Pasha [of Serres] informing you about the arrival of the army of Corinth in Patras. He drew attention to the failure to bring in supplies aboard the *müstemen* ships, because of the attack of infidel Greeks by boat. As a result, provisions shipped from Egypt and Thessaloniki are stuck in Zakynthos. Thus, Yusuf Pasha requests the immediate dispatch of a squadron of fifteen ships from the imperial navy to Patras. You also forwarded several communications from the former grand vizier Seyyid Ali Pasha, Hasan Pasha, *mir-i mirans*, *ayans*, and other functionaries who returned to Patras, requesting the dispatch of troops, supplies, and ammunition, as well as money. You also repeat your past suggestion to send a detachment from the imperial navy to Lamia and Euboea for patrolling duties and carrying supplies there, while the remaining [ships] should sail with provisions to Patras. You draw attention to the necessity of rushing grain to Patras, whether aboard Frankish ships or not. The contents of your correspondence have thus become known to us. As my predecessor has already pointed out to you, it is not safe to ship grain on *müstemen* ships. The *müstemens* do not keep their promises. We know from experience that they unload the cargo at some other place rather than the agreed destination, due to the molestation of the brigand boats, and claim damage to the cargo on board. In the present situation, it is unfitting to send provisions to Patras by *müstemen* ships, and, likewise, it would be unwise to follow Yusuf Pasha's suggestion to detach such a great number of ships and send them to Patras, if the imperial navy does not escort them. The grand admiral has recently told us his decision to divide the imperial navy—which is to sail away soon—into two squadrons, so that one squadron would patrol the waters of the Morea, while the other could be employed to patrol the zone lying between the Morea, Crete, and the other islands of the Archipelago, or coasts of Rumelia and Anatolia as needed. The imperial navy will thus keep a vigilant watch on the pirates and brigand boats day and night in order to seek out and destroy them, with the help of God. Although it is impossible to send a separate detachment to Lamia, the squadron to be employed in the waters of the Morea will be ordered to patrol Lamia and other locations day and night as a measure to achieve the intended aim. The imperial navy will escort the merchant ships loaded with approximately 100,000 bushels of grain, hardtack, ordnance, and a sufficient quantity of ammunition. There is no doubt that the grand admiral will distribute them among the locations in need of them.

Besides, we have already contacted the English ambassador to Istanbul on the matter of the grain shipped from Thessaloniki that is currently in Zakynthos. The ambassador proved to be cooperative and promised to send a letter to the military authority on Zakynthos via an English ship which is leaving Istanbul for Zakynthos. He informed the Sublime Porte that this would be the quickest means to have these supplies rerouted to Preveza. I dispatched a letter to you on this subject the day before; I trust that you will exert yourself to receive and store these provisions in safe places in Preveza and deliver them as military rations to the necessary places. While it is obvious from your diligence and austerity that you will perform what is required, I ask you to discuss with the relevant authorities the matter of provisions that were shipped from Egypt and are stuck in Zakynthos, as pointed out by Yusuf Pasha. Needless to say, the Egyptian provisions should be retrieved from Zakynthos, together with those from Thessaloniki, and distributed as military rations among locations in need of them. This letter is to ask you to demonstrate your zeal and comprehension by committing yourself diligently to handling these matters entrusted to you.

[579/7, *regarding the appointment of Süleyman Pasha to the Morea*
To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

March 18, 1823

Your Excellency has previously proposed that a suitable post be assigned to His Excellency Süleyman Pasha, Castellan of Lamia. If a post were assigned to him, he wishes to be sent to the Morea. Since no fitting post was available at that time, our predecessor notified Your Excellency by letter that Süleyman Pasha would be assigned a post when a suitable occasion arose. Now that Erib Pasha, who was with the army in Corinth, has died, the *sancaks* of Niğde, Kırşehir, and Beyşehir,¹ of which he was in charge, have been vacated. Therefore, according to the will of His Imperial Majesty, these *sancaks* have been assigned and entrusted to His Excellency Süleyman Pasha. In this regard, it is commanded that it be communicated that Your Excellency's request has been fulfilled; and that Your Excellency should arrange for the implementation of these affairs of importance with the proper expertise and acuity.

¹ Beyşehir: town in west-southwest Turkey.

[579/12, regarding the failure of the mütesellim of Kavala to succor the Muslims on Thasos]

To the Mütesellim of Kavala Hacı Ahmed Agha

March 20, 1823

It has been reported by His Excellency [Ebulubud] Mehmed Pasha, honorable vizier and *Mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki, that he dispatched sufficient forces for the defense of the island of Thasos. Meanwhile, as the island is very close to Kavala, you pledged that you would gather an adequate number of forces and lead them in person in time of need; and you requested that the forces of Mehmed Pasha be withdrawn from the island. His forces were consequently withdrawn, but the infidel brigands invaded the island. The voivode of the island and the Muslim folk shut themselves in a tower and engaged in battle. We have been informed by your letter that you rigorously worked to transfer forces, for the said infidels besieged the island, but you had not yet found an opportunity; and now you again endeavor to find a passage to transfer forces. As the fidelity of every state official requires, it is imperative that he demonstrates exemplary integrity in the affairs of which he is in charge. Taking into account what has been understood from the reports of Mehmed Pasha, you pledged to defend the island of Thasos from the subversive plot of the infidels. While it is inherent and most important for your office to pay attention to the proper defense of the island, you deprived the island of any forces, contrary to your pledge and against the consent of His Imperial Majesty. It would appear that the enemies of our religion found an opportunity and dared to oppress the island, solely because of your negligence at such a time, contrary to your pledge. Saying “I will find a passage [opportunity] and transfer soldiers at some point” does not befit those who possess sanity and piety in the slightest degree. You must carefully consider that your laxity and indolence, which appeared with the failure of honoring your pledge in this regard, make it necessary that you be punished and reprimanded. You must understand that your salvation is to find the means, in one way or another, in order to reinforce the defense of the island swiftly against the infidels’ havoc; you must thus act in great haste. As is evident from your report, you shall employ all your mastery and strength, so as to transfer forces immediately to the island at any cost and secure it against the vexing oppression of the infidels. You shall not doubt that you will be punished if—God forbid—some sort of calamity befalls the island. Knowing that no excuse will be accepted in such a case, you shall pay attention to act accordingly and shall refrain from going astray.

[579/27, *regarding the failure to pay the mercenaries*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

March 28, 1823

Hasan Pasha communicated to us that, upon the conclusion of the Ioannina affair [the Tepedelenli Ali Pasha uprising] last year, the late Hurşid Pasha sent him to Larissa from where he would proceed to the Morea. On the written orders of the late Hurşid Pasha, Hasan Pasha hired 2,130 men at the rate of 35 piasters per month from among the unemployed mercenaries. After communicating with the late Hurşid Pasha, Hasan Pasha paid them 74,550 piasters due for the month of *Şevval* [June–July 1822], while their two months' pay due for *Şaban* and *Ramazân* [April–June 1822] fell into arrears. As his troops insisted on the payment of arrears, Hasan Pasha furnished part of the two-month arrears as well. Pointing out that his financial distress reached an alarming level, Hasan Pasha this time asked us to forward him 149,100 piasters, both to pay the remaining of the two months' arrears and to alleviate his severe financial exigency. He also sent us the late Hurşid Pasha's aforementioned letter to support his case. We replied to Hasan Pasha to report the matter to Your Excellency, since such issues pertain to your office as the commander-in-chief of Rumelia. This letter is to inform you that the matter is entrusted to you, as you are the one to decide on the proper course of action in communication with Hasan Pasha.

[579/33, *regarding the sultan reprimanding state dignitaries for laxity*
To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüseyin Paşa]

April 2, 1823

As is known to Your Excellency, the Imperial Council discussed the contents of the papers that arrived from Crete and submitted the minutes to His Imperial Majesty, who dignified the page with his imperial handwriting. One of the articles in His Imperial Majesty's note reads: "A joint effort and determination are necessary. Promises to exert effort [on your part] remain unfulfilled. I don't see this in deeds. The frigate to lead the Barbary ships has not yet set sail for the Dardanelles on trivial pretexts. How is that possible! Good Lord! When is the remainder of the navy likely to set sail? I will punish any recurrence of such negligence and delinquency from now on. Show the due diligence and resoluteness accordingly!" Indeed, it is incumbent upon all of us to work assiduously. It is in Your Excellency's discretion to hasten to make the required effort after you reflect on the meaning of His Imperial Majesty's words. You told me on the day of the council meeting that the ship anchored off Beşiktaş would set sail on Tuesday or on Wednesday at the latest. To be on the safe side, I informed His Imperial Majesty that it would leave the port on Thursday. It was unable to sail out yesterday, which was Tuesday. Today, it is Wednesday; yet, so far there is no sign of departure. If the ship does not leave tomorrow, I will be held responsible. Thus, I urge Your Excellency to exert yourself in every possible way to outfit the ship with all the necessary equipment and send it.

[579/34, regarding the aversion between *Ömer Vrioni* and *Kütahi Reşid Pashas* and operations in Acarnania]

To the Governor of Rumelia [*Köse Mehmed Pasha*]

April 2, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's letter brought by Ibrahim Bey and Mustafa Agha, the imperial *hasekis* who were previously sent with coercive orders to the functionaries in the Morea and Acarnania. You point out in your letter that these two officers would inform us about the situation with Reşid Pasha [Kütahi], Governor of Karaman, and Ömer Pasha [Vrioni]. We understand from [the officers'] verbal testimony that the responsibility for the retreat of Reşid Pasha and Ömer Pasha from Acarnania to Preveza lies solely with Ömer Pasha, due to his wrong-headed measures and negligence. For the time being, acquiescence is necessary, as Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, has not yet arrived at his designated post in Acarnania, which is essential to implement the present measures concerning the Morea. However, based on Reşid Pasha's communication, his cooperation with Ömer Pasha will be useless from now on, given the current situation. Even if we assume that the *mutasarrıf* of Shkodër fails to set out [for the military campaign], it is still improper to deploy these two pashas together in Acarnania. This matter is to be postponed until the *mutasarrıf* of Shkodër begins his march. However, we have been receiving complaints about the inappropriateness of Ömer Pasha for some time and have heard about Reşid Pasha's good conduct, his good relations with Albanian notables, the prestige he enjoyed among them, and his unfailing service on the battlefield. We expect him to render many more services to religion and state in the future and we think it is proper to increase his prestige by bestowing more favors on him. Currently, the governorship of the *sancak* of Trikala is vacant, and you have previously indicated that a person with the rank of vizier should govern Trikala. Therefore, the *sancak* of Trikala was appended to the province of Karaman and assigned to Reşid Pasha, upon His Imperial Majesty's will. While it is out of the question to leave the Fortress of Preveza entirely unguarded, the two aforementioned pashas cannot stay in the fortress together, because of the mutual aversion between them and the administrative hardships involved. It is suitable to put Ömer Pasha in charge of guarding Preveza on the grounds that it falls within his jurisdiction. Reşid Pasha may be ordered to stay in Larissa and deployed wherever you deem fit. Nevertheless, we have told [Ömer and Reşid Pashas] nothing about these ponderings, since Your Excellency is the commander-in-chief with full discretionary powers. In the appointment order addressing Reşid Pasha, we instructed him to serve under your authority, as in the past. We stressed in our response to his letter that Trikala was administratively annexed to Karaman and put under his

jurisdiction and that he should act upon your orders under all circumstances. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that we leave the decision to Your Excellency concerning our suggestion to keep Ömer Pasha in Preveza and to send Reşid Pasha to Larissa to be deployed wherever you deem fit. Depending on the situation there, you should take the necessary measures and implement them. As we do not know if Mustafa Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, has marched out, we are not in a position to make decisions on these matters from here. This letter is to ask you to inform us if you learn until the arrival of my correspondence whether Mustafa Pasha has left Shkodër or not, as well as your decision about the aforementioned pashas.

Postscript: We have learned from Reşid Pasha's correspondence that the commissary officer in Acarnania has been burdened with massive amounts of debt and that the solution is either the delivery of huge cash funds or his removal. In his correspondence to you, the said commissary officer, describing the situation, requested to be relieved of his duties and, if this is not possible, he said he needed a large sum of money in advance and a monthly sum of 300,000 piasters to manage the affairs, since the soldiers you have dispatched have begun arriving in bands. He pointed out that the imperial treasury would benefit if Ömer and Reşid Pashas were given meagre funds and put in charge of supply issues. He requested 200,000 piasters to pay back his petty debts in case he was acquitted of his duty. This matter of logistics is also left to Your Excellency's discretion, as it is the kind of matter that you would know about as commander-in-chief. You are free to decide on the request of the aforementioned state commissioner and expected at all times to exert yourself to perform your duties as commander-in-chief.

[579/36, *regarding information on Greek fireships slipping into the Bosphorus*
To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

April 2, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's missive confirming your receipt of the note from Mustafa Pasha, Castellan of the Dardanelles, which his agent at the Sublime Porte forwarded to us. This note, forwarded to you by my steward, related the details of the note dispatched by a certain Mustafa of Euboea to Mustafa Pasha. You also describe the note sent to you from the voivode of Ayvalık in your missive and inform us that Mustafa of Euboea is with you. This time, I am attaching to my missive the letter of the castellan of the Dardanelles addressing the Sublime Porte on this subject. As you will understand from its content, it is indeed plausible that the infidels can slip into the Bosphorus on state-of-the-art fireships, which, God forbid, would entail many dangers. This matter obviously demands our immediate attention and to take the necessary precautions. It is equally obvious that those boats that entered the Bosphorus with their loads of carobs should be searched on the grounds that the said Mustafa [of Euboea] claimed he could identify the boats with their crews. This letter is to ask Your Excellency to gather with Esad Efendi and the port officials and to find out whether or not these boats loaded with carobs arrived in the Golden Horn. You should spot their location if they are in Istanbul, determine whether they are the boats mentioned by the said Mustafa [of Euboea], and then do whatever is necessary immediately. This is an inappropriate situation that requires the utmost attention. Thus, you should take measures without wasting a single moment and explain them to us for His Imperial Majesty's information. May we also ask you to return to us the above-mentioned correspondence.

[579/43, *regarding the provisioning of the troops to be deployed in the Morea*]
To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

April 4, 1823

We have frequently communicated to Your Excellency the serious efforts we put together this year to conclude the Moreot affair by occupying and liberating the Morea through intricate measures, part of which is the dispatch, may God grant, of one hundred thousand bushels of grain on merchant vessels together with the imperial navy. While this specified amount of supplies is originally intended for the armies and castles in the Morea, Euboea, and Acarnania, Your Excellency has intimate knowledge of the supply situation at these locations. Thus, His Imperial Majesty has ordered us to inquire from Your Excellency the exact locations to unload and deliver these supplies, so that we can instruct the grand admiral in advance accordingly. It is of utmost consequence that Your Excellency informs us immediately where the grand admiral should deliver the supplies when the imperial navy arrives in the vicinity. We will then instruct him in advance to make the deliveries as pointed out. Furthermore, the supplies procured from the *kazas* of Rumelia to Larissa will possibly meet the requirements of all the mustered troops during the march to the Morea, but it is not possible to supply such a large force from Larissa when they begin operations in the Morea. Therefore, this year, they will have to be sustained by the supplies transported by the imperial navy. It has also been taken into consideration that a hundred thousand bushels of supplies will not last long due to the size of our forces, and the troops may again, God forbid, be left desolate, as was the case last year. Should His Excellency the *mutasarrıf* of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha Bushati] finally go down to Missolonghi, storming Acarnania on his way, he will also require supplies in considerable quantities. Presently, His Excellency Yusuf Pasha of Serres is purchasing supplies from the *müstemen* merchants in Patras, an opportunity exploited by the Franks for selling their supplies at an incredibly high price. Nevertheless, we expect that the *müstemen* merchants will have to lower their prices when the aforementioned hundred thousand bushels reach there. By His Imperial Majesty's will, some additional supply purchases will be made on the spot due to the high number of troops. We have instructed Yusuf Pasha of Serres to cooperate with the grand admiral to buy thirty to forty thousand bushels of grain from the *müstemen* merchants at affordable prices for the exclusive consumption of the forces to be deployed in the Morea. He will use bills of exchange, redeemable in cash from the imperial treasury in Istanbul. We inform Your Excellency by this letter that we are about to send a relevant letter to Yusuf Pasha with the imperial navy and ask you to use your best endeavors for the proper and zealous conduct of your duty.

[579/46, *regarding the relief of Cretan castles from siege*]

To the Castellans of Irakleio, Rethymno, and Chania

April 4, 1823

We have received your correspondence and the related documents in which you recount that the castles are under siege due to the general revolt of the *reaya* of the island of Crete. You report that, while no aid has arrived from His Excellency the governor of Egypt, supplies and ammunition are running low, as well as the number of available troops. Thus, you plead with us to send supplies, ammunition, troops, and gunners. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty. Even though the infidels' riot is surmounting, it is clear that they cannot withstand the might of Islam and the crushing power of the Sublime State, by the help of God and the divine intercession of the Prophet. It is also obvious, by the grace of God, that those infernal infidels will meet their due punishment for their groundless treachery against the Muslims and their benefactor, the Sublime State. It is His Imperial Majesty's utmost priority to protect such a strong bulwark as Crete and so many Muslim inhabitants from the mischief and harm of the enemies of [our] religion. Thus, we have shown no laxity in delivering as much aid and support as possible from here. We have assigned the responsibility for dealing with the affairs of Crete exclusively to the governor of Egypt, who has up to now fulfilled his duties by dispatching troops, military equipment, and supplies. In fact, we have recently learned from the captains of merchant ships from Egypt that the said governor was about to send many ships full of troops and ammunition of various kinds at the time of their departure. Although they must have arrived at Crete by now, we have reminded the governor of Egypt of the situation and have asked him to provide Crete with all possible aid and support, following His Imperial Majesty's decree. Apart from this, we have prepared two separate artillery companies for Crete, as well as supplies and ammunition, for each of the castles of Irakleio, Chania, and Rethymno. The imperial fleet, which will set sail for the Mediterranean soon, will deliver them. Moreover, we have explained to the grand admiral at length that he should supply provisions to Crete and carry the [Muslim] Cretans loitering around in Izmir and Kuşadası for the relief of their fatherland, as stipulated by several imperial decrees addressing them. We expect that the ships sent by the governor of Egypt must have arrived along with the troops and ammunition by now, since Crete is their exclusive destination, and must have relieved the island from all harassment, quelling and crushing the rebellious infidels as a token of God's grace. The grand admiral will soon set sail for Crete and fall upon the bandit boats, which constitute the main power of the Cretan infidels. After scattering them, the rebellious

infidels on the island will surely be crushed. We would like to assure you that not a single moment is lost here. We are making arrangements to aid Crete from here and are reiterating relevant orders to the governor of Egypt. The grand admiral and the governor of Egypt will soon arrive at Crete to put an end to this incident. We ask of you by this letter to persevere in the fulfillment of your duty, which is to protect Crete, and exert yourself to crushing the treacherous infidels.

[579/50, *regarding the measures against Greek fireships trying to pass the Dardanelles*]

To the Castellan of the Dardanelles

[April 5, 1823]

A certain Mustafa of Euboea—who had been a captive in the hands of the brigands for several months and has found a way to escape—informed Your Excellency that the pirates cruising the Mediterranean have prepared some twelve fireships with combustible materials and masqueraded them as merchant ships with a cargo of carob and sweetgum. Dressed in Frankish clothes and flying foreign flags, they intend to pass the Dardanelles and, God forbid, set fire to the imperial fleet anchored at Cape Nara. Upon this report, Your Excellency has interrogated Mehmed Sırrı Efendi, whose duty is to inspect [the ships passing through the Dardanelles]. He stated that five to six *müstemen* ships loaded with carob were inspected five to ten days ago and given a permit [to pass], according to naval traditions. Your letter, in which you state that you have sent the said Mustafa to Istanbul, since he claimed that he knows what these ships look like, has arrived here and has been submitted to His Imperial Majesty for review. The situation being quite alarming, officials and the said Mustafa swiftly inspected the ships loaded with carob anchored at the Golden Horn. It turned out that they were not the ships mentioned by Mustafa. Still, all those concerned have been warned thoroughly and reminded how last year these wicked infidels committed treachery against the imperial navy by altering the looks of their evil ships and their clothes, so that they look like Frankish ships and sailors. As they know that they will not be able to resist the impetuous attack of the imperial navy and that they will soon be overpowered, they do their best to continue their treacherous depredations. As their evil intentions have now become known, from now on all officials have to open their eyes and be alert day and night. It is your and the inspector's duty to be extremely attentive and even to put pressure upon the dragomans of the foreign states present at the Dardanelles and arrest them if necessary, if the infidels dare to slip through the Dardanelles for a fireship attack. Although inspecting the cargoes [of foreign ships] is against the treaties in force, in such times as these if a ship—such as the one mentioned above—arrives and arouses suspicion, the consul of the relevant state should be informed in a friendly manner regarding the reason for suspicion, and the ship should not be released until all suspicions are dissipated. Therefore, Your Excellency shall assign one of your resourceful men under the inspector's command. All *müstemen* ships entering the Dardanelles are to be inspected more carefully than ever, and you are not to release them until all suspicions are dissipated. If a foreign consul brings a complaint, you shall explain the situation to him in a friendly and wise manner and inform us about the situation.

[579/59, regarding the replacement of hostages from Lesbos]

To the Superintendent of Lesbos Mustafa Agha

April 15, 1823

We have received your letter in which you state that the bishop and *kocabaşıs* of Lesbos, who were previously taken to the imperial capital, have been held in detention already for more than a year; yet, their families did not stay out of trouble [uncertain translation]. You petition for their replacement with other hostages—just like the *kocabaşıs* of other islands—and their return to the island. The contents of your letter have become known to us, and we have submitted your letter to His Imperial Majesty for review. The hostages for whose replacement you wrote about are the metropolitan of the island and five *kocabaşıs*. Although they should be replaced [with other hostages] after a year in detention, since the sedition of the *reaya* has not come to an end, the new hostages to be sent here shall be of equal standing and chosen from among the notables of the island. The new hostages should be so reputable that the *reaya* [of the island] would not commit any acts against the state. According to His Imperial Majesty's will, six such hostages should be found and sent by you from Mytilene¹ and its environs. In return, the ones here will be freed and sent to their province. You shall pay the utmost attention to choosing the hostages from among the very notable *reaya* of the island.

¹ Mytilene (Turk. Midilli, Gr. Μυτιλήνη): capital of the island of Lesbos.

[579/65, regarding preparations for the summer campaign]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

April 16, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence and the memorandum of His Excellency Mustafa Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, listing his pleas as separate articles. In the memorandum he sent to Celal Bey of Ohrid through an agent, Mustafa Pasha asks for a royal grant of five hundred purses for himself, apart from the bonus money for the troops he will muster. He suggests that Numan Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Dukakin, and the *mutasarrıfs* of Ohrid and Elbasan, as well as Mahmud Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Prizren, or his brother Emin Pasha be attached under his command. Moreover, he requests the transfer of the *sancaks* of Ohrid and Elbasan to his jurisdiction, as well as the assignment of His Excellency Reşid Pasha [Kütahi], Governor of Karaman, and Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, to his command. According to his memorandum, Hacı Pasha of Krujë¹ should serve either under him or Your Excellency. Your Excellency points out that he was granted two thousand purses of piasters in the expedition to Berat² last year and he distributed all this money among his troops. This time, you maintain, we should make a larger grant to him, since the campaign is far away and his troops are many. You remind us that Hasan Bey is the cousin of Abbas Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ohrid, and uncle-in-law to Mustafa Pasha at the same time. Therefore, if Ohrid is given to Mustafa Pasha, he would send out Hasan Bey with five hundred troops from Ohrid, leaving Abbas Pasha behind as the former's *mütesellim*. Your Excellency argues that this would impel Mahmud Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Elbasan, to participate in the expedition with a large force as well. Thus, Your Excellency sees no harm in transferring the *sancak* of Ohrid to Mustafa Pasha's jurisdiction, so long as it conforms to His Imperial Majesty's will. You also point out that other Geg pashas are not well-suited to serve under him, while it would be appropriate to assign his relative Numan Pasha to his command, along with the Dukakin contingent. Finally, Your Excellency suggests attaching Hacı Pasha to your command with his three hundred men and requests the dispatch of all the relevant imperial orders of appointment to his headquarters. The contents of your communication and the answers you provided in the margins of Mustafa Pasha's memorandum for each article have thus become known to us, and we submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty. A communication from Mustafa Pasha has also arrived here through his treasurer. He requests us to

1 Krujë (Turk. Akçahisar, Gr. Κρούγια): town in north-central Albania.

2 Berat (Turk. Berat, Gr. Μπεράτ or Μπεράτι): town in south-central Albania, capital of the *sancak* of Vlorë.

contribute to his military expenses and send imperial decrees to all concerned authorities in order to facilitate the mobilization of twenty thousand men whom he is attempting to muster for the expedition to Acarnania. These decrees, he suggests, must encourage participation in the campaign by explicitly stating the amount of the bonus money to be earned upon showing up for military service. He also requires another imperial decree that orders him to depart at once at the head of the promised number of troops and makes an allowance for him in the shape of a royal grant. Regardless of the fact that Elbasan and Ohrid do not provide any cash revenue, Mustafa Pasha still wants them to be transferred to his jurisdiction to improve his influence and facilitate the recruitment of more troops during the campaign, since these localities are on his marching route. Apart from suggesting the assignment of all the aforementioned functionaries to his command, he also pleads for the dispatch of an artillery company. As a last point, he makes a request for proper victualing, so that his troops would not suffer any supply shortages. Your Excellency surely knows that Mustafa Pasha's expedition to Acarnania with a large force, by the grace of God, would prove extremely useful, thanks to his reputation and the renowned bravery of the soldiers of Shkodër. He will participate in the campaign with twenty thousand troops by his own statement, and his treasurer assured us that we are welcome to send regular inspectors or undercover agents to confirm the numbers, should we find Mustafa Pasha's pledge unreliable. Thus, Your Excellency rightly suggests that we honor his requests and make a larger allowance to him this time. Yet, considering the surmounting expenses of various sorts, we have suggested to His Imperial Majesty that we send him 1,500 purses of piasters to cover the bonus money for the mustered men and an additional five hundred purses of piasters as a royal gift to him, which is to remain undisclosed. By doing so, we care to keep his allowance not lower than on the previous occasion. We have also deemed it proper to dispatch the relevant imperial decrees with a special inspector following his plea and, based on certain considerations, to annex the administration of the *sancaks* of Ohrid and Elbasan to his jurisdiction. Conversely, we think Mahmud Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Prizren, is not well-suited to serve under him. Obviously the *mutasarrıfs* of Ohrid and Elbasan will be left without commission if these *sancaks* are to be withheld from them. Therefore, we suggest that Mahmud Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Prizren, continue to serve under Your Excellency's command, whereas Numan Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Dukakin, should be redeployed under Mustafa Pasha's command, based on your approval. As for Hacı Pasha of Krujë, he should also be attached to Your Excellency's command at the head of his three hundred men. Based on your note inserted in the margins of Mustafa Pasha's memorandum, it would be improper to order Reşid and Ömer Pashas

to serve under Mustafa Pasha, since Your Excellency is the sole authority over their deployment in any capacity. Besides, we have proposed to send to the commissary officer Abdülkerim Bey an advance payment to the amount of 100,000 piasters, as well as imperial orders to facilitate the collection and delivery of the provisions from the *kazas* in specified amounts. Some men of local knowledge argued that it would be advisable to commission a capable man of consequence with some three to four thousand men to keep the route from Arta to the Castle of Rumelia [Antirrio] open; by cleansing the mountains of these two *sancaks* from the bandits, they would deny those infidel brigands the opportunity to fall on the rear of our forces when they pass through Acarnania and Nafpaktos to storm the rebellious infidels on their way to the Morea. They recommended for this task Palashzade Ismail Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Nafpaktos, of the rank of *mir-i miran*, renowned for his zeal and allegiance, and stressed that the adjacent *sancak* of Acarnania should be given to his jurisdiction, along with Nafpaktos. Based on their recommendation, we suggested to His Imperial Majesty that we appoint Ismail Pasha to serve under Mustafa Pasha and send him a full company of gunners to succeed in his task, while leaving him the jurisdiction of the two aforementioned *sancaks*. His Imperial Majesty approved these suggestions and ordered their implementation. Accordingly, we have dispatched to Ismail Agha a member of the royal guard, who was promoted from the rank of *haseki*, as the inspector, along with the relevant imperial orders to Mustafa Pasha, 1,500 purses of piasters as bonus money for his mustered men, and five hundred additional purses of piasters as a secret royal grant to him. We have also sent the imperial decrees that leave the joint jurisdiction of Ohrid and Elbasan to Mustafa Pasha, while His Excellency Numan Pasha is attached under your command. Similarly, we have dispatched the order of appointment that places Hacı Pasha under your command. Express orders were sent to the *kazas* to facilitate logistics, and the aforementioned army commissioner has received 100,000 piasters in advance. Furthermore, we have left the administration of the *sancak* of Acarnania to Ismail Pasha as an additional responsibility and instructed him to serve under Mustafa Pasha, along with a company of gunners. While the *sancaks* of Ohrid and Elbasan are given to Mustafa Pasha out of necessity, Your Excellency must pretend that this was your suggestion, so that your authority will not be compromised. Therefore, it is His Imperial Majesty's will that, in any event, you must have Abbas Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ohrid, appointed as the *mütesellim* of the *sancak* and employ the dismissed Mahmud Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Elbasan, in whatever capacity you deem fit. We ask of Your Excellency to demonstrate your diligence and prudence in the execution of your office as the commander-in-chief. Apart from these issues, some men of local knowledge argued that we should better refrain from forcing the

Defile of the Morea [the Isthmus of Corinth] in this holy year, in order to prevent the multitudes thronging the marching route. They advised us rather to send around fifteen thousand troops to the Castle of Rumelia through Acarnania and another force of fifteen thousand men to Nafpaktos through Lamia and Amfissa, in addition to the unit of three to four thousand troops to be kept in Acarnania and Nafpaktos. It follows that Lamia and Amfissa should host one thousand troops each, while the *derbend agha* should stay in Agrafta, together with a reserve force of four to five hundred men. Furthermore, we should dispatch four to five thousand troops to Nafpaktos via Agrafta, while deploying roughly five thousand troops in Euboea, Thebes, and its vicinity. As the imperial navy arrives in those waters, it should send squadrons around; and all the forces deployed in the Morea should attack at once in order to achieve the set goal, by God's grace. By His Imperial Majesty's will, we inquire from Your Excellency which precautions and preparations you have been taking regarding the forces destined to the Morea. It is imperative that Your Excellency informs us beforehand about the current state of affairs and particular measures taken for each of these forces.

Postscript: We would like to bring to your attention by His Imperial Majesty's decree that the clerk of the council of Yusuf Pasha, who has been persevering assiduously in Patras for the last two years, arrived in Istanbul and stated Yusuf Pasha's pledge to perform great deeds in the Morea, if only we rushed four to five thousand troops to his command. His record of service lends credibility to his claim of distinctive achievements. Thus, it would obviously be useful if Your Excellency could send him five to six thousand men ahead of time. Having received this correspondence, Your Excellency must strive to bring your mission to a rapid and successful end.

[579/68, *regarding the salaries of the mercenaries and crisis in the imperial treasury*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

April 16, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence and the ledger listing the pay tickets distributed by the late Hurşid Pasha and displaying the status of the accrued pay until his death. Your Excellency explains that the accumulated debt has reached to upward of four million piasters and that the men demand payment of this amount of debt, in addition to their five-month salary accrued after his death. Fresh troops hired this year, you maintain, demand the payment of their two-month salary in advance, since the military pay fell into arrears last year. Your Excellency is concerned about the possibility that the troops will grow resentful, which will jeopardize the military objectives in the best time to attain them if no funds are available. Having requested the delivery of considerable sums these days, Your Excellency also relates the similar demands forwarded by Ömer Pasha [Vrioni] and Reşid Pasha [Kütahi] to you by their communication, which is appended to your correspondence. The contents of your correspondence have thus become known to us, and we have submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty, along with another communication from Reşid Pasha and Ömer Pasha particularly sent to Istanbul. It is no secret that the debilitating expenditures of the Sublime State succeed one another like the waves on the sea, draining the cash resources of the imperial treasury almost completely. Thus, it is impossible to make sizable amounts of cash available at short notice, while the fiscal damage inflicted by the matter of the unpaid military salaries is almost incalculable. Should it continue to follow the present course, the imperial treasury would fail to meet all other expenses. The arrears have reached record high levels that no state can ever afford to pay off. However, the disposition of soldiers of our times is well known. We have considered that Your Excellency is in need of considerable sums in your capacity as commander-in-chief, as the proper season for conducting military operations is approaching. Therefore, we decided to transfer one thousand purses of piasters from the imperial mint in cash and to assign two thousand purses of piasters from the confiscated inheritance of [Tepedelenli] Ali Pasha. Moreover, we have instructed the chief accountant and the superintendent of the imperial mint to meet the financial demands of Ömer Pasha by making advance payments from the confiscated inheritance of Ali Pasha in the *sancaks* of Ioannina, Delvinë, and Vlorë, and of Reşid Pasha from Ali Pasha's inheritance in Trikala. We have written to these pashas in response to their correspondence and dispatched to Your Excellency one thousand purses of piasters in cash, along with the accompanying orders for the assignment of two thousand purses of piasters. The procedure of paying troops on a monthly basis is getting out of

control day by day, becoming unmanageable, and threatening the maintenance of troops. Your Excellency is in the best position to know every aspect of the Sublime State and to realize that no state can afford such an exhaustive expenditure. It is obviously a necessity to exert yourself to accomplish your mission for the best interest of the Sublime State. The misdemeanors of the soldiers of our times notwithstanding, such exorbitant expenditure has no precedence in the recent campaigns. Your Excellency knows very well that neither during the Pasbanzade affair¹ nor during the late [Hurşid] pasha's expedition on the Serbians was there such a fuss about the arrears or expenditure, despite the presence of so many viziers and *mir-i mirans* at the head of seventy to eighty thousand troops from Albania and Rumelia. Such an untried course of action had been chosen out of expediency in the term of the late Hurşid Pasha. Your Excellency, however, must watch for the well-being of our benefactor, the Sublime State, while dealing with every single issue. For instance, the ledger you have submitted to us expresses that a given number of troops under a certain commander drew a given number of pay tickets and hence so and so many piasters. Nevertheless, it does not indicate if there has been any increase or decrease in the number of the troops after the distribution of the pay tickets. If these troops are actually present in their forces, then why do the functionaries always complain about insufficient troop numbers, and why do they fail in their mission? No attention has been paid to this matter. Moreover, the viziers and *mir-i mirans* are supposed to maintain their own household troops, as well as cavalry and musketeers, by the revenues of their offices. It is their responsibility to muster the provincial troops in the localities under their own jurisdiction. Yet in the present time they all distribute pay tickets, even to their household members, and never pay the enlisted troops by using their official revenues. They attempt to hire them as salaried mercenaries and claim their salary from the imperial treasury. This is not only illicit, but also unsustainable, and neither God nor His Imperial Majesty can condone it. His Imperial Majesty desires Your Excellency to be careful with these matters without compromising the mission at hand and to dedicate yourself to the settling of the turbulent affairs in this holy year with the help of God. You must strive toward earning fame and glory on the way to salvation in this world and the next by implementing His Imperial Majesty's decree. You must pay utmost attention to abstain from incurring such unreasonably high expenditures at a time when the Sublime State is burdened with vast expenses. It is His Imperial Majesty's utmost and sincere demand that Your Excellency demonstrate your competence by fully exerting yourself to conclude your mission successfully this year.

1 Referring to the revolt of Pazvandoğlu Osman Pasha, *Ayan* of Vidin, and the ensuing siege of Vidin in 1797.

[579/78, *regarding the dispatch of Evlad-ı Fatihan troops to Yusuf Pasha of Serres*]

To the Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

April 20, 1823

The functionaries have neither attained any success nor manifested the crushing power of Islam since the day the infidels raised the standard of rebellion in the Morea. Therefore, the infidels have grown more stubborn and rebellious, while attempts at suppressing their treachery and malice against the Muslims have faltered. Accordingly, it is doubtless that it is incumbent on all to participate in the efforts to crush these accursed people by the help of the Remover of Hardships. His Excellency Vizier Yusuf Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of the *sancaks* of Aydın and Saruhan, who is presently in Patras, has been serving in the Morea for the last couple of years and has thoroughly acquainted himself with the malicious activities of the infidel rebels. He communicated to us that he would be of much service if we employ able troops under him. Thus, His Imperial Majesty decreed that five to six thousand troops should be assigned to his command, as stated in our recent letter to Your Excellency. The secretary of the council of Yusuf Pasha has arrived by sea at Istanbul, along with Yusuf Pasha's correspondence. We had his oral memorandum penned down, which testifies to Yusuf Pasha's determination to take vengeance on the malicious enemy. According to the plan he set out, the commander-in-chief of the Morea [Yusuf Pasha of Berkovitsa] should coordinate offensive maneuvers with him to surprise the enemies of religion and simultaneously assign seven to eight thousand select Rumeliot troops to Yusuf Pasha. This force must go to Preveza and wait for the imperial navy for transportation to the opposite shore to reach Yusuf Pasha, so that he can undertake successful operations. Convinced of the feasibility of this plan, we presented it to His Imperial Majesty, who decreed that we should instruct you to reinforce the *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops of three thousand by three to four thousand additional troops to meet the figure of six to seven thousand men, who were accentuated in the former decree, and prepare them to be transported to Patras to serve under Yusuf Pasha as soon as the imperial navy arrives there. Following the relevant imperial rescript, we inform Your Excellency that the preparations for the departure of the imperial navy under the grand admiral are under way and that Your Excellency must exert yourself to muster three to four thousand additional troops to augment the three thousand-strong *Evlad-ı Fatihan* contingent. Your Excellency must judiciously keep them ready for transport to Patras to join Yusuf Pasha as soon as the imperial navy arrives there. The time is ripe for gaining fame and salvation in this world and the next by toiling for the good of the religion and state, so as to confirm the confidence placed in Your Excellency as commander-in-chief.

As the infidels are increasing their pressure, it is impermissible for the Muslims to repose themselves. Your Excellency should hasten to fulfill your duty as commander-in-chief, as the time for the expedition to the Morea has come. Your Excellency is expected not to lose a single moment to make the necessary arrangements to rush the aforementioned troops to Yusuf Pasha, as decreed by His Imperial Majesty.

[579/90, *regarding the recommendations of Yusuf Pasha of Serres for quelling the Greek Revolution*]

To Yusuf Pasha, Castellan of Patras

April 24, 1823

The clerk of Your Excellency's council has arrived in the imperial capital aboard a British ship with your communication. He has verbally relayed the necessary matters concerning the present situation. We have learned your thoughts and suggestions on particular subjects through his oral memorandum. Accordingly, Your Excellency is of the opinion that the last two years have amply shown the futility of placing the imperial navy under the authority of the commanders-in-chief of Rumelia. In your opinion, it would be more beneficial to leave the grand admiral free in his judgement and actions. Your Excellency argues that the rebellion in the Morea and Rumelia has dragged on for so long and that the rebellious *reaya* could be persistent and stubborn in their rebellion, due to the aid and assistance provided by the infidel ships. Therefore, Your Excellency suggests that we should duly instruct the functionaries beforehand that they must take the utmost care to burn or sink these vessels during the course of the present year. Your Excellency also expresses that you think day and night of taking vengeance on the enemy. In keeping with this utmost desire, you want seven to eight thousand robust Rumeliot troops to be readied at Preveza, so that you can lead them forward in communication with the commander-in-chief of the Morea [Yusuf Pasha of Berkovitsa] and surprise the enemies of religion. Once the imperial navy arrives at Preveza, it may join forces with your own vessels to transport these troops to the opposite shore as a prelude to attaining successes worthy of His Imperial Majesty's appreciation. Your Excellency also argues that it would be very hard for the commander-in-chief of the Morea to orchestrate the whole supply chain to support the troops currently in the Morea, as well as the forces to be deployed there soon. Therefore, you suggest that the imperial navy rush them as many supplies and ammunition as possible, and we plan arrangements in advance for making supply purchases from Frankish merchants. Pointing out that the ship that brought your clerk to Istanbul has instructions to bring back supplies, Your Excellency requests us to load it with hardtack. We understand that the garrisons of Methoni and Koroni contacted you with a request for gunpowder, as their supplies ran low, whereas they had an abundance of grain. However, you were unable to honor the request, since the fortresses under your own jurisdiction were also in great need of gunpowder. Your clerk thus expressed the need for supplying gunpowder from Istanbul to the aforementioned fortresses. We had your clerk's oral memorandum written down for a close review and then submitted it to His Imperial Majesty as well. His Imperial Majesty vowed to retaliate against the wretched brigands

in the course of this year by naval and land operations. Measures have been taken for the procurement and storage of all necessary victuals for our forces from the chosen localities. Lastly, we have sent out stern instructions to all functionaries to the effect that we wish to quell the rebellion once and for all this year: all should achieve unity in heart and deed and strive toward crushing and humiliating these haughty infidels, trusting in God's help, the divine blessing of the Prophet, and the holy grace of His Imperial Majesty. The grand admiral is about to set sail from Istanbul and, once out of the Dardanelles, he will have complete freedom to decide on the course of action, depending on the constraints of time and weather. As for the troops demanded for your command, we had informed His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia, about your suggestion prior to the arrival of your present correspondence. Based on His Imperial Majesty's recent decree, we have recently instructed His Excellency to add three to four thousand additional men to the *Evlad-ı Fatihan* contingent of three thousand men and to keep this force of six to seven thousand troops ready for ferrying over to Patras aboard the imperial navy ships. The grand admiral is responsible for delivering one hundred thousand bushels of grain and ammunition to the necessary locations in the Morea and other places. Moreover, the grand admiral will bring our note of authorization to Your Excellency regarding the purchase of a further forty to fifty thousand bushels of grain from European merchants. Following your request, we have loaded the aforementioned British ship with hardtack and sent it out. The grand admiral shall supply sufficient quantities of gunpowder and ammunition to all strongpoints in need, including Methoni and Koroni. We all acknowledge the public recognition of the unfailing vigilance, diligence, and zeal that Your Excellency has been demonstrating for two years at the head of your troops. Your prowess will not go unnoticed in this world and the next, for it is as much service to the Sublime State as ghaza and jihad waged in the name of the true religion. Contrary to last year, this time we are closely scrutinizing every minute detail, as will be revealed soon, when considerable aid surely reaches [you] by land and sea in the form of large armies, a sizable fleet, and abundant victuals. We have no doubt that the enemies of our religion will not stand before the crushing might of Islam when Your Excellency displays the bravery of arms at the head of the requested troops. Ferocity and resolution on the battlefield will quell the rebellion and bring rewards to Your Excellency, both in this world and the next. You shall rest assured that no effort will be spared on our part to give you all kinds of assistance. Hence, you shall heed His Imperial Majesty's decrees and spare no efforts in serving the state and religion in unison.

[579/92, *regarding the imperial navy*]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

April 24, 1823

As is known to Your Excellency, His Excellency the Vizier Yusuf Pasha, who is serving at the defense of Patras, proposed to have a detachment of three frigates under his separate command, and this proposal was read aloud in the meeting at the imperial arsenal the previous day. You commented afterward that, as agreed, the imperial navy was going to deliver supplies and ammunition to Patras, Preveza, and other necessary locations, and to patrol the vicinity. However, you would have to decline should Yusuf Pasha ask you—as he did in the past—to stay in the Gulf of Patras with the entire navy, due to many drawbacks. That said, it would be possible to keep a few ships at Patras, and you could negotiate the details with him once you arrive there. This letter is written to let you know that His Imperial Majesty consented that you would have freedom in your decisions and actions regarding the naval operations in the Morea.

[579/93, *regarding the conditions of royal pardon if Greeks decide to surrender*]
To the Governor of Rumelia, the Commander-in-Chief of the Morea,
the Mutasarrıf of Shkodër, the Mutasarrıf of Ormenio, and the Governor
of Karaman
April 24, 1823

We have already sent you a copy of the conditions of granting official mercy that were decided unanimously in Istanbul previously, so that you would know how to proceed if and when the infidels who unfurled the standard of rebellion in and around the Morea fail to withstand the devastating might of Islam and thereby demand clemency. We have no doubt that you will implement these [stipulations], should the infidels beg for pardon. However, we know by experience that these infidel bandits will pretend to submit peacefully through negotiations upon realizing that—as we tighten the reins on them this year—our functionaries will carry out a feverish and rapid offensive in order to root out their sedition. Dispiriting our soldiers by dragging out the negotiations, they will resume their sedition and abominable deeds, as we know by experience. Obviously, after all this stubborn rebellion and rapacious brigandage, we cannot give credence to their offer to surrender before dealing a blow to them and putting many of them to the sword, with the help of God. Although it is essential to implement fully all the aforementioned conditions, the infidel bandits are likely to buy time by demanding to negotiate the surrender conditions, so that the entire offensive will falter. Therefore, if these infidels pretend to ask for official mercy at the time of our offensive, you should detain their envoy in the army camp and march onto the town or the fortress hosting the bandits. In the case that their offer of surrender appears to be a trick, serious consideration of their offer to surrender and full implementation of the conditions of official pardon should follow their devastation and slaughter through renewed attacks. Alternatively, in the case that the infidels in a beleaguered fortress want to surrender, it is imperative to take the fortress, their weapons, and hostages immediately. Should they ask for time, a grace period should not be longer than twenty-four hours, and you should take such measures as demanding [as hostage] the infidel leading them in the first place. It is His Imperial Majesty's will to communicate this subject to you, as well as the commander-in-chief of the Morea, the *mutasarrıfs* of Shkodër and Ormenio, and the governor of Karaman. This letter is to inform you about the dispatch of the letters to the aforementioned authorities and to ask you to exert yourself to demonstrate your diligence, bravery, and perseverance by being alerted to these infidels' deceits and overwhelming them as much as permitted by conditions and space before fully implementing the conditions of official mercy.

[579/94, *regarding the instructions of the castellan of Patras*]

To Yusuf Pasha, Castellan of Patras

April 25, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's memorandum penned by your council clerk and the appended documents, along with the explanations provided by the aforementioned clerk. You inform us that you had to resort to making expensive purchases of provisions from Frankish merchants for managing the military rations. This was required by the diligence and sense of honor inherent in you, with which you have been exerting yourself to protect the fortresses entrusted to you so far. Pointing out that you sent the relevant vouchers for this purchase and the expenditure list, you ask us to preserve your dignity among the Franks by forwarding to you roughly 479,000 piasters, excluding bills of exchange and receipts. You also request the settling of the account of İnce Mehmed Agha, chief of the musketeers, who was given a pay certificate by the late Hurşid Pasha. You suggest the deduction of your claims from the treasury delivered to the late Hurşid Pasha by the former grand admiral Mehmed Pasha and ask us to be attentive to the shipment of camp equipment. Your Excellency also calls upon us to place three frigates under your command, considering the operations of the imperial navy last year, as well as to appoint a commissary officer for managing the military rations. You moreover pass on the rumors that the infidels will attempt to make a fake request for royal mercy, so as to deceive our functionaries. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us, and we have presented all the documents to His Imperial Majesty. His Imperial Majesty has no doubt about your manly commitment to serve religion and the Sublime State in this foremost goal of overwhelming the enemies of religion, which you have demonstrated by persevering in the defense of your assigned post. As Your Excellency points out, buying expensive grain indeed puts much strain on the Sublime Porte in the midst of a multitude of troubles that causes infinite spending. However, Your Excellency made a purchase necessary for the management of military rations, as the affair in the Morea is protracted and the maritime routes have been cut off. Upon reading your correspondence, His Imperial Majesty ordered us to review your claims, as well as those of the aforementioned chief of the musketeers, and to take care of camp equipment. We will keep you informed about all of these matters. The grand admiral is about to lift anchor to come to your side with the intention of taking revenge on the infidels, God willing. He has been ordered by an imperial decree to handle your request for a detachment of frigates and to decide on the most proper way to patrol Moreot waters. As you have remarked, we cannot give credence to the infidels begging for mercy before they duly experience the might of Islam. We know from experience

that, as our functionaries attack them, these bandits will pretend to submit peacefully to buy some time, so that the entire offensive will falter. Therefore, the conditions of granting official mercy have been communicated to Mehmed Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia, the commander-in-chief of the Morea, the *mutasarrıfs* of Shkodër and Ormenio, and the governor of Karaman. This letter is to encourage you to demonstrate the bravery and piety expected of you in the removal of the filthy bodies of the bandits from the Morea and its pacification and reconquest, with the help of God, and to gain more royal favor by exerting yourself to take revenge on these infidels through coordination with our other functionaries.

[579/96, regarding dispatching Muslim Cretan volunteers to Crete]
To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

April 27, 1823

As is known to Your Excellency, we have previously dispatched an imperial decree to the castellans of Kuşadası and İzmir regarding the idle [Muslim] Cretans and other volunteers who live in their jurisdictions and are willing to participate in jihad for the relief of Crete. They were to be gathered at Kuşadası for boarding the naval ships, so that they could be taken to Crete. Afterward, Your Excellency pointed out that Çeşme would be a more convenient point on the route of the imperial navy to pick up the volunteers, and we sent new orders for the transfer of the troops from Kuşadası to Çeşme. Presently, Reşid Pasha, Castellan of Kuşadası, reports that idle Cretans and many others have been joining the volunteer companies and mustering at Kuşadası, as ordered in the imperial decree. However, he also states that their real intention was to cross over to the island of Samos [for looting] and that it was questionable if they would ever go to Crete's succor. Should they refuse to go to Crete as revealed in their aforementioned intention of gathering, coercion would be necessary to board them on the ships. When we presented the case to His Imperial Majesty, he ordered me to negotiate the issue with you in advance. This missive is to ask Your Excellency to communicate to us the precautions that you can think of if they refrain from going to Crete, so that we do as required and inform the aforementioned district governors about these measures.

[579/102, regarding provisions provided by the British consul and the unpaid salaries of the mercenaries]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

April 28, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you relate that you sent Mahmud Bey to the [British] consul at Preveza [William Meyer] to pay him for the provisions that he had sold to Yakub Agha, commissary officer of the Morea [army], and that Mahmud Bey made a contract [with the consul] to supply ten thousand bushels of wheat to Patras. You also forwarded the translations of various intelligence items you collected, concerning the affairs in the Morea and its vicinity. You moreover request us to send considerable sums to cover the unpaid overdue salaries of the soldiers under the command of Reşid, Ömer, and Süleyman Pashas at Larissa. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us and we have presented all the documents to His Imperial Majesty. As we have pointed out to you several times in the past, we are facing a shortage of cash due to the exhaustive expenses caused by a multitude of troubles that the Sublime State has been facing, the protracted predicament in the Morea notwithstanding. Nevertheless, we will work diligently to tighten the reins this year with the pure intention of bringing this affair to a conclusion, God willing, owing to your zeal and determination. With the consideration that it is imperative to lend you financial support—since a solution to all these troubles would be constrained by a lack of cash flow—we have recently dispatched to Your Excellency one thousand purses of piasters in cash and assigned to you two thousand purses of piasters from the probate of the late Tepedelenli Ali Pasha. In addition, we have assigned around 1,200 purses of piasters from the same probate to cover the salaries of the troops under Reşid and Ömer Pashas. We have dispatched a communication to inform you about this decision, but you sent your current dispatch, in which you drew attention to your financial problems, most probably before receiving ours. However, we still understand from your remarks that this sum is insufficient and we are trying to find a way to make more funds available to you. His Imperial Majesty wills you to use the aforementioned funds made available to you to cajole your subordinates into service before the [campaign] season ends. This letter is to inform you that we are taking measures to forward you more cash in appreciation of your competence, prudence, and diligence and that our foremost expectation of you is to live up to His Imperial Majesty's trust in you by bringing this trouble to an end, with the help of God.

[579/110, regarding the dispatch of Muslim Cretan volunteers to Crete]

To the Castellan of Kuşadası

May 2, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you state that you have received our letter ordering the recruitment of the idle [Muslim] Cretans and other volunteers who wander around Kuşadası and İzmir and are willing to participate in ghaza and jihad for the relief of Crete. They were to be gathered at Kuşadası for boarding the naval ships, so that they could be taken to Crete. You report that many [Muslim] Cretans of the idle kind and other volunteers are flocking in droves to Kuşadası; however, their real intention is to cross over to the island of Samos [for looting] and that it is questionable if they would ever go to Crete's succor. To motivate them for ghaza and jihad, you have sent papers to the *mütesellim* of Aydın and also exchanged views with the castellan of İzmir [Hasan Pasha]. As Your Excellency employs salaried troops in your service, you state that you are in need [of funds] and that Mustafa Agha, your commissary officer, is unable to continue his duty, due to his protracted appointment. Hence, Your Excellency requested His Imperial Majesty's permission to excuse Mustafa Agha from service and to replace him with a suitable person. The contents of your letter have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letter to His Imperial Majesty for review. The grand admiral stated that it would be easier for the imperial navy to collect these [volunteer] soldiers from Çeşme rather than Kuşadası. Therefore, the soldiers who will muster at Kuşadası shall be directed to Çeşme, and you shall exert your best efforts to transfer them to Crete once the imperial navy arrives there. Imperial orders for this course of action were sent to Your Excellency. Yet, it is clear that you sent your letter before the arrival of the imperial order. Hence, you are to discuss the issue with the grand admiral. However, even if the numbers of these volunteer soldiers reached ten thousand, since they are not regular troops under the command of imperial viziers, they would be of no use in Samos. We also suspect that they would refrain from going to Crete. The Cretans and those who are of strong faith among them who would go to Crete would nevertheless be few in number. Therefore, the grand admiral, desiring to proceed to Crete at once after a short stop at Çeşme, expressed that it would be better to speed up the transfer of the Cretans and other vagabond volunteers to that port of muster. The imperial navy raised anchor in Istanbul on Thursday, the 20th day of Şaban [May 2, 1823], and set sail to the Mediterranean. While ships are on their way, news arrived about some people who presented themselves as volunteers and marched into villages around Kuşadası, Sığla, and Aydın, extorting food, fodder, and money from the poor people of the region. Therefore, orders were sent by *hasekis* to Your Excellency, to the castellan of İzmir, and

to other relevant functionaries to disperse these ruffians, end their oppression, and punish those who resist. Finally, Your Excellency is to receive a royal gift of 50,000 piasters as per His Imperial Majesty's will. Your Excellency shall muster the Cretans and other idle volunteer soldiers and rush them to Çeşme before the arrival of the grand admiral and exert yourself to dispatch them without delay.

[579/116, *regarding the ban on the sale of enslaved Chiots to non-Muslims*]
To the Castellan of Chios

May 3, 1823

His Imperial Majesty decreed against the sale of the enslaved captives from the island of Chios or any other location to infidels and ordered the punishment of those who attempted to do so. Yet, some greedy men from the fold of Islam dare to sell such captives to infidels. As a matter of fact, His Excellency the castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha] has recently discovered in a British vessel six captives from Chios sold to Frenchmen and informed us about the situation. Although they were enslaved during wartime, their fathers, husbands, relatives, or other dependents who live in Izmir found a way to buy them through the intermediacy of the *müstemen* merchants and bring them to Istanbul. Then we sent them to Chios and instructed you to settle them in fitting locations. This time, we have discovered six individuals of different ages from Chios in the house of a captain named Nikola at the neighborhood of Pasha in Beşiktaş. The interrogation revealed that their fathers and brothers who are residents of the imperial capital bought them and had them brought here. We have sent them to Chios in the custody of an agent from the imperial arsenal, along with their names and descriptions. This letter is to instruct you to receive this register upon their arrival and settle them in the proper quarters after taking measures to prevent their future departure; and to inform us how and where you settled them.

Postscript: The report of the castellan of Chios, dated the 5th day of *Şevval* 1238 [June 15, 1823], and the court decree is recorded here in compliance with the imperial order. Accordingly, this order of the Sublime Porte arrived at Chios, as well as the aforementioned six Chiots in the custody of Ahmed Çavuş, the agent of the imperial secretariat. They were delivered to their home village of Katarraktis, which is one of the mastic-producing villages on the island.

[579/118, *regarding Muslim refugees from Nafplio*]

To Hasan Pasha, Castellan of Izmir

May 3, 1823

Your Excellency formerly communicated to us that the Muslim folk arriving at Izmir from the Castle of Nafplio, which had fallen into the hands of the infidels, owing to God's judgment, were well-received and still being treated with courtesy by the local elite and the commoners, in accordance with Muslim fraternity. Our records show that we asked Your Excellency to consider them equally poor and helpless and that they survived invasion, although some of them were able to bring part of their belongings and thereby seem more affluent in comparison to the rest. Thus, we made it clear, as revealed by our past correspondence, that their safety and comfort must be assured in Izmir until their homeland is liberated from the infidel invasion. Recently, they have sent us a petition in which they relate that they are two hundred men and women residing in Izmir and complain that their formerly assigned daily allowances either fell into arrears or are totally withheld. They therefore go around without food and hope and implore that their desperate situation should arouse sympathy and compassion. They plead with us to show immediate attention and mercy and grant them their livelihood. By divine providence, our brothers in religion reached the shores of salvation and security after suffering at the hands of the infidel brigands. They are helpless and broken-hearted, separated from their homeland, kinsmen, and families. As ordered previously, it is essential to treat them with courtesy and fraternity, as our religion enjoins. Delaying the delivery of their daily allowances or withholding them completely is surely a transgression of the principle of Muslim fraternity. This amounts to oppression and contradicts diligent service. These folks are guests until their homeland is secured from the infidels' hands, by the grace of the Most Gracious Helper. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter that, as pointed out in our past correspondence, the petition holders and other helpless and broken-hearted brothers in religion who will take refuge in Izmir in future must receive every gesture of hospitality and respect in every possible way. They must be kept peaceful, comfortable, secure, and well until their homeland is saved from the infidels' hands. Your Excellency shall demonstrate diligence and austerity by carrying out this order.

[579/119, regarding the appointment of Ömer Vrioni and Reşid Pashas under Mustafa Pasha's command]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

May 3, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence sent in response to our letter concerning Ömer [Vrioni] Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, which we had dispatched to you following the transfer of the *sancak* of Trikala to His Excellency Reşid Pasha's supervision in addition to the province of Karaman. According to your letter, which we submitted to His Imperial Majesty, Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, wrote to Your Excellency that he was preoccupied with recruiting troops and ready to depart as soon as he received the promised largesse from His Imperial Majesty. You point out that His Excellency Reşid Pasha has a good reputation among the Albanians and that he is likely to recruit more troops than Ömer Pasha. Thus, you suggest that we order Reşid Pasha to cross to the Morea upon arriving in Acarnania in the company of Mustafa Pasha and take the command of the troops in Patras to crush and suppress the rebels in the plains of Gastouni. Similarly, you consider it inappropriate for Ömer Pasha to stay in Preveza, due to a number of reasons, and suggest deploying him in the operations in Acarnania under the *mutasarrıf* of Shkodër. You also explain the way in which you were planning to make use of our functionaries in the Morea and Euboea these days. Finally, you plead with us to send you an imperial decree addressing Alo Agha, *Mütesellim* of Banjaluka, putting him in charge of cleansing of the *sancak* of Euboea from the filth of the rebels' bodies. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. We understand that Your Excellency suggests the appointment of Reşid and Ömer Pashas to the command of the *mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, which is not improper. Nevertheless, we assume that this idea had occurred to you before the arrival of our previous letter about His Imperial Majesty's will for the deployment of three thousand *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops and a few thousand more troops under Yusuf Pasha's command in Patras. Mustafa Pasha had previously communicated to us that he would think about the appointment of Ömer Pasha to his command and let us know his decision; no news have arrived since. It is no secret to you that it is not appropriate to attach functionaries to Mustafa Pasha's command unless he asks for it. It is necessary to leave the decision to him, lest we give him the opportunity to come up with far-fetched pretexts in case of failure. Thus, it is His Imperial Majesty's will that you shall take no action if this suggestion is purely yours and not of Mustafa Pasha's. Should he demand from you the appointment of these two pashas, then you should grant

his wish in the way he prefers. We ask of you by this letter to pay ultimate attention to have Mustafa Pasha serve with dignity and distinction by wisely leaving him to his own devices. By His Imperial Majesty's will, we have sent you the imperial order for the appointment of Alo Agha, *Mütesellim* of Banjaluka, to Euboea, in line with your suggestion.

[579/123, regarding the reiteration of the imperial order for putting an end to the Greek Revolution]

*To the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Morea [Yusuf Pasha]
and the Mutasarrıf of Ormenio [Salih Pasha]*

May 7, 1823

The infidel Greek bandits in the Morea and its environs have committed all sorts of malice and treachery against the Muslims. We have appointed Your Excellency to the sublime rank of commander-in-chief so that due revenge be taken from these infidels in this holy year by full attentiveness and perfect harmony, with the help of God Almighty and the sacred royal might; and so that His Imperial Majesty's dominions be cleansed from the filthy bodies of the brigands. We are confident that you will show whatever bravery and gallantry is required to accomplish the present task with the numerous forces and functionaries we have dispatched from various corners to this end. Now that the grand admiral has just weighed anchor from Istanbul and set sail for the Mediterranean, it is incumbent upon the great viziers and other functionaries in command of the land forces to perform their task without wasting time. They should rush to their posts and carry out their duties in compliance with the instructions of the governor of Rumelia and commander-in-chief. Such a demonstration of bravery and diligence is both a religious obligation and His Imperial Majesty's will. We ask of you by this letter to act in unity with other functionaries in the suppression of the rebels, as required by His Imperial Majesty's will and the diligence and zeal inherent in your character. You should thus exert yourself to demonstrate the bravery and prowess expected of Your Excellency.

[579/124, *regarding the appointment of Mustafa Pasha to quell the uprising in Acarnania*]

To Mustafa Pasha, the Mutasarrıf of Ohrid, Shkodër, and Elbasan

May 7, 1823

The infidel bandits in and around the Morea and Acarnania have proven persistent in their rebellion and intention in committing every malicious act against the Muslims. Therefore, it is imperative for the Exalted Sultanate to avenge the unbearable malice they have been committing against our brothers in religion for the last couple of years. Accordingly, matters will be handled more firmly this year. Functionaries have been assigned to the Morea with the intention of snubbing these infidels by showing them the true power of Islam and putting an end to the troubles shortly. Furthermore, a large imperial fleet, supplies, and ammunition have been prepared by the grand admiral. Lastly, an imperial edict has been issued for Your Excellency to launch an attack on the infidel bandits from Acarnania. It is expected that both Your Excellency and other functionaries of the Exalted State will dedicate yourselves to religion and state and serve faithfully for the settlement of the affair. In accordance with the formerly issued imperial edict, funds and other requirements of Your Excellency have been arranged and dispatched. It is doubtless that Your Excellency must have immediately set out to launch a glorious onslaught on the infidels. His Excellency the grand admiral, having departed from the imperial capital for the Mediterranean, will certainly, may God grant, arrive in the vicinity of the Morea soon enough. Furthermore, we have written to the viziers assigned to the Morea that they shall unite in order to destroy the enemy, as stated in His Imperial Majesty's will. Your Excellency is also expected to exert your best efforts without wasting a moment for the destruction of the infidels. This imperial order commands Your Excellency to use your best endeavors to increase the imperial favor bestowed upon you by setting out at once for the designated places to crush the infidels, with the help of God Almighty, giving them no respite.

[579/126, *regarding the provisioning of the army for the operations in the Morea*]

To the Accountant of Larissa

May 8, 1823

We have received your letter, from which we rejoice to learn that you have devoted yourself to carrying out your duties and rendering such loyal efforts in reiteration of the zeal and integrity inherent in you. You relate in your letter that, since your arrival in Larissa, you have delivered to the grain commissioner 110,000 bushels of different kinds of provisions, which you had either collected from the royal estates or bought on the spot at market prices. Accordingly, there were over forty thousand bushels of various kinds of grain and three hundred thousand *vukiyyes* of hardtack available, excluding the amount of grain consumed so far. While the hardtack ordered from Sofia in the past and present was arriving gradually, you state that you also set out to receive the flour, barley, and sheep ordered from the towns of Rumelia. You point out that the troops and functionaries were unlikely to suffer from any shortages, since the harvest time was also approaching. As is known to you, following His Imperial Majesty's will, we have mobilized in this holy year an abundance of troops and functionaries in order to take revenge from the rebellious *reaya*, with God Almighty's help. It is now imperative to treat this crucial matter of provisioning with more attention than ever, as maintenance of the troops is contingent on provisions; concentration of our forces make this present time the most opportune moment for scoring success. Thus, our forces should in no way suffer hardships and shortages. Therefore, it is necessary that you continue with your inherent zeal and perseverance to carry out your duty to your best ability. This letter is to instruct you to render commendable service by working to procure the necessary provisions under the aegis and directives of His Excellency the commander-in-chief. You should always strive to prove your loyalty and competence.

[579/127, regarding the excesses and malfeasance of troops]

To Ibrahim Pasha [Mutasarrıf of Hüdavendigar]

May 8, 1823

Karaosmanzade Mehmed Agha, Castellan of the island of Cunda, has sent us a dispatch to inform us that the town of Burhaniye¹ refused to supply its due quota of men to be raised from the *sancak* of Karesi for garrisoning the island of Cunda. Besides sending troops in missing numbers, new recruits sent at the turn of each month to replace them appear fewer by three to five men every time. Mehmed Agha also complains that these recruits commit detestable misdeeds, such as executing and pillaging the *reaya* they come across on the way. Thus, he pleads with us to dispatch an imperial order that will oblige functionaries to meet the quota of troops fully as specified for every location and to deter troops from such impermissible behavior during the march. As is known, the troops from Karesi are only asked for the garrisoning of Cunda, and it is necessary that they shall all be present at their assigned post in full numbers. Therefore, it is inappropriate that some localities refuse recruitment, while the available recruits arrive in scanty numbers. We are also at a loss to understand the reason for rotating these troops on a monthly basis. For your information we have appended to this letter the dispatch of Mehmed Agha, as well as the list of the breakdown of the troop quotas by localities. As we have placed Karesi under your purview, there is no need for an imperial order on this matter. We ask Your Excellency by this letter to send stern warnings to your *mütesellim* and other functionaries in order to make sure that the troops reach Cunda in full numbers and without oppressing in the slightest way the poor *reaya*, who mind their own business. Your Excellency shall inform us about the developments.

¹ Burhaniye: town on the northern Aegean coast of Turkey, Kemer-i Edremid in the documents.

[579/128, regarding the replacement of the hostages from Kos]

To the Castellan of Kos

May 8, 1823

We have received the court decree [from Kos] informing us that three hostages selected from among the notable *reaya* of Kos were sent to replace the former hostages taken from the island. This letter is written to inform you that the *bostancıbaşı* was ordered by an imperial decree to detain the new hostages and release the former.

[579/130, *regarding the march of the army to Larissa*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Ormenio [Salih Pasha]

May 11, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you relate that your march slowed down considerably when you reached Dabnitsa,¹ as fatigue overtook your infantry despite your best efforts to reach Larissa at once, as stated in your instructions. You also point out that His Excellency Yusuf Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, had started out from Sofia, had passed you [your military convoy] at Dabnitsa, and was marching on ahead of you. You mention the fact that the soldiers of Your Excellencies following one another prevents a speedy march. Yusuf Pasha thus instructed you to halt at Dabnitsa for a few days with a directive. Finally, you pledge to proceed quickly after this obligatory halt. The contents of your communication and Yusuf Pasha's directive have thus become known to us, and we have submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty for review. Indeed, the infantry force is a hindrance to a quick march, while stumbling upon the forces of Yusuf Pasha clearly exacerbated the situation. However, as you know, the time is ripe for scoring success, and the current state of affairs requires all our functionaries to report to their assigned posts at once with dedication to demonstrate their piety and bravery. Your Excellency needs not a stern warning as a vizier who always strives to live up to our expectations by accomplishing your duties, with God's help. We ask of you by this letter to do your best to reach Larissa at once and to devote yourself to performing your duties in harmony with other functionaries, since this is the perfect time to earn reputation and make a name for yourself.

1 Dabnitsa (Turk. Dubniça, Gr. Ντούμπνιτσα): town in southwest Bulgaria.

[579/141, regarding the replacement of hostages from Lesbos]

To the Superintendent of Lesbos

May 16, 1823

We have received your letter requesting the release of six men taken as hostages from among the notable *reaya* of the island of Lesbos. Having been detained by the *bostancıbaşı* for more than a year, you asked them to be replaced with six new hostages, all chosen from among the notable *reaya*. This letter is to inform you that the hostages you sent have arrived and that the former six hostages have been released.

[579/142, regarding instructions for the recapture of the Morea]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

May 17, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you confirm the receipt of our previous communication announcing the imperial decree about the dispatch of three thousand *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops and three to four thousand other troops [of various origins] to [the aid of] Yusuf Pasha in Patras. You notify us about the hardships involved in transporting so many men from Preveza on boats. You suggest rather that, during the march of the army of the Morea from Alamana forward, in addition to the troops under Alo Agha [*müttesellim* of Banjaluka], three thousand *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops and three thousand additional men collected from the villages should be placed under Alo Agha's command and dispatched from Lamia to Nafpaktos through Amfissa and Lidoriki.¹ You also point out that Alo Agha entertains hopes for promotion with some justification and plead with us to bestow on him the title of *kapıcıbaşı*. Finally, you request us to forward three to four thousand purses of piasters, because of your current financial strain. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. His Imperial Majesty has approved your suggestion and ordered you to take care of the suggested arrangement, because it is our priority to rush troops to Yusuf Pasha in Patras. While it is desirable on the part of the Sublime State to promote those who do not spare efforts to serve religion and the Sublime State, Alo Agha has not completed his mission yet. This necessitates the delay of his promotion until he demonstrates his diligence and loyalty. You are to supervise him in his duty of leading those troops through the localities you pointed out for deployment under Yusuf Pasha. As the question of the Morea remains the most significant matter requiring the utmost attention of the Sublime State, the central treasury is currently short of cash. You need no explanation about the royal favor you enjoy despite our fiscal issues, based on the expectation of winning victory, by the grace of God. We pointed out in our previous response to your past communication that His Imperial Majesty accepted your request to transfer two thousand purses of piasters from the future revenues into a cash delivery. We informed you that we thus sent you one thousand purses of piasters in cash, with the remaining half to be sent within ten days. As we were about to send the latter sum, we received a new communication in which you related that Ömer [Vrioni] Pasha had returned the decree ordering the transfer of funds to him from the revenue sources withheld from [Tepedelenli] Ali Pasha, on

1 Lidoriki (Turk. Olunduruk, Gr. Λιδωρίκι): village in south-central Greece, east of Amfissa.

the grounds that it was impossible to collect these revenues assigned to him. In the same vein, we have assigned you 2,021 purses of piasters from the revenues of the *sancak* of Trikala that were withheld from Ali Pasha. However, you claim in this recent communication that this was not the time for collecting these revenues, despite the arrival of the relevant imperial order. You suggest rather that we forward to you at once three to four thousand purses of piasters in cash, delaying the collection of the assigned revenues until you fully move forward and deploy the troops arriving at your side, as the campaign season is open. You also express your gratitude for returning the goods and belongings of the late Receb Pasha to his inheritors in return for 100,000 piasters and for promoting his son, Abdurrahman Bey, to the rank of *mir-i miran*. Although Ömer Pasha alleged that he was unlikely to collect the assigned revenues in a short while, [we have learned from] his scribe Kosta Gramatik—who was recently sent back [to Ömer Pasha]—and other men of knowledge [of local affairs] that Ömer Pasha was assigned very healthy revenues that are easy to collect. Thus, Ömer Pasha's concerns are not worth considering. Nevertheless, you say that you are about to send the troops forward, as the campaign season has set in. Therefore, it is incumbent on us to support you, even though infinite expenditures make it difficult to transfer the amount of cash you need. It His Imperial Majesty's will to send you one thousand additional purses of piasters, apart from the aforementioned sum of two thousand purses, half of which was sent previously. This time we send you two thousand purses of piasters, including the remaining half of the previous sum and the additional one thousand purses. Thus, you will have received three thousand purses of piasters in total. This being said, it is still necessary to collect the assigned revenues mentioned above. As stated previously, our agents arranged for this revenue transfer from sound and healthy resources, based on the guidance of knowledgeable people. Loyalty requires us to wish for the well-being of the Sublime State, which is our benefactor. You should exert yourself to collect these assigned revenues, since we have met all of your financial demands by forwarding three thousand purses of piasters. His Imperial Majesty wills you to commence the operations immediately in unison with other functionaries. This letter is to instruct you to attack the enemies of religion from all sides and seek retribution from these heathens without wasting time, which, as we understand from your correspondence, is most favorable right now. You should exert yourself diligently to your duty and send news of conquest, which the commoners and the elite alike have been awaiting.

[579/145, *regarding the funding of the commander-in-chief of the Morea*
To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

May 18, 1823

His Excellency Yusuf Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, sent us a letter reporting that he left Bitola on the 27th day of *Şaban* [May 9, 1823] for Larissa and that he was in need of cash funds. In a note Your Excellency sent to your agent in Istanbul on the matter of financial requests, you pointed out that you would supply Yusuf Pasha, who was about to arrive in Larissa, with cash when he is deployed in the Morea. We have forwarded to you a total of four thousand purses of piasters in cash up to now, and, based on the approval of your petition, you should lend Yusuf Pasha the financial support he needs. Besides, there is no way to cope with separate requests of viziers and functionaries for financial support on an individual basis. Thus, it has recently been left to your discretion as the commander-in-chief with full powers to evaluate such requests and deliver funds to your subordinates as needed. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that you give Yusuf Pasha a suitable amount of money when he arrives at your side, if he is in need of it. Therefore, we have communicated to him to forward his request to you when he arrives in Larissa, in line with the proper procedure.

[579/155, regarding prodding Mustafa Pasha into action]

To the Mutasarrıf of the Sancaks of Shkodër, Ohrid, and Elbasan

[Mustafa Pasha]

May 27, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you express your gratitude for your appointment to the *sancaks* of Ohrid and Elbasan, in addition to Shkodër, of which you are currently the *mutasarrıf*. You suggest that your uncle-in-law Hasan Bey, son of Yusuf Bey of Debar,¹ should serve under your command with 1,500 men recruited from Debar and Mat, on the condition that the Sublime Porte would pay their salaries for a period of two months. You have communicated to your agent in Istanbul that Hasan Bey should be granted the title of *kapıcıbaşı*, so that he will be held in high respect in Mat and Debar. We have been pleased by your cordial expression of gratitude and presented your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty. You are among the viziers from whom His Imperial Majesty expects the rendition of good service and demonstration of gallantry and whose prestige His Imperial Majesty would like to see growing. Thus, His Imperial Majesty desires the fulfillment of your requests, and, in the present case, your plea for the deployment of Hasan Bey under your command is suitable. However, the suggestion that he recruit 1,500 men with their pay of two months being sent in cash from here is not congruent with the present situation and aims at hand. This is by no means to deny you money, but it stems from a number of drawbacks that you already know. The glory and fame of the hearth of Shkodër, as well as the reputation and dignity of your ancestors *vis-à-vis* the Sublime State, have stemmed from the many praiseworthy deeds performed selflessly in past campaigns without demanding military salary or monthly pay. We expect you to render good service in this religious duty with which you are entrusted. Obviously, you enjoy royal favor, and nothing will be withheld from you in this endeavor. It is no secret that the Sublime State suffers from a shortage of cash due to the infinite expenses it bears. That said, the sum to be forwarded as the pay of two months for Hasan Bey's proposed retinue of 1,500 men is still a negligible one for His Imperial Majesty. However, it is not appropriate to deploy side by side the troops receiving monthly pay and the troops raised from Shkodër by the established custom. As required by your dynastic legacy of diligence and uprightness, you should drop this matter in order to keep the ancient fame and glory of the dynasty of Shkodër untarnished. We assure you we will do whatever is necessary upon the submission of the accounts, in the event that you give Hasan Bey bonus money for the number of troops he may bring to your service. In short, we will

1 Debar (Turk. Debre, Gr. Δίβρη): town in western North Macedonia.

do our best to support you in all of your affairs, provided that you demonstrate your dynastic legacy of serving the Sublime State with distinction to be eligible for royal favor. His Imperial Majesty affirmed your suggestion to grant Hasan Bey the title of *kapıcıbaşı*; we have sent you the letter of appointment and the imperial decree ordering him to join you with as many troops as he can assemble. We expect you to bring him under your command immediately. Based on the royal favor and confidence he has entertained for the dynasty of Shkodër, His Imperial Majesty ordered you to serve religion and the Sublime State diligently with the pure intention of seeking retribution from those heathens who rose against the Mohammedan State and committed all kinds of treason and despicable deeds against Muslims. Thus, we would expect you to have taken up your military command by now, in order to perform valiantly such a duty that would bring you salvation in this world and the next. Nevertheless, you have been slow in acting upon your orders. Evidently, there is no sign of mobilization on your side, which has definitely required His Imperial Majesty's inquiry. This letter is to invite you to join the expedition, if you have not done so prior to your receipt of this letter, in order to deserve the royal confidence placed in you and to communicate to us your news of mobilization immediately for His Imperial Majesty's information.

[579/160, *regarding the inaptitude of the army*]

To the Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

May 29, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you confirm the arrival of our communication regarding the forwarding of one thousand purses of piasters in cash and the assignment of two thousand purses of piasters from the confiscated revenues of [Tepedelenli] Ali Pasha. Arguing that it is difficult to collect these revenues at this point, you plea for the dispatch of a substantial amount of cash instead, lest the military operations are undermined in the campaigning season. You also mention the dissension over the military pay that the light cavalry under your command dared to cause. You note that you have appended the correspondence from Yusuf Pasha in Patras asking you to deliver the pay of his chief musketeer, Mehmed, which fell into arrears, along with the relevant register. Finally, you relate that Emin Agha, who is defending Nafpaktos, pleaded with you for his payment. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. As we have written to Your Excellency repeatedly, there is a dearth of cash in the central treasury because of our infinite expenses, and this makes it difficult to forward cash funds in substantial amounts. When you asked for three to four thousand purses of piasters in order to prevent the delay of the imminent victory, we forwarded to you one thousand purses of piasters, the arrival of which you confirm in this correspondence. This was despite the fact that we actually assigned to you the most accessible revenues from Ali Pasha's estate. Apart from this, we dispatched to you one thousand additional purses of piasters and, later on, two thousand additional purses of piasters. We trust that the present request for cash funds precedes your receipt of the abovementioned funds; God willing, they will arrive by your side soon. You imply in your note addressed to your agent in Istanbul that you would be able to complete your mission at this time, if only you had three to four thousand purses of piasters. Given that we have forwarded to you four thousand purses of piasters in cash, you have no excuse for not exerting yourself to accomplish your mission. We have come to notice with dismay that, while we fulfilled your cash demand fully despite fiscal strain, you have not moved forward an inch, accomplishing nothing, although spring is almost over and summer is setting in. Besides, His Imperial Majesty is inquiring into your lack of zeal and ineptitude, as he placed his royal confidence and hope in you. As for the matter of salaries in arrears, you must decide fairly about the case of Yusuf Pasha's chief musketeer and pay him, using the funds we have made available to you. We have no doubt that Emin Agha's recent petition had been sent prior to our dispatch of 100,000

piasters to you to be forwarded to him. Obviously, he must have been relieved of his financial strain with the delivery of this sum by now. This letter is to instruct you to put aside your excuses and exert yourself with diligence without wasting time to perform your duty. You should bring this incident to a felicitous conclusion, thus deserving royal confidence and favor.

[579/161, *regarding the dispatch of a surgeon and an engineer to Patras*
To the Castellan of Patras [Yusuf Pasha of Serres]

May 29, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's congratulatory address for our victory with great delight [reference to unclear historical event]. We have also been informed about the content of your note to your agent in Istanbul, concerning your need for a surgeon and an engineer. We nurture sincerity and reverence for you for serving religion and the Sublime State with distinction and demonstrating piety and perseverance in the Morea. You are expected to continue, God willing, to render service revered by the commoners and the elite and thus live up to the royal trust placed in you. Concerning your request for a surgeon and an engineer, it is beyond our power to send them for the time being, since the imperial navy has already left Istanbul, whereas it is impossible to dispatch them overland. Nevertheless, we have communicated with the grand admiral about your need for a surgeon and instructed him to send you one, leaving aside your request for an engineer. This letter is to encourage you to perform your deeds with perseverance, determination, and bravery.

[579/164, regarding the imperial navy setting sail and a Samiot attack on an Anatolian village]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

May 30, 1823

We have received your communication sent in response to our correspondence requiring Your Excellency to set sail from the Dardanelles at once. You point out that the imperial navy has been at anchor off Cape Nara, delayed by the procurement of the rations of the crew to the ships under the *riyala bey*'s command. In addition, the frigates, corvettes, and merchant ships that were supposed to follow the navy to the Dardanelles from behind have not arrived yet. Your Excellency maintains that the navy will depart as soon as they arrive. We understand that the rebellious infidels have withdrawn for now, but this should be because of their sinister plots. You also inform us that the *riyala bey* fitted out the frigate that had taken shelter at the port of Foça,¹ due to a fear of pirate ships, and added it to his command. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted your letter to His Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency is among the great viziers of the Sublime State, who made the rendition of distinct and loyal service to religion and state your utmost priority as a token of your innately devout and diligent character. His Imperial Majesty is fully confident that Your Excellency will perform commendable deeds in the fulfillment of this and all other duties, by the help of God. We have no doubt that Your Excellency will exert every effort to make it possible to take vengeance on the enemies of our religion. The frigates, corvettes, and merchant ships must have joined the imperial navy by now, since we have already sent them together from here. Thus, Your Excellency will surely leave the Dardanelles to carry out the intended mission. However, the bandits do not sit idly. They take to the sea and commit all sorts of treacheries and mischief against the Muslims. Therefore, it is imperative that the imperial fleet should leave the Dardanelles at once to scatter and crush them. The castellan of Izmir has recently communicated to us that some infidel brigands from Samos raided the village called Ipsili on the coast of Seferihisar in the *sancak* of Sığla. They dared to commit treachery by murdering some of the residents and plundering their goods. The villagers ran away to the town of Seferihisar with their lives, only to find out that the infidel *reaya* of Seferihisar had dared to rise up in rebellion; so the [Muslim] folk charged on the *reaya* with swords in hand.

1 Foça (Gr. Φώκαια): town and district on the Aegean coast of Turkey, northwest of Izmir.

We are passing this information on as decreed by His Imperial Majesty and ask Your Excellency to avoid further delays in the departure of the imperial navy if it still is at anchor. Your Excellency must take every necessary measure to scatter and annihilate those bandit boats and to be on the alert against the trickery of the infidels at all times.

[579/172, regarding amnesty granted in the region of Volos]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

June 4, 1823

We have received your communication in which Your Excellency relates that you had sent a military force to the twenty villages neighboring Trikeri in the Volos district that insisted on their rebellion, as stated in your past correspondence. You state that after their refusal to surrender peacefully the battle started, and eventually seventeen villages asked for royal pardon. They were granted their wish on the condition that three respectable men from every village were to be kept as hostages in the Castle of Volos; that they were to deliver their arms; that they were to provide auxiliary services to our forces; and that they were to transport supplies on their pack animals. Your Excellency reports that you sent to Istanbul the severed heads and ears of the infidels of the remaining three villages who insisted on their rebellion, along with the standards taken in the battle. Having deployed some troops in these villages along with a Pandur [local militia], Your Excellency has forwarded the promissory notes in Greek and Turkish granted to the villagers' request of pardon and requested the appointment of a *derbend agha*. Finally, we understand that Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, communicated to you about his departure from Shkodër on the 20th day of *Ramazan* [May 31, 1823] to reach his assigned post. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted it to His Imperial Majesty. Your efforts regarding the pacification of the infidels who asked for mercy and the destruction of the others who insisted on their rebellion have given us great pleasure. The severed heads and ears and the standards were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to serve as an example. However, no promissory notes in Greek and Turkish regarding the pacified villagers has appeared in the package Your Excellency has sent here, in contradiction to the statement in your correspondence. We assume that Your Excellency has forgotten to include them in the package. Based on your explanation, the conditions stipulated to these villagers for royal pardon seem to be in congruence with the instructions and orders sent from here. We ask Your Excellency to observe the rules of eligibility for receiving royal pardon in your future dealings with the rebels. As pointed out previously, Your Excellency should ensure that Mustafa Pasha will not suffer any shortage of supplies and provisions. Your Excellency shall use your best endeavors in order to enable him to fulfill his duty.

[579/173, regarding Yusuf Pasha's instructions for the planned offensive on the Morea]

To Yusuf Pasha of Serres [Castellan of Patras]

June 6, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence informing us that His Excellency Mehmed Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia, has sent you a mandate and pay tickets to hire ten thousand salaried Albanian soldiers at once and that he has made arrangements for recruiting *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops and soldiers from the *kazas* of Rumelia to serve under your command for the planned offensive to take revenge on the enemies of religion. However, you report that you arrived in Preveza to recruit soldiers yourself, with the consideration that the soldiers to be dispatched by Mehmed Pasha would not arrive in time. Thus, Your Excellency requests us to drop this recruitment plan and, instead, forward to you the two-month pay in advance, in order to encourage the soldiers whom you propose to recruit to join the jihad. In addition, you remark that you need a commissary officer to take care of provisions. Mehmed Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia, also confirmed that you intended to seek retribution from those infidels, as required by your piety and sense of honor, by recruiting soldiers in Preveza and that you would report back to your military post as soon as possible. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. We have no doubt that you will serve [our] religion and the Sublime State and perform praiseworthy deeds by way of taking revenge on the enemies of our religion, because you are one of our viziers gifted with loyalty, uprightness, valor, and courage, who has spent nearly two years in the depths of the Morea and acquired a great deal of knowledge about the deeds and manners of the infidels. We have no doubt that you went to Preveza to recruit soldiers, as you were concerned that the governor of Rumelia would again fail to send you supplies and reinforcements just as in the previous year. We are sure your conduct was a result of your unawareness of the fact that we are keeping a tight control over the situation this year. That said, it is also essential to assault the infidels from the fortifications that you have been defending thus far successfully. In addition, Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, is put in charge of the region of Acarnania by imperial decree, and your overland march via this route would come to mean that you would be cutting in front of him. Thus, you should be quick to recruit two to three thousand men and take them along from Preveza to Patras on boats, in which case the total number of robust soldiers under your command would reach four to five thousand, including your retinue of 1,500 men currently deployed in Patras. This way, Mustafa Pasha's order of

mobilization would not be violated by a likely confrontation between you and him. His Imperial Majesty has affirmed our suggestion that you should launch a simultaneous offensive on the infidels when Mustafa Pasha and other viziers attack Acarnania and the Morea in waves. We have instructed your council clerk, Said Efendi, about the details of this plan and expressed to him that Your Excellency stands high in royal favor here. He has been sent back to you to explain these points to you verbally. On the orders of His Imperial Majesty, we also entrusted your council clerk with five hundred purses of piasters as a royal gift. The governor of Rumelia had previously ordered the dispatch of seven to eight thousand men to Patras. We replied, instructing him first to learn your opinion about their dispatch and deployment. As for your request for a commissary officer, you have already made large purchases of supplies, and the imperial navy is also bringing you a substantial quantity of victuals. We have previously let you know through the grand admiral that, until the arrival of the provisions, you were free to buy thirty to forty thousand bushels of grain from the *müstemen* merchants at affordable prices by bills of exchange to be cashed in Istanbul. Thus, there is no need to appoint a commissary officer to you for the time being. You should conceal that you offer monthly pay to hire soldiers, lest it is emulated in the army of Shkodër as well, in which case the customary method will be abandoned and things will get out of control. This letter is to instruct you to recruit two to three thousand soldiers and take them to Patras at once, in order to prevent a rift with Mustafa Pasha, so that you can attack the infidels simultaneously when Mustafa Pasha and other functionaries launch the planned offensive. You should communicate with the governor of Rumelia to decide on the best possible place to raise the troops assigned to you, as mentioned at the beginning of this letter, and exert yourself to demonstrate the determination and sense of honor that His Imperial Majesty expects of you.

[579/175, regarding the preparations for the attack on the Morea]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Köse Mehmed Pasha]

June 6, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you relate the arrival of Yusuf Pasha [of Berkovitsa], Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, and other functionaries in Larissa, with the exception of the *mutasarrıf* of Ormenio [Salih Pasha], who was about to arrive. Pointing out that they needed cash to pay their troops, you request us to forward substantial funds. You mention the submission of the missive from Reşid Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala, relating his desperate situation. Yusuf Pasha [of Serres], Castellan of Patras, has informed Your Excellency about his arrival in Preveza to hire soldiers on monthly pay. Your Excellency thus requests us to forward two-month pay for these men. We have also received the letters of Reşid and Yusuf Pashas that you forwarded to us and submitted them to His Imperial Majesty for review. In response to your earlier correspondence and request, we sent you three thousand purses of piasters in cash, following His Imperial Majesty's will. We assume that this present financial request was penned before your reception of this sum. We have no doubt that you will distribute it among those functionaries in need of cash funds. Yusuf Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, and Reşid Pasha also sent pleas for cash transfers from Istanbul. We again believe that they wrote these letters prior to the arrival of the aforementioned sum by your side and see no reason to forward new sums. Furthermore, it is your duty as commander-in-chief to see to such financial requests of our functionaries, so that they will not feel it necessary to forward such requests to us. As we believe that you should have already received the sum we sent, we ask of you to be equitable and frugal in meeting the financial demands of the aforementioned pashas and other functionaries. It is necessary to entice them this way to report to their military posts and set out to accomplish their task before it is too late in the season. Although Yusuf Pasha of Serres arrived in Preveza, we have written him to recruit two to three thousand men and take them immediately to Patras in order to contribute to bring this Moreot affair to an end. We have also sent him five hundred purses of piasters as a royal gift. You previously explained to us that Alo Agha [*Mütesellim* of Banjaluka] will lead the troops you recruited for the command of Yusuf Pasha [of Serres] to Nafpaktos for crossing to the Castle of the Morea, storming on the way the regions of Amfissa and Ypati. His Imperial Majesty, however, ordered us to instruct you to communicate with Yusuf Pasha about his view on the matter of transportation of this force, composed of seven to eight thousand men, to Patras. He might opt for crossing them from the port of [the *kaza* of] Amfissa over to Patras by boat or from elsewhere. We have sent you instructions for Yusuf Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of

the Morea, Reşid Pasha, and the *mutasarrıf* of Ormenio. We ask you to deliver their instructions to them and cooperate with Yusuf Pasha of Serres for the transportation of the troops recruited for his command. We expect our functionaries to demonstrate determination to take revenge on these Greek bandits immediately.

FIGURE 14 Title page of BOA/*Ayniyat* Register 1713

[1713/11, regarding the disbandment of the troops of Yusuf Pasha due to
Ömer Vrioni's scheming]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

September 16, 1823

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency relates that Yusuf Pasha of Serres left his steward with the remaining three thousand men in Vonitsa after the dispersal of his troops there and came to the side of the imperial navy with his small retinue. Your Excellency states that Yusuf Pasha's presence caused much relief on your part, so that the management of the fortifications in the region and the maintenance of the [Muslim] Moreots who took shelter in Patras and of the troops can be organized properly. Your Excellency also states that you had lengthy deliberations with Yusuf Pasha over these issues. You have delivered to His Excellency the supplies and ammunition allocated to him, as well as those bought on the spot. Your Excellency informs us that you were about to head toward the [Aegean] archipelago, leaving the former *kapudana* Halil Bey at the head of a squadron of fourteen vessels to patrol the region in wintertime. According to your report, you are thinking of sending three ships to the castellan of Euboea after communicating with him and a few more ships to Trikeri. In addition, you are contemplating sending troops to land on Psara and other critical locations for raiding. Your Excellency also sent us the list of the ships to remain for the winter operations, as well as the inventory of various supplies delivered to Yusuf Pasha, and state that you will send the receipts taken from him and other recipients soon. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency is among the great viziers of the Sublime State, renowned for his devotion and determination. Thanks to your exemplary character, you are always deemed worthy of employment in the execution of important duties. Your Excellency has proven this once more by achieving your present mission with distinction, as suggested by the register sent here that testifies to the purchase of plenty of provisions, which, we hope, will remove any likely hardship our forces may suffer in the future. Given your full discretionary powers, Your Excellency is free to decide on the proper course of action, depending on the state of affairs, and to cruise accordingly with a view to overwhelming the infidel brigands wherever you deem fit. Having read that Your Excellency has already decided to set sail for the [Aegean] archipelago after taking the necessary precautions in the waters of the Morea, His Imperial Majesty inserted the prayer: "May he be victorious and glorious all the time," atop of your report. In accordance with His Imperial Majesty's will, we instructed the superintendent of the imperial arsenal to record the ships left behind for wintertime in the relevant registers and referred the matter of

provisions to the chief accountant. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to exert yourself to take vengeance on those infidels and end this affair, as a token of your innate devotion and zeal.

Postscript: Your Excellency implies in the report that the troops of Yusuf Pasha dispersed because of the incitement and sedition of Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina. Because of this, you argue, we must give Yusuf Pasha a lenient treatment, as dictated by the current state of affairs. This is a fitting suggestion indeed. We will continue to treat him with leniency and benevolence, as in the past, and we have sent him a communication to this effect. Having received this letter, Your Excellency must strive toward carrying out your duty with determination.

[1713/12, *regarding the disbandment of the soldiers under Yusuf and Salih Pashas*]

*To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]*¹

September 16, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you express the necessity to recruit troops afresh, as the soldiers under Yusuf Pasha [of Berkovitsa], Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, and Salih Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Ormenio, have disbanded. Accordingly, Your Excellency states that you paid the accrued wages of the forces under Mahmud Pasha of Prizren and Cafer Pasha of Peqin² partly by the cash confiscated from [Köse] Mehmed Pasha, your predecessor in office. Although you are contemplating sending forth Reşid Pasha [Kütahi], *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala, at the head of ten thousand troops, it is only possible, as you argue, if we send three to four thousand purses of piasters to cover the accrued wages, as well as advance payments. We understand that you intend to accompany them in their march forward if need be. As for Euboea, Your Excellency refers us to the report of the courier whom you have sent to Istanbul, for he had previously gone to that region on the orders of your predecessor. Finally, you point out that the correspondence of your predecessor addressed to Istanbul, as well as those communications you have received from the regional authorities, are all appended to the package you have sent us. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty. It would be rather redundant to reiterate to Your Excellency that the treasury is about to run out of cash, because of the debilitating expenditures due to the prolongation of the troubles in the Morea and the intensification of the disturbances. However, it is His Imperial Majesty's desire that the disturbances in the Morea come to an end before winter sets in. While in your capacity as commander-in-chief you are encumbered with the Moreot affair as the sole authority, we know that it is impossible to recruit troops without money. Thus, by His Imperial Majesty's decree, we have sent you three thousand additional purses of piasters in cash, in addition to the one thousand purses of piasters previously sent through the first chief equerry. All being equal to four thousand purses, we have thus fulfilled your request conveyed in the correspondence. His Imperial Majesty

1 Köse Mehmed Pasha was dismissed from office on August 23, 1823, and was replaced by Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki. The Imperial Council accused him of remaining "powerless" since the day of his appointment. In his imperial rescript above the minutes of the Imperial Council meeting, Mahmud II wrote: "He was a courageous man. Despite the fact that he was granted all sorts of favors and liberties, he made a mess of his office." (see BOA/HAT 39261).

2 Peqin (Turk. Pekin, Gr. Πεκίν): town in west-central Albania, west of Elbasan.

desires Your Excellency to send Reşid Pasha forward at the head of a large force, while you must use your own discretion whether or not to accompany him, since you are granted full discretionary powers in your office. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to strive to put an end to this trouble in the Morea in this holy year, before the winter arrives and the efforts falter, as ordered by His Imperial Majesty and expected of your innate qualities of devotion, prowess, zeal, and gallantry. Your Excellency shall send Reşid Pasha forward with a sizable force and rush a sufficient number of troops to Yusuf Pasha and Salih Pasha, thereby demonstrating your competence and devotion in the execution of your office.

[1713/35, regarding the fortification of the frontiers against Russia]
 To Ibrahim Pasha, Former *Mutasarrıf* of Hüdavendigar and Kayseri,
 who is now appointed Castellan of Brăila
 September 24, 1823

It was deemed suitable to send Your Excellency to Bursa with the intention of putting the issue of Samos into action [preparing an attack on Samos], as had been written in the secret correspondence that was previously exchanged. It was thus ordered that you quietly set forth. Your reports regarding the mobilization of the necessary forces have just been received, and the plan has been put into a course of preparation and execution. At the present time, however, the state functionaries have been unable to cope with the task of crushing the brigands, and the winter season is drawing nigh day by day. Also, it is still uncertain how the foreign powers and especially the Russians will react. For these reasons, and according to some rumors and news, it is apparent that the Sublime State must be extremely prudent. It is evident that the existing circumstances demand that great care be taken and rigorous work done, so that the necessary fortifications are made without seeking a pretext to dodge this duty. This most important task must be swiftly embarked upon: to reinforce and fortify the imperial fortresses along the Danube and of such a large frontier [town] as Brăila. Even though the reinforcement of these fortresses with military stores and provisions has been secured, there is no doubt that the defense of the frontier and the control of the forces will be achieved through the presence of a zealous and trustworthy man. Your Excellency is comparable to no other as one of the greatest viziers of the Sublime State, who has deserved the most gracious favor and trust of His Imperial Majesty and who possesses innate fidelity and acuity. You have also acquired knowledge of all sorts of methods and affairs during your residency here. Although the issue of Samos has currently been entrusted to Your Excellency, by virtue of the principle of giving priority to the matter of greatest importance, you shall go to Brăila at once, and the issue of Samos will be assigned to a suitable vizier from Anatolia. As it is expected that Your Excellency will have objections to these decisions [uncertain translation], your appointment to the defense of Brăila has been sanctioned by His Imperial Majesty, and an imperial edict has been issued to this regard. The *sancaks* of Hüdavendigar and Kocaeli¹ have been assigned to His Excellency Galib Pasha, former *mutasarrıf* of Kayseri; and it has also been ordered that his predecessor, His Excellency Ebubekir Sıdkı Pasha, be appointed to Larissa. In accordance with the principle of the frontier guardians, Your Excellency shall perform the procedure of being installed in

1 Kocaeli: *sancak* in northwest Turkey, with Izmit (Nicomedia) its capital.

office when you arrive in Brăila, and, once this is done, Ebubekir Sıdkı Pasha shall immediately depart for Larissa. In this respect, the appointment of Your Excellency to the defense of Brăila is not an offence to you; it is caused by the necessity of a person such as Your Excellency to be present in this region for the time being, because of the favor and trust that are placed in you. In accordance with the requirements of the imperial firman, it is commanded that Your Excellency immediately departs from Bursa with the available select soldiers and your full suite of attendants, goes through Gallipoli and quickly marches directly to Brăila. You shall swiftly put yourself to work once you arrive in the town, so as to complete its defense. Your Excellency is to do your utmost to employ your wisdom and acuity, in order to keep the issue of Samos as secret and confidential as it was; and—with God's help—[start to] observe with circumspection, wisely and gently, the foreigners the instant you arrive in Brăila and try to understand [their] affairs; and at any rate effectively prove the zeal that is expected from you.

[1713/40, regarding the provisioning of Euboea]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulebud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

September 26, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you state that His Excellency the castellan of Euboea [Ömer Pasha] sent Your Excellency reports with regard to the scarcity of provisions in the Castle of Euboea [Chalkida].¹ Your previous and later letters on the matter of the dispatch of forty to fifty thousand bushels of provisions from Istanbul by *müstemen* vessels have also been brought to our attention. The summary of his reports makes it apparent that there was want of provisions, for those that had arrived with the imperial navy had been allotted to the rations of the commander-in-chief of the Morea. Furthermore, for a few years the said castellan has been losing power, while enduring great expenses. Owing to this fact, and to the point that there must be at least five thousand soldiers under his command, the amount of expenses that is necessary for this number of soldiers is to be paid by the Sublime State. Copies of all of these have been presented before His Imperial Majesty, who has considered them benignly. Although plenty of provisions were previously transported to the said castle [Chalkida] by the imperial navy, they were thus expended for the assembled forces. In this respect, a solution must be found to dispatch some provisions again. Your Excellency suggests in his report that we ship provisions from Istanbul by *müstemen* vessels. The *müstemen* merchants, however, now refrain from transporting such goods; and even if they do transport them, they do not take them to the intended destination. In view of this, and of all other sorts of inconveniences they cause, this practice will no longer be followed, with immediate effect. As Your Excellency knows, half of the provisions that are to be purchased in Thessaloniki in this blessed year are to be flour, and the other half are to be made into hardtack. It has previously been commanded that they be prepared, so as to be dispatched to the Morea in case of need. According to the requirements of His Imperial Majesty's will, it has been written to His Excellency the grand admiral, so that he take and transport sufficient quantities of flour and hardtack to the Castle of Euboea [Chalkida], or, if they are not prepared, wheat and barley equivalent to [this quantity of] flour and hardtack; and that he carry out whichever of these options is possible. It has also been written to His Excellency the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki that he should deliver [the provisions] to the lord high admiral. Although it seems that the castellan

1 Chalkida (Turk. Eğriboz, Gr. Χαλκίδα): capital town of Euboea, known also historically as Negroponte in western languages. The Castle of Chalkida was destroyed in the late nineteenth century. The Ottomans used the same toponym, Eğriboz, for both the entire island of Euboea and its chief town, Chalkida (Chalcis).

of Euboea must be worthy to be supported with imperial aid, with his being a new vizier, it will not—as he has written—be possible to keep pace with the allotment of expenditure, owing to the emergence of some other obstacles. As Your Excellency is the commander-in-chief of Rumelia with full powers, therefore, providing separate aid to the castellan of Euboea from Istanbul and [allowing] for this and that to be said will necessarily inflict harm on the influence of the commander-in-chief and complicate affairs. We have sent an official response to the said castellan, in order to inform and remind him that it has been written to the grand admiral to resolve the provisions issue in this manner; and that such cases and requests are addressed to the commander-in-chief; and that whatever the urgency of the situation is, it is to be supervised by Your Excellency, for you are the commander-in-chief; and that such cases must hereafter be referred to the commander-in-chief. It is commanded that Your Excellency bears in mind that it is within the responsibilities which have been conferred upon you, and it is [also] required by His Imperial Majesty's will, to verify to what extent the said castellan needs actual aid and to send him a sum of money, which Your Excellency deems suitable, from the sum that has been sent to Your Excellency, and henceforth to render the necessary aid in various ways; and that he at any rate performs his duties with the requisite wisdom and good judgement.

[1713/41, regarding the return of Greeks to their hometowns]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ibrahim Pasha]

September 26, 1823

Your Excellency communicated that Captain Mehmed the Arab, one of the captains put in charge of the defense of the coast of Thessaloniki by your predecessor, encountered in a harbor on the island of Thasos an English vessel at anchor, whose captain was called Niko, son of Desmo [uncertain reading]. Captain Mehmed the Arab discovered several *reaya* in the vessel hold, who had been boarded en route [illegible words]. The *reaya* and the said vessel were summoned to Thessaloniki. During the examination of the *kadı*, it appeared that some of the *reaya* were grooms of the late Mahmud Pasha of Drama, and some were from the island of Thasos. They embarked upon the vessel for a freight of fifteen piasters, making an agreement that the Thasiots would be set down at their homelands; and then the others would be transported to Stomio and would settle in their villages, which were granted royal pardon. A signed register containing the names and standing of these *reaya*, the decree of the *kadı* of Thessaloniki, and signed copies of the letter that was received from the voivode of Thasos and the imperial vessel permit obtained by the captain were submitted. The *reaya* were delivered to the Greek representative in Thessaloniki. Your Excellency reminds us that the settlement of these *reaya* in their villages would conduce toward the return of other fugitive *reaya*. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us. It is understood from the report and the judicial decree of the sharia court that some of the *reaya* are grooms of the deceased [Mahmud Pasha of Drama] and some are from Thasos; and that they embarked upon the said vessel so as to settle in their homelands and be again granted royal pardon. Furthermore, it does not require any explanation for Your Excellency's express wish that these *reaya* be settled in their proper places, as requested in your report, for this must cause the return of other fugitive *reaya*. It is manifest that the relations between the Sublime State and England are peaceful and sincere, and also that it will not be necessary to detain a true *müstemen* vessel of this friendly country, for this vessel is not a pirate vessel, namely, it is not a Hydriot or Spetsiot ship taken [by the brigands?] by some means. It is therefore commanded that the said *reaya* be settled in their proper places, as noted in Your Excellency's report, and, in case the said vessel is indeed English and it is still in the port of Thessaloniki, a friendly attitude be demonstrated toward it and it be released.

[1713/42, regarding the dispatch of Reşid and Ömer Pashas to the Morea]
 To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

September 26, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you mention the arrival of our letter regarding the dispatch of Their Excellencies the *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala Reşid Pasha [Kütahi], the *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], and the *Mutasarrıf* of Aydın Yusuf Pasha to the Morea and some other matters. Furthermore, you also explain that 4,500 soldiers who have been mobilized from Peshkopi,¹ Mat, and Përmet are expected to arrive, [also] the way in which Reşid and Ömer Pashas will be deployed once the soldiers arrive, and that Yusuf Pasha has been sent back to Patras. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. Your Excellency is one of the greatest viziers of the Exalted Sultanate, who is endowed with wide experience, good judgement, knowledge of the best practices, and astuteness. Since the complete authority of the office of commander-in-chief has been conferred upon you, and as the appointment of all functionaries is dependent upon the consent and authority of the commander-in-chief, it is Your Excellency's responsibility to take measures to send Reşid and Ömer Pashas to the Morea, along with the soldiers that will be mustered. It is also clear that the dispatch of these viziers to the Morea and the suppression of this unrest depend upon Your Excellency's zealous labors. It is commanded that Your Excellency at once muster and put into order the soldiers that are to be assembled, as required by your experience and wisdom; and send the said pashas and other functionaries to the Morea. You shall do your utmost to set them to work and thus enforce the will of His Imperial Majesty and fulfill your religious and patriotic duties. You shall demonstrate your precious wisdom and integrity, with which you are profoundly gifted; and proceed with great haste, so as to confirm the trust that is put in you.

1 Peshkopi (Turk. Debre-i Zir, Gr. Επισκοπή): town in east-central Albania.

[1713/47, regarding the munitions to be transported to Crete]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

September 28, 1823

We have received the letter of the castellan of Irakleio stating that nothing else apart from 21,246 bushels of provisions have reached the island, despite the fact that we [also] sent some mortars with the imperial navy. Furthermore, the gun carriages and the wheels of most of the 443 pieces of artillery and twenty-six mortars of various sorts at the fortress of Irakleio are worn out. Since the trees in this area are not suitable for the production of carriages and wheels, His Excellency the castellan of Irakleio has requested gun carriages, wheels, and other equipment that are available in the imperial gun foundry, as well as fifteen skilled carpenters; and he has forwarded a register containing the number of the said artillery. On this account, the matter has been confided to His Excellency the chief accountant. Meanwhile, five thousand cannonballs of various calibers, one thousand portfires, fifty gunpowder flasks, twenty pieces of wick wood, ten pieces of portfire tongs, fifty *okkas* of Egyptian wick, and twenty gimlets [uncertain translation], along with handles, have been prepared from the imperial arsenal for the fortress of Irakleio and sent by the ship of Captain Pir Alizade Ahmed, together with the imperial navy. It is possible to obtain and arrange the requested timber for gun carriages here in Istanbul. It may, however, be rather a fair amount to load an entire ship, and, if it is to be dispatched with a *müstemen* vessel, it will require a high freight. Furthermore, the *müstemen* merchants have recently demonstrated reluctance to transport such sorts of military stores, and it has already been made clear from their letters on the matter that they will not transport them now either. Thus, it will be useless to prepare [the timber] in Istanbul. Also, we do not know why the military stores that were previously prepared by the imperial arsenal and dispatched with the imperial navy have not been delivered to their destination yet. In the first place, an enquiry into the matter must be addressed to Your Excellency, and the necessary precautions must be taken thereafter. The chief accountant has reported that it will be necessary to establish and communicate whether the timber for the aforementioned gun carriages and wheels will be prepared in suitable places in the *sancak* of Menteşe or on Crete; and if it will be arranged by the *kadis* and the officers in these places; and whether it will be possible to dispatch [the timber] to the fortress of Irakleio with the imperial navy or the Egyptian fleet, whichever stops by these areas; and also what will be the easiest and swiftest manner, and which place will be most efficient and suitable. It is commanded that

[Your Excellency] promptly prepare a report as to the reasons why the said military stores have not been delivered to their destination yet; and to write [to us] with regard to what is the easiest and swiftest manner to arrange and dispatch the timber for the gun carriages and wheels and also which is the most efficient and suitable place.

[1713/54, *regarding the inaptitude of the imperial navy*]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

October 3, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence about the recent activities of the imperial navy. Leaving Patras with the etesian winds, the navy spotted about fifteen boats of the Psarian infidels while navigating through the archipelago and chased them until they eluded the navy by taking shelter in the port of Psara. Your Excellency informs us that you then led the navy to Lesbos to refill the water casks and were planning to set sail again to patrol Euboea, Karystos, and other places requiring attention in a few days. Besides, as thirty days were left until *Kasım*, Your Excellency permitted the squadrons of the Barbary Regencies that have been serving in the imperial fleet for three years to return home for wintering, on the condition that they would join the navy by springtime. Pointing out that the sailing season was coming to a close fast and the supplies and victuals were running low, Your Excellency would like to learn in a timely fashion if we decide on the wintering of the navy and the entailing process of the procurement of winter supplies. In that case, you would have to set aside the ships that need refitting and send them to the imperial arsenal for repairs. Similarly, Your Excellency pleaded with us to deliver His Imperial Majesty's decree on which of the three options to take regarding the wintering of the navy. We may either designate a harbor for the navy or leave this decision to Your Excellency, whereas a third option would be instructing you to bring the navy back to Istanbul after detaching a few ships under an able commander. Apart from these matters, Your Excellency recounts the communication from Yusuf Pasha, Castellan of Chios, who requested a mandate from you that accepts the petition of a group of *reaya* from Chios who had previously fled to other islands and allows them to return, provided they lead their lives as law-abiding subjects. Your Excellency enquires about the will of His Imperial Majesty on this issue before delivering the requested mandate. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty. When we appointed Your Excellency as the grand admiral and granted full freedom of decision and action in naval operations following the established norm, we were convinced that Your Excellency would strive to perform commendable deeds, for you are among the great viziers, renowned for your boldness and prowess. Yet you have laid anchor at Patras for some time and then cruised all the way back to Lesbos without destroying even two infidel vessels. It is now completely inappropriate that you are starting to talk about halting the expedition by wintering. It is by divine providence that the fleet has so far accomplished nothing, except delivery of provisions to some places. Nevertheless, as

we understand from your correspondence, you could not capture the brigands' boats as they hid in the ports because of the etesian winds. Whenever they cannot confront the ships of the imperial navy, the infidels' boats tend to run away, which is a wicked trick designed to pursue their objective. They are amassing their power steadily this way and becoming each day a more painful thorn in the side of the Sublime State. Therefore, we cannot help but ask ourselves if it is not really possible to post a few ships at the entrances to the ports where they lay anchor during the etesian winds and attack them. They occasionally surprise the imperial navy by sending forward fireships or resorting to some other tricks with a desire to conceal their weakness *vis-à-vis* the imperial navy. Why not sink or burn their ships in the harbors by using their own tricks against them? Your Excellency states your intention to proceed to Euboea and Karystos from Lesbos. Nevertheless, we are concerned about the likelihood that you will patrol those waters aimlessly for the sake of appearance and rush back to the Dardanelles shortly after. It is bizarre that our navy is already longing for a harbor to spend the winter without capturing even two vessels, whereas the infidels mind neither winter nor storms, nor look for a safe harbor for wintering, but continue navigating the Mediterranean, hitting and raiding wherever they roam. There is no need to reiterate to you how the infidel boats committed all kinds of abominable and mischievous deeds just outside the Dardanelles when some of the naval ships were actually wintering there. As a matter of fact, not a single ship of our fleet bothered to sally out to confront them. Surely, this affair will not come to an end unless the sea power of the Greek bandits is undermined. The accomplishment of this task, on the other hand, befalls to our navy. The imperial navy has returned home empty-handed for three years, leading the infidels to become more powerful and courageous. You would agree that this is utterly an improper and abominable situation. Besides, Your Excellency has relieved the Barbary fleets of naval service by a mandate without referring the matter to us in your capacity as grand admiral with full powers. However, they constitute almost all the reinforcements available to the imperial navy. We find it improper to send them back to their ports for wintering, even if this decision was made out of necessity. Alas, the permission has been already granted, and nothing else can be said upon it now. The benefit of having the navy navigate the Mediterranean during winter would be the prevention of the molestation of our coasts by the infidel brigands. Conversely, if the navy returns to Istanbul, the Sublime State will cut down on the expenses necessary to keep the fleet at sea in wintertime. If we order the navy back to Istanbul with the aim of cost reduction, we will have to station troops to potentially exposed spots along the coasts. Yet it is hard to garrison so many coastal places that are exposed to bandit raids, as demonstrated by the

recent incident at Çandarlı. Distressed by the incident, we had to issue a set of imperial orders to rush troops to the coast, but then maintenance of these forces gave rise to a whole new set of problems. Therefore, keeping the imperial navy at sea is more advantageous than ordering it back to Istanbul. The bandits' boats are certain to raid the coasts and cause anxiety here in winter-time, whereas it is not feasible at this time of the year to garrison the coastline. Thus, it is not permissible to bring the entire navy back to Istanbul, while Your Excellency could take a leave to come here and contribute to the deliberations on the naval preparations for next spring with your observations for the naval expedition. We assume that you may leave some naval ships at the Dardanelles under a competent fleet commander, so that they would sail out as the weather permits for patrolling the archipelago and retreat inside the strait of the Dardanelles in stormy weather. This way the bandits will not be given a free rein in the Mediterranean, and the coasts will be safeguarded. It is in Your Excellency's power to know the number of ships suitable for winter service and if they have to be under the command of a fleet commander. By His Imperial Majesty's will, you must decide on the places to winter, instructions for patrolling, and the quantity of supplies for winter consumption. As for the rations you request, you can seize the supplies and victuals loaded on two merchant vessels sent after the departure of the navy. These vessels are now off Lesbos. You must include this quantity in the accounts as part of the allocated quantity of victuals. The current state of affairs dictates that the navy must at least demonstrate some act of bravery at any cost until the end of the sailing season. Up to now, it has failed to perform any mentionable deed. By His Imperial Majesty's will, we inquire into your final decision on the matter of wintering, which, we assume, will take into account the aforementioned concerns. We hope that Your Excellency's decision will not be a repetition of last year, but a reflection of the need to exhibit the superior force of Islam. Your Excellency must strive to demonstrate the zeal and prowess expected of you. Exert your utmost effort and bring about a victory to be proud of until the closing of the season.

Postscript: As for the petition of the refugees from Chios, His Imperial Majesty decreed that those who beg for forgiveness because of their past crimes may have official permission to return to their homelands only if they prove their eligibility. Thus, Your Excellency may issue them a mandate containing the requested permission after ensuring their trustworthiness as peaceful subjects and preventing the infiltration of the infidel bandits from elsewhere into this group with the intention of going to Chios to cause further incitement. You may demand that these refugees find guarantors who will testify to their good behavior as a prerequisite to obtaining permission.

[1713/60, *regarding the alienating behavior of the castellan of Irakleio toward the Egyptians*]

To the Castellan of Irakleio [Mehmed Şerif Pasha]

October 4, 1823

We have previously promoted Your Excellency to the rank of vizier and appointed you as castellan of Irakleio and commander-in-chief of Crete, owing to the royal favor and confidence you enjoy. Although you ought to act in unison with the functionaries of His Excellency the governor of Egypt in military issues and exert yourself to cooperate with them to the satisfaction of the general public, His Excellency the governor of Egypt has recently complained about your failure to observe these principles, as well as perverse and arbitrary behavior. We understand that he sent this communiqué because he was likely to be offended by some of your decisions, as well as your improper conduct in military matters and defense. Commander-in-chief of Crete as you are, the governor of Egypt has been entrusted with the removal of the filthy bodies of the brigands from this province and the restoration of order therein through sending in reinforcements and supplies. Thus, offending him by such perverse behavior and insincere conduct will clearly sap his fervor and enthusiasm for providing military support to Crete. The fatal consequences of such a development are clear. You must take a possible course of action to forestall the evil consequences, either through cooperation with his functionaries or direct correspondence with him on matters of military affairs and the defense of the island. It is a religious duty and His Imperial Majesty's will for you to devote yourself astutely to the task at hand, which is the removal of the filthy bodies of the traitors and restoring order on the island. This letter is to instruct you to find the means of gaining the good will of His Excellency the governor of Egypt by pleasant behavior, such as seeking cooperation with his functionaries in military matters and abandoning perverse and arbitrary behavior. We expect you to demonstrate your prudence and proficiency in performing what is dictated by current conditions and the matter at hand.

[1713/62, *regarding the operations at Missolonghi*]

Marginal Note to the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

October 4, 1823

His Excellency Mustafa Pasha [*mutasarrıf* of Shkodër] states in his note to his treasurer in Istanbul that he marched on Missolonghi from Karpenisi with supplies good for two days and that he did not expect to have a shortage of victuals as long as the imperial navy was off Missolonghi. In case the navy had already left, he adds, he would run into trouble. It has been quite a while since the imperial navy left the region, and, now that the arrival of Mustafa Pasha before Missolonghi is imminent, it is imperative to prevent a possible shortage of foodstuffs. We understand from your past correspondence that you had forwarded cash to buy and store provisions in Preveza. However, we need to make sure that there is an abundance of supplies, as Mustafa Pasha leads a considerable force under his command and the operations in Missolonghi are likely to take longer. Therefore, you shall give Captain Halil, the commander of the squadron left at Patras by the grand admiral, the necessary instructions concerning the matters of provisioning and naval assistance. You shall explain to him in detail to exert himself to perform his duty fully in the delivery of victuals, so that there will be no scarcity.

[1713/68, regarding the rift between Albanian and Turkish pashas]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

October 8, 1823

Mehmed Pasha, Your Excellency's predecessor, entrusted the protection of the defile of Agrafta to His Excellency Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, when the latter was in Trikala. Mustafa Pasha then appointed a guardian, who restored order in Agrafta and Aspropotamos¹ and kept the hostages and weapons collected from these districts there. Mustafa Pasha wrote in the note he sent to his treasurer in Istanbul that he was about to transfer these hostages and weapons to his side, when he heard that Your Excellency replaced him with someone else as the keeper of the defile of Agrafta, in which case Mustafa Pasha states that the aforementioned hostages and weapons should be guarded by Your Excellency. We have informed His Imperial Majesty on this development. It is not clear as to why you replaced Mustafa Pasha in this office, but he is anyway involved in this matter, as understood from his note to and the testimony of his treasurer. It is essential not to provoke Mustafa Pasha's resentment these days. Unless you have concerns about keeping him in this office, we recommend you to feign ignorance by telling him that you were supposing to make an appointment to a vacant post and to reappoint him, allegedly, on your own initiative. This letter is to tell you that this is one of the matters left to your discretion, based on your full freedom of action as required by His Imperial Majesty's will, and you are free to take whatever measures you see fit.

¹ Aspropotamos (Turk. Aspropotan, Gr. Ασπροπόταμος): historical region in the southern Pindus Mountains, northwest Greece.

[1713/70, *regarding the joining of the Egyptian squadron and operations in the Aegean*]

Addendum to the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

October 9, 1823

Your Excellency's agent in Istanbul has presented your note in which you state that His Excellency Mehmed Ali Pasha, Governor of Egypt, dispatched fifteen ships of the Egyptian fleet to Crete, while he ordered Captain Ismail of Gibraltar to bring three thousand purses of piasters to Istanbul with his squadron of thirteen ships before he joins the imperial navy. Your Excellency points out that the patrol boats passed on the information about its arrival at the island of Oinousses. The squadron was joined by a corvette of the navy, a Tunisian captain, and two more ships left behind in Bodrum¹ on the way, and the planned delivery would be in Tenedos [uncertain reading]. Relying on your intelligence, this squadron will join the imperial navy after the delivery, strengthening it sufficiently to intercept and detain the boats of the infidels that are currently in the ambush sites between the islands. Besides, it is also obvious that it will be possible to raid and destroy the islands that the infidel bandits use as their bases for operations and burn their ports by sending in flotillas and other small boats. God willing, the imperial navy will score some success, thanks to your attentiveness and diligence. It is recorded here as an addendum to your letter that you should note His Imperial Majesty's expectation of good service from you, which would evoke appreciation of foreign states. We trust there will be no need for future admonishment on this point. As required by your full freedom of action, you should join with the aforementioned Egyptian ships in searching the bases of the bandit boats and patrolling the zone between the islands, in order to find those infidels' boats and destroy them all.

¹ Bodrum: ancient Halicarnassus, coastal town in southwest Turkey, across from Kos.

[1713/76, regarding Crete and the relief of Gramvousa]

To the Governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha]

October 15, 1823

It is noted in the letters sent from the merchants of Rethymno to their associates in Istanbul that there was considerable military success in Irakleio and Rethymno on the island of Crete. Many infidels were put to the sword, and many weapons and goods were captured. The infidels were routed with the execution of their chieftains, [one] with the accursed name of Tombaz [Emmanouil Tombazis], and also the son of Kolokotronis.¹ However, the supplies sent on board of a *müstemen* vessel from Chania to the fort of Gramvousa² fell in the hands of the infidels, leaving the Muslims in the citadel in a desperate situation for the lack of foodstuffs. It is noted that they were about to leave the fort on three or four boats for [illegible place name]. His Excellency the castellan of Chania reported that Gramvousa had been under siege for a while and pointed out that, according to the rumors, the besieged would like to deliver the castle to the infidels and go to Arabia, due to the insufficient number of troops and unrest among the inhabitants. The said castellan also made it clear that he cannot reinforce the castle by sending in troops, although he would not fail to support the garrison with shipments of supplies and provisions. In compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will, we have asked you to instruct the commander of the Egyptian forces and your other functionaries in Crete to rescue the said castle and be attentive about its defense. While we have no doubt that you have done as required out of your diligence and sense of honor, we also instructed the castellans of Irakleio and Chania, as well as the commander of the Egyptian forces, to rush provisions to the aforementioned castle. This letter is to ask you to take whatever measures you deem suitable for rushing supplies to the castle and for its defense, since you were commissioned to reinforce and provision this castle, just as you were commissioned to remove the filthy bodies of the brigands from Crete.

1 Referring to Emmanouil Tombazis, High Commissioner for Crete, and the Battle of Amourgela of September 1, 1823. However, the information given in the document is false. Tombazis survived the battle and took refuge at Kisamos in northwest Crete. Also, none of the three sons of Theodoros Kolokotronis participated in the battle.

2 Gramvousa (Turk. Granbusa, Gr. Γραμβούσα or Γραμπούσα): islet off the north-westernmost point of Crete.

[1713/85, regarding troops deserting service]

To the Mütesellim of Hüdavendigar

October 18, 1823

The castellan of the Dardanelles informed us in his correspondence that 970 men were recruited for garrison service under his command from the *kazas* of the *sancak* of Hüdavendigar; and that they were paid their allowances through the compensation fees collected from these localities in return for performing garrison service until the end of the agreed term. Nevertheless, 301 of these recruits have deserted service, according to his report: 20 men from among the recruits of Kirmasti, 42 from among the recruits from Bursa and Kite, 38 men from among the recruits of Kebsut, 9 from among the recruits from Mihaliç, 8 men from among the recruits of Yarhisar and Bazarcık, 38 men from among the recruits from İnegöl, 11 men from among the recruits from Harmancık, 31 men from among the recruits from Atranos, 15 men from among the recruits of Domaniç, 24 men from among the recruits from Yenişehir, and 65 men from among the recruits from Gönen. It is essential to demand back fully the paid allowances either from these deserters or their guarantors, in order to hand them back to the poor fellows of the aforementioned *kazas*, so that there would be no harm to them. After all, they shamelessly deserted before the end of the duration of their service, although they were paid in full. This directive is to instruct you to reclaim in full—in cooperation with the court—the aforementioned allowances from these deserters or their guarantors and deliver them back to the poor fellows. You shall submit to us the relevant court decrees as evidence of the completion of this transaction.

[1713/99, *regarding the proposed attack on Samos*]

To İlyaszade, Castellan of Kuşadası

October 15, 1823

Ahmed Agha, an imperial chamberlain, who went to Kuşadası on duty to take Reşid Pasha, former castellan of Kuşadası, to his designated residence, informed us about his conversation with you, in which you vowed to capture the island of Samos by mobilizing the Turks in the plain of Balat,¹ if you were commissioned with the task. We have put you in charge of resolving this matter of Samos in the past, but it was delayed due to the exacerbation of the question of the Morea and your deployment on Chios. You have a reputation as a dedicated and diligent functionary, who demonstrates his loyalty by rendering good service to our benefactor, His Imperial Majesty. Furthermore, it is a religious duty for all believers and our functionaries to seek retribution from these infidels for the treachery and abominable deeds they engaged in against the Muslims. We are pleased by your willingness to fulfill your previous task, namely serving the Sublime State and religion by bringing the matter of Samos to a favorable conclusion. This proves that our good will and trust for you is not unfounded. However, you did not really explain the way in which you would mobilize and prepare these men, nor did you outline your plan of operation. Rather, you made the aforementioned statements. This secret letter is to invite you to communicate to us immediately and in a secret fashion your plan of action, as well as relevant measures you deem appropriate to capture Samos, with the help of God.

1 Plain of Balat (Turk. Balat ovası): ancient Palatia, delta of the Meander River, in the province of Aydın, west Turkey. A little below Balat, the Meander enters the Aegean Sea.

[1703/107, regarding the defense of the Anatolian shores]

To the Mütesellim of Menteşe

October 28, 1823

We have received your letter regarding the brigands' boats that were roaming the coasts of the *sancak* of Menteşe. Two brigand vessels appeared near a place that is a one-hour distance from the port of Güvercinlik,¹ and the rebellious infidels landed ashore. The men that were appointed to [the defense of] this coast attacked them, slew their accursed chieftain, who was known as Petraki of the Morea, and scattered the others; and the damned infidels put themselves to sea. One of the caiques was captured and docked in the harbor of Bodrum, and the severed heads of the slain [Petraki of the Morea] and one of his cronies were sent [to us]. Although you arranged and appointed soldiers to the places in need, you state in your letter that it would be necessary for an imperial order to be issued to ensure the defense of the coast. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. The severed heads were tossed on the ground to serve as an example. Your great zeal and loyalty, your care of the coastal defense, keeping us informed, and especially your rigorous efforts to crush the damned infidels have proven the heroism and ardor that are expected from you and have caused great pleasure here. As per His Imperial Majesty's will, the necessary imperial order has been issued, reiterating [the importance of the defense of the coastline to other functionaries]. It is, however, imperative, and it is demanded by His Imperial Majesty, that you work with rigor, in order to immediately complete the imperial galleon, whose construction has been entrusted to you. [Therefore,] as per your natural diligence and fidelity and according to the said imperial order, you shall focus on enforcing the order to defend and fortify the coasts of the *sancak* of Menteşe, which will thus protect them from the destructive plot of the brigands; and you shall work rigorously, in every possible way, so as to speed up the construction of the said imperial galleon and immediately complete it; and you shall thus employ all your mastery, so that you prove your true zeal.

1 Güvercinlik: port village on the Aegean coast of Turkey, north of Bodrum.

[1703/109, regarding *Albanian mercenaries' unrest in the garrisons of Corinth and Nafpaktos due to unpaid salaries and various issues regarding the Morea*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

October 29, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence, along with the pack of papers Yusuf Pasha, Castellan of Patras, had sent to you by his seal keeper. In his report, Yusuf Pasha explained the issues concerning the military pay, provisions, and the troops, supported with a muster roll that recorded the troops' salaries. Your Excellency points out that you had his seal keeper's oral report written down article by article, followed with your own notes in red ink. You communicate that the garrisons of Corinth and Nafpaktos sent to your side the *ayan* of Veles,¹ whose oral report yielded the details of the grievances of the unpaid soldiers therein. The contents of your communication and all these documents have thus become known to us, and we have submitted them to His Imperial Majesty for review. As is known, the salaries of the troops hired for serving under the former grand vizier Seyyid Ali Pasha, Hasan Pasha, and other functionaries—who previously crossed from Corinth to Patras—could not be paid, causing grievances among the troops. The amount they asked was exorbitant and unconscionable. We wrote to the grand admiral, who was in that vicinity with considerable funds at his disposal, to negotiate the total sum with the men and thus soothe them. Nevertheless, as he sailed away from the region, we have not hitherto received his answer. We are informed by the report and the register you dispatched to us that the sum demanded by the troops at Corinth was slightly more than 10,700 purses, based on the pay tickets given to them. After subtracting roughly 1,700 purses-worth of promissory notes given by Hasan Pasha to those under his command, this sum was modified to 9,005 purses. These documents reveal that the problem remained unsolved, as the troops refused anything less than four thousand purses to settle this account, as opposed to the grand admiral's offer of 3,100 purses. Seyyid Ali Pasha and Seyyid Hasan Pasha are likely to quit their duty and leave these fortresses out of desperation, since their repeated calls for paying these troops have not been properly addressed in two years. Their presence in the garrisons is futile, as their service is not worth an asper. If it were possible, it would be agreeable to withdraw them to Rumelia, along with their troops, and send new forces instead on a rotational basis. In case we relieve them of their duty without dispatching new troops, all of their men will follow them to Rumelia, because of fatigue and their grievances over unpaid salaries, leaving all the strongholds

1 Veles (Turk. Köprülü, Gr. Βελεσσά or Βελισσός): town in central North Macedonia.

unguarded. While the aforementioned papers record their decline of any offer below four thousand purses, those who are familiar with the matter claim that Yusuf Pasha [of Serres] would pacify them, if we were to deliver to him two thousand purses in cash. However, the dearth of cash rules out the dispatch of even this amount of money. Also, these troops have been totally useless, eating up the supplies and asking for salary being their only business. As we have been told, the demanded sum of money is based on the pay certificates that the late Hurşid Pasha had distributed. At the time of distribution, [for example] if a company commander had one hundred men, but now he is on his own as his men dispersed afterward, he still demands full payment, based on the number of the pay certificates he holds. Therefore, it is unseemly to pay even two thousand purses. It is also claimed that their presence in Patras was not conducive to any good result and that their discharge would not necessarily entail the dispersion of other soldiers. Thus, His Imperial Majesty wills you to discuss the matter with Yusuf Pasha [of Serres] and order Seyyid Ali Pasha and Hasan Pasha back to Rumelia, provided that there is no drawback to withdrawing them. After all, it is no secret to Your Excellency that these men who seek their unpaid salaries were scattered in Corinth [by Greeks] and went to Patras. The remaining soldiers dispersed at Patras, and each commander was left with a few men in the ranks. Therefore, it is indecent on their behalf to demand such exorbitant sums to settle their account. Especially under the current circumstances, we cannot pay them that much money for nothing. Also, their deployment in Patras will only mean wasting provisions. That said, it is also necessary to soothe and silence them by offering a small sum. It is left to your discretion as commander-in-chief to decide on the amount to be offered to them, provided you act in the benefit of the treasury. You are expected to communicate with Yusuf Pasha for his guidance and cooperation to choose the proper course of action. One of the remarks of Yusuf Pasha in his correspondence is that he would have to buy substantial quantities of grain, as the supplies would be insufficient in case you dispatch Reşid Pasha to Patras via Amfissa at the head of an abundance of troops. However, it is possible to feed a few armies with the supplies stored in Patras, and we are at a loss to understand his clamor for supplies, while he has not distinguished himself in action yet. This year, a quantity of flour was purchased, in addition to the victuals the grand admiral brought to Patras, who also bought provisions of different kinds from the *müstemen* ships on the spot for the consumption of the garrison. The stores should be able to support Patras, as well as the castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio], forts in the vicinity, and the army to be sent into the Morea. We have retrieved the records regarding the stored grain from the registers and made them two separate lists for your information. As

revealed in these registers dispatched to you, the abundant supplies stored in Patras were meant for the consumption of the forces that would march into the Morea. Nevertheless, no troops have yet been sent to this zone. Therefore, it is not just for Yusuf Pasha to lament to you about a shortage of provisions. In case you dispatch a substantial force into the Morea, with the help of God, in the remainder of this year, there might be a need to make a grain purchase. Then you should buy victuals again from the *müstemen* ships with cash and send us the necessary ledger rather than using bills of exchange to be cashed in Istanbul, which complicates the whole process. This letter is to inform you that His Imperial Majesty thus willed, and you should exert yourself to carry out your orders.

Postscript: The note you made in red ink in the report about the suffering of the garrison at Corinth from lack of grain relates that you were inquiring into possible solutions. Corinth is a strong barrier, obstructing the enemy at the mouth of the Defile of the Morea [the Isthmus of Corinth] as long as we hold it. It would serve to the pacification of the peninsula, and, God forbid, its loss would be inappropriate. It has appeared to us plausible to instruct Halil Bey, commander of the squadron left at Patras, to rush some provisions and one thousand soldiers to Corinth, so as to boost the morale of the garrison. Although it is left to your discretionary powers to make a decision, you should diligently find the means of rushing victuals to Corinth and do your best to reinforce the garrison with one thousand men, when the opportunity presents itself.

[1713/III, *regarding the measures to be taken for the winter*]
To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]
November 1, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you report that you planned for Reşid Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala, to advance on Amfissa with a substantial force after the arrival of four thousand purses of piasters sent from here. Although you invited Yusuf Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, and Salih Pasha to join him, they declined to take the invitation on the grounds that their troops were not even fit for marching a single inch. Hearing the news, Reşid Pasha abstained from marching alone. You inform us that Ibrahim Pasha, steward of the aforementioned Salih Pasha, arrived in Larissa from Lamia. You mention that you came down with an illness and that none of the functionaries there would live up to royal expectations. Your Excellency states that you were pleased with the appointment of Ebubekir Sıdkı Pasha, former castellan of Brăila, to that front. You suggest that, in addition to Ebubekir Sıdkı Pasha, the appointment of compatible men, such as Cabbarzade Celal Pasha and Mustafa Pasha, Governor of Aleppo, would be conducive to success. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. We are concerned that your illness may cause a setback to the operations at this particular time, but such temporal experience of illness is the tax of health, and we hope that you have already recovered. You suggest that we commission Celal Pasha and Mustafa Pasha, since Yusuf, Salih, and Reşid Pashas came up with excuses. However, this suggestion can be evaluated only as part of the military planning for next spring, since these viziers cannot reach Rumelia from such a distance before that time. What matters most this wintertime, as nothing has been accomplished in the interiors of the Morea, is to take measures for the protection of the necessary strongholds and reinforcement of the region of Lamia, so as to deter any infidel transgression behind this line. Priority should be given to Patras and Euboea in matters of supplies and reinforcement, since Methoni and Koroni are held by Muslims and not in need of anything besides provisions. Their supplies should suffice until the spring; if not, it would still be possible to send them in some quantity. We are told that at this point the population of Patras and the castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio] amounts to five to six thousand; however only 1,500 men at most are fit for service, the majority being feeble. Thus, it is suitable to send two thousand robust soldiers to Yusuf Pasha of Serres from Rumelia. Last year, Yusuf Pasha pointed out that he had left a contingent of 1,500 men in Vonitsa. It occurs to us that after finding their whereabouts and augmenting their numbers with an additional force of five hundred men, Halil Bey, commander of the squadron

at Patras, may be instructed to ferry them from Preveza to Patras. Alternatively, two thousand men may be enrolled from among the *Evlad-ı Fatihan* corps to be crossed over to the Castle of the Morea from Nafpaktos, while Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, is in the region. In any case, it is necessary to deploy under Yusuf Pasha a reinforcement of two thousand men and send fresh troops to Euboea for garrison service during the winter. These suggestions have been approved by His Imperial Majesty as well. This letter is to instruct you to exert yourself to rush a force of two thousand men to Yusuf Pasha and 1,500 men from Rumelia—from Volos or somewhere else—to Ömer Pasha, Castellan of Euboea. You should also reinforce Lamia and other necessary strongholds diligently.

[1713/116, regarding the enslaved Greeks in Edirne]

To the Bostancıbaşı of Edirne

November 2, 1823

We have received your correspondence in which you report that some champions of our religion have captured and enslaved Greeks from Chios, Samothraki, and some other places and brought them to Edirne with the intention of selling them. Some of these Greek slaves have been manumitted in exchange of donations and money from the *reaya*. Some of them have been purchased by [foreign] infidel women, who set them free, and the Franks take them to their relatives in Izmir and Chios. According to the holy sharia, it is permissible to buy and sell the offspring of the infidels who have been declared *harbî* and captured and enslaved during combat as spoils of war. However, they can be bought and sold [only] among Muslims, and plenty of care to act according to the law is the duty of all Muslims. There is no need to explain that the sharia prescribes that those who dare to act otherwise must be prevented and cautioned against. Henceforth, once news is received that someone dares to sell Greek slaves to the infidels or dares to somehow send Greek slaves to Anapa with the intention of selling them at a higher price, he, be it the vendor or the buyer, must be punished without further ado; and such repugnant affairs must be prevented altogether. As those concerned in Istanbul have been instructed again, this procedure must hereafter also be implemented in Edirne. It is commanded that you pay utmost attention, so that nobody sells, secretly or openly, Greek slaves to the infidels; and announce to those concerned that if somebody should dare to engage in this repugnant business, he will be punished without further ado; and swiftly set yourself to work, so as to ensure that henceforth no such impermissible situation will arise.

[1713/117, regarding the return of the Greeks of Ayvalık to their homeland]
 To the Superintendent of Lesbos [Mustafa Agha]

November 3, 1823

In your letter you report that the *reaya* of Ayvalık, who have previously escaped to Syros and other islands in the area, now repent their escape on account of the contemptuous treatment to which they have been subjected [by the locals] and that some Frankish merchants have informed you that the *reaya* seek to beg for amnesty. You set forth the matter of issuing an imperial order with permission to you, in case His Imperial Majesty deems it fit, to allow the *reaya* to return to their homelands. These *reaya* have previously petitioned His Imperial Majesty through their patriarch for permission to return to their homelands; and they now use you as a mediator to beg for mercy. As per His Imperial Majesty's merciful rescript, an imperial order containing the following prerequisites has been issued: the *reaya* must henceforth pay their *jizya* per capita in person; they must not acquire anything that may serve as war equipment; and they must discharge all taxes and *jizya* that have previously been accumulated as debt. We have also written to the voivode of Ayvalık to instruct him to grant amnesty and settle, according to need, the *reaya* who will come. Furthermore, His Excellency the *reisülküttab* has informed the patriarch to write personally to these *reaya* about the matter. By enforcing what has been expressed in the imperial order, you shall carefully ensure to summon the *reaya*, grant them amnesty, and settle them in their homelands; and you shall, at any rate, swiftly undertake this task with the requisite wisdom and fidelity.

[1713/118, regarding permission for the return of the Greeks of Ayvalık to their homeland]

To the Voivode of Ayvalık

November 3, 1823

The superintendent of Lesbos, Kapıcıbaşı Mustafa Agha, has communicated to us that a group of *reaya* who had fled to other islands from Ayvalık and the island of Cunda later repented and begged for mercy and amnesty. Whereas the holy law dictates the punishment of the *reaya* who dare to rebel and engage in brigandage, it is the requisite of royal compassion and justice to forgive those who beg for mercy and let them lead a safe and secure life. Thus, we have sent an imperial order and a letter to the said superintendent, based on His Imperial Majesty's decree that permits these fugitives to return to their homeland. His Imperial Majesty wills you to settle these *reaya* as they return and protect them, based on the granting of mercy.

[1713/119, regarding *Mustafa Pasha's march on Missolonghi*
To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]
November 5, 1823

As is known to Your Excellency, it was impossible, by virtue of God's unrevealed decree, to achieve the desired results this year, despite all efforts that have been spent. Also, the winter season is drawing nigh. It is a disturbing thought that these circumstances will encourage the infidels once more and that they will do all the damnable deeds that they can to pursue their seditious ambition. There is, however, no need to explain that it is a binding duty for all Muslims to set themselves to work at once and endeavor to exact revenge on the enemies of [our] religion, by relying on the help of God, the most auspicious of the helpers, and not paying attention whether it is winter or summer, and thus not allowing for lassitude in their labors. Much time has elapsed since news of the advance of His Excellency Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, toward Missolonghi has been received. Although we hope for God's favor that Mustafa Pasha would have captured Missolonghi by now, no report in this regard has come from Your Excellency, and no proper news could be received from Mustafa Pasha. Therefore, Your Excellency must establish what has happened to the march of Mustafa Pasha and what the outcome of the issue of Missolonghi has been. Your Excellency shall send people and reports, swiftly carry out a careful investigation, and immediately report to us what information has been acquired until now about Mustafa Pasha's circumstances and how the issue of Missolonghi has developed. Furthermore, once the issue of Missolonghi is put to a good end, Mustafa Pasha will not be able to withdraw from the region, owing to the winter season. It is therefore expressly commanded that Your Excellency reports to us, swiftly and secretly, as to what measures must be taken in this regard; or, in short, what Mustafa Pasha's circumstances are and how the issue of Missolonghi has developed; what the current state of affairs is; and, as it is known that the winter season is not so severe in this region, what Your Excellency's understanding is in view of Mustafa Pasha's remaining there and continuing to work with zeal.

[1713/120, regarding amnesty granted to the Greeks of Enez]

To the Bostancıbaşı of Edirne

November 5, 1823

We have received your communication—and the accompanying court writ—in which you relay that those among the *reaya* of Enez who had previously sided with the rebels have recently landed in Izmir and the surrounding islands in a destitute and miserable condition. Pointing out that they strive to receive royal pardon by offering their apologies, you plead with us to issue an imperial decree that allows them to return to their hometowns. While the *reaya* that dare rebel need to be punished by law, those who ask for pardon and demand mercy should be eligible for royal compassion, provided they prove their obedience to the rules of subjecthood by word and deed. The [ruling] principles of justice and protection of the *reaya* oblige us to let them have a safe and secure life, for which reason we have issued and dispatched the requested imperial order and ask you by this letter to implement it as required.

[1713/121, regarding the course of action for the imperial navy to follow in the winter]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

November 5, 1823

We have already communicated our suggestions to Your Excellency regarding the likely molestation of the coastal areas by the bandit boats in wintertime. Pointing out that it is not permissible to bring the entire navy back to Istanbul, we have suggested sparing a sufficient number of vessels in good condition to patrol the [Aegean] archipelago under a capable fleet commander, who will sail out or retreat inside the strait of the Dardanelles, depending on the weather. We have also asked Your Excellency to designate a harbor for the wintering of the navy. In your current communication sent in response, you give us supplementary information that you had granted winter leave only to the Algerian and Tripolitan vessels, on condition that they rejoin the navy by springtime, and have kept the Tunisian fleet with the navy. As for choosing between staying with the navy while wintering in a designated harbor or returning to Istanbul, Your Excellency expresses his submission to His Imperial Majesty's will. Besides, you have appended to your correspondence two separate lists of ships fit for winter patrol, as well as those which require repairs at Istanbul. You mention that the Registry of Daily Transactions of the Galleons [*Kalyonlar Ruznamçesi*] must account for arrangements for procuring the rations of the crews to be kept in the navy in the winter. Lastly, Your Excellency informs us that you have designated Foça as the anchorage in wintertime, on the grounds that keeping the fleet stuck in the strait of the Dardanelles is not a suitable option. By laying anchor at Foça, the fleet will always be out of the strait, patrolling around in fine weather and waiting in the harbor in bad weather. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency, having been granted complete autonomy and liberty on naval matters as a wise and valiant vizier of the Sublime State, renowned for full devotion to his duty, did not opine in your correspondence as to whether you shall command the navy in the Mediterranean for winter operations or you shall return to Istanbul. However, the lists you sent show that the *riyala bey*, as fleet commander of the squadron, will winter at Foça, while your own flagship and those of the *kapudana bey* and the *patrona bey* are included in the list of those ships destined to return to Istanbul. Nevertheless, no further explanation on whether they need refitting or anything else is to be found in the lists. If you stay with the navy in wintertime, that shall certainly prevent the crews from dispersing. However, if you come to Istanbul, you will greatly help the preparations for the naval campaign in the spring. Thus, both options have their own advantages and

drawbacks. Your Excellency clearly states Foça as the designated winter harbor. Indeed, it is a very suitable choice, for it is a sufficiently large and secure harbor, just a few hours' distance from Izmir, and it is protected by the fortress of Old Foça. Therefore, it is possible that Your Excellency may leave a capable fleet commander behind in Foça and return to Istanbul to oversee the naval preparations for next spring. We may then discuss the significant measures in light of your experience and the knowledge you have accumulated in the expedition this year. Nevertheless, we have a few concerns about this option. First of all, we understand from the appended list that you are planning to leave the *riyala bey* as the fleet commander at Foça, while taking the ships of the *kapudana bey* and the *patrona bey* along with you to Istanbul. Nevertheless, the list indicates that a tiny squadron of fourteen vessels, including three frigates, two corvettes, a brig, a schooner, and seven Tunisian vessels are given to his command. Shall this number suffice to patrol the seas? Besides, the infidels will no doubt try to fall upon this fleet in the winter in manifestation of their treacherous intentions, no matter how safe the Foça harbor is. If the *riyala bey* does not exercise the same degree of authority over the crew, he will fail to put the navy to work as much as he likes, no matter how capable a commander he is. The full extent of such a risk is hard to assess. In case you stay in command of the winter squadron and keep the *kapudana bey* and the *patrona bey* with you, the number of serviceable ships is bound to increase, and it will also make a marked difference in terms of keeping the crew in line and employing them properly, so that the navy will not lay anchor throughout the winter, but patrol around all the time. In addition, if you are present at Foça you will address all the matters related to the fleet much more properly than any fleet commander. Lastly, the news of the imperial fleet staying at sea this winter under your command shall discourage the infidels to hit and raid around. All these positive consequences put together, perhaps you shall send only the ships which require urgent repairs to Istanbul; and, among these, those which may be rendered serviceable with quick refitting shall be returned to you, together with those frigates currently in reserve at the imperial arsenal. We surmise that Your Excellency can come and go overland if there is any significant measure that requires a confidential meeting. Yet, naturally, these are decisions about which you and your staff may know best. Thus, we are sure that you have already assessed the suitability of the harbor for wintering and if the squadron is sufficiently large for patrolling duties in the archipelago. It is first and foremost your duty to deal with these issues and take relevant precautions. You will thus inevitably have to admit responsibility for any mishap in the process. Therefore, by His Imperial Majesty's will, you are granted complete autonomy in deciding if you shall remain with the navy during the winter and send only

those unserviceable ships back to Istanbul; or leave a fleet commander behind and bring the unserviceable ships to Istanbul along with yourself. In case you see fit to return to Istanbul, you shall not hurry and be sure to take all necessary precautions in the winter harbor against fireship attacks of the infidels. Before coming to Istanbul, you must take every measure to make sure that the fleet vigorously patrols the archipelago and ensure the security of the coast. As the option to winter [at Foça] or to return to Istanbul, along with all decisions concerning the naval operations, is left to Your Excellency's complete discretion, you shall consider all advantages and drawbacks of both options carefully. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to rely on your reputed good judgement and make sure that you take all necessary precautions before coming to Istanbul, if you choose to do so.

[1713/124, *regarding amnesty granted to Trikeri and Livadeia*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

November 9, 1823

As was previously communicated to Your Excellency, it was written to His Excellency the grand admiral to arrange provisions in Thessaloniki and transport them to Euboea. The grand admiral has duly reported that while he was en route to transport the provisions to Euboea and put the affairs in Trikeri into good order, rebel vessels from the island of Skiathos¹ and the accursed ships of the infidels of Hydra, Spetses, and Psara, more than thirty in total, approached the imperial navy, in order to engage in abominable deeds and inflict damage. Some of them were captured, others were sunk and destroyed, and those who could save themselves hoisted their sails and fled in disgrace. The boat on which their chieftain had been was badly hit by cannon fire, damaged, and put out of action; and it was seen that it burst into flames and sank. Furthermore, the imperial vessels that were appointed to Euboea and Lamia destroyed five of the brigands' gulets and captured two others. All [Greek] *kocabaşıs* of Trikeri came to the grand admiral and declared that they had renounced their past wrongdoing. Therefore, they were disarmed, and three respected *kocabaşıs* were held as hostages. The grand admiral demanded that the vessels, around fourteen in total, that were in the harbor [of Trikeri] be kept by him until the end of the unrest. The *kocabaşıs* claimed, however, that these vessels had been abandoned for one or two years and they vowed to send them to the imperial arsenal after repairing them. The said hostages were detained on the frigate of the grand admiral. The unrest in Trikeri has thus come to an end. Since the provisions that had been purchased from Thessaloniki and transported to Euboea were insufficient, six thousand bushels of wheat and four thousand bushels of maize were purchased from the *müstemen* merchants, loaded by the Greek *kocabaşıs* on two Trikeri vessels, and dispatched to Euboea. The sum of 100,000 piasters that had been sent by Your Excellency to the castellan of Euboea was forwarded by one of the Trikeri vessels. The Greek *kocabaşıs* from three villages of the *kaza* of Livadeia, namely Xirochori, Aya Yorgi, and Çiftlik Köyü [modern name cannot be found], also came to the grand admiral and repented of their past deeds; and they sought amnesty on condition that they turned over their weapons and delivered three hostages. They requested that one man be appointed by the castellan of Euboea and one man be appointed by the grand admiral, so as to fulfill these conditions. The grand admiral, however, wrote to the castellan that he held the hostages and granted them amnesty and that he appointed one man to collect [the Greeks'] weapons. He reported that many

1 Skiathos (Turk. *İşkatos*, Gr. *Σκιάθος*): one of the Sporadic Islands, to the northeast of Euboea.

reaya from various districts of Rumelia have come and requested amnesty in the same fashion. However, as he is not supposed to remain and occupy himself with affairs of this kind on those shores, the grand admiral left an official in Trikeri, instructing him to inform him if such requests for amnesty should be made. Praise be to God and His favors, His Excellency has scored many victories without any sort of damage befalling the imperial navy, managed to resolve the affairs of Trikeri, and transported the provisions and money for Euboea. It has also been written that the *reaya* of Livadeia and other places have thus expressed their wish to accept subjecthood [again]. It is therefore commanded that Your Excellency acquaint yourself with the news on these matters and that you at any rate perform your duties with the requisite wisdom and good judgement.

[1713/136, regarding the failure of Yusuf Pasha of Berkovitsa to carry out his duty]

To Yusuf Pasha, Commander-in-Chief of the Morea

November 16, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's previous and present letters stating that you retreated as far back as Lamia with the pretext of the disbandment of your troops, and submitted them to His Imperial Majesty. We appointed Your Excellency as the governor and commander-in-chief of the Morea, based on the royal confidence in Your Excellency's capacity to serve with prowess and diligence. We then sent you the necessary instructions to follow in the suppression of the enemy. Your Excellency was supposed to perform bravely and decisively in order to justify our confidence in you, but so far you have rendered no noticeable service worthy of our appreciation. On the contrary, you withdrew your force to Tourkochori [Esedabad] and then retreated to Lamia. This situation surely warrants reproof and admonition. However, His Excellency the governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha] has defined your retreat as an act of heavenly providence and has interceded on your behalf for your pardon. Thus, His Imperial Majesty has pardoned you, turning a blind eye on your fault, and has commanded you to follow strictly from now on every order of the commander-in-chief of Rumelia. Your Excellency shall use your best endeavors to deserve the royal compassion and forgiveness bestowed upon you and to avoid the repetition of any similar misbehavior by all possible means. You must know that there would be grave consequences of not heeding our warning and thus you must refrain from inattentive demeanor. Your Excellency must strive to meet the royal expectations of you by demonstrating valiance in every duty the commander-in-chief [of Rumelia] assigns to you from now on.

[1713/147, regarding Trikeri]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

November 22, 1823

Two days after the grand admiral weighed anchor from off the Castle of Volos and proceeded toward the Mediterranean—since there are no harbors to take refuge in the surrounding areas—the rebels of Hydra and Psara appeared with forty-seven boats and attacked Trikeri with the intention of annulling the amnesty granted to the *reaya* therein. However, Binbaşı Tahir Agha, serving under Reşid Pasha [Kütahi], who had been appointed to guard Argalasti and Lavkos,¹ which are six hours away from Trikeri, was quick to go to help the defense with four hundred troops. The rebels then landed at the pier that is one hour away from Trikeri, captured five boats, and looted the provisions and other goods stored in the cellars. Upon seeing the arrival of Tahir Agha, they embarked on their boats and left for the Euripus Strait.² It has been written by Reşid Pasha that Tahir Agha would be unable to guard Trikeri and the nearby places with that number of troops, and there is a shortage of provisions in Trikeri. As is known to Your Excellency, the office granted to Reşid Pasha, which is Trikala, has been changed, and he was ordered to come to the Dardanelles. Having learned about his new office, Reşid Pasha started to retreat. Thus, it is likely that he has relieved Tahir Agha from his duty to defend Trikeri. We have not received any information from Your Excellency on this matter so far. We expect that Your Excellency, in your position as commander-in-chief, would have taken by now the necessary measures for guarding Trikeri and providing the necessary provisions. It is obvious that, due to the arrival of winter and the return of the imperial navy, the infidels will harass the places they come across with their ominous boats and set their eyes on. Also, since the *reaya* of Trikeri had previously demanded amnesty and accepted subjecthood after leaving hostages, it is necessary to protect them [against the rebels]. However, as rumors about the dismissal of Reşid Pasha are spreading at this point, the troops in the area are leaving their positions, and the environs of Trikeri are being left without proper defense. It is obvious that these developments will lead the infidels to incite the *reaya* of Trikeri again and try to turn them to support their rebellion, which will obviously be inappropriate. It is Your Excellency's duty to defend Trikeri and take the necessary measures to prevent the rebels from harassing the area. As necessitated by your effort and insight, Your Excellency shall send provisions and troops to Trikeri, as well as other places that need protection.

1 Lavkos (Turk. Lefkoz, Gr. Λάυκος): village in Thessaly, southeast of Volos and south of Argalasti.

2 Euripus Strait (Turk. Eğriboz Boğazı, Gr. Πορθμός του Ευρίπου): narrow water channel separating Euboea from mainland Greece.

[1713/148, *regarding the wintering of the imperial navy*]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

November 23, 1823

In response to Your Excellency's previous correspondence, we reiterated that it was your responsibility to take the necessary precautions at Foça—which you designated as the winter harbor—against the bandit raids. We completely left it to Your Excellency's discretion to choose between remaining with the navy in wintertime or returning to Istanbul after designating a fleet commander. In your present communication, Your Excellency states that further deliberations gave rise to some new concerns that ruled out Foça as a suitable winter harbor. Pointing out that there are only ten serviceable ships that can be spared for winter operations, you raise your doubts about the feasibility of forming a squadron with such meagre numbers and assigning patrol duties to it in wintertime. Your Excellency stresses that you will bow to His Imperial Majesty's will whether you shall be present in the fleet operating in wintertime or alternatively return to Istanbul. Lastly, you explain in detail that, at any rate, the unserviceable ships must soon be called back to Istanbul for refitting, because of the necessity to resend the navy into action next spring. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty. After deliberating on the matter, we have come to the conclusions below and made the following suggestions to His Imperial Majesty. First of all, although Your Excellency stated in the previous communication that there were fourteen ships suitable for commission in wintertime, you have sent two of them to Euboea loaded with supplies and another two to Istanbul for repairs. Thus, the available number of ships to form a squadron for winter operations has now decreased to ten. Moreover, Your Excellency ruled out the harbor of Foça as a safe anchorage in wintertime and stated his reservation about keeping the navy in the Mediterranean for dangerous patrol duties in the winter. Not even an alternative winter harbor is designated in the list that shows the ships of the winter squadron. We are disposed to interpret this as an implication of your inclination to bring the entire navy back to Istanbul. Your Excellency is indeed right to raise objections, since it is dangerous to navigate the Mediterranean in the winter with a few ships. However, if the imperial navy returns to Istanbul, the infidels will have a free rein to inflict all kinds of harm on the coastal areas. Circulation of the news that the navy takes to the sea in wintertime will not be without benefit for us in the Mediterranean zone, regardless of the few ships available for commission. In our opinion, it is possible to reinforce the tiny squadron of ten ships with six frigates, currently fitted out in the imperial arsenal at Istanbul, and have them winter at a proper harbor, such as the ports of Lesbos or Chios. They may as well winter at the

Dardanelles as a last option, if no safe harbor is to be located. In that case, Your Excellency would not have to stay in person with the navy, but might leave a capable fleet commander to lead the fleet out of the Dardanelles for patrolling the archipelago and retreat in to the strait, depending on the weather. We began to fit the aforementioned frigates here in haste upon your past request for their commissioning in wintertime and mustered their crews and mariners with a salary of roughly 150,0000 piasters paid in advance. Having loaded them with supplies, they are ready to sail out. If we cancel the order for their active service, payments made to the crew and the mariners can never be retrieved in full. Therefore, we should at least send them to the Dardanelles, so that all this expenditure would not be pointless. Wintering in the Mediterranean needs a safe harbor, yet Foça is not totally free of danger. In case that Lesbos is just as unsuitable and that Chios is not even an option, for it is too distant from the Dardanelles, the navy will have to lay anchor at the Dardanelles in wintertime. Yet, last year the detachment that wintered at the Dardanelles under the *riyala bey* stayed inactive until the spring, without a single attempt to sail out from the Dardanelles, incurring unnecessary costs. We are convinced that this would repeat if the navy winters at the Dardanelles once again. In the worst option, the navy will stay neither in the Mediterranean nor at the Dardanelles, doing either of which would give ample opportunity to the infidels to intensify their rampage. Beyond a shadow of doubt, it is necessary to keep as many ships as possible at least at the Dardanelles if no harbor in the Mediterranean appears to be suitable as an anchorage place for wintertime. Nevertheless, in the end, Your Excellency has the authority to decide on all these matters, along with your staff. We think Your Excellency should come to Istanbul, along with the unserviceable ships, in order to further deliberate on these issues face to face before reaching a final decision. We should definitely learn if you would like to leave the ships listed for winter operations with a fleet commander at the Dardanelles, free from any danger, and have us send the aforementioned frigates to join the fleet there. As explained above, based on your past communication, we have already fitted out these frigates, supplied the crew, and delivered them victuals, as well as their salaries amounting to roughly 150,000 piasters. His Imperial Majesty has approved our suggestions summarized above and decreed that Your Excellency shall leave the ships listed for winter operations with a fleet commander at the Dardanelles; and that you should come immediately to Istanbul, along with the unserviceable ships.

[1713/151, regarding the employment of Albanians as the only option to quell the Greek Revolution]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

November 27, 1823

Your Excellency had previously suggested that the governors of Adana [Celal Pasha] and Aleppo [Mustafa Pasha] be ordered to participate in operations in the Morea with large forces. In response, we reminded Your Excellency that they would not be able to reach the Morea before next spring, because of the great distance involved, in case we ordered them to do so. Thus, we informed Your Excellency about our decision to postpone this matter until we begin planning the preparations for next spring carefully. In your present correspondence, you write that summer comes too quickly in that region and that sharp increases in temperatures cause sickness and misery among the troops. Therefore, you are requesting the appointment of these two pashas to the Morea now, by His Imperial Majesty's decree, so that they could arrive timely in Larissa in the month of *Receb* [March 1824]. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty. You have now and then suggested the commissioning of these pashas under your command. However, Celal Pasha, Governor of Adana, has so far achieved none of the tasks that had been assigned to him; his competence does not live up to his reputation. We may reasonably expect Mustafa Pasha, Governor of Aleppo, to be of much better use than the former. However, they are both so far from the Morea, and it will inevitably take such a long time to mobilize their forces, march forward to Rumelia, and reach Larissa, regardless of the timing of their appointment. Furthermore, it is known through experience—and it requires no specific emphasis—that a large number of viziers in the Morea only causes disorder in administration. Also, the general condition and attitude of Anatolian troops that these pashas would bring along are no secret to us. They would be exhausted by the time they cross over to Rumelia and will be dispersed in misery at once. Thus, the men recruited from Anatolia and various other places will be of no use in the Morea. Therefore, we do not deem it feasible to commission the aforementioned pashas there. The only viable solution for the Morea we can think of is the employment of the Albanian pashas, which, in turn, requires good measures that would induce them to cooperate. Lenient treatment is necessary to have them solve the question in the Morea, and it seems that no any better option is available. What indeed is Your Excellency's opinion [uncertain translation]? It seems that it is unnecessarily burdensome to send viziers from Anatolia to Rumelia, since it leads to disorder in the administration of the war effort. There are already viziers who occupy regular posts in Rumelia and participate in the suppression of

the bandits due to their proximity. Other than these, what would be the measures that could be conducive to overcoming this trouble as soon as possible? You are the absolute authority in handling the Moreot affairs and the glorious commander-in-chief of Rumelia with full discretionary powers. It is necessitated by your post and also by His Imperial Majesty's will that Your Excellency shall be quick to make all arrangements and take all precautions relevant to the matter at hand. We would like to assure Your Excellency by this letter that we will respond duly to all your requests regarding the spring mobilization in Rumelia and Albania and deal with all the matters you refer to us that call for imperial decrees immediately. We ask of Your Excellency to proceed with carrying out your assignments smoothly and exert yourself to perform diligent deeds that will be written in history and remembered by the elite and the commoners until the end of time.

[1713/158, regarding Crete and winter operations]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

December 3, 1823

Hasan Bey, commander of the Egyptian forces sent to Crete by the governor of Egypt, communicated to the said governor that he passed through most districts of the island after arriving in Irakleio and devastated the infidel brigands he had encountered, cutting off four hundred pairs of ears and capturing three thousand men. He sent the ears to the governor of Egypt and vowed to root out the infidels by descending on their hideouts, regardless of the winter conditions and difficult terrain. His Excellency the governor forwarded the ears to the imperial capital and let us know that he sent a mandate to the aforementioned commander by his wardrobe master to exert his best efforts to seek out the dens of the infidel brigands before the winter is over, persecuting the recalcitrant rebels and granting amnesty to those who plead for mercy. His Excellency the governor of Egypt informed us that he expected the affairs on Crete to end before the arrival of summer. In your past correspondence, Your Excellency pointed out that, while your illness prevented you from performing good service since your appointment to this important post, you were now recuperating. You told us that you were not one of those self-indulgent men of our times who waste time and opportunity by using winter, snow, mud, and rain as excuses to avoid hardships in favor of comfort and peace of mind. To the contrary, you maintained, winter was the right time to take the infidels by surprise, so that they would not be able to run away with their families and belongings. You informed us that you were about to start operations, attack them suddenly when least expected, put them to the sword and force the remaining to beg for mercy. The measures taken by the governor of Egypt are in line with yours, and the successes scored in Crete prove their worth. God willing, when you implement the measures you described, the unsuspecting bandits will have to face the might of Islam, and this incident will end this winter with the help of God. His Imperial Majesty also wills all our functionaries in the Morea to start winter operations in the way you suggest, on the grounds that winter is the propitious time for retribution from those infidels through such stratagems as required by contemporary times. We have sent relevant orders to you and other functionaries. This letter is to instruct you to exert yourself as the commander-in-chief to attack these infidels from all sides, regardless of winter conditions, in order to annihilate them as you suggested and thereby earn yourself a glorious name in history.

[1713/161, regarding the surrender of the Castle of Corinth]
 To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]
 December 6, 1823

We have received a communication from His Excellency the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki [Ibrahim Pasha]¹ regarding the surrender of the Castle of Corinth in the Morea. He relays the information that the shortage of victuals led the garrison to hand over the castle to the enemy, along with all the artillery and ammunition inside.² The garrison, composed of roughly five hundred soldiers, and one hundred or so men, women, and children embarked upon two ships, one of which arrived at the port of Agia [illegible word] at Thessaloniki on the 20th day of *Rebiülevvel* [November 24, 1823]. The ship carried aboard Binbaşı Halil Bey, who was serving in the garrison for a year as the chief musketeer of the late Hacı Ebubekir Pasha, as well as two hundred soldiers and around ninety inhabitants [of Corinth]. The *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki points out that the second ship was expected to arrive presently. In a past communication, referring to the report from Yusuf Pasha of Serres on the shortage of provisions that had prevailed in the Castle of Corinth, Your Excellency assured us of your efforts to go to its rescue. The correspondence from His Excellency the grand admiral, which arrived at that time, also contained the same assurance. In response, we asked Your Excellency to communicate the matter to the fleet commander, Halil Bey, who was left in Patras, and have him rush provisions to Corinth. Moreover, we urged you send in one thousand or so troops from Rumelia to the castle, if at all possible. We then received another letter that confirmed that Your Excellency had contacted the said fleet commander and had been searching for the means to dispatch one thousand troops to Corinth. The treachery and the abominable deeds the infidels perform against the Muslims have no precedence. They are persistent in their selfless efforts to commit mischief through villainous and execrable means. We have written to Your Excellency time and again that our functionaries could not accomplish any of our goals, even though the Sublime State has been spending enormous amounts of cash and ceaseless efforts in the last two to three years. Let alone regaining any territory, they could not even defend what they own. They failed to send reinforcements when necessary and ceded territory to the infidels, which defies all reason. No doubt the infidels will be emboldened all over again and seize every opportunity to invade other regions as a token of their

1 Following the appointment of Ebulubud Mehmed Pasha to the governorship of Rumelia, the Castellan of Stomio [Çayağzı] Ibrahim Pasha was appointed *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki.

2 The Ottoman garrison surrendered to the Greek forces under Theodoros Kolokotronis on the condition of safe passage to Thessaloniki.

mischief. His Imperial Majesty decrees that the matter at hand is comparable to no other, since it is a matter of religion. Anyone who makes even tenuous claims for his piety and honor should not sit back any longer. Now is the time to stop sending correspondence of superficial content on a routine basis. Now all our functionaries should join forces to implement at once whatever measures they have in mind regarding the reoccupation of the Morea. This is as much commanded by His Imperial Majesty as required by a token of your renowned devotion, zeal, and honor as commander-in-chief with full discretionary powers. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to display the might of Islam and do whatever is necessary to retaliate against the infidels rather than wasting time by bringing complaints and making excuses. It is our expectation and demand from Your Excellency to act assiduously to put an end to that trouble in the shortest possible time.

[1713/179, regarding the lifting of the siege of Missolonghi]
 To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]
 December 19, 1823

Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, communicated to us that he joined forces with Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, who is besieging Missolonghi, and made an attempt on Aitoliko.¹ Nevertheless, Mustafa Pasha lifted the siege, allegedly because of the insistence of his troops, who were suffering from the winter and the rain. Returning the cannons and mortars to the navy, Mustafa Pasha retreated to Arta, and accordingly Ömer Pasha headed to Preveza out of necessity. We have been concerned about the likelihood that the brigands would once again incite the infidels of Agrafa, Karpenisi, and Ypati to revolt and rekindle the flame of obstinacy and brigandage as a result of the retreat of Mustafa Pasha. Besides, we have no vestige of information about the way in which you executed the plan you proposed to us, which has also provoked our anxiety over the situation. It is obvious from the situation that the soldiers of Islam under Yusuf Pasha's command at Patras would be demoralized by the retreat of Mustafa Pasha. Therefore, we have written to Yusuf Pasha and told him that Mustafa Pasha's retreat must not shatter his determination and perseverance and encouraged him to demonstrate bravely his care for religion. However, any fresh sign of insubordination among the *reaya* of Agrafa, Karpenisi, and Ypati will have grave consequences and solely be attributable to the negligence of this most significant religious obligation. It is of utmost necessity that you inform us about the measures you took on these matters that were left to your discretion as commander-in-chief. This letter is to ask you to pass on to us immediately the details of Mustafa Pasha's retreat and explain to us the measures you took for the defense of the region of Patras. We also expect you to describe the way in which you have executed the plans you had previously submitted to us for guarding the places as far as Missolonghi.

¹ Aitoliko (Turk. Andalikoz, Gr. Αιτωλικό): small island in the lagoon of Missolonghi–Aitoliko, to the northwest of Missolonghi.

[1713/180, *regarding the lifting of the siege of Missolonghi*]

To Yusuf Pasha of Serres

December 19, 1823

According to the correspondence of Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, he and Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, who was commanding the siege of Missolonghi, set out to capture Aitoliko. Nevertheless, Mustafa Pasha lifted the siege, allegedly because of the insistence of his troops, who were suffering from the winter and the rain. Returning the cannons and mortars to the navy, he retreated to Arta. Thus, Ömer Pasha had no choice but to abandon the siege and head to Preveza. We are at a loss to understand why Mustafa Pasha contravened his stratagem against the infidels and abandoned the siege on his own, at the expense of accomplishing nothing after being so diligent in fulfilling the terms of his duty by besieging, by land and sea, Aitoliko and Missolonghi, of whose firmness the Moreot infidels are so proud. We are equally perplexed by your silence and not informing us on this matter yet, since we assume that you must know Mustafa Pasha's reasons for such conduct, thanks to your men in that vicinity. You are among our viziers famed for loyal service and have exemplified your diligence, piety, zeal, and dynastic dignity in the Morea since the beginning of the sedition. You have been waging a holy war against these sinful infidel brigands and altruistically defending four fortresses for such a long time. The task at hand has hitherto remained unaccomplished, due to divine decree and lack of union [among the functionaries], as well as the unremitting sedition. We have been verily distressed at the moment by the idea that Mustafa Pasha's retreat on his own record might cause anguish and grief to Your Excellency, in which case all your troubles and labors would come to naught. When I was promoted to the post of grand vizier, I strove to provide with all my diligence all sorts of means to help out [our functionaries] in this matter of religion and attempted to fulfill your demands as conveyed in your correspondence. God willing, no time will be wasted in providing whatever support you need. Obviously, all our functionaries should realize that the task at hand is a fight for religion and that due perseverance is necessary. It is no secret to us how you endeavor to render good service and persevere at your post. God willing, you will earn the rewards of this world and the next for your unfailing efforts and loyalty. Neither you nor the soldiers of Islam under your command should be dismayed over Mustafa Pasha's retreat. You should persevere even more determinedly and perform what is required by the might of Islam. Your Excellency shall also relate to us the reason for Mustafa Pasha's retreat.

[1713/182, regarding information received about the naval attack
on the Aegean islands and guarding Rhodes]

To Şükrü Bey, Mutasarrıf of Rhodes

December 20, 1823

We have reviewed your communication in which you relate the news that the infidels of Hydra, Spetses, and Psara cultivated the seditious intention of attacking the islands of Ios¹ and its vicinity, Kos, and Rhodes, as well as Kuşadası and other places on the Anatolian coast. Although this piece of information is based on hearsay of questionable credibility, it is incumbent on all of us to be always on full alert, since infidels have engaged in all sorts of treachery and abominable deeds against Muslims. We have heard other rumors about Rhodes that are similar to the news you related to us. The infidels who had fled to Malta at the conquest of Rhodes² allegedly seized the opportunity to take back their original homeland from the Muslims by assembling funds and ships. While such vain ideas should be considered hearsay and news, the present times dictate that we be in a state of preparedness as never before. As we need to reinforce the island of Rhodes and be always on the lookout, we have previously ordered you to hire five hundred men from Rumelia to be paid on a monthly basis. We have let you know that we arranged for their payment from the revenues of the *sancaks* of Teke, Hamid, and Menteşe. If you have not already recruited these men, you should immediately do it now and deploy them in the garrison. As required by the terms of your duty, you should also refer to us any precautions that you deem fit for the defense of the island. This letter is to instruct you to recruit five hundred men, if not done already, and employ them to reinforce the garrison, so that the island will be safe from the scourge and tricks of the enemy. You should be on the lookout, observing enemy activity in the vicinity day and night, since you have been entrusted with the protection of the island of Rhodes.

1 Ios (Turk. İnoz, Gr. Τος): Cycladic island in the Aegean Sea.

2 Referring to the Knights of St. John, who left Rhodes when it fell to the Ottomans in 1522 and eventually settled at Malta in 1530.

[1713/184, regarding information about possible Greek attacks to major towns]
To the Castellans of Kos, Lemnos, Izmir, Chios, Kuşadası; to the Superintendent of Lesbos; to the Mütesellim of Mentеше; to the Mütesellim of Balıkesir; to the voivodes of Edremit¹ and Ayazmend
December 21, 1823

You have been notified by my predecessor² in office that you should be on full alert, because of the news of the assembling of the bandits of the island of Psara with the seditious idea of landing at Thessaloniki or Izmir in order to commit misdeeds there. Currently, we have received new intelligence from Şükrü Bey, *Mutasarrıf* of Rhodes, according to which the brigands from several islands entertained the vain belief of raiding the vicinity by boats: those brigands of Hydra will attack Ios and other islands around, while the brigands of Spetses will raid Kos and Rhodes, and, finally, the infidels of Psara will descend on Kuşadası and other targets on the Anatolian coast. Anything should be expected of the enemies of religion at all times, while it is also possible that the infidels spread this news only to perturb [our] minds. Nevertheless, we know from experience that these infidels dare to raid any unprotected place. The court of Ayazmend has just informed us that the brigands made an attempt on Ayazmend and also on the coast of Emrudabad³ on their fishing boats. However, the soldiers of Islam present on that spot repelled the bandits and put them to flight. As His Imperial Majesty has willed all our functionaries to be on alert at this time, this letter is to instruct you to defend Kos and its surroundings in the best possible way by collecting intelligence from the vicinity and paying due attention to this state of emergency.

- 1 Edremit (Gr. Αδραμύττιο): coastal district and town with the same name in the hinterland, west Turkey.
- 2 The Grand Vizier Mehmed Said Galip Pasha was promoted to this post on December 14, 1823, when he was the *mutasarrıf* of Hüdavendigar.
- 3 Emrudabad: coastal village in west Turkey, across from Lesbos, now Armutova.

[1713/186, *regarding the situation in Euboea after the retreat of the army*]
To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

December 23, 1823

His Excellency Ömer Pasha [of Karystos], Castellan of Euboea, has communicated to us that the infidels have become emboldened and grown in numbers after the retreat of the army of the Morea, so that maintaining the defense line outside of the fortress is unfeasible. Therefore, he called back the troops he had deployed for the defense of the villages that had demanded amnesty along the right route of the island for redeployment in the Castles of Euboea and Karababa.¹ Due to the aggravated brigandage of the vile infidels, he pointed out, it was unlikely to be able to fight the enemy and clear the island of them. He remarked that he had already informed Your Excellency about the plague that hit Karystos, killing the majority of its inhabitants and reducing the remaining to misery, and that, God forbid, he would not be able to send reinforcements, should the infidels attack them. His demand for three thousand infantry troops, however, remained unfulfilled as of the date of his correspondence, for which reason he sent a second notice to Your Excellency. He also passed on the intelligence about the intention of Petro of Mani [Petrobey Mavromichalis] and Disava [Odysseas Androutsos], who arrived in Athens, to assault Karystos with eight to ten thousand infidels. Moreover, enemy boats, twelve in total, appeared in the southern part of the Gulf of Euboea and embarked troops on the shores of Karystos and [illegible place name]. The result of the battle between them and the soldiers of Islam was yet unknown, according to his correspondence. There is little doubt that by now you have duly responded to his request for reinforcements in the face of the infidels' assault. As a matter of fact, you have already marked in your past correspondence that you had sent a force of 4,750 salaried infantry and cavalry troops under the command of your own steward and able commanders. Thus, Ömer Pasha must have dispatched this correspondence prior to their arrival. Nevertheless, we have heard that the arriving force numbered 1,500 men at most. This is a far cry from the number you cited, and, whatever the reason for this volume of missing men is, desertion on the road or alike, it is an inadequate force. Obviously, it is part of your task, and certainly imperative, to supply the island with troops and war materials. In the case that only 1,500 men really arrived, you are definitely required to send reinforcements and supplies to make sure that Euboea is free of the mischief of the bandits, due to the emergency of the matter as indicated by Ömer Pasha. This letter is to instruct you to demonstrate your diligence and loyalty by rushing reinforcements and supplies without wasting a single moment.

1 Castle of Karababa (Turk. Karababa Kalesi, Gr. Κάστρο Καραμπάμπα): castle on mainland Greece at the narrowest point of the Gulf of Euboea.

[1713/193, *regarding the protection of Lemnos against possible Greek attack*]
To the Castellan of Lemnos Nurullah Pasha
December 24, 1823

We have received your correspondence requesting reinforcements and money and have submitted it to His Imperial Majesty. You inform us that the bandit vessels have recently begun attacking the island of Lemnos in small squadrons, with the intention of inflicting harm on the island; and that it would be difficult to resist, should they attack again, since two-thirds of the men under your command are sick and enfeebled, while the remaining are in a wretched condition. We wrote to the governor of Anatolia a few days ago to recruit five hundred soldiers by imperial decree from the villages in the *sancak* of Kütahya—except for the royal demesne of Denizli—and to dispatch them immediately to Lemnos. In addition, we have asked the grand admiral to order the ships he left behind at the Dardanelles to set sail to patrol the archipelago as the weather permits nowadays, considering it would take time to rush the reinforcements to the island; this is in view of the intention of the bandit vessels to engage in abominable and treacherous deeds, finding an opportunity due to the absence of the imperial navy in the Mediterranean. Moreover, we set aside three hundred men from those who are coming to Istanbul as part of our retinue and have instructed the castellan of the Dardanelles to transport them immediately to Lemnos aboard a navy ship or by boats in the escort of the navy. We contemplated countermanding the order to raise five hundred men from the *sancak* of Kütahya and instead to instruct the governor of Anatolia to collect compensation money to pay the monthly wages of the three hundred soldiers destined from Istanbul to Lemnos. With the remaining money, you can hire two hundred additional men from whatever place you deem fit. Accordingly, we decided to fix the rate at 45 piasters, including the allowance for rations, and to have the governor of Anatolia collect immediately two months' equivalent money and forward it to you, with the remaining to be raised and sent in the meantime. As His Imperial Majesty approved these measures, we have sent orders to the grand admiral and other naval commanders to set sail to patrol off Lemnos; instructed the castellan of the Dardanelles to rush the three hundred men dispatched from here to your side by the navy itself or in its escort; and directed the governor of Anatolia to raise the compensation money from Kütahya. Also, in accordance with His Imperial Majesty's will, we have forwarded to you 25,000 piasters as a royal gift, in addition to the 48,866 piasters you requested including your assigned salary as the castellan and funds for renovation of the fortress. This letter is to instruct you to demonstrate

the loyalty and diligence expected of you by deploying the three hundred men sent from here and recruiting two hundred additional men from the locations of your own choice. We sincerely believe that you will not waste a single moment and will exert yourself to prove your bravery by defending the island.

[1713/200, *regarding the situation after Mustafa Pasha's lifting of the siege of Missolonghi*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

December 28, 1823

His Excellency the *mutasarrıf* of Ioannina [Ömer Vrioni] previously reported that the soldiers of His Excellency Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, insisted on withdrawing under the pretext of winter and rains and returned to Arta. Yet, no news on the matter has arrived from Your Excellency. Therefore, you were requested earlier to report swiftly as to what measures you have taken with regard to the defense of the region of Patras, what steps you have taken to implement the measures which you had previously reported, and in what manner the defense of the region up to Missolonghi has been secured. In this respect, [we assume that] Your Excellency would have already labored hard to perform your duty. Nevertheless, as Your Excellency knows, the majority of the measures that are further required for the resolution of the Moreot issue are bound up with the resolution of the issue of Missolonghi. While this holds true, with his fortuitous withdrawal, Mustafa Pasha has not put an end to the issue of Missolonghi; and the infidels will hereafter double their impertinence, and this will cause, God forbid, anxiety in Patras, Nafpaktos, and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio]. The Moreot issue is, after all, a matter of great importance. Taking into account that this issue is the source of the sedition that has now spread everywhere, its continuation will breed, God forbid, all sorts of disturbances. Therefore, some robust measures must be taken for the resolution of these issues. First of all, however, the region of Patras must be strengthened and fortified, giving consideration to the withdrawal of Mustafa Pasha from Missolonghi and the infidels' assaults against Patras, Nafpaktos, and the Castles of Rumelia and the Morea, owing to their growing malevolence, and the newly arising dispiriting of the people and the soldiers there. Accordingly, around thirty-four thousand bushels of grain are about to be dispatched to Patras by *müstemen* vessels. It is, however, necessary to send immediately a few thousand fresh soldiers to Yusuf Pasha [of Serres]. In conformity with His Imperial Majesty's will, the *mutasarrıf* of Ioannina has been instructed to recruit two thousand skillful salaried soldiers from Albania, embark them on ships, and send them from Preveza to Patras. 120,000 piasters have been sent to him, in order to pay each of these soldiers their two-month salaries in advance, as is customary for them. This issue is comparable to no other. Your Excellency will be held responsible in case the events in Patras take—God preserve us—an undesirable course. Therefore, Your Excellency is, at any rate, obliged by his religious duty and by His Imperial Majesty's will to arrange swiftly the dispatch of two thousand of the soldiers he has mustered

for Yusuf Pasha's command for the defense of Patras, the Castles of Rumelia and the Morea, and Nafpaktos. It is commanded that Your Excellency in no wise act half-heartedly, as if there would not be need of more soldiers than those Ömer Pasha would send; and immediately arrange, with the requisite zeal, the dispatch of two thousand soldiers to Yusuf Pasha in whatever possible way, be that from Preveza or another area, on ships or by other means; and set yourself to work at once, so as to complete the reinforcement of Patras; and, at any rate, exert all your strength to do what your post of commander-in-chief and your zeal demand of you.

[1713/201, *regarding the lifting of the siege of Missolonghi*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha Bushati]

December 28, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's communication in which you state that, owing to the arrival of winter and the succession of some pressing issues, Your Excellency necessarily withdrew from Missolonghi and went to the region of Arta. You report that whereas you wished to remain there until the arrival of the permission of His Imperial Majesty, you departed from Arta, again by force of circumstance, and went back to Shkodër in order to undertake the necessary measures promptly to return in the spring vigorously prepared. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty for review. Your Excellency is one of the greatest viziers of the Exalted State, who is faithful, brave, and zealous. Therefore, you have endeavored to capture Missolonghi and spent so much time for the siege in good faith, so as to demonstrate the excellent service and fidelity expected from your dynasty, for the sake of religion and state. While this holds true, Your Excellency's withdrawal must have been caused solely by the accumulation of a great many pressing causes, and there is no shade of doubt that you will endeavor, with God's help, to make up for the lost [occasion] by being vigorously prepared in the spring. It is nevertheless apparent to Your Excellency that this Moreot issue has taken a long time. Yet another year has elapsed in this way, and the infidels did not see the fierce blow which Your Excellency was expected to deliver. Namely, you were clearly expected to display excellent service by capturing Missolonghi, upon which the infidels in the Morea rely as a support base, by putting this issue into good order, and by crushing all rebellious brigands. Your [inopportune] withdrawal will obviously complicate the Moreot issue, causing the infidels to double their impertinence and to increase their brigandage and rebellion, and will create all sorts of drawbacks. It is, however, apparent that Your Excellency will endeavor, God willing, to make up for the lost [occasion], as you have reported. It is evident that religious duty demands you to begin robust preparations and to find a way, with God's help, to put an end to this unrest in the spring. Therefore, you must embark upon all tasks with zeal, with the help of the Eradicator of all hardships, God himself, in order to wholeheartedly perform excellent service to religion and state; to put an end to the unrest of these infidels, which has continued for so long; to exact revenge upon them for the damnable treachery that they have committed to the community of [the Prophet] Muhammad; and to fulfill the conditions of ghaza and jihad. In this regard, the affairs here, as well as His Imperial Majesty, demand an enquiry about Your Excellency's intentions and measures for the spring [campaign] and what preparations

you will make. It is commanded that Your Excellency carefully consider, as per your innate zeal and gratifying heroism, that it is incumbent upon all of us to put these infidels in their place and exact revenge upon them; to examine the necessities of the state of affairs; and to report to Istanbul what your intentions and measures for the spring [campaign] are, what kind of preparations you will make, and what sort they must be, so that the matter be put into consideration as soon as possible; and to labor to do what is necessary to make up for the miscommunication; and thus to display all your strength to demonstrate the exemplary expertise and zeal that are expected from you.

[1713/203, *regarding the withdrawal of Mustafa Pasha from Missolonghi*
To Yusuf Pasha of Serres [Castellan of Patras]

December 28, 1823

As was previously written to Your Excellency, His Excellency Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, who had been in the area of Missolonghi and Aitoliko, had withdrawn due to some ostensible reasons and departed for Shkodër. While Mustafa Pasha endured many hardships and labored hard to fulfill his duties to besiege and capture Missolonghi and Aitoliko, it is not unlikely that his inopportune withdrawal will embolden the treacherous brigands to double their impertinence and seek to realize their seditious ambition in these regions. With regard to the requisite zeal, steadiness, and firmness, whose auspiciousness has indeed hitherto been on conspicuous display in Your Excellency, we all express confidence in you that you will do your utmost, with God's help, to mount resistance to the enemies and secure the defense of the fortresses better than before, and to demonstrate the exemplary firmness, piety, and fidelity that are expected from you. Although it is apparent that thorough, robust preparations and requisite measures are set in motion, this opportunity must be taken, so as to immediately provide, at any rate, the necessary support to Your Excellency. Therefore, as per the will of His Imperial Majesty, we have expressly notified His Excellency the governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha] that we have arranged and dispatched by *müstemen* vessels a quantity of thirty-four thousand bushels of grain to Your Excellency, and that Your Excellency will need rested soldiers and some money. Furthermore, we have commanded the governor of Rumelia to labor hard, in any event, in order to find a way to send two thousand soldiers to Your Excellency immediately for the defense of Patras, Nafpaktos, and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio], be that on ships from Preveza or in whatever other possible manner. Apart from that, a sum of 120,000 piasters has been sent to the *mutasarrıf* of Ioannina [Ömer Vrioni], so that he recruits two thousand skillful salaried soldiers from Albania, embark them on ships and send them from Preveza to Patras, and pay each of these soldiers two monthly salaries in advance. Your Excellency's previous report on the matter of the soldiers' salaries is still under consideration. In spite of that, by making immediate allowance, we have arranged and forwarded to you a sum of five hundred purses of piasters. It is obvious that there will hereafter be no lapses as to the rendering of the requisite aid in any shape or form. With God's help, many arrangements in that region, and numerous other preparations, have already been set in motion. It is commanded that Your Excellency not allow in the slightest degree, by employing your natural perfection and excellent disposition, for a dispiriting mood to befall the steadiness and the endurance of

the Muslims who are in the fortresses in the region. You shall bravely persist and carry on with their defense. You shall communicate with the governor of Rumelia and the *mutasarrıf* of Ioannina and, whoever of them has soldiers in Preveza, endeavor to bring them swiftly to Patras; it will be necessary to send to Preveza a sufficient number of the ships that are in Patras, in order to embark the soldiers. You are to protect yourself and the hearts of your soldiers from the misfortune of despondency [that may arise] due to the withdrawal of Mustafa Pasha and hereafter perform with the steadiness and endurance that Islam sets out as prerequisite. You shall work harder than before to secure the defense [of the region]; and lay out all your [illegible word] and strength to confirm the boldness and heroism of your character that are expected of you.

[1713/204, *regarding troops to be dispatched to Patras*]

To *Ömer Pasha* [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf of Ioannina*

December 28, 1823

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you report that you were together with His Excellency Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, in the siege of Missolonghi, when the soldiers of Mustafa Pasha wanted to return to their province, due to the arrival and severity of the winter. Whether willingly or unwillingly, Mustafa Pasha eventually departed for Arta, and Your Excellency went to Preveza. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. Mustafa Pasha's report in this regard has also been received. It is understood that both Your Excellency and Mustafa Pasha endeavored zealously; however, your inopportune withdrawal must apparently have been necessitated by some pressing causes. The issue of Missolonghi, nevertheless, remains unresolved at present. It is likely that the infidels shall hereafter become more impertinent and will attack the area of Patras, Nafpaktos, and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio]. Therefore, the region of Patras must be strengthened and fortified with priority, and some rested soldiers must be sent to His Excellency Yusuf Pasha, Castellan of Patras. As this is also a matter of religious duty, His Imperial Majesty demands that Your Excellency recruits, at any rate, two thousand select soldiers, skillful and staunch, from Albania on a monthly salary, embark them on ships, and send them from Preveza to Patras. We have arranged 120,000 piasters to pay two monthly salaries in advance to these soldiers, have appointed [name left blank], and have forwarded the sum to Your Excellency through him. The rebels are expected to be inspired with courage as a result of [the] Missolonghi [issue]. It is thus strongly desired that Your Excellency swiftly recruits these soldiers to support the reinforcement of Patras, by in no wise wasting time with delays and deliberations, and take measures to send them quickly to Yusuf Pasha. Your Excellency shall swiftly recruit and prepare two thousand select, skillful soldiers from Albania, as per your zeal and the good trust that is placed in you. You shall exert all your might to embark them quickly on ships and send them from Preveza to Yusuf Pasha, demonstrating the exemplary expertise and fidelity that is desired and expected from you; and you shall inform us on the matter.

[1713/206, *regarding the state of affairs after the failed siege of Missolonghi*
To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

December 31, 1823

According to Your Excellency's previous reports, you have recruited fifteen thousand soldiers in order to dispatch them in columns from Amfissa, Thebes, and other suitable locations against the rebellious infidels. Although you made the necessary arrangements and took the decision for their dispatch, you stated that you are in need of money; and [set forth] the matter of the necessary recruitment of salaried soldiers from Rumelia and Albania, as well as the requisite military pay, grain and camels, as discussed with some knowledgeable people; and reported on the withdrawal of His Excellency Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, from Missolonghi. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. Your Excellency is one of the greatest viziers, who possesses consummate experience and firmness, and is gifted with broad knowledge and fidelity; and the complete authority of the high office of commander-in-chief is [also] entrusted to your mastery and competence. Therefore, [we] obviously place great trust in you that you will perform the necessary labors to put the affairs of importance that are assigned to you into good order and will earnestly endeavor to demonstrate excellent service. Your Excellency has penned in one of your letters that you have no other thought but securing the defense of the *kazas* and fortresses under your command with the available forces, owing to the inopportune departure of Mustafa Pasha. Furthermore, according to Mustafa Pasha's previous report to us, he was obliged to withdraw due to the succession of some pressing causes; [but] he would promptly undertake the necessary preparations, in order to return in the spring and, with God's help, make up for the lost [occasion]. Your Excellency nevertheless knows, and it has repeatedly been written to you, that while so many resources have been and continue to be spent on account of the sedition of the Greek infidels, no visible result has been achieved yet. Apart from that, the functionaries always seek some sort of excuse for their improper actions, indifference, and lack of effort, which has been the reason for the growing impertinence and brigandage of the infidels, the emergence of all sorts of drawbacks, and the continuation of the troubles. In spite of the fact that requests for money and the allotment of expenses that are unbearable for the imperial treasury have brought the available funds in it to a state of depletion, Your Excellency has requested in your previous and later reports hefty sums as a prime concern [to support your] operations, without taking into account the winter season. A sum of 1,500 purses of piasters was previously sent to support Your Excellency in your expenses, and a further 1,500 purses of piasters have

just been arranged and sent to you, as per His Imperial Majesty's will. This sedition has been protracted for too long, owing to the functionaries' lack of zeal, and has not been put to a proper end that benefits religion and state. There is no need to explain how important is to work hard all together in cooperation on this issue in the spring. Since the matter of the soldiers, grain, and camels, whose arrangement has been reported, is in course of consideration and preparation, and since you will hereafter be notified about any developments of the state of affairs, it is commanded that Your Excellency fulfills the requirements of zeal, as per your innate firmness and heroism, and according to your previous and later reports; works to strengthen the defense of the fortresses, districts, and other places that are under your command, regardless of the season; and in any case puts into good order the affairs that are assigned to you and maintain it, while demonstrating exemplary heroism and fidelity.

[1713/207, regarding the troops to be dispatched to Patras]

Addendum to the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

December 31, 1823

We have written to His Excellency the *mutasarrıf* of Ioannina [Ömer Vrioni], so that he recruits two thousand salaried Albanian soldiers and dispatches them from Preveza to His Excellency Yusuf Pasha, Castellan of Patras, in order to reinforce Patras, Nafpaktos, and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio] in the wake of the withdrawal of [Mustafa Pasha], *mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, from Missolonghi. Your Excellency has previously been notified expressly to detach two thousand select men from the soldiers you have recruited and send them to Yusuf Pasha, [thus] supplying the needed aid. It is therefore certain that Your Excellency will swiftly do what you must. According to the evidence, however, the infidels are growing more impertinent and have traitorous ambitions for Patras, in view of the withdrawal of Mustafa Pasha. Should no skillful and vigorous soldiers reach Yusuf Pasha this season, a great inconvenience, God forbid, will arise. For this reason, it is of a degree of religious duty to take care of the defense of Patras immediately, in whatever possible way and regardless of winter. Since strengthening [its] defense will be achieved with vigorous and skillful soldiers, it has thus been written, according to our previous letter to Ömer Pasha, and money for [the soldiers'] salaries has been sent. With God's help, Your Excellency must, in whichever way possible, swiftly and urgently dispatch two thousand skillful soldiers to Yusuf Pasha and provide any other necessary succor. In case no soldiers reach Yusuf Pasha this time, and if, God forbid, some inconvenience should occur in the area of Patras, Nafpaktos, and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia, Your Excellency will indubitably be held responsible, for you have been entrusted with full authority as commander-in-chief, and this matter has been brought to your attention on several occasions. Accordingly, it is announced that Your Excellency must not take into account the soldiers that Ömer Pasha will send, but you must urgently perform all endeavors within human ability to set in motion all necessary measures, in whichever way possible, and at any rate, and to send two thousand vigorous and skillful soldiers quickly to Yusuf Pasha, and provide any other necessary succor. This was appended to the text received [by us].

[1713/208, *regarding corruption among Ottoman functionaries due to mercenaries' pay tickets*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

December 31, 1823

We have written in previous correspondence that the military pay of the troops under the former grand vizier Seyyid Ali Pasha, Hasan Pasha, and other functionaries who had then been commissioned in Patras fell into arrears and reached exorbitant amounts. As revealed by experience, these claimants have been good for nothing as combatants, only devouring food supplies and demanding money. Furthermore, the wages in question were offered by the late Hurşid Pasha, during whose term no caution was exercised in the distribution of pay tickets. Not even a single man is to be found for every hundred pay tickets, but the functionaries still demand full payment, depending on the tickets in their hands, as they view it as a means of profitmaking. Considering that it is impossible to make the payment in question and that [these men] were not, and would never be, of any military use, we asked you to consult with Yusuf Pasha of Serres on the question of military pay in arrears and to find a solution to prevent its spread [the unrest among the soldiers of Seyyid Ali and Hasan Pashas] to other contingents, without compromising the reinforcement of Patras. At this point, the matter of military pay is only a technicality [uncertain translation]. Süleyman Pasha, former castellan of Lamia, keeps sending us correspondence on this matter, explaining that he distributed 2,250 pay tickets during the terms of the late Hurşid Pasha and your predecessor [Köse] Mehmed Pasha and that the undelivered sum to ticket holders amounts to 450,000 piasters. Mentioning his inability to raise this sum, he begs for royal favor. The late Hurşid Pasha distributed so many tickets in a bounteous attempt, without any future consideration, and these tickets have passed from hand to hand in the last three years as a profitable asset. Some have even been detected in the last two years in the possession of some [mercenary] commanders who had left the front to serve in Anatolia and Rumelia under other viziers. Yet, our functionaries are ungrateful to their benefactor, the Sublime State, by insisting on receiving their pay in accordance with the full number of the pay tickets originally distributed. The distribution of 2,250 pay tickets by Süleyman Pasha is no exception to this. We know that the troops under his command when he was in Lamia were no more than two hundred men, and he was totally incompetent. His insistence on the matter of payments is no doubt due to his personal interest. Thus, we have warned him that we would not consider such nonsense fallacies seriously and that insistence on deception would result in

repentance. This letter is to instruct you as commander-in-chief to send him from the front back to his post and, as pointed out in our past correspondence, to seek a way to send Seyyid Ali Pasha and Seyyid Hasan Pasha away, in consultation with Yusuf Pasha of Serres, if their dismissal will not lead their troops to abandon the garrison as well.

1824

[1713/217, regarding military pay intercepted by Greeks]

To the Mutasarrıf of Ioannina [Ömer Vrioni]

January 6, 1824

His Excellency the commander-in-chief [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha] has informed us that a sum of four hundred purses of piasters that we dispatched to Yusuf Pasha of Serres was intercepted by the infidels. We have thus entrusted with two messengers five hundred purses of piasters instead and, considering the upsurge of the rebellion on land and at sea, have instructed you to deliver the shipment to Patras via a safe route when it arrives in Preveza. We also asked you to comply with our previous order to dispatch a contingent of two thousand troops, along with their commanders, to Yusuf Pasha, if you have not yet done so. This letter is to ensure that you safeguard the cash from the brigands and deliver it to Yusuf Pasha, along with the aforementioned troops, as required by your perseverance and diligence, so that, with the help of God, the fortress of Patras and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio] will be protected from the infidels.

[1713/221, *regarding plans to storm Psara*]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüseyin Paşa]

January 7, 1824

Your Excellency's memorandum regarding the storming of the island of Psara was discussed in the Imperial Council convened the previous day; and your memorandum and note have been submitted to His Imperial Majesty. In turn, His Imperial Majesty's rescript written in the margins of the memorandum reads: "While the grand admiral's points are plausible, [our] main indispensable priority is the occupation and pacification of the Morea through an all-out attack from all sides, with the help of God Almighty. As asserted and commended by all the attendees in the Imperial Council, the grand admiral is also required to go to the Morea in the spring." This note is drawn up to inform Your Excellency about His Imperial Majesty's rescript.

[1713/228, *regarding preparations for the spring campaign*]
To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]
January 9, 1824

His Excellency Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, communicated to us that he had to abandon the siege of Missolonghi, by divine providence, but would resume it with full preparation next spring. His treasurer, who was in Istanbul, explained that Mustafa Pasha could assemble as many as fifteen thousand troops. As per His Imperial Majesty's will, he is commissioned to raise a substantial force of Geg [Albanian] troops from the *sancaks* under his jurisdiction, as in the previous year, and pacify Acarnania and capture Missolonghi, by God's grace. We have arranged to dispatch his order of appointment and instructions with a functionary of ours and his own treasurer and have reappointed Numan Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Dukakin, to serve under him, as he did last year. We have also made the necessary arrangements for procuring grain and meat supplies for his army. We have initially thought that Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, would likely be useful if appointed to serve under Your Excellency, provided that he would pay three thousand of his Tosk troops out of his own pocket, with five thousand additional soldiers to be hired [by the Sublime Porte] on a monthly salary. Accordingly, he might be commissioned to occupy Athens, barring the infidels' path to the other side [Rumelia] by holding the defile [the Isthmus of Corinth]. It could be possible to send him forward [to the Morea] once he achieved this goal. However, no promises for a monthly salary have been made to Mustafa Pasha's Glegs. Although the Tosks and Glegs will be kept separate from one another by Mustafa Pasha's deployment in Acarnania and Ömer Pasha's employment under Your Excellency's command as in the previous year, it is still necessary to make no distinction in their treatment. Thus, His Imperial Majesty willed that Ömer Pasha be ordered with no special conditions to bring eight to ten thousand Tosks to serve under Your Excellency next spring and that you send him to Athens at the head of a force of a minimum of eight thousand men, by offering him no more than five thousand pay tickets, with the remaining to be paid by him from his own pocket. We have sent him by a special agent the relevant imperial order, which does not mention a word about monthly pay, and you too shall follow His Imperial Majesty's will, as outlined above. On the necessity of deploying an abundance of soldiers under Your Excellency's command in the spring, we were convinced that, if we recruit men from the *kazas* of Rumelia as in the previous year, they will be of no use, due to their lack of perseverance. Therefore, we thought it wiser to collect a compensation fee for each soldier we recruited from the *kazas* of Rumelia at the rate of 35 piasters per month, to be collected in advance for a period of six months. Your Excellency, in turn, can

hire young, able, and robust men from among the Albanians, Rumeliots, and Kirdzhalis and employ them under competent commanders, as you deem fit. In view of the possibility that Rumelia and Kirdzhali could not meet your recurring demands for an abundance of salaried troops, we have decided to send special agents to locations with a potential to provide able salaried soldiers [mercenaries]. We have also recommended a modification to the recruit quotas of the *kazas* of Rumelia, since it was beyond the capacity of some localities to produce the stipulated number of recruits, while some others have remained underemployed in the previous years. With the approval of His Imperial Majesty, the new quotas are as follows: Plovdiv (1000), Bitola (600), Sofia (150), Florina¹ (150), Servia² (120), Bilisht³ (100) Prespa⁴ (50), Korçë⁵ (200), Radomir⁶ (50), Kyustendil⁷ (200), Petrich⁸ (200), Štip⁹ (200), Veles (200), Dobrich (200), Dojran¹⁰ (120), Blagoevgrad¹¹ (55), Chroupista¹² (50), Apollonia¹³ (50), Radoviš¹⁴ (100), Kumanovo¹⁵ (100), Kičevo¹⁶ (100), Prilep¹⁷ (300), Neapoli¹⁸ (150), Çaršanba¹⁹ (300), Pazardzhik²⁰ (400), Kastoria²¹ (200), Drama (500), Melnik (200), Kolonia²² (50), Tikveš²³ (150), Strumica²⁴ (150), and Veliko Trnovo (1000). This adds up to the sum of 7,345 [*sic*] men, in lieu of

- 1 Florina (Turk. Florina or Filorina, Gr. Φλώρινα): town in northwest Greece.
- 2 Servia (Turk. Serfiçe, Gr. Σέρβια): town in north Greece.
- 3 Bilisht (Turk. Behlişte, Gr. Βίγλιστα): town in southeast Albania.
- 4 Prespa (Turk. Prespe, Gr. Πρέσπα): town in northwest Greece.
- 5 Korçë (Turk. Görice, Gr. Κορυτσά): town and district in southeast Albania.
- 6 Radomir (Turk. Radomir, Gr. Ραντομίρ): town in west Bulgaria.
- 7 Kyustendil (Turk. Köstendil, Gr. Κιουστέντιλ): town in west Bulgaria.
- 8 Petrich (Turk. Petriç, Gr. Πετρίτσι): town in southwest Bulgaria.
- 9 Štip (Turk. İştib, Gr. Στιπ or Άστιβος): town in east-central North Macedonia.
- 10 Dojran (Turk. Doyran, Gr. Δοϊράνη): town in southeast North Macedonia.
- 11 Blagoevgrad (Turk. Cumapazari, Gr. Άνω Τζουμαγιά): town in southwest Bulgaria.
- 12 Chroupista (Turk. Hurpişte, Gr. Χρούπιστα): town in northwest Greece, now Argos Orestiko.
- 13 Apollonia (Turk. Eğribucak, Gr. Απολλωνία): village in the vicinity of Thessaloniki, north-east Greece.
- 14 Radoviš (Turk. Radovişte, Gr. Ράντοβις): town in east North Macedonia.
- 15 Kumanovo (Turk. Kumanova, Gr. Κουμάνοβο): town in northern North Macedonia.
- 16 Kičevo (Turk. Kırçova, Gr. Κίτσεβο): town in west-central North Macedonia.
- 17 Prilep (Turk. Pirlepe, Gr. Πρίλεπ): town in south-central North Macedonia.
- 18 Neapoli (Turk. Nasliç, Gr. Νεάπολη): village in northwest Greece.
- 19 Çaršanba: dwelling in the *sancak* of Manastir. Current name cannot be found.
- 20 Pazardzhik (Turk. Tatarpazari, Gr. Πάζαρτζικ): town in south-southeast Bulgaria.
- 21 Kastoria (Turk. Kesriye, Gr. Καστοριά): town in northwest Greece.
- 22 Kolonia (Turk. Kolonya, Gr. Κολόνια): district in southeast Albania.
- 23 Tikveš (Turk. Tikveş, Gr. Τίκφεσ or Τικφέσι): town in central North Macedonia.
- 24 Strumica (Turk. Ustrumca, Gr. Στρώμνιτσα): town in southeast North Macedonia.

whom these *kazas* will pay the compensation money. Also, it has been decided that the superintendent of Samokov,²⁵ or a commander of his rank, as well as the *ayans* of Gotse Delchev, Serres, Sidirokastro, Eleftheroupoli, [Nea] Zichni, and Razlog should be commissioned with guarding their own shores with the local troops and excluded from dispatching troops to serve under your command. Similarly, also this year, no troops are to be raised from the *kazas* neighboring the Serbs. Ormenio's quota of six thousand recruits for the past year is decreased by two thousand, in consideration of the local poor, making four thousand men in total, with the exception of the *kaza* of Genisea.²⁶ We have sent the relevant orders with special agents to collect the compensation fees. Upon His Imperial Majesty's will, we are about to send the necessary imperial decrees by separate agents to a number of our functionaries, ordering them to detail to your camp at the beginning of spring. These include three thousand *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops; 2,500 robust men from the localities, aside from Pristina,²⁷ under Ali Hıfzı Bey, Superintendent of Skopje; two thousand young men from Pristina under Yaşar Pasha of Pristina, *Mutasarrıf* of Skopje; 750 men from Vranje to be funded by their commander, Hüseyin Pasha of Vranje; 750 men from Leskovac to be paid by their commander, Mahmud Pasha of Leskovac; and one thousand robust men to be paid by their commander, Emin Bey, *Ayan* of Genisea. The quota of recruits makes in total 11,395 [*sic*] men, for whom the districts and towns of Rumelia and Ormenio, as well as Trnovo, will pay a compensation fee, with which you will hire competent salaried troops. The number of soldiers to be raised from Samokov, the *Evlad-ı Fatihan*, Skopje, Pristina, Vranje, Leskovac, and Genisea will reach 10,300 men, increasing the total quota to 21,645 [*sic*] men. In addition, Mahmud Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Prizren, was also ordered to join your camp at the head of 1,500 soldiers. Your Excellency should communicate with him to learn as to how many of these salaried soldiers he will pay from his own pocket. It is also necessary to mobilize the four thousand fief holders, such as the *eşkıncis*, *zuema*, and timariots, to be deployed under your command by the beginning of spring. By law, these fief holders have to appear in person at the head of their retinues at their designated posts, albeit regimental commanders fail to assemble all of their men in time of war. In compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will, we are currently sending from Istanbul to each *sancak* an imperial decree and an inspector to make sure that not a single fief holder will fail to report at your camp by the beginning of spring. We will also send you a muster master, along with the

25 Samokov (Turk. Samako, Gr. Σάμοκοβ): town in east Bulgaria.

26 Genisea (Turk. Yenice-i Karasu, Gr. Γενισέα): village in Greek Thrace.

27 Pristina (Turk. Priştine, Gr. Πρίστινα): town in Kosovo.

muster rolls, who will verify the names of those who arrive in your camp in these rosters and withhold the benefices from the absentees. He will recommend to us in their stead the robust young [warriors] present in the army camp for the new vacant benefices. We had intelligence that there are nobles in Toskëria, besides those who are on good terms with Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, who are likely to accept to serve with him. Our inquiry into the matter revealed that the former will join your camp, along with sizable contingents, if they are not put under the command of Ömer Pasha. These nobles of consequence in Toskëria are listed as follows: in the *sancak* of Vlorë, Ibrahim Pasha's nephew Ismail Bey, Kostaraşlı [uncertain reading] Beyzade Bey, Murtaza Bey of Gjirokastër,²⁸ Silahdar Ilyas Bey [Poda], Kaplan Pasha's son Tahir Bey, Ali Rauf Pasha's son Adşi [uncertain reading] Bey, Rüstem Bey of Klisoura, Halil Bey of Behşid [uncertain reading], Elmas Mahmud Agha, İslam Timür Agha, Kahraman Bey of Vizalan [uncertain reading], Süleyman Bey of Libohovë's son İzzet Bey, Ismail Bey of Konitsa; and Süleyman Beyzade of Frashër; Mustafa Pasha of Delvinë's son Şahin Bey; in Delvinë, Hasan Çapar's son Zeynel Bey, Mustafa Dalyan, Ali Many of Delvinë, İslam Permerte's [uncertain reading] son Yusuf, Mehmed Çapar, and Tahir Çapar. We have issued separate imperial decrees in their names to be sent shortly by special sergeants that order these [Albanian] nobles to serve under Your Excellency with as many troops as they can muster and that promise them royal favors upon demonstration of valor. It is essential to treat them amiably and with toleration to win them over when you employ them in some capacity. You have mentioned in your past correspondence numerous hardships in the procurement of supplies from the *kazas* of Rumelia for the consumption of the troops assembled under the command of former governors of Rumelia in the previous years. The quantities of these provisions to be collected in kind from the assigned localities were 150,000 bushels of flour, 180,000 bushels of barley, and 55,000 sheep. According to your suggestion, the locals should pay a compensation fee in lieu of their assigned quotas, so that you could purchase with these funds 108,000 sheep from the region of Larissa on the spot for the meat allowance of the army and spend the rest to meet the salaries of the troops. You also suggested that the grain supplies for the army might be forwarded from among the annual grain consignments stockpiled at the piers of Orfani and Thessaloniki for shipment to Istanbul and that they should be readied in advance. There is no question about the necessity to supply victuals to substantial numbers of troops to participate in the offensive on the Morea, and, as

28 Gjirokastër (Turk. Ergirikasrı or Ergiri, Gr. Αργυρόκαστρο): town and district in south Albania.

you have pointed out, it is impossible to rush these provisions from the rear. This year we shipped 100,000 bushels of grain by the imperial navy for the sheer consumption of our troops in the Morea, for whom the grand admiral and Yusuf Pasha of Serres made additional on-the-spot purchases of innumerable quantities from the *müstemen* ships. Yet, these troops still raised grievances over supply shortages. Due management of the sizable armies that will assemble next spring requires the timely planning of the matter of provisioning. Therefore, in compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will, we have communicated with the governor of Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha] to arrange for the shipment of victuals from Egypt to the Morea. The majority of these sizable quantities of provisions will consist of hardtack and flour, while the rest will include barley, broad beans, and others. Your Excellency is to communicate with the grand admiral and the agent sent from Egypt until the shipments arrive, in order to decide on which quantity of the provisions are to be delivered to Patras, Nafpaktos, and Lamia, based on the size of their garrisons and the expected number of troops to arrive at each. The surplus provisions are to be kept in the ships to support our forces as they march forward. We have also prescribed the governor of Egypt to dispatch land troops under an able commander to operate in the Morea, if possible. Necib Efendi, Superintendent of the Gunpowder Plants, is about to go to Egypt to discuss these matters with the governor. Although considerable amounts of provisions will be shipped from Egypt, there will still be need for some quantity of supplies until they arrive and during the march of the assembled forces from Larissa to the coasts. Imposing a compensation fee instead of in-kind collection as you suggested will definitely ease the process. However, we have deemed it necessary to revise the assigned quotas of flour and barley with respect to the capacity of each locality, since the locals will anyhow learn about the shipment of grain supplies from Egypt; and to increase the sheep requisitions, since there will be twice as much need for sheep this year. Considering the conditions of each locality, we modified the quotas as follows: the new quota of flour is decreased to roughly 94,700 bushels, after subtracting around 55,000 bushels from last year's quota; the new quota of barley is decreased to roughly 117,400 bushels, after subtracting 62,000 bushels from last year's quota; and the new quota of sheep is increased to approximately 71,700 sheep, after adding 16,700 more to last year's quota. In line with the principle of protecting the local poor and on the basis of analogy and precedence, we set the compensation fee as follows: 8 piasters per bushel of flour, 4 piasters per bushel of barley, and 6 piasters per each sheep. We have begun sending the necessary orders for collecting the compensation fees at these rates and forwarding them to the accountant of Larissa. You will purchase sheep at the market price in Larissa and its vicinity

by the funds accrued from the compensation fees the *kazas* of Rumelia will pay in lieu of grain and sheep requisitions. The Sublime State will provide sizable quantities of grain and hardtack as a precaution, until the arrival of the Egyptian grain. Thus, we ordered local authorities at the pier of Orfani to put aside part of the supplies destined for Istanbul and to keep them in the stores until we specify their destination. The supplies to be stored until spring include 15,000 *kantars* of biscuits, 25,000 bushels of flour, and 25,000 bushels of barley. We sent similar orders to Thessaloniki and Volos to ready as much hardtack, grain, and barley as possible until spring, with destinations being unspecified at the moment. Besides, we have arranged through the deputy supervisor of the grain administration to buy 30,000 bushels of flour and twenty thousand bushels of barley from *müstemen* ships to deliver to the imperial navy, so that the grand admiral can rush it to wherever necessary in the Morea. Furthermore, we are speeding up in several locations the baking process of the hardtack for the army to be sent to the Morea and trying vigilantly to collect the camels for their transportation. His Imperial Majesty leaves it to your discretion, as supreme commander with full powers, to decide on the marching route from Larissa to the Morea. You may either follow the sea route from Amfissa or the land route through the defile [the Isthmus of Corinth] beyond Athens, or some other route you deem fit when you lead personally the large army to conquer and pacify the Morea, with the help of God Almighty. His Imperial Majesty also ordered to inquire from you the person whom you would like to leave behind in Larissa, Ebubekir Pasha or another suitable person, for managing the administration and army logistics, when you leave with the army. His Imperial Majesty willed the appointment of the person of your choice as your deputy in Larissa. We have taken the measures as explained above with the pure intention of bringing the matter at hand to a successful conclusion, which is contingent on your personal command of the army to be assembled next spring and exerting yourself day and night, as required by your diligence and competence, to march into the Morea via whichever suitable route is available. However, should you have additional suggestions for us, let us know; and should you have any other plan of action, be diligent to implement it, lest you come up with excuses later.

[1713/229, *regarding instructions for the spring campaign*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha Bushati]

January 9, 1824

Your Excellency has previously reported that you have deferred the Missolonghi affair and withdrew to Shkodër, in order to undertake the necessary arrangements for the campaign promptly and, with God's help, to return in the spring, robustly prepared. You were hence asked about for your intentions and measures, as regards the preparations which you would make with the purpose of demonstrating the necessary earnest zeal in the spring. The Sublime State has put in so much effort, covered endless expenses, and been through immense hardship in order to subjugate the Morea, which is considered to be the center of the sedition, and to put an end to the disturbance of the Greek infidels, who have rebelled against their benefactor, the Sublime State, and perpetrated damnable treacheries to so many both noble and common men and women to an extent incomprehensible to any Muslim. While men who were expected to possess zeal and heroism had been commissioned, they were unable to defeat this infidel lot of Greek *reaya* and get any work done, each time under a different pretext. The Moreot issue has eventually been protracted. These functionaries' indolence in the performance of their duties is nevertheless improper, as the success and esteem that we servants achieve are due to our benefactor, the Sublime State. Those who gain glory and influence under the protection of His Imperial Majesty are unable to exact revenge on the *reaya*, and it is apparent in what manner this will bring dishonor upon us in the eyes of the European states. Furthermore, it is obvious to the prudent ones what spiritual and worldly drawbacks will appear, should this Moreot issue, which is at the head of the sedition, continue in this way. In consequence thereof, all Muslims and all those who know that their glory and exalted position are due to this State of [the Prophet] Muhammad are enjoined by their religious duty to abandon their sleep and comfort and immediately set themselves to work, by having their hearts in it, so as to put a good end to this disturbance. Therefore, with the power and might of God, in this blessed year the affairs will be tackled thoroughly and zealously, and the functionaries will not waste their time with futile blathering and unzealous and impious deeds. An abundance of soldiers is being put under the command of His Excellency the governor of Rumelia, and he is to lead them in person to subjugate, with God's aid, the Morea, aiming to get this work done in the desired way, and to restore complete order in a decisive manner. It is entrusted to his full authority to decide whether to go from Larissa through Amfissa and then by sea to the Morea, or through Athens and then the defile [the Isthmus of Corinth], or through some other way. His Excellency Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, along with

Tosk [Albanian] soldiers whom he has gathered, as well as some of the beys of the Tosk lands along with a sufficient number of soldiers, are also appointed under the command of the governor of Rumelia. Your Excellency has pledged in your report that you will come in the spring fully prepared and that your treasurer will also show up with fifteen thousand soldiers. Therefore, His Imperial Majesty has demanded that Your Excellency shows up with an abundance of soldiers from the *sancaks* under your jurisdiction, as you did last year, and be personally appointed to cleanse Acarnania and capture Missolonghi. The necessary imperial orders have been issued in this regard. Furthermore, Your Excellency's treasurer, who was in Istanbul, has been sent back in order to convey verbally what measures will be taken in this blessed year, what His Imperial Majesty's will is, and what the importance of Your Excellency's duty is. With regard to this matter, we have also sent a most commended seal keeper, together with the said treasurer. The accounts of these two servants will acquaint Your Excellency with His Imperial Majesty's will and the importance of the matter; and it is certain that he will swiftly set himself to work, so as to do what he must. The degree of importance of the Moreot issue and the efforts that the Sublime State has devoted in this respect are well-established, as it has been explained above. In this respect, there is no shade of doubt that any prolonged deliberations and neglect will hereafter bring tremendous damage to all of us and to our religion and state. Whereas Your Excellency has been appointed to deal with Acarnania and Missolonghi on your own, this has been prompted by the wish of His Imperial Majesty, who expects from you excellent service and fidelity. In view of that, Your Excellency will know for certain that you will reap all sorts of rewards, serving as expected from your dynasty in your excellent service and the performance of your duties. Your Excellency shall accordingly undertake robust preparations from now on, in order to come out with an abundance of soldiers in the spring, with God's help, and seize the opportunity to cleanse Acarnania and attempt to capture Missolonghi. We and the commander-in-chief [of Rumelia] will render, in any event, the necessary succor to you much more abundantly than the previous year, and you shall not allow for any lapses and indolence, while paying attention to avoid any difficulties. It is commanded that Your Excellency carefully considers, when you acquaint yourself with the accounts of your treasurer and the man whom we have sent, and learns what kind of excellent service and fidelity is expected of you, that you will be blessed with the greatest victories in this world and the next by serving in good faith to our religion and state, putting these infidels in their place, and endearing yourself to our august master; and that you demonstrate at any rate the braveness and heroism that are expected from you.

[1713/239, regarding recruiting Turkish mercenaries from Rumelia]
Addendum to the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]
January 10, 1824

We have explained to Your Excellency in our detailed correspondence appended to our letter the process of collecting compensation fees instead of enlisting the assigned number of men to join your command, with a view to hiring mercenaries from the locations in Rumelia rich in military manpower. We would like Your Excellency to let us know immediately about your decision as to which option is easier and more proper for managing this process: whether we dispatch agents from here to those locations rich in military manpower to hire salaried soldiers and send them to you; or for you to send your own [mercenary] commanders to carry out the recruitment process. In other words, if it is difficult for you to assemble so many salaried Turkish troops in time, then it is necessary that we assist you by sending out agents from here to handle the matter. Thus, we ask you to inform us about your decision on these options.

[1713/245, *regarding the defense of Patras*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha]

January 11, 1824

According to the report written by Yusuf Pasha of Serres and brought by his seal keeper, this year the forces ordered to the Morea and Missolonghi left the campaign without accomplishing their assigned duties, while the troops he recruited at Preveza disbanded due to the causes ordained by divine providence. He stresses that the infidel rebels are likely to grow bolder and will have no fear to attack the fortresses of Patras and Nafpaktos and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio]. This situation, he maintains, will surely drive the Muslims locked up in the fortresses into despair. Yusuf Pasha points out that the former grand vizier [Seyyid] Ali Pasha and Hasan Pasha arrived at Patras from Corinth with their contingents and that their troops will clearly grow contentious, unless they are paid their accrued salaries. Therefore, Yusuf Pasha proposes to take stern precautions to induce them to remain in service until springtime by getting rid of the seditious men among them. He requests us to pay off their accrued salaries and send cash to cover the four months' pay as promised by the pay tickets he has distributed recently. He also pleads for provisions. Yusuf Pasha thinks that there is no reason for His Excellency Seyyid Ali Pasha to stay in Patras and suggests his employment in Rumelia with some duty. He maintains that Hasan Pasha, by contrast, should be put in charge of defending Nafpaktos and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia at the head of his own force. Finally, he recommends the promotion of Ahmed Agha in recognition of his past record of distinctive service by bestowing on him the rank of *mir-i miran* and granting him the *sancak* of Çorum, which has been vacant since the death of Şahin Ali Pasha. Yusuf Pasha wants him to be attached to his command at Patras. Indeed, so far, no benefits could be reaped from all our efforts. The withdrawal of our forces ordered to the Morea and of His Excellency the *mutasarrıf* of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha Bushati] as in the described fashion will cause desperation in Patras and, conversely, embolden the rebel infidels into attacking Patras. In response to Yusuf Pasha, we have reminded him of the five hundred purses of piasters we had sent him as part of the salaries of his troops, along with necessary instructions. Similarly, we mentioned that we had sent to the *mutasarrıf* of Ioannina [Ömer Vrioni] one month's salary, so that he could reinforce Patras with two thousand salaried troops. Lastly, we have emphasized that Your Excellency also reiterated to the said *mutasarrıf* the orders to dispatch Yusuf Pasha two thousand troops and provide him aid by all possible means. This time we have sent along with the imperial *haseki* Hasan Agha one thousand purses of piasters to him, in addition to five hundred purses paid in advance to pay off the accrued salaries, and five hundred purses more to cover

the two months' pay of the troops who received new pay tickets; that brings the total to 1,500 purses. His Imperial Majesty approved the transfer of Seyyid Ali Pasha only with his attendants. We have sent imperial orders to Seyyid Hasan Pasha, putting him in charge of defending the castles in Nafpaktos. We have also promoted Ahmed Agha to the rank of *mir-i miran* and granted the vacant governorship of the *sancak* of Çorum to him by issuing the relevant imperial order. We are certain that Your Excellency has already devised the means for carrying out our instructions to rush two thousand troops to Patras, as a token of your innate diligence and zeal. Thus, we see no reason to remind Your Excellency of that subject once more. Nevertheless, it is now of utmost importance to protect Patras and its surroundings from the raids and molestation of the brigands, who, God forbid, will take advantage of the withdrawal of our forces without accomplishing anything. There is no doubt that fresh and robust troops are necessary for the defense of this region. We once more ask of Your Excellency by this letter to send the contingent of two thousand men by any means, if you have not yet done so.

[1713/260, *regarding the appointment of the new commander-in-chief of the Morea*]

To Derviş Pasha,¹ who is now being assigned to the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Morea with the appendment of the Sancak of Ormenio
January 17, 1824

The disturbance in the Morea, which has come into being owing to the sedition of the Greek infidels, has protracted and acquired magnitude on account of the functionaries' acting contrary to the prerequisites of religiosity and zeal, without any perseverance and fidelity. Day after day, the infidel brigands have grown more impertinent and have increased their brigandage and sedition; and there is no damnable treachery which they have not perpetrated against so many Muslims. The Sublime State has spent countless resources and indescribable efforts, yet nothing has been achieved. The infidels' obstinacy, conceit, and arrogance have grown, and they have gradually descended into absolute wickedness and haughtiness, for they have not seen the crushing force of Islam properly. Apparently, dealing with this affair half-heartedly in this blessed year will result, at the present time and in the future, in many spiritual and worldly drawbacks. It is manifest that it has reached a degree of religious duty to undertake robust measures in this fortunate year, by relying on the power and might of God Almighty, the most auspicious of the helpers. Consequently, many measures are being taken by land and sea, and a large number of soldiers are being recruited from Rumelia and Albania, in order to exact a proper revenge, with God's might, upon these infidels in this year of good fortune. Ships from the imperial navy and provisions and soldiers from Egypt are being prepared and allocated [in numbers] larger than the previous year. In addition to all these measures, His Excellency the governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia [Ebulubud Mehmed Emin Pasha] has been appointed to lead [the army] in person to endeavor to subjugate the Morea. However, it will be necessary to entrust the post of commander-in-chief of the Morea to the competence and the mastery of a brave vizier, who is completely faithful and obedient and is gifted with innate heroism and firmness of faith, in order to penetrate into the Morea before the [march of the] governor of Rumelia. Your Excellency is one of the greatest viziers, who is valiant and renowned for the aforementioned qualities. For that reason, the post of commander-in-chief of the Morea is assigned to you, along with the *sancak* of Ormenio, which is appended to the province of the Morea. The *sancak* of Vidin is assigned to His Excellency Reşid Pasha, former *mutasarrıf* of Trikala, who sojourns in Edirne nowadays.

1 Derviş Mustafa Pasha of Plovdiv was the castellan of Vidin and Nikopol at the time of his appointment to the governorship of the Morea.

Your Excellency must depart immediately and move to your post at once. It is, however, a condition of the principles of the frontier guardians that the procedure of being installed in office be performed when Your Excellency's successor arrives. Therefore, [Reşid Pasha] shall immediately depart from Edirne for Vidin. We have already confirmed and written to Reşid Pasha to perform the procedure of being installed in office swiftly. Your Excellency must, as per the order and the will of His Imperial Majesty, complete the necessary preparations, until Reşid Pasha arrives in Vidin, and be ready to perform the procedure of being installed in office the instant he arrives, and then depart immediately. Your Excellency shall muster many soldiers to your command, be they from Vidin or from the *sancak* of Ormenio that is assigned to you. You shall appoint a *mütesellim* to Edirne, be that the current *mütesellim* or another person, whom-ever you deem suitable, but without stopping off in Edirne, and take a suitable route to Larissa at once. Furthermore, you shall discuss every matter with the governor of Rumelia and, according to the agreement you reach, set yourself to work quickly. It is commanded that Your Excellency make the necessary preparations swiftly, until Reşid Pasha arrives in Vidin, as per your innate prowess and sound judgement and according to the requirements of the order and the will of His Imperial Majesty; and perform the procedure of being installed in office the instant Reşid Pasha arrives and then depart immediately. You shall muster to your command many soldiers from Vidin and the *sancak* of Ormenio and take a suitable route at once and go to Larissa quickly, without stopping off in Edirne. You shall discuss every matter with the governor of Rumelia and, according to the agreement you reach, set yourself to work quickly; and that, in short, Your Excellency acts accordingly, since you have been appointed as commander-in-chief of the Morea only because His Imperial Majesty expects from you great service in the affairs of religion and state; and work hard to confirm the good trust His Imperial Majesty places in you; and at any rate perform with the necessary zeal.

FIGURE 15 Title page of BOA/Ayniyat Register 1769

[1769/11, regarding the deputy grand vizier's recapitulation of the current situation and mercenary pay tickets]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)] from Our Gracious Deputy Grand Vizier

December 2, 1824

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you confirm that you received our past and present letters containing relevant instructions and suggestions to Your Excellency in your capacity as commander-in-chief. We have reviewed the contents of your communication closely. Certain issues and commands—which the office of commander-in-chief obliges—from Your Excellency have been made known to me, your well-wisher and good servant. It is true that it is incumbent on the Sublime State to support and aid commanders-in-chief, who are burdened by enormous tasks, regarding cash and supply demands. It is no secret to Your Excellency that the question of the Morea could not be handled properly from the beginning of the sedition until last year. Confrontation and adversity among the commanders on the one hand, and inattentiveness on the other, haunted our efforts and caused waste of time. Last year, the Sublime State made military preparations with great care and managed the provisioning of the holy war in such a perfect way that no one could ever find a flaw to complain about. Yet, divine providence so had it that nothing was accomplished by the time winter set in. Thus, we have written to Your Excellency several times that the circumstances obliged you to stay in Alamana, until His Excellency the governor of the Morea [Ibrahim Pasha] set foot in the province and sent you necessary instructions to watch against the outbreak of a likely mischief in that area. Given the infidel rampage in the Morea, Your Excellency would admit that it is not a groundless fear that the brigands might devastate and loot as far as the plains of Larissa, paving the way for the rebellion of the local infidels in unison, unless that area is safeguarded. In a separate paragraph of your letter, Your Excellency mentions about the distribution of ten thousand pay tickets to the troops in Lamia and Ypati. Besides, a force of upward of two thousand cavalry is defending Larissa and its vicinity, although their past payments have fallen into arrears. Lastly, Your Excellency expresses your worries about the unsettled matter of the pay tickets intended for the winter troops and desires to learn the decision reached on this matter. Your Excellency is one of the select and distinguished viziers of the Sublime State and is well-versed with all the norms and procedures to be followed in the disposal of the significant responsibilities in the office of commander-in-chief. You have never failed in the execution of your office, and we are sure that you will not show negligence in performing your duties in the future either. Nevertheless, we are at a loss to understand what exactly you mean when you

say you have distributed ten thousand pay tickets to troops mobilized for wintertime. Does that figure reflect the number of the pay tickets distributed or the real number of the mustered troops for service? If it is the number of the pay tickets, then how many men can be deployed with ten thousand pay tickets? Your correspondence does not clarify this issue. We can only deal with this subject after you explain in detail how to proceed under the current circumstances. You must clearly state how many troops need to be deployed in each place and the number of the pay tickets these troops will need. The past instructions on the procedure to follow in distributing pay tickets was based on the condition that Your Excellency would march forward and score some success in the summer. Given your presumed inactivity in the camp over the winter, the procedure should be different. Thus, it is necessary for the further conduct of the affairs to know in detail your mobilization plan for the winter.

[1769/12, regarding the Greek attack on the Anatolian coasts of the Aegean and the defense of this area]

To the Mütessellim of Menteşe

December 3, 1824

It was reported and verified that infidels from the island of Samos landed on the shores of the Mandalyat and Güvercinlik districts, which are on the coast of the *sancak* of Menteşe. They harassed the wayfarers [there], hid in the mountains at night, and drove away livestock from the villages. You have previously been appointed *mütessellim* so that you would labor for the protection of these coasts from the subversive plots of the brigands. While it is a binding duty deriving from your post to ensure the defense properly, not allowing for negligence by working day and night, the fact that the infidels fearlessly landed on these shores and inflicted great damage upon the wayfarers and villagers must have been caused solely by your carelessness and inaction. What kind of defense is this? Will it not be necessary to hold you responsible for the damnable deeds that the infidels perpetrated in these areas? Whereas in such times as these it is a religious duty for all functionaries to abandon their sleep and comfort and to work, day and night, for the sake of religion and state, you look after your own desires, taking advantage of your post of *mütessellim*. You are being informed that it will be necessary to punish you in case you do not pay attention to the defense of the area under your control. This is written in order to warn you: you must come to your senses and be careful for the proper defense of these coasts; and you must take great pains so as to not allow for such incidents there henceforth. If any rebellious brigands come, find them and extirpate them, without giving them any respite. You must ensure the security and the peace of the villagers and wayfarers and you must refrain from going astray.

[1769/197, regarding the leading of the Egyptian army by the governor of Egypt himself]

To His Excellency Mehmed Ali Pasha, Governor of Egypt

December 6, 1824

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency recounts the letter of your honorable son, Ibrahim Pasha, who set out to subjugate the islands of Spetses and Hydra, as well as to cleanse the Morea from the bandits, after profound military preparations. According to his letter, Your Excellency points out, he was unable to start the operations on the islands by divine providence. His forces were frightened by the fireships and the cannon fire of the rebel bandits, which allowed these bandits to score victory. Provoked by the prolongation of the rebellious disturbance of the *reaya* well into this year, by God's mystery, Your Excellency states that you have contemplated with a pious and zealous heart to participate in the holy war in person. Accordingly, you request His Imperial Majesty's permission to lead in person a force of twelve thousand men prepared for the subjugation of Spetses and Hydra, to embark on ships and to set out for ghaza. Upon achieving this task, God willing, you are planning to proceed to the Morea to see [inspect] your son in person and return to Alexandria, after leaving a sufficiently large force under his command. As part of this plan, Your Excellency also requests His Imperial Majesty to redirect the entire imperial navy to Alexandria upon their arrival at the Dardanelles. The contents of Your Excellency's correspondence and the letter of gratitude that Your Excellency sent by the warden of the *kapıcı*s Hacı Ahmed Agha have thus become known to us. The intensification of the sedition over the past years is totally undesirable, as it has put forth a variety of challenges. One can only praise Your Excellency's determination to take matters in hand and eliminate this trouble, by God's help, with the aim of serving the faith and the state. This deserves the prayer, "May he have God and His Beloved's [the Prophet Muhammad] succoring spirituality on his side." It occurs to us that both Egypt and the Two Holy Cities [Mecca and Medina] might be exposed to danger in case Your Excellency leaves Egypt. However, it is obvious that if Your Excellency did not secure those regions in the fullest sense of the word, you would not propose such a course of action. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted it to His Imperial Majesty, who had the following imperial rescript inscribed on it: "The letter of the governor of Egypt has been brought to my attention, and its contents have thus become known to me. I am rejoiced by his wish to go in person, which is surely a concrete sign of his diligence, fidelity, and piety. May God award him in both worlds. Certainly, he is prudent enough to mind about the potential threats this action may cause for the

Holy Cities and Egypt. However, there is something which disturbs my mind. God forbid, what if the Franks entice the Greeks to intercept him when he sails out as he plans? Would such a disaster not lead to the intensification of the Greek revolt and sap the will of our functionaries in the field? Would the Franks not grow arrogant out of proportion when troubles multiply in such a fashion? Of course, these are all unforeseeable speculations, and nobody can know God's design. However, frankly, I cannot convince myself to accede to his participation in the expedition in person. It is certain that his presence at Alexandria has innumerable advantages. Is it not any man of valor in his household fit to be the commander of this force in question? After consulting him, this commander could be given whatever title His Excellency deems appropriate to increase his prestige. Let the *kapudana bey's* squadron, which is operating under the governor of the Morea, join the others and proceed to Alexandria altogether, after carrying the governor of the Morea to Methoni. I hold the governor [of Egypt] in very high esteem for his fidelity and zeal. May God grant him victory, amen." Your Excellency is among the reputed viziers seeking the wellbeing of the Sublime State; the prolongation of this wicked turmoil and all its potentially harmful outcomes in the present and future with respect to our religion and state has caused you a heavy heart and compelled you to volunteer for our cause. We believe that this affair will be over soon, thanks to your efforts. We would like to ask Your Excellency which title we should bestow on the commander you would send, should you choose not to lead the expedition in person. We leave it to Your Excellency to decide on your personal participation and ask of you to keep it secret, as we do, if you choose to go in person. Your Excellency shall inform us about your decision.

[1769/19, *regarding the instructions of the new governor of Rumelia*
To Reşid Pasha [Kütahî], former Castellan of Vidin, who is now appointed
as the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia with full
discretionary powers

December 11, 1824

As is known to all, nothing has been accomplished by way of extinguishing the flames of sedition, wiles, and upheaval of the Greek infidels since the day they hoisted the banner of banditry and rebellion, in spite of the extensive preparations and arrangements, both by land and sea. The Sublime State spared no efforts to empower several occupants of the post of governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia, as well as other functionaries. Over the years, all the requests of all commanders-in-chief were granted, and no subject was left unaddressed, lest the functionaries encounter setbacks in the execution of their tasks and found a reason to complain. From the beginning of the sedition until last year, the necessary efforts were not devoted anywhere, and the situation worsened day by day. None of our functionaries was able to stave off this terrible calamity, while the drawbacks it entails at home and abroad, now and in the future, are as clear as daylight. Particularly this year, the total lack of zeal on the part of our functionaries culminated in the prolongation of the sedition, giving rise to a variety of pernicious outcomes. Although your predecessor, Derviş Pasha, is an upright vizier of the Sublime State, he was unable to achieve anything, because of his sluggishness and groundless apprehensions, and he could not put to good use those under his command. With the Greek rebels grasping the science of war, the matter grew out of proportion day by day, and it became a religious obligation to find a cure for this chronic disease that plagues the handling of the situation. Thus, it has become a necessity to find the root causes of why no success has been achieved, despite wasting tremendous sums of money and war materials. First of all, we concluded that what accounted for the failure of the governors of Rumelia over the years was their inability to find any troops other than Albanians, who, addicted to receiving salaries, are just a bunch of creatures in tacit agreement with the infidels. Their only concern is to receive salaries for a longer time through procrastination in active service. Admittedly, the settlement of this affair is bound to the employment of Albanian troops in any case. Therefore, first of all, we need to find a way to put Albania[ns] into good service and, by God's help, have the Albanians solve out this grave matter. It is also clear that the objective of the Albanians is to secure the [guardianship of the] defiles. While this matter requires immediate attention, the current state of affairs prioritizes the appointment of a loyal and honest man as the governor of Rumelia, who is familiar with the ways of the Albanians and can put them to good use. We can

then proceed with handling other issues. Your Excellency has displayed unceasing diligence and zeal in service of the state and true religion. Particularly, the firmness and resilience you have shown in your assigned post at the outbreak of the sedition are outstanding. You have gained familiarity with the disposition of the Albanians and befriended their nobles, notables, and dynasties, acquiring much affinity with their mentality. His Imperial Majesty is resolute that Your Excellency will selflessly toil in these trying times for the termination of this affair, the continuation of which is surely detrimental. Thus, His Imperial Majesty has conferred on Your Excellency the governorship of Rumelia with the additional post of commander-in-chief of Rumelia with full discretionary powers. In recognition of your appointment, your agent at the Sublime Porte has been bestowed with ceremonial robes. We have appointed Ibrahim Pasha, the former *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki, as the castellan of Vidin. The custom of the frontier requires Your Excellency to stay in Vidin until his arrival, but, given the critical circumstances, you need to depart for Larissa at once and set to work without losing any time. Hence, as per His Imperial Majesty's decree, Your Excellency must not wait for the arrival of your successor in office and leave Vidin in a couple of days, or a week at the latest, in order to reach Larissa immediately without a delay due to adverse weather. Your Excellency may build up your force and household by recruiting men on the way to Larissa. We have appointed Cafer Pasha of the *mir-i miran* rank as deputy castellan to Vidin until the castellan arrives and sent him the relevant imperial order, along with a letter from us. God willing, we will soon put Albania to good use as desired and finish this trouble shortly by implementing the approved measures explained below. Therefore, Your Excellency is required by your commission and His Imperial Majesty's will to leave Cafer Pasha behind as your deputy and leave Vidin in a week, no matter how the weather is, raising troops and functionaries on the way to Larissa. Your Excellency shall demonstrate competence in performing the good deeds expected of you and exert yourself to quell this trouble. As indicated above, the reason for the prolongation of this turmoil is the Albanian soldiers, and it is necessary to find a solution to put Albania[ns] into good service. During the term of the late Hurşid Pasha, the *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina Ömer Pasha [Vrioni] had been granted his wish to become a vizier, and the *sancaks* of Ioannina, Vlorë, and Delvinë were placed under his jurisdiction. In return, he was given the task of cleansing the environs of Missolonghi from the filth of the brigands. However, he not only failed to accomplish anything, but also misgoverned the aforementioned *sancaks*, so much so that most of Albania grew resentful toward him. Thus, we considered it a matter of prime importance to remove him from that region by offering another post that would properly reassure and appease him. Given his *çiftliks* and vested interest

in the region of Thessaloniki, we intended to soothe him by granting him the *sancak* of Thessaloniki, which was left vacant after transferring his predecessor Ibrahim Pasha to another post. We have communicated to Ömer Pasha that his appointment did not connote royal resentment toward him and that it was rather part of the regular rotation of offices. Acknowledging his honest efforts to serve loyally as an obedient and favored vizier of the Sublime State, we have stated that he failed to administer the *sancaks* granted to him well, which required him to be transferred to the *sancak* of Thessaloniki. Using flattering language, we have instructed him to go to Thessaloniki immediately to take up his post and watch over the *sancak* and its environs against the deceitful enemy. The temperament and attitude of Ömer Pasha require no description to Your Excellency. It is thus absolutely necessary to ensure that he will not relapse into groundless suspicion. For this reason, His Imperial Majesty decreed that Your Excellency should also write sincere letters to reassure him and, if necessary, send a messenger to appease him. Considering his character, Your Excellency should address him with great cordiality to induce him to go to his post as quickly as possible. The *sancaks* of Ioannina, Vlorë, and Delvinë, which are left vacant by the dismissal of Ömer Pasha, need to be granted to an influential dynasty in Albania in recognition of the norms of tribal relations [*asabiyyet*] there. Thus, Vlorë has been granted to Süleyman Pasha, son of Ibrahim Pasha of Vlorë, who is a member of the dynasty of Vlorë and now residing in the imperial capital. Those men knowledgeable about local conditions reported that Ago Mühürdar Osman Agha, seal keeper of the slain [Tepedelenli] Ali Pasha and who is now in Berat, has only ostensibly sided with Ömer Pasha, but in truth he is not fond of him, and that he has the power to manage the affairs of the region of Vlorë at his pleasure. Therefore, we appointed Ago Mühürdar Osman Agha as the *mütesellim* of Berat and *kethüda* of Süleyman Pasha by an imperial decree, in the hope of severing the fortress of Berat quietly from Ömer Pasha and putting Süleyman Pasha to good use. We sent an order of appointment to Ago Mühürdar Osman Agha that instructs him to seize and secure the fortress of Berat quickly, move Süleyman Pasha's mother into the fortress, and put affairs in order. Furthermore, we informed him that he will be responsible for raising the troops Süleyman Pasha will lead in the spring and for the smooth management of the affairs of that area in his absence. God willing, Süleyman Pasha is about to leave here for his post. An imperial chamberlain, Mesud Agha, son of the *müfti* of Ayaş,¹ will accompany him. For the *sancaks* of Ioannina and Delvinë, on the other hand, the initial deliberation was to grant them to Palashzade Ismail Pasha, Castellan of

1 Two small towns bore this name, one in the province of Ankara and the other in İçil.

Nafpaktos, who has come to the imperial capital with the grand admiral, by annexing these *sancaks* to Acarnania, which is already under his command. However, it was deemed more suitable that these *sancaks* should temporarily be annexed to the province of Rumelia and granted to Your Excellency, while Ismail Pasha should be sent away from Istanbul directly to Larissa to serve under your command. We would like Your Excellency to request us to leave Ioannina and Delvinë to his administration upon your arrival in Larissa, God willing. Thus, we have instructed him to go to Larissa to take up service under Your Excellency's command, keeping the *sancaks* of Acarnania and Nafpaktos under his jurisdiction as before. He is about to leave in a few days. Considering your familiarity with his temperament, we have assumed that you would have no objection to this arrangement; thereby His Imperial Majesty decreed that the matter of the annexation of the *sancaks* of Ioannina and Delvinë under Ismail Pasha's jurisdiction should be arranged upon your request, so that the prestige of the office of commander-in-chief would not be compromised. It is essential to appoint and send the *mütesellims* and castellans to the necessary places in the *sancaks* of Ioannina and Delvinë ahead of time, so as to put Albania[ns] into good service and drive Ömer Pasha away. Thus, we sent separate imperial orders to Paşo Bey, son of Asım Bey, from the prominent dynasties of Ioannina, announcing his appointment as the *mütesellim* of Ioannina, and to Tahir Abbas, instructing him to continue to serve as his subordinate commander with the rank of *kapu bölükbaşı* [company commander of the household troops]. Similarly, we appointed Şahin Bey, son of Mustafa Pasha, from one of the local dynasties, as the *mütesellim* of Delvinë and sent imperial orders to others, reinstating them to their offices. We have also sent them separate letters explaining that Ömer Pasha was removed from office for his failure to manage the *sancaks* under his jurisdiction well and that his relocation to the *sancak* of Thessaloniki was part of the regular rotation of offices, rather than a consequence of royal wrath. We informed all of these functionaries to pay attention to maintaining good administration until the new *mutasarrıf* arrives upon his appointment at Your Excellency's request. We have also sent an order to Captain Yorgaki [unidentified person] that reinstalls him in his captaincy, which was granted by the former governor of Rumelia Ebulubud Mehmed Pasha in recognition of his loyalty from the beginning of the Greek sedition. We have dispatched separate orders to the [Greek] captains of Arta, announcing that they will also retain their positions owing to the royal favor shown toward them. In this way we have tried to assure these infidels' allegiance. Ahmed Pasha of the *mir-i miran* rank and nephew of Ömer Pasha appears to be his counselor and is ambitious for promotion. Therefore, in order to separate the two, the *sancak* of Kyustendil was detached from the administration of

Giurgiu and granted to Ahmed Pasha in order to reassure him outwardly. We have sent him the relevant imperial order and a letter that invites him in flattering words to go to his assigned post in person and gave him the necessary reassurances. We have ordered His Excellency the former castellan of Nafpaktos Hasan Pasha, who is now in Ioannina, to go to Arta for the garrisoning of the town. In addition, we have sent out orders of deployment to support the garrison of Arta. These include two hundred men under the command of Hacı İslam Agha of Paramythia in the *sancak* of Delvinë; 150 men under the command of Hasan Çaparzade Ahmed Agha and his brother; one hundred men under the command of Çaparzade Tahir Agha; five hundred men under the command of [Tahir Abbas], who will retain his position as the company commander of the household troops of Ioannina; and finally, Hıfzı Bey, Superintendent of Skopje, who is presently serving in the army of Rumelia, has been ordered to rush to the defense of Arta with his retinue troops and take office under the command of Hasan Pasha. We have sent to all of these functionaries separate orders and letters instructing them to defend Arta until the arrival of a *mutasarrıf*, who will be appointed upon your suggestion. We have assured them that the monthly salaries of their troops will be paid by the Sublime State. We have sent 100,000 piasters to Ebubekir Agha, *Mütesellim* of Preveza, along with letters obliging him to extend due efforts; this sum is intended for the purchase of three months of provisions for the abovementioned troops who will serve in the defense of Arta and two months of provisions for the fortresses of Souli, Parga, and Vonitsa, in case of shortage. Part of the measures is to bestow the *sancak* of Trikala on a suitable Albanian pasha. Based on his good manners, Salih Pasha, Castellan of Giurgiu, who is of the rank of *mir-i miran* was deemed to be completely able and suitable for this position, and thereby Trikala was granted to him by His Imperial Majesty's will. We then appointed Cafer Pasha as the castellan of Giurgiu. Until his arrival to the position, the Castellan of Ruse Mustafa Pasha will take over his responsibilities in Giurgiu, while Mehmed Agha, Surveyor of Buildings, will fill the post of deputy castellan and reside in the castle. We have sent an order of appointment to Salih Pasha, instructing him to go to Larissa immediately, take up service with Your Excellency, and serve obediently to the best of his abilities. Ebubekir Pasha will retain his vizierdom and keep the *sancaks* of Bolu and Viranşehir.² He has orders to stay there to handle affairs until your arrival at Larissa and [until receiving] the next imperial decree outlining his future course of action. Similarly, we have instructed the Guardian of the Trikala Defile Süleyman Agha by another order and letter to pay attention to the

2 Viranşehir: *sancak* in the central Black Sea region.

defense of that area. In the letter we sent to Salih Pasha, who has been appointed as the *mutasarrıf* of Trikala, we pretended that he owed his appointment to Your Excellency's recommendation, in order to enhance your prestige as the commander-in-chief. As Your Excellency knows well, the Albanians' reluctance to serve until now simply stemmed from the idea that they should be granted the guardianship of the defiles, their utmost goal. Thus, by necessity, we decided to renounce temporarily the annexation of these mountain passes to the province of Rumelia and give this post to Tosk Albanians to ensure their cooperation. While some argued that it would be wise to grant the guardianship to Silahdar Ilyas Bey Poda, along with the rank of gatekeeper [*kapıcıbaşı*], some others claimed that he is not a member of a prominent dynasty in Albania and that his appointment would incense the Albanians all the same, like Ömer Pasha [Vrioni]. They stated that it would be better to grant this post to one of the *mutasarrıfs* of Ioannina or Trikala instead of keeping it as an independent post to be given to someone else. Thus, the guardianship has not been granted to anyone for the time being. Upon your arrival at Larissa, Your Excellency shall examine the situation and tell us whether we should grant the guardianship to Silahdar Poda as an independent office with an appropriate rank and title or to one of the *mutasarrıfs* of Ioannina and Delvinë. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that we should act upon your assessment of the situation and suggestion on that matter. Although your predecessor, Derviş Pasha, failed, due to divine judgement, to accomplish anything, he was pardoned, retaining his vizierdom, after his explanations and considering the importance and delicacy of the time and the matter. An imperial order has been issued, which obliges him to remain in his post and to join the defense of Lamia until you arrive in the area and another suitable position becomes vacant. In the order it is also stated that he should carefully examine the outstanding salary payments of the troops, send you the financial registers, and, when you reach Larissa and finalize his appointment to another position, travel to his new position. It is necessary that you too prepare letters and orders that repeat the suggestions written to these functionaries from here, regarding the need for them to remain in their current positions until you reach there and contribute to the defense of Lamia. In sum, you should write to these functionaries and give them the necessary advice, as required by your discretionary authority, as to how, where, and with which troops you wish to employ them in future. You should also work toward making the required arrangements to end the malignancy about the outstanding salary demands of the troops. Due to several reasons, Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, has been unable to exercise his duties in person and instead he recruited and sent three thousand troops, paying them from his own pocket. It has been written to him

via an imperial order that because of his commitments, in this holy year, he is obliged to recruit five thousand robust, able, and serviceable troops from the *sancaks* of Shkodër, Ohrid and Elbasan, which are under his rule; and he should quickly organize and dispatch them with a powerful commander, so that they will reach and be placed under Your Excellency's command by *Nevruz*.³ It had previously been written to Yusuf Pasha of Berkovitsa, with whom you have been corresponding, that he should stay in Larissa until another order is sent to him. Although Yusuf Pasha has repeatedly asked for permission [to leave?], it has been reiterated with a firman that he should continue to reside in Larissa until you reach there and do what is required. It is not necessary to remind Your Excellency that Albanian soldiers are useless—unless they receive their salaries on time—and they create tumult if they do not. Although military exemption fees will be levied on [the *kazas* of] Rumelia, it will take time to collect and dispatch the money. Also, money will be sent for your expenses and the payments you will make upon your arrival in Larissa for the outstanding salaries of the recruited troops, one salary every two months. Therefore, there is no need to mention that we will extend our best efforts, so that Your Excellency will not experience any difficulties under the shadow of His Imperial Majesty. Moreover, just as the only demand of the Albanian troops is a salary, to the Albanian leaders *çiftliks* and land are more important than money. Therefore, based on the service and success they will be able to achieve, God willing, it is without doubt that you will be rewarded. That is to say, Your Excellency will have more privileges than your predecessors and you are authorized by the Sublime State to promise them ranks, awards, and *çiftliks*, and you will keep your promise upon success. With more permissions and authority than your predecessors and with all the preparations made and measures taken, Your Excellency is expected to terminate this disturbance presently.

3 *Nevruz*: the day of the vernal equinox, usually occurring on March 21 and marking the beginning of spring in the Northern Hemisphere.

[1769/21, regarding the appointment of Reşid Pasha to the governorship of Rumelia and Salih Pasha to Trikala and the employment of Albanian mercenaries]

To the Castellan of Giurgiu Salih Pasha, who is now being assigned to the Sancak of Trikala

December 11, 1824

As is known to everyone, although His Imperial Majesty has a number of skillful servants and soldiers in Albania, who are renowned for their zeal and fidelity, for a few years now the capture of Missolonghi and the cleansing of Acarnania could not have been achieved by divine providence, because neighboring Albania[ns] have not comported themselves piously. Some infidels from among the *reaya* have thus found opportunity, and the protraction of their sedition will cause great disturbance for the Sublime State. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the Exalted Sultanate to put an end to the disagreements among its functionaries and enthuse and employ Albanian soldiers by taking the necessary measures to revert to the ancient system of Albania, so that the Albanians hereafter carry out, with God's help, those deeds upon which they pride themselves and which they have done for the sake of religion and state until now. His Excellency Derviş Pasha, Governor of Rumelia, could not achieve anything either—by divine providence—and could not successfully lead the functionaries and soldiery forward. By force of circumstances, His Imperial Majesty has replaced him by assigning the *eyalet* [province] of Rumelia and the post of commander-in-chief with full authority to His Excellency the honorable vizier Reşid Pasha [Kütahî], Castellan of Vidin. The *sancaks* of Ioannina and Delvinë, as well as the post of the superintendent of the defiles, have also been entrusted to Reşid Pasha. The *sancak* of Thessaloniki has been given to His Excellency Ömer Pasha, former *mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, and the post of castellan of Vidin has been entrusted to His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki. Due to your excellent conduct, through which you have been famous before the Sublime State for some time, as well as the good recommendation that the current Governor of Rumelia Reşid Pasha has previously made about you, we fully believe that you will demonstrate good service and fidelity for the fortunes of the religion and the Sublime State. Hence, His Imperial Majesty now entrusts the *sancak* of Trikala to you, and the imperial orders about your appointment have been issued. As per His Imperial Majesty's will, Your Excellency shall be under the command of Reşid Pasha and you shall quickly come to your post. The post of castellan of Giurgiu that you vacate shall be assigned to Cafer Pasha, who is currently under the command of Reşid Pasha in Vidin. An imperial order has been issued to instruct Mustafa Pasha, Castellan of Ruse, and Mehmed Agha, superintendent of the fortress of

Giurgiu and chamberlain, so that Mustafa Pasha supervises the defense of the fortress, Mehmed Agha assumes the post of deputy castellan, and they reside in the fortress. You shall immediately deliver all military stores available in the fortress to Mehmed Agha. After you communicate with Mustafa Pasha, they shall assume the defense of Giurgiu, and you shall depart within a maximum of three days of receiving this letter, without wasting even a minute more, and move to your post in Trikala with your full retinue. Let it be known to you that you shall await the arrival of Reşid Pasha when you arrive in Larissa and in any case confirm your income and pecuniary capability for campaigning. You shall perform with the zealousness which His Imperial Majesty expects of you and swiftly set yourself to work, so as to acquire a distinct place among your equals in rank and to fulfill, at any rate, the necessary duties, and then report about your departure to your post. The *sancak* of Trikala has been assigned to you, and other favors are being granted, solely because it is obvious that nothing has been achieved by the functionaries until now. The Greek sedition worsens day by day, and this will call for all sorts of spiritual and worldly drawbacks. This situation originates from the fact that Albania[ns] could not be employed in this issue properly. Therefore, with the employment of Albanians in good manner, it is desired that all of you, God willing, put an end to this unrest in no time. In this regard the Exalted State expects zeal and fidelity from Your Excellency. You are thus informed that His Imperial Majesty has decreed your departure for the *sancak* of Trikala. It is commanded that you get down to work and go to Larissa at once; and muster the necessary soldiers, pay attention to the internal and external defense of your *sancak*, and be in agreement with everyone; and swiftly implement, with God's help, the process of employing Albanian soldiers in good manner and setting them to work. Your Excellency shall be quick to illuminate yourself under the shadow of the sultan and thus become an object of envy.

[1769/24, regarding the reorganization of the administration of the Albanian provinces and Ömer Vrioni's appointment to Thessaloniki]

To the Castellan of Patras Yusuf Pasha

December 11, 1824

As is known to everyone, nothing has been accomplished by way of extinguishing the flames of sedition, wiles and upheaval of the Greek infidels since the day they raised the standard of rebellion, in spite of extensive mobilization and armament of the army and navy. Despite all the efforts the Sublime State has made to empower the occupants of the post of governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia, as well as other functionaries, the situation has worsened day by day. Nothing has been able to stave off the calamity, while the drawbacks it entails at home and abroad—now and in the future—are as clear as daylight. It is imperative to quell this incident in this holy year by any means through diligent effort. After deliberations, we have concluded that the solution to this grave issue depends on bringing Albania under good administration and cleansing Acarnania and Missolonghi of the rebellion. Reason and reliable reports all make it clear that we cannot have a tight control over Albania as long as Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, whose temperament and attitude require no description to Your Excellency, stays there. One of the precautions to suppress this sedition, which is increasingly burdensome and oppressive to our faith and state, is to revert Albania to its former system and restore our authority in the province by appointing a governor to the province of Rumelia who has allegiance to the Sublime State and some familiarity with Albania. The remaining districts should be entrusted to someone from the [noble Albanian] dynasties, in recognition of the norms of tribal relations in Albania. Your Excellency is surely among the upright viziers, who has the authority to implement duly the orders of the Sublime State. The loyalty and zeal you have so far demonstrated there in service of the faith and of His Imperial Majesty are well known. The current state of affairs obliges us to ensure that the region, which Your Excellency has defended so well up to now just as we desire, will never be afflicted by some mischievous attempt. In the meantime, no news has come yet confirming His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha's arrival in your area. According to his recent correspondence, after setting sail from Bodrum, he engaged the brigands' boats in the waters of Crete and emerged victorious, praise be to God. He then had to return to Rhodes because of storms and adverse weather. He points out the difficulty of sailing to Methoni at once with more than two hundred merchant ships full of troops and supplies, due to the advanced season. Therefore, he has decided to keep half of the merchant ships at Rhodes and send the other half to Crete. He will then take the remaining ships from Rhodes to Crete as well, so that they

will sail in detachments to Methoni as the weather permits. By God's grace, he must have taken this course of action by the date of this present letter of ours. However, no news has arrived here yet about his arrival in the Morea with the fleet. Therefore, we would like to inform Your Excellency by this letter that we do not give our consent to your vacating your post before his arrival. Besides you should know that we have appointed His Excellency Reşid Pasha [Kütahi], Castellan of Vidin, who is among our diligent viziers, as the new governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia, by virtue of his familiarity with Albania. For the time being, the administration of the *sancaks* of Ioannina and Delvinë are transferred from Ömer Pasha to him as well. We have granted to Süleyman Pasha—who is of the *mir-i miran* rank and son of the late Ibrahim Pasha of Vlorë—the *sancak* of Vlorë and to Ömer Pasha [Vrioni] the *sancak* of Thessaloniki. Finally, Salih Pasha of Elbasan, Castellan of Giurgiu, was given the *sancak* of Trikala. We have thus attempted to bring Albania under our control and set out to complete military preparations in full force unlike in the past, with the intention of quelling the rebellion in this holy year. By God's grace, His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha must have arrived by now at Methoni and Koroni, and we expect that the course of events in this area and its environs shall soon take a positive turn. We cannot praise enough your diligence, zeal, and selfless efforts, which you have demonstrated in the service of our faith and the Sublime State since the outbreak of this sedition. His Imperial Majesty and the dignitaries of the state acknowledge that Your Excellency has endured much weariness and fatigue, for which you will be amply rewarded once this rebellion is over. We assure you that your distinct service and proven loyalty will never be lost upon us. Your Excellency shall know that this year we are undertaking extensive military preparations in full force. We ask of Your Excellency to persevere a little longer in your command to reconfirm His Imperial Majesty's confidence in you.

[1769/46, regarding the mobilization of the Albanians]

Addendum to the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

December 12, 1824

Measures have been taken to utilize the Albanians for the imminent termination, with God's help, of the Greek sedition. As a consequence, it has become necessary to address the ulema, the virtuous men, the imams, the preachers, and the beys and sons of beys or, in short, all Muslims, who are settled in every district, village, and town of the *sancaks* of Ioannina, Delvinë, and Vlorë; to announce that the conduct of the rebellious brigands is improper; and to cleanse the region of Acarnania of the brigands' filth and conquer Missolonghi. Therefore, three imperial orders have been issued, so as to prompt [Muslim Albanians] to labor with the utmost zeal to demonstrate [their] service for the fortunes of the true religion by attacking and capturing these regions. The orders have been sent to Your Excellency as support of your authority. Your Excellency will proclaim with a mandate in each district that the province of Rumelia has been assigned to you and that you have been commended with this important affair. Therefore, be it entrusted to Your Excellency that you shall accordingly write separate mandates, in conformity with the aforementioned imperial orders; and that you shall appoint able and docile servants from your retinue and send them to the said *sancaks*. Your Excellency shall instruct them to read aloud both the imperial orders and the mandates in each and every district, canton, and village that is located in these *sancaks*; and that you shall ensure to prompt all [Muslim Albanians] and make the desired efforts, so as to set them to work immediately.

[1769/49, regarding the reorganization of the Albanian provinces
and the employment of Palaslızade Ismail Pasha]

Missive to the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

December 12, 1824

As is known to Your Excellency, the Greek sedition has protracted for all these years, and we have made no progress, despite the appointment of several commanders-in-chief, one after another, and the favors of all kinds we have granted. Last year, we appointed the current Governor of Rumelia, Derviş Pasha, as commander-in-chief by unanimous decision and allowed him to exercise full authority, hoping that he would be instrumental in bringing victory. Unfortunately, he retreated to Alamana without achieving anything. We decided to convene [an extended] Imperial Council, since we are enjoined to exercise whatever prudence we can in delivering our state and religion from this trouble by debating the matter extensively. It became imperative to devise a solution, because of the protraction of this affair and the growth of the infidels' power with potential ominous consequences for our state and religion. The council came to the conclusion that none of the commanders-in-chief could achieve anything, because they could not find and deploy soldiers other than the Albanians. Yet, the Albanians are a people who have become accustomed to receiving military salaries [*ulufe*] and have no desire to put an end to this affair. Based on the fact that it is not possible to recruit sufficient numbers of serviceable Turkish soldiers to put an end to this affair and prevail over the Albanians, it is necessary to make some concessions and use the Albanians in this affair. Evidently, Albanians wish to be in charge of the defiles, but the necessity to find a suitable person from among the Albanian nobles for this post other than Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, is obvious, as agreed in the proceeding. Should we entrust Ömer Pasha with the defiles in return for suppressing the sedition, he would achieve nothing and dare to engage in treason, as suggested by his record of service, which is devoid of good deeds and loyalty. Besides, we are told that he does not have much influence in Albania. Hence, it is necessary to find an appropriate person from among the noble dynasties of Albania in his stead. The names of Palaslızade Ismail Pasha, who is currently serving with Your Excellency, and İlyas Bey of Poda, who was the arms bearer of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, came up on the agenda as candidates during the council. Although Palaslızade Ismail Pasha is a loyal servant of the state, no information is available as to whether he enjoys prestige in Albania. Moreover, he is said to have some slackness in his character. His Imperial Majesty willed us to inquire about Ismail Pasha from Your Excellency confidentially, since you are among the trustworthy dignitaries of the Sublime State. You are likely to know him intimately, considering that he served with

you. This missive is to ask you to inform us confidentially about your impression of Palashzade. Relying on your prudence and experience, we also ask you to give us your opinion about the best way of putting Albanians to use in a likely military operation, in which the governor of Rumelia and Albanians would attack from two sides with genuine motivation.

[1769/52, regarding mobilizing the Albanians to suppress Missolonghi and Acarnania]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

December 1824 [exact date not stated]

His Imperial Majesty has decreed that all of the ulema, officers, and people of Kolonia, which is found in the Pasha *sancak*, shall come out according to Your Excellency's order and under your command to head against the rebellious infidels, with the intention of capturing Missolonghi, first and foremost, and cleansing the region of Acarnania from the brigands' filth, with the help of God Almighty. An imperial order containing the relevant admonition and encouragement has been issued and forwarded to Your Excellency. Be it entrusted to Your Excellency's wisdom that you shall send a mandate through a special envoy, which will be read publicly along with the imperial order; and you shall mobilize all [the people of Kolonia] and set them to work.

[1769/61, regarding the takeover of Vlorë from Ömer Vrioni's men]

To Mühürdar [Ago] Osman Agha, Mütesellim of Vlorë¹

November 16, 1824

It has been previously written to you about the measures that were taken in good faith, so that all of us unite in harmony at once and act with zeal with the purpose of putting an end to the disturbance of the seditious Greek brigands, God willing, in this blessed year. An imperial order was also sent to you regarding the assignment of the *sancak* of Vlorë to Süleyman Pasha, son of the late Ibrahim Pasha; and your appointment as the *mütesellim* of Vlorë, as well as the steward of Süleyman Pasha. According to the requirements of your post, you shall take control of the fortress of Berat [by ejecting Ömer Vrioni's men] and settle Süleyman Pasha's mother within the fortress. You shall take control over the *sancak* of Vlorë and attend to its good administration. Süleyman Pasha has been sent to his post accompanied by Mesud Agha, one of the imperial chamberlains, as per the established custom, in order to carry out his duties. Be it commanded that, once Süleyman Pasha arrives in Vlorë, God willing, you shall carefully labor, as per your knowledge and wisdom, for the good administration of the *sancak* of Vlorë; and for the organization and the preparation of the soldiers who will go with Süleyman Pasha against the rebellious infidels; and of other matters, according to the zealous fidelity that is expected from you and in line with the previously communicated requirements of His Imperial Majesty's will. After Süleyman Pasha's due departure, you shall govern in good manner the *sancak* and the areas in need of defense and, in short, oversee and coordinate all previous and future affairs, internal and external, which concern this region and Süleyman Pasha. You shall, at any rate, swiftly perform your duties with exemplary submission and employ your wit and attention to carry out the necessary efforts, for the good administration [of Vlorë] is entrusted to you by Süleyman Pasha, and it is certainly expected of you to put on display the honor of the Albanians, which has been veiled in oblivion for some time, and to pay attention to deliver [your] service to religion and state.

1 Osman Agha is known as Mühürdar Ago in the historiography of the Greek Revolution. He was the seal keeper of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha and a prominent member of the Tosk League, which frustrated the Sublime Porte's efforts to quell the Greek Revolution.

[1769/64, regarding the *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops]

To His Excellency the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

December 19, 1824

The *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops have been employed since the commencement of the [Greek] sedition. Also, they were previously appointed to a post in Belgrade and [thus] were not left idle. Last year, three thousand of them were appointed under the command of Your Excellency's predecessor, yet only 1,800 reported for duty, and the rest did not. As the majority of them died, the *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops suffered quite a decline. His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha, former *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki, sets forth in his report that the *Evlad-ı Fatihan* proved useless in the Morea last year and that it is expected that they will be useful in Thessaloniki, for the defense of its coasts is most necessary, and these coasts are considered as one of their homes. Therefore, His Excellency writes, those three thousand *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops, whose yearly appointment is customary, should be put under the command of the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki, in order to employ them in rotation, half of them from *Kasım* to *Hızır*,¹ and the other half from *Hızır* to *Kasım*. It is unnecessary to remark that the *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops have still not been appointed in this blessed year. First of all, Your Excellency must be asked about the necessity of this matter, according to the current circumstances, and the need for the *Evlad-ı Fatihan*, considering their condition. It is commanded that Your Excellency report to us on the matter as to whether the *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops are to be put under your command as in the previous year or are to be appointed under the command of the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki for the defense of the coasts of Thessaloniki, as per the proposal of Ibrahim Pasha, or whether they should be discarded, so that necessary measures be taken accordingly.

1 *Hızır*: the day of *Hızır* falls on May 6 in the Gregorian calendar (April 23 in the Julian calendar, celebrated as St. George's Day by Orthodox Christians) and symbolizes the arrival of spring.

[1769/65, *regarding the preparations for the siege of Missolonghi*]
To His Excellency the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]
December 19, 1824

A detailed imperial command has described, item by item, the entrusting of the province of Rumelia and the post of commander-in-chief with full authority and discretion to Your Excellency, as well as the particulars of the measures that have been taken as regards the utilization and employment of the Albanians; this also has briefly announced that other arrangements are set in motion. In this blessed year, God willing, Your Excellency shall manage, through your endeavors and with the Creator's help, to cleanse, first and foremost, the regions of Acarnania and Missolonghi in one attack, together with the abundance of soldiers whom you shall muster under your command and the functionaries whom you shall deploy in columns. Once the affairs in the region of Missolonghi are put to an end, Your Excellency shall send a sufficient number of soldiers and functionaries under the command of His Excellency the castellan of Euboea [Ömer Pasha] and shall act according to the developments, so that the region of Euboea will be taken under control. Since you shall not return until all work is done and the infidels are properly suppressed, with the Creator's aid, it is apparent that a want of plenty of ammunition, military stores, and other arrangements will arise. Last year, the taxes on grain and the military service compensation fee, which were levied on the districts of Rumelia, were collected and forwarded to Larissa, and much money was also sent from Istanbul. These funds, however, were given to the salaried soldiers [mercenaries] and the commissary officers in Larissa, and the accounts became a mess. So much money was wasted in vain, since nothing could be achieved. The functionaries were unable to pay the soldiers on time and put them to work, for they could not pay any salaries. Therefore, we shall send, in cash, money for the salaries once every two months, although the soldiers are kept idle; this way, Your Excellency will be successful in bringing the soldiers under your command or with [other] functionaries into military service in the desired manner, with the good intention of continuing the work and removing these misfortunes away from the community of [the Prophet] Muhammad, God willing, in this blessed year. Furthermore, since the Rumeliot army shall not operate on this side [unclear translation] but move in its entirety straight toward Acarnania, God willing, it may be impossible to supply and dispatch all the requisite provisions by land. In any case, it shall be suitable to dispatch all provisions at once from Istanbul to all directions on ships. The [mercenary] salaries and provisions certainly amount to a substantial sum of money. Therefore, one copy of each register of the military exemption tax, as well as the taxes on sheep and grain—which have been levied on the *kazas* of Rumelia

in a similar way to last year—have been produced and sent to Your Excellency by an imperial edict. It has also been announced in imperial orders that these taxes shall be collected and sent directly to the imperial mint, as all expenses shall be covered by us in cash and in advance. In the event that Your Excellency wishes, in accordance with your full authority, to levy *nefir-i amm* soldiers and make state purchases of grain and sheep in the areas that are described in the said registers, this will double the burden of the poor. It is thus unnecessary to explain to Your Excellency further that such a course of action will be inappropriate. Nevertheless, in case it is necessary to request salaried soldiers, or money, or grain, or sheep from some areas of Rumelia, so that Your Excellency employs and musters under your command some skillful *ayans* of certain districts, or pay their salaries separately, this matter shall necessitate the issuing of mandates by you. Your Excellency may first gather the army in Larissa and then head for Lamia, as your predecessors had done in their march on Missolonghi, in order to carry out, first of all, the subjugation and cleansing of Missolonghi and Acarnania and to exact the desired revenge, by the grace of God Almighty, upon the rebellious infidels. As is known by experience, the army may suffer harm due to the unwholesomeness of the weather in the region of Larissa. Although the distance from Lamia to Acarnania is six days, in case this route is taken, the roads are quite difficult and rocky, and the passages, such as the Amlana [uncertain reading] Defile, are strongholds of the brigands and full of difficulties, and therefore all sorts of inconveniences and hardships are suffered. If one, however, does not take this route and does not stop off in Larissa, but goes directly to Metsovo¹ via Bitola and from there to Ioannina, Arta, and Preveza, the roads will be easy and straightforward; and it will also be more suitable to muster soldiers from other regions and drive pack animals carrying provisions. It is reported by knowledgeable people that once these areas are captured, with God's aid, then it will be easy to march toward such areas as Amfissa, Thebes, and Athens, which are on the way to Lamia. Although it is deemed suitable that Your Excellency should, in the event that the road to Ioannina is followed, install around five to six thousand soldiers and functionaries in Lamia, Ypati, and other necessary areas in this region and that you should immediately depart for Bitola and Ioannina, this does not mean that it is categorically desired that you ought to follow this route, but it is only a reminder that is based on the reports of some knowledgeable people with the aim of facilitating your journey. Your Excellency knows better and has seen more than anyone else when it comes to this region; and you are familiar

1 Metsovo (Turk. Meçova, Gr. Μέτσοβο): mountainous town in northwest Greece to the northeast of Ioannina.

with the most appropriate manner of taking advantage of the easiest of its roads. In this regard, it shall be entrusted to your good judgement to decide which way will be suitable and appropriate in the present conditions. If you take the route to Lamia, it will be necessary to dispatch all the grain that we have arranged to this area through the port of Lamia. If you choose the route to Preveza, you should not turn off to Larissa, but you should go directly to Bitola. During your five-to-ten-day stay in Bitola, there will not be an abundance of provisions, but it will be possible to find a solution in any case. Your Excellency should report your opinion and decision to us swiftly, so that the necessary grain for the garrison that will be in Lamia at this time can be arranged and dispatched separately to Lamia. Our advice to Your Excellency in this regard consists only of an explanation of the easiness of the route which is to be followed for the capture of Missolonghi, which is a prime concern of your duty. According to the advice of some knowledgeable people and the experience that Your Excellency's predecessor gained in the Amlana [uncertain reading] Defile, Missolonghi ought to be beleaguered both by land and sea, and the imperial navy ought to patrol the area and land a crushing blow from the sea. It will thus be necessary to arrange and send a separate squadron, so as to take advantage and achieve what is desired for the transportation of provisions, military stores, ammunition, and other miscellanea to these areas, and also for the besieging of Missolonghi. Therefore, His Imperial Majesty has decreed that His Excellency the grand admiral shall depart with the imperial navy under his command for Patras and Preveza in the spring and transport the gunpowder, military stores, and other miscellanea. He shall also bring with him the caiques called *lancons*² that are prepared for the beleaguering of Missolonghi. He shall succor Your Excellency in your attempts in the land siege of Missolonghi by imposing a naval blockade and in other ways, according to the need. It will be of no avail if the grand admiral remains on standby in these areas—as happened last year—in order to transport there those various military stores, which he will bring with the imperial navy under his command in the spring, by God's help, and to carry out his duties. In this regard, Your Excellency knows that it is a matter of religious duty that the functionaries on land reach Missolonghi on time and set themselves to work. His Imperial Majesty's will demands that Your Excellency spend great efforts to send all functionaries to Missolonghi and arrive in a timely manner, God willing, so that you and the grand admiral succeed in reaching [the area] at the same time, annihilate the infidel brigands with the lustrous sword of Islam by land and sea, capture

2 *Lancon* (Gr. *λαντζוני*): large caiques without keel and rigging, carrying cannons; from the Italian *lancione*.

Missolonghi in one blow, and demonstrate praiseworthy deeds. It is estimated that forty-five thousand soldiers in total—cavalry and infantry—will be employed under the command of Your Excellency. In order to manage their rations in the nine months from January until September, we have arranged 320,000 bushels of flour and 534,000 bushels of barley. For the soldiers who will gather at Euboea, we have arranged around 100,000 bushels of flour and 50,600 bushels of barley. These provisions will be dispatched on *müstemen* boats gradually and in groups, according to the need, to Lamia, Preveza, and Euboea. Since it will be more beneficial to have hardtack rather than flour on the way to Missolonghi, it has been found suitable to arrange an allowance of twenty thousand *kantars* of hardtack and fifty thousand bushels of flour, which are to be prepared in Larissa by His Excellency Ebubekir Pasha, former *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala; take the necessary quantities of hardtack from Larissa, store them on the route that Your Excellency will choose, and send the rest through Your Excellency to the areas in need. This has also been written to Ebubekir Pasha and Mustafa Bey, commissary officer of Larissa, to inform them on the matter. Formerly, we wrote to His Excellency Ebubekir Pasha to deliver to Your Excellency the cartridge supplies of five hundred boxes, which we had sent to Larissa from the imperial armory upon the notification of Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki, after your arrival at Larissa. Ömer Pasha would not need them, as he was relieved of his tasks and appointed to Thessaloniki. Your Excellency will definitely need these cartridges, which you should receive from Ebubekir Pasha by taking inventory. We leave it to Your Excellency's discretion to distribute them among the units and garrisons, based on their supply situation. We have referred the matter of supplies to the chief accountant, so that all the necessary supplies will be ready in sufficient quantities for the shipment in the spring by the Muslim merchant ships under the escort of the imperial navy. The grand admiral will deliver these supplies, including gunpowder and cartridges for the troops to be assembled under your command, ammunition and miscellaneous materials for the fortifications and strongholds, and pickaxes and shovels for the siege of Missolonghi, to their destinations in return for receipts. We received recommendations that Zoka Mahmud Pasha of the *mir-i miran* rank, Hasan Bey of the *kapıcıbaşı* [gate-keeper] rank, and a local notable of Debar should serve under your command. Thus, we have sent to Your Excellency two imperial orders that instruct them to join your camp. Obviously, it is your decision to mobilize them or not. If you think they would be useful, you will send them these orders of mobilization. In the opposite case, you must return these orders to Istanbul.

[1769/75, regarding the expenses for the spring campaign]

To the Chief Accountant

December 21, 1824

The inventory you presented for debate in the Imperial Council shows that there is a need of 32,760 purses of piasters to cover the monthly salaries of forty-five thousand troops—fifteen thousand cavalry and thirty thousand infantry—that would be assembled under Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia, for the period from January until the end of October. In addition, the provisions would cost eleven thousand purses of piasters. All in all, total costs are reaching fifty thousand purses of piasters, including hiring the animals, monthly leases of the Muslim-owned merchant boats for transporting munitions and weapons, and miscellaneous expenditures of the commander-in-chief. It is necessary to make this sum ready in the imperial mint in advance, since we will have to send cash funds from here to pay the troops under the commander-in-chief once every two months and cover other expenses on a regular basis. According to the inventory read aloud in the meeting, the *kazas* within the *sancaks* of Rumelia, Vidin, Nikopol, Silistra, and Ormenio will pay 7,641 purses of piasters in total as compensation fee charged at the past year's rate of 35 piasters a month per man for a six-month period, in addition to 3,207 purses in lieu of grain and sheep requisitions. As this grossly falls short of covering the estimated expenses stated above [uncertain translation], you deem it essential in your inventory to impose compensation fees on the Anatolian provinces as well for this year at the rate of 250 piasters per man, making a total of 8,400 purses. Thus, the projected sum to be exacted as compensation fees will amount to 19,349 purses. His Imperial Majesty wills the Imperial Council to issue orders for the collection of compensation money in lieu of recruitment of men from the assigned localities on behalf of the imperial mint and for you to issue the orders for the commutation of grain and sheep requisitions into cash with the necessary explanations in plain language. His Imperial Majesty decreed that the agent [at the Sublime Porte] of any locality that was likely to make compensation payment through his intervention should receive the relevant imperial order, whereas it would be proper to send these imperial orders along with agents to other localities. You shall forward the imperial orders that you prepare as described above to the Sublime Porte for this purpose.

[1769/79, *regarding the provisioning of the army*]

To the Chief Accountant

December 21, 1824

It is His Imperial Majesty's will to arrange for the delivery of the flour and barley supplies for the troops to be deployed in Euboea, as well as in the service of His Excellency the governor of Rumelia, from the grain that the imperial granary [in Istanbul] is to lend to the granary in Edirne, which will pay off when the granary receives the designated quotas from the chosen localities in Edirne, Tekirdağ, Silivri, Bergos, and the pier of Alçaklar, with Moldowallachia excepted. The superintendent of the grain administration explained in the Imperial Council, in which you also participated, that this is necessary for not compromising the provisioning of Istanbul. His Imperial Majesty decreed that the relevant orders be issued to ship these supplies to support the ever-growing army for a period of nine months from January to the end of October aboard the *müstemen* vessels hired for this purpose. His Imperial Majesty ordered you to make a partial payment of one thousand purses of piasters in advance to the said superintendent to cover the freight and insurance expenses, as well as that of the supplies to be shipped from Istanbul to Lamia, Preveza, and Euboea. You shall pay this sum of money from the cash compensation funds in the imperial mint, which is to be reimbursed on account of this expenditure later. While the monitoring of the superintendent of the grain administration is essential, it is within the purview of the grand admiral to specify the quantity of supplies for each locality, as he knows the local conditions. Thus, in compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will, it is imperative to confirm in advance with the grand admiral and the superintendent of the imperial arsenal the kind of merchant vessels to lease and the quantity of the provisions to load, to make any arrangements for when the imperial navy arrives in the war zone. It is His Imperial Majesty's will to pay due attention to the matters of freight, insurance, and the purchase of supplies and to prevent any waste at any cost. As for the provisions for Lamia, His Imperial Majesty decreed that they should be made ready for shipment upon the signal of the governor of Rumelia. The suggestions outlined above were made to His Imperial Majesty and approved by his imperial will. Therefore, we informed the grand admiral and the superintendent of the imperial arsenal on these matters by an imperial order. Should you need an imperial order to prevent hoarders and to keep the prices of these supplies affordable, you should consult with the superintendent of the grain administration and make him issue the relevant orders to be carried out by the grand admiral and the said superintendent. You shall also arrange to make a prepayment of one thousand purses of piasters by borrowing from the imperial mint, on the condition of future reimbursement.

[1769/84, regarding the economic distress caused by the Greek Revolution]

To His Excellency the Governor of Anatolia

December 22, 1824

We have received your correspondence in which you confirm the arrival of our letter that urged you to rush the compensation fees to be collected in lieu of recruiting men from the *sancak* of Kütahya to garrison the island of Lemnos. You suggest in your correspondence the inclusion of the *sancaks* of Eskişehir¹ and Karahisar-ı Sahib² in this levy, since the localities in Kütahya were too poor to raise this amount by themselves. The protraction of the Greek sedition, by divine providence, has indeed imposed all sorts of hardships on the local poor everywhere. Alleviating the burden of the poor is incumbent on everyone and particularly on His Imperial Majesty. We have tried to uphold this principle up to now on every possible occasion. God willing, extensive measures taken in this auspicious year will bear fruit; it is obvious from good omens that the disturbance will soon be quelled, and order will be restored. Your Excellency should understand that it is unlikely to make [other] localities shoulder part of your cash burden, since all localities have received their due share of the levies imposed this year. This letter is to request you to exert yourself to collect the compensation fees in the way followed in the past from the *kazas* of the *sancak* of Kütahya and to transfer them to us on a monthly basis for a while more.

¹ Eskişehir: town and district in west-central Turkey.

² Karahisar-ı Sahib: town and district in west-central Turkey, south of Eskişehir, now Afyonkarahisar.

[1769/90, *regarding the necessity to keep the mercenaries in good order until Ibrahim Pasha's arrival in the Morea*]

To Yusuf Pasha, the Castellan of Patras

December 24, 1824

You pointed out in your past correspondence that a [mercenary] contingent deployed in Corinth—750 horsemen and 1,042 infantry troops, including their officers—claimed that the unpaid portion of their salaries for the period until the end of the month of *Şevval* [June 1824] had been equal to roughly more than 1,300 purses of piasters, according to the pay tickets at their disposal. In response we let you, upon His Imperial Majesty's will, keep three hundred purses that we had previously sent to you to forward to the troops in Nafpaktos. Instead, we sent another three hundred purses directly to Nafpaktos and one thousand purses to you. Moreover, we shipped three thousand bushels of barley and 27,000 bushels of wheat and flour as six months' ration for ten thousand men, as we wrote to you. In your current correspondence brought by Ali Efendi of Gastouni, you request us to forward the pay of the aforementioned troops that fell in arrears, as well as their new pay, for these troops showed signs of disobedience in the lack of money and supplies. Their zeal and determination, you maintain, began to falter in the face of the heathens' insistence on their sedition and abominable deeds. You also complain that *Şapçı* the moneylender did not accept your bill of exchange delivered through the *müstemen* merchants, which was conducive to reducing your credibility in the eyes of the merchants. We have presented your correspondence and the minutes of the conversation with Ali Efendi, as well as his verbal memorandum, to His Imperial Majesty. Your perseverance and determination in the face of all hardships and challenges are worth appreciating, and, God willing, you will soon receive special rewards for serving religion in the way His Imperial Majesty demands upon the end of this challenge. We will exert our best efforts to strengthen Your Excellency by taking the necessary measures about the matters you highlight without wasting time. As for the military pay, the payrolls you sent us put the total amount of the accrued salaries of the troops in Corinth, as well as those in Patras and Nafpaktos who have recently received pay tickets, at roughly more than 7,700 purses of piasters. Nevertheless, based on the previous calculation, the pay in arrears, 2,260 purses, should be subtracted from this sum. The remaining debt stands at around four thousand purses, after subtracting the three hundred purses sent to Nafpaktos and one thousand purses sent to you previously. We promised to forward from Istanbul the salaries of those troops who received pay tickets last year and thereby sent one thousand purses to cover their monthly salaries accrued until the beginning of the month of *Şevval* [June 1824]; out of this sum, there would remain 75,000

piasters, which was to be used to pay the next month's salary. Currently, the total sum of the accrued salaries in the seven months from *Şevval* [June 1824] to *Cemaziyelevvel* [December 1824] is equal to 1,442 purses and 114 piasters, based on the calculation of 113,800 piasters a month, after subtracting the 75,000 piasters mentioned above. It is His Imperial Majesty's will to forward this 1,442 plus purses to you, since the perseverance of these troops is essential until the arrival of Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of the Morea, to the Morea. We have dispatched this sum from the imperial mint to you. In compliance with His Imperial Majesty's decree, we have also dispatched an imperial order to you addressing the [mercenary] commanders, troops, and the commoners; this states that they will all be rewarded for their determination and zeal in serving the state and religion after bringing this affair to an end, which requires their perseverance until the arrival of our troops. It similarly declares that those who cause any harm by quitting their duty until then can never escape the wrath of His Imperial Majesty. Furthermore, we have admonished Şapçı the money-lender through your agent in Istanbul, Necib Efendi; he will not refuse your bills of exchange anymore. This letter is to express our most confidential and sincere demand, which is to keep order among the troops and the commoners until Ibrahim Pasha descends on the Morea with his full might.

[1769/94, regarding the mobilization of Albanian warlords for the defense of Arta]

To Tahir Abbas, the Captain of the Household Guards in Ioannina, and to Derviş Hasan Agha; to Hacı İslam Agha of Paramythia in the Sancak of Delvinë; to Hasan Çaparzade Ahmed Agha and to Silahşor Çaparzade Tahir Agha; to Hıfzı Bey, Superintendent of Skopje, and to İzzet Bey of Libohovë; to Erşi [?] Bey, son of Ali Zot Pasha of Gjirokastër, to Mehmed Bey, Naim Bey, and the other noble stock of Gjirokastër, Tahir and Falu [?] Beys
December 27, 1824

You have already been informed through an imperial firman that His Excellency Hasan Pasha was appointed as the castellan of Arta, and we appointed you to serve under his command. The number of soldiers you are required to bring was also relayed in the order. We are certain that you will head swiftly to your assigned post and exert your best efforts in the service of religion and state. It is reported that the infidels of this region are occupied with some rebellious activity, thus making the defense of the fortress of Arta a most important duty. You are a loyal subject of the Sublime State and, since in times such as these indolence is not permissible, you will certainly be acting with all the zeal and intrepidity you possess. As the Sublime State spares nothing from such loyal subjects as you, as per His Imperial Majesty's will, we dispatched some two hundred purses of piasters to His Excellency Hasan Pasha to cover the salaries of the soldiers you will bring along and of those who will arrive subsequently. Therefore, it is certain that no officer will experience any distress or hardship regarding the salaries of the troops or other issues. You shall exert your best efforts to serve Islam and the Sublime State and achieve your goals in this world and the next. You should be aware of the fact that both the Sublime State and His Imperial Majesty appointed you with expectations of zeal and loyalty. Thus, if you still have not set out, you shall not lose a moment and take the requested number of soldiers with you and join Hasan Pasha's command. You shall prove your loyalty by striving to defend Arta.

[1769/96, regarding the ban on foreign warships entering the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus]

To His Excellency Hüseyin Pasha [Mutasarrıf of Hüdavendigâr and Castellan of the Bosphorus]

December 27, 1824

We have received Your Excellency's letter regarding two foreign battleships navigating back and forth off Karaburun for some days now. According to the report you received from the officers at Karaburun and the superintendent of the Dardanelles, one of the ships set sail for the open sea, while the other was navigating around the mouth of the Dardanelles. Your Excellency also states that the said functionaries ask for permission to open cannon fire if these vessels attempt to enter the Dardanelles. The superintendent of the Dardanelles has also informed the janissary agha about the situation. As is known to everyone, regardless of the state they belong to, no warship is allowed to enter either the Black Sea [the Bosphorus] or the White Sea Strait [the Dardanelles]. According to the treaties and regulations, this is totally forbidden and shall never be allowed to happen. Hence, if the said two ships attempt to enter the Dardanelles, according to the maritime rules, first a warning sign shall be shown from the fortresses on the strait; and, if this is disregarded, then the intruders shall be stopped. Your Excellency shall strongly urge both the superintendent of the Dardanelles and all others concerned to show a sign first and, if not obeyed, to open cannon fire. Officers shall approach these ships and ask amicably about their intentions navigating in the region. Your Excellency shall inform us at once.

[1769/110, regarding unlawful enslavement]

To the Castellan of Vidin [Ibrahim Pasha]

December 31, 1824

We have previously sent Your Excellency a letter requesting definite information regarding an adolescent *zimmi* called Louka, son of Nikola, a shipmaster from the Karamahalle village in Thessaloniki. Louka was enslaved and sold eleven months ago by a man called Abdullah, an Albanian company commander under Ebulubud Mehmed Pasha, former governor of Rumelia, with the pretext that he was an enslaved *reaya* rebel. The said youngster was brought to Istanbul and when interrogated he stated that he was not the son of a *reaya* rebel and that the said Abdullah detained and sold him in contravention of sharia law. Also, he was honored by the glory of [converting to] Islam. We have not yet received any correspondence from Your Excellency in response to our previous inquiry about the case. Therefore, as required by our previous communication to you, you shall inform us, after inquiring with whomever necessary, whether Nikola was a *reaya* rebel or a loyal subject. You shall inquire whether Louka was enslaved and sold unjustifiably by the said company commander, since, according to his testimony, his father was not a rebel bandit.

1825

[1769/11, regarding the instructions of the new governor of Rumelia]
 To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütah)]

January 2, 1825

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency expresses your gratitude for promotion to the office of the governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia. Your commitment to the brisk fulfillment of your new duty confirms the zeal expected of Your Excellency to our satisfaction. Your Excellency confirms the arrival of the imperial decrees and our letter regarding your appointment as the governor and commander-in-chief of the province of Rumelia with the additional jurisdiction of the *sancaks* of Ioannina and Delvinë, as well as the administration of the defiles. Your Excellency points out that you will leave Vidin to take up your post in eight to ten days, leaving Cafer Pasha behind as deputy castellan. You report that you have sent mandates to Ioannina, Delvinë, and Vlorë to follow up the imperial orders addressing the inhabitants of these *sancaks*. You plead with us to forestall any complaints in the army by supporting you with cash funds and provisions, so that you will not suffer from any shortages. Your Excellency is of the opinion that we should employ an able treasurer under your authority, so that you would know beforehand the arrangements for supplying troops, animals, and provisions. We have already decided to demand substitution fees from the districts of Rumelia, instead of sending recruits this year. However, Your Excellency believes that the *ayans* and officers of certain *kazas* will serve well in various capacities, if we order them to join the army at the head of their troops. Thus, you suggest ordering the Superintendent of Skopje Hıfzı Bey, as well as the *mutasarrıfs* of the *sancaks* of Prizren, Pristina, and Kruševac, to bring the specified number of troops before the beginning of May. Accordingly, we should also order the *ayans* of Radomir, Strumica, Štip, Vonitsa, Kastoria, and Neapoli [Nasliç], as well as Rüstem Bey, a notable of Bitola, to gather as many local troops as possible and reach their posts before the beginning of May. Besides, you request us to reiterate the imperial orders to His Excellency Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, and ask him to hurry to join your command by the end of March at the latest at the head of the troops he is responsible to muster. Finally, you ask us to wait for your recommendation of a candidate to make appointments to the *sancaks* of Ioannina and Delvinë, as well as the administration of the defiles. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty for review. It would be rather redundant to reiterate to Your Excellency that we intend to put an end to the disturbance in the Morea and relieve the Muslims

of this scourge in this holy year, by God's help, through taking strong measures at home and abroad. As part of this attempt, we exert our best efforts to take care of every matter related to the critical responsibilities of the office of commander-in-chief. We actually deliberated on the matter of mobilization of manpower and animals, as well as the procurement of provisions. We have lately informed Your Excellency in a letter about all the details regarding the designated locations and stipulated quotas in terms of troops, animals, and supplies. We are assuming that Your Excellency has dispatched this present correspondence before the reception of ours. You must have found all the answers to your inquiries by the likely arrival of our letter by now. You are among the great viziers with a reputation for insight, comprehension, and in-depth knowledge on the prevailing conditions and manners in Albania. We understand that some cautious measures we have taken, after elaborating on the worrisome developments during the terms of your predecessors in office in the previous years, do not appear to be in conformity with those measures you have thought about. Nonetheless, we conceived of all these precautions after consulting here those individuals well-versed in the present situation and particular issues regarding Albania. We have no objection to the points Your Excellency raises in your communication, given your comprehensive knowledge of Albanian affairs; however, we have already sent out imperial orders to implement these measures suggested by the knowledgeable men here. We wish they will yield beneficial and auspicious results in every way for the Sublime State, by God's grace. As pointed out in your correspondence, it is indeed inappropriate to make appointments to the *sancaks* of Ioannina and Delvinë, as well as the administration of the defiles, before you nominate candidates for these posts. We had already admitted to this principle in order to preserve your dignity as commander-in-chief and informed you on this in our aforementioned letter. We assure Your Excellency that we will deal with every relevant issue at your direction only. As for the question of the treasurer, there is no harm in having a treasurer serving your office. However, as it was written to Your Excellency before, in order to prevent any hardship in case the payments from the *kazas* of Rumelia fall into arrears, the money collected from Rumelia will not be sent to Larissa, as in the terms of your predecessors, but will come to the imperial capital, wherefrom the bimonthly salaries of Your Excellency's soldiers will be sent in full. This is why we considered it unnecessary to appoint a treasurer. Your Excellency must have made this point before the arrival of our letter regarding the issue. Since some of the *kazas* from which you have demanded troops had paid exemption fees in the previous term, they should be exempted from the levy. We have sent separate imperial orders to *ayans* of the *kazas*, reinforcing your mandate and ordering them to join Your Excellency's

command with the number of troops demanded by Your Excellency by *Nevruz*. The aforementioned *mutasarrıfs* and the superintendent of Skopje have been ordered through special ushers and imperial decrees to bring along the specified number of troops and they are commanded to expedite the fulfillment of their duty. The *mutasarrıf* of Shkodër was formerly assigned to muster five thousand troops; thus, if he is now commanded to send three thousand soldiers, it would appear incompatible with the former decree. Moreover, it is unknown whether five thousand soldiers could be gathered in full. We have considered that if Your Excellency corresponds with him and decreases the number of soldiers he will muster, both Your Excellency's influence will remain unharmed and he will send the troops in full numbers [uncertain translation]. Hence, an imperial order has been issued, ordering him to muster five thousand robust and select troops and to join Your Excellency's command by late March. Your Excellency shall dispatch mandates to the abovementioned *kazas* to demand the required number of troops. Your Excellency has plenipotentiary powers and full authority in other matters as well, so that you may handle the affairs as you deem fit and hence prove the industriousness and zeal attributed to Your Excellency.

[1769/113, regarding the mobilization of Geg Albanians]

To the Mutasarrıf of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha Bushati]

January 2, 1825

As is known to everyone, it is religiously incumbent upon all Muslims to contribute to the suppression of the disturbance caused by the Greek bandits. Particularly, the viziers, *mir-i mirans*, and all other servants of the Sublime State who gained all their titles and honors under the shadow of His Imperial Majesty ought to persevere more than anyone, extending their best efforts with all pecuniary and physical means to avert this nuisance. Since Your Excellency is the offspring of a long-established dynasty which competes with its peers in serving the Sublime State, we are confident that you will show loyalty and serve diligently in this matter for the sake of the Muslim religion and His Imperial Majesty—who is the ruler of the Believers—by leaving worldly pleasures and sparing no effort whatsoever. Last year, as required by your commission, you pledged to provide from the *sancaks* within your jurisdiction five thousand select troops under a commander. We have no doubt that you will honor your pledge. The Commander-in-Chief Reşid Pasha reported that since he would depart from Vidin and embark upon his mission twenty to thirty days before March, all officers should arrive and join his command by that time. The spring is approaching fast and so is the season for the functionaries to set out for duty. Therefore, according to the imperial order regarding this matter, you are instructed to prepare and dispatch five thousand troops for Reşid Pasha's command twenty days before March at the latest. This is a matter of religion, and the prolongation of the infidels' disturbance is disconcerting. It is a religious duty for Muslims to exert themselves. Hence, you are instructed by the said imperial order to send swiftly five thousand troops under an able commander, long before the onset of the spring, to serve under the command of Reşid Pasha and to report the details thereof.

[1769/119, regarding the ban on selling timber and other war materials to foreigners]

To the Naibs of Alanya, Kızılcatuzla,¹ Edremit, [Kale-i] Sultaniye,² Thasos, Kavala, Finike,³ Gilindire,⁴ Kazdağı,⁵ Dalaman,⁶ Karaağaç,⁷ Tekirdağ, Burhaniye, Fethiye,⁸ Enez, and Kastellorizo,⁹ to the Superintendent of Lesbos; to the Castellans of Euboea, Chios, Irakleio, and the Dardanelles; to the Mütesellim of Teke

January 4, 1825

The Greek infidels who rebelled against their benefactor, the Sublime State, employ all sorts of trickery. They disguise themselves as Europeans by donning European clothes, in order to purchase timber and various objects to be used as materials of war from the coasts under the rule of Islam. As we are going to keep a firm grip on the bandit issue this year and take the necessary measures both on land and at sea, the sale of such war materials as timber and other substances from the Well-protected Domains [i.e. the Ottoman realm] to the *müstemens* is forbidden. As per His Imperial Majesty's will, it is strictly forbidden to load and ship such war materials as timber, barrel hoops, keg planks, tallow, etcetera—even when they are owned by Muslims and the cargo is destined to a Muslim land—in the following six months or so. Strict imperial orders have been sent to all necessary locations regarding the ban. Hence, in the following six months, if even a single stick of timber or other war materials are shipped from the ports and piers [mentioned above], your pretexts will be useless, and both you and those who give away the supplies will be held responsible. Therefore, you are admonished with this letter to comply with the imperial order.

1 Kızılcatuzla: village in northwest Turkey, to the south of the Dardanelles.

2 Kale-i Sultaniye: *sancak* on the Anatolian side of the Dardanelles.

3 Finike: coastal village in south Turkey, Antalya province.

4 Gilindire: coastal village in south Turkey, İçil province.

5 Kazdağı (Gr. Όρος Ίδη): mountain in northwest Turkey, along the coast of the Gulf of Edremit; Mount Ida in western literature.

6 Dalaman: district in southwest Turkey, across from Rhodes.

7 There are around twenty locations bearing the name Karaağaç in Turkey. The Karaağaç referred to in the document may be the one in Balıkesir province, northwest Turkey.

8 Fethiye (Gr. Μάκρι): *kaza* and town on the Aegean coast of southwest Turkey; Mekri in the documents.

9 Kastellorizo (Turk. Meis, Gr. Καστελλόριζο, also Μεγίστη): small Greek island across from Kaş, southwest Turkey.

[1769/123, regarding unemployed mercenaries oppressing the populace]

To Yusuf Pasha of Berkovitsa

January 5, 1825

We have been informed that some unemployed mercenaries roamed around the imperial *çiftlik*s in the *kaza* of Larissa, which is within the *sancak* of Trikala, and oppressed the *reaya* there. Most of the *reaya* could not put up with these vagabonds' assaults and consequently have fled. Those who stayed are on the brink of ruin and sent us a joint petition through the local court. Since Your Excellency was ordered to stay in the region until the arrival of the governor and the commander-in-chief of Rumelia, we expect you to ensure the security of both the imperial *çiftlik*s and their *reaya* thoroughly. It is your duty to protect those precincts with utmost diligence and restrain the troops, so that no inconvenience should occur. Even though you have the authority and power to keep those troops under control, the fact that you do not exercise your influence over them to prevent their oppression of the *reaya* is a reason for consternation. Until the arrival of the governor of Rumelia, you are instructed to control these men and keep the imperial *çiftlik*s, their *reaya*, and the other *reaya* [in the region] from harm's way.

[1769/127, *regarding the preparations to capture Missolonghi and Athens*
To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

January 8, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's five-article memorandum in which you relate that in order to save Missolonghi from the rebellious Greek bandits, six thousand troops from Albania should march [on Missolonghi] via Agrafta. On their way, these troops would cleanse Agrafta from the filthy bodies of the rebel brigands. After leaving some of these troops to garrison Agrafta, the army should resume the march on Missolonghi and subjugate the town in no time. However, you also state that you need cannons and mortars for the siege. Therefore, you ask us to instruct Yusuf Pasha, Castellan of Patras, to send you four or five pieces of cannons and mortars of five and seven *ktyes* from the ships of the imperial navy under his command, provided that the ships are still there. Your Excellency also makes suggestions in your letter about the measures to be taken regarding the number of troops that need to be dispatched toward Athens and Amfissa. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. Your Excellency is commissioned with full discretionary powers to deal with this important matter of religion. In our turn, we are exerting our best efforts, day and night, in order to carry out the requirements of our duty without wasting a minute. If Your Excellency acts in the same manner, this disturbance will soon come to an end, thanks to you. The ships of the imperial navy at Patras that you indicate are at this point under the command of Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of the Morea. Therefore, they cannot lend you any cannons or mortars from their own inventories. The required cannons, mortars, ammunition, and other articles of war are being arranged here and will be shipped in the spring with the imperial navy. We have sent you the inventory list of the abovementioned weaponry, in order to duly inform you about the arrangements. The imperial navy will have arrived by the time you commence your land attack on Missolonghi. As commander-in-chief with full discretionary powers, Your Excellency is authorized to decide how to make use of the cannons, mortars, and other ammunition, be it at Missolonghi or other places; you may also choose whether to dispatch the troops to Missolonghi, Athens, and Amfissa, according to the measures you have pointed out in your letter, or to act otherwise after arriving in Larissa, upon gathering further information and reappraising the requirements of the matter. Furthermore, we have instructed Ömer Pasha, Castellan of Euboea, to act in accordance with His Imperial Majesty's order that decreed him to serve in Athens under your command. After Your Excellency reaches Larissa, you will launch operations to subjugate the region. You shall decide whether to dispatch troops under a suitable

commander to Amfissa and, once these troops restore peace and order there, to put them under the command of Ömer Pasha or to employ them otherwise. We have sent you a copy of Ömer Pasha's instructions. For the subjugation of Athens and the cleansing of Missolonghi and other localities from the filthy bodies of the brigands, Your Excellency shall exert yourself to carry out whatever is necessary.

[1769/128, regarding the preparations to capture Athens]

To the Castellan of Euboea [Ömer Pasha]

January 8, 1825

As is known to Your Excellency, in this blessed year the means and measures necessary to eliminate the brigands have been arranged comprehensively. In this regard, Reşid Pasha has been appointed the commander-in-chief and governor of Rumelia. In his correspondence, Reşid Pasha writes that, first of all, he will send a sufficient number of troops to subjugate Amfissa and its environs. Afterward, an army will be raised to capture the Castle of Athens [the Acropolis], and a courageous vizier who is good at dealing with soldiers will be appointed to this army. According to His Excellency's report, the necessary provisions and materials of war will be shipped to and stored on Euboea, which is twelve hours away from Athens. Your Excellency has distinguished yourself with your zeal and courage, particularly in cleansing Euboea, and it is expected that you will spare no efforts for the true religion and His Imperial Majesty in the future, by God's grace. Accordingly, Your Excellency will serve with the troops that Reşid Pasha will dispatch for the subjugation of Athens, since Euboea is in close proximity to Athens. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that you carry out all the orders given to you by Reşid Pasha, who has also been informed about this matter. Necessary provisions and war materials will soon be shipped to Euboea, where they will be stockpiled. Consequently, in order for the Castle of Athens to be taken from the hands of the infidel rebels, you are instructed to exert yourself to serve in any way that Reşid Pasha employs you and to demonstrate the perseverance and efficacy expected of you.

[1769/129, regarding the unpaid salaries of the mercenaries]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

January 8, 1825

As we have informed Your Excellency previously, we had instructed your predecessor in office, Derviş Pasha, to carry out his tasks without leaving his post until you arrived to take over the office. In response to this imperial rescript, Derviş Pasha sent a communication in which he points out that the five hundred purses of piasters that arrived from Istanbul at the time of the handover of his office did not cover even half of the monthly pay of the troops under his command, who alleged that their pay was in arrears and began to complain. Stating his inability to deliver the demanded sum, Derviş Pasha wrote to us to send you cash, so that you could partly allay the discontent over the military pay upon your arrival. As we understand from this correspondence, he must have kept the aforementioned sum of five hundred purses, since his troops demanded all the salaries in arrears in full. Nevertheless, His Imperial Majesty is against wasting the treasury for unjustifiable ends, when, as is known to everyone, the Sublime State is suffering from the expenses accumulating, like the ocean waves coming in batches. We have intended the salaried soldiers [mercenaries] to carry out military offensives without delay and to bring the operation to a favorable conclusion, without faltering in the likelihood of a setback in the event. Yet, they did not perform any deed worth a single asper. Nor did they accomplish anything to deserve their full salary. They were rather useless and selfishly procrastinated in their duty to earn an easy salary. It is obvious that it is no longer permissible to pay them the salaries they demand in return for nothing. We pray for your safe and smooth arrival at your assigned post as the supreme commander these days and we have sent you, on His Imperial Majesty's orders, 2,500 purses of piasters in advance as part of the expenses required by your post, so that you can alleviate the situation with these salaried troops. We have also instructed Derviş Pasha to hand over the aforementioned sum of five hundred purses to you for partially covering their pay, bringing the total sum assigned to three thousand purses of piasters. After examining the details of their monetary claim, you should reduce the demanded sum as much as possible and pay it from the cash fund assigned to you. Other expenses related to your office are to be covered by the remaining amount of this money. You shall also make a signed register of the salaries you pay and send it to us for our information.

[1769/138, *regarding the prevention of communication between locals and fugitives*]

To the Castellan of Lemnos

January 10, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you relay that you have learned that some infidels send money and letters to their relatives on the island of Lemnos, whose defense is your duty. You report that these infidels are from among the inhabitants of the island, have been involved in the sedition, and escaped from the island earlier. By paying attention to this matter, you have intercepted twenty letters that the said infidels have sent to their wives and relatives, as well as a sum of 1,861 piasters sent as pocket money. This money has been seized, and the letters have been translated. It has thus been established that the letters contain information about the sending of this money. Your Excellency's report on this matter and the explanatory note that you sent have thus become known to us. As is known to Your Excellency, the Greek infidels have perpetrated their villainous rebellion without cause and pursued their seditious ambition to commit every treachery they can. Therefore, it is impossible to have any confidence in them. It is among the specific duties of Your Excellency to act wisely to make it impossible for the said infidels to exchange letters with their relatives on Lemnos, for this correspondence will be improper, taking into account the self-evident fact from your instructive report that these infidels escaped because they were involved in the sedition. According to Your Excellency's report, since the said infidels have sent said money as pocket money, it is obvious that it will be necessary to deliver the money to its due places, as this will inspire confidence in the other *reaya*. It is commanded that Your Excellency shall deliver the money to its proper place and that you shall henceforth labor in order to take occasion to bar the *reaya* on the island from finding any opportunity to enter into an exchange of letters with the fugitive infidels. You shall at any rate swiftly set yourself to work with the requisite expertise and precaution.

[1769/140, *regarding the salaries of the crews in the imperial navy*]
To the Governor of the Morea [Ibrahim Pasha]

January 12, 1825

Your Excellency has previously reported that some of the imperial navy crews that are under your command have requested their customary salaries for the summer and winter and caused you some troubles. You have therefore set forth the matter of dispatching the necessary salaries, as well as the requisite tools, military stores, and equipment, as stated in the register that you have sent. At present, the due salaries of the crews that are mobilized under Your Excellency's command have reached a sum of 3,350 purses in total [as follows]: the third and fourth quarterly salaries for the year of AH 1239 [1824] and the first quarterly salary for the year of AH 1240 [1825] of twenty-seven regular imperial ships—including frigates, corvettes, and brigs—whose crews are under the command of the *kapudana bey*, *patrona bey*, and Commodore Halil Bey; the provincial soldiers' quarterly salaries for the summer and winter; the topmen's monthly salaries for seven months; the captains' yearly salaries; and the three quarterly salaries of the four boats from the Regency of Tunisia, unless they have returned, as well as the yearly salaries of their captains. It is, however, expected that there will be many deficiencies, as some of these crews have served for more than two years and others have served for nearly one year. Therefore, the force of circumstances demands to establish which of the crews of these ships are present and which are not and to pay the salaries accordingly. In conformity with His Imperial Majesty's command concerning this well-known matter, it has been written to His Excellency the governor of Egypt, the most heroic vizier and Your Excellency's exalted father, in order to inform him that Ibrahim Hoca of the imperial arsenal, the scribe of the flagship, has officially been sent to Alexandria, along with the necessary registers, and to entrust him with the appointment of men under Ibrahim Hoca's command and with the payment of the relevant salaries in Alexandria. As for the immediate dispatch of the tools, military stores, and equipment that are requested in the register [that Your Excellency has sent], they are about to be sent through His Excellency the superintendent of the imperial arsenal only now, at the time of the writing of this letter of ours, owing to the arrival of the harsh winter season. It is commanded that Your Excellency shall inform those who should be informed on the matter; and that after you land in the Morea, with God's help, you shall carefully labor, in order to take occasion to send to Alexandria the said vessels, along with their crews, as we have communicated to you with reference to the reports that we have previously received from your father. Your Excellency shall at any rate perform with the requisite zeal and bravery.

[1769/155, regarding the weaponry needed to capture Missolonghi]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

January 16, 1825

Your Excellency has communicated that the capture of Missolonghi depends exclusively on a crushing assault with cannons, mortars, and some other military equipment, with respect to the fortifications that the rebellious Greeks have added to the town until now; however, it would be difficult to dispatch these cannons, mortars, and military stores by land. In your report, which arrived earlier, you set forth that if the vessels [assigned for] Patras are currently there, they are to be arranged so as to forward to you four or five 14- and 19-pound cannons and mortars; and that if the vessels are not there, these cannons and mortars are to be sent by vessels from the imperial navy. Your Excellency was consequently informed that arrangements were being made to this end. A total of eight pieces of various cannons and four mortars that were arranged for the Missolonghi affair have recently been sent to Your Excellency, of which there were initially four pieces of 16-, 14-, and 11-caliber *ballamezza* cannons and two pieces of 1.5-caliber quick-firing guns, and after that a 7-caliber howitzer, as well as a copy of the register of the military stores and the statement of the imperial order. This report of yours clearly demonstrates that until now you have acquainted yourself with the matter before the said imperial order has arrived. It will, however, be necessary to abandon the preparation of the cannons and mortars that are currently being registered, if the aforementioned cannons and mortars, which were arranged on the previous occasions and whose type, number, and caliber were specified, are sufficient. In this regard, His Excellency the chief accountant has notified [us] that Your Excellency ought to be queried with reference to the arrangement and dispatch of the [new] cannons and mortars. It is commanded, according to the said imperial order, that Your Excellency shall first of all establish whether the cannons, mortars, and military stores that were arranged on the previous occasions will be sufficient and whether there will be a need for the cannons and mortars that are currently proposed. You shall write [to us] swiftly about the matter, so that the necessary measures be carried out.

[1769/156, regarding the battle at Gastouni; the British administration on Corfu allowing caiques from Missolonghi to fly the Corfiot flag; the provisioning and salaries of the troops]

To the Castellan of Patras [Yusuf Pasha of Serres]

January 17, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you state that infidel brigands use as their stronghold the villages named [illegible], which are located in the *kaza* of Gastouni, and, when they find opportunity, dare to cause damage in the region of Patras. Your Excellency has appointed and sent soldiers against them; and when the soldiers reached the said two villages and engaged in battle, the traitorous heathens could not offer resistance and consequently escaped into the mountains. The ears of eighty-six brigands that were taken during the battle have been presented [to us]. Furthermore, Your Excellency states that the infidels of Missolonghi have obtained caiques, which harry the passing vessels. On this account, it has been achieved, through the commanders of the British fleet, to bar these caiques from leaving the port. However, the [British] general of Corfu has now granted the caiques permission to fly the Corfiot flag and to roam around. In order to prevent this issue, Your Excellency declares that letters from the British ambassador must be delivered to the general of Corfu and the commanders of the British ships; and if such caiques from Missolonghi appear in this region, the force of circumstances demands that they be captured, regardless of their flags. Your report also includes the question of forwarding instructions as to what sort of procedure must be followed if this is needed; and that the infidel boats that were off Missolonghi and Patras have left for the Morea, owing to some contention that has arisen among the infidels there. You also mention the questions of the dispatch of money for the unpaid salaries of the soldiers in Patras and grain for their subsistence, as communicated in Your Excellency's previous and later reports, and of sending funds for the grain that was perforce purchased against promissory notes from some *müstemen* boats in those regions. You also relay the news that His Excellency the most heroic vizier Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of Jeddah¹ and the Morea, left for the port of Souda. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us. By sending soldiers against the brigands who gathered in the said villages and with the noble efforts that you made to take the occasion to crush and disperse the brigands, Your Excellency has demonstrated outstanding bravery and piety—which are expected from you—and caused great pleasure, and gained yourself approval here. Your correspondence has been presented

1 Jeddah (Turk. Cidde, Gr. Τζέντρα): town and province in Hejaz, Arabia. Ibrahim Pasha was awarded the governorship of the province in 1817 after quelling a series of Wahhabi uprisings.

before the exalted threshold of His Imperial Majesty, who has considered the matter; and the ears that were sent have been publicly displayed in dishonor as a cautionary example in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace]. Your Excellency is one of the greatest viziers of the Sublime Sultanate, who is adorned with splendid heroism and acuity. It is unnecessary to enumerate that your arduous labors, which you have demonstrated in Patras until now, as well as the valorous fidelity that you have observed, will make you the object of the greatest rewards, which will be redoubled under the fortunate protection of His Imperial Majesty and will distinguish you among your most glorious equals in rank. At any rate, it will be indispensable to do what must be done, so as to support Your Excellency's financial abilities. As regards your previous reports and in accordance with the customary grace of His Imperial Majesty's will, a sum of 2,400 purses of piasters has been sent in two instalments to Your Excellency for the salaries of the aforementioned soldiers. Furthermore, thirty thousand bushels of grain for a period of six months have been arranged, and this matter has been communicated in detail to Your Excellency on a few occasions. With respect to the news that has been received about the arrival in Preveza of one thousand purses of the said sum, which were sent earlier, the whole sum will have reached Your Excellency by now in safety, God willing! As for the grain, more than half has been sent by now, and the remainder is about to be loaded onto vessels and dispatched forthwith. According to Your Excellency's report and intelligence, the brigands' lot has fallen into a state of wretchedness, and discord has arisen among them; and it is expected that Ibrahim Pasha will triumphantly land a crushing attack on the Morea these days, God willing! On this account, it is unnecessary to explain that it is fully believed that with the guiding succor of God, the Avenger and All Subduer, the infidel brigands will soon face retribution for the seditious rebellion that they have perpetrated and will meet their utter destruction. Your Excellency will be laboring, with your innate wisdom and zeal, to capture the Missolonghi caiques that appear with Corfiot flags, thus implementing the established practice. His Excellency the *reisülküt-tab*, however, is about to enter into an exchange with the British ambassador, exactly as per Your Excellency's report. It is thus evident that the final decision on the matter will be communicated to Your Excellency after that. It is commanded that Your Excellency shall feel confidence in your heart, at any rate, and shall not waste even a moment in efforts that entail your financial capabilities. You shall accordingly exert all your strength to fulfill your duties and demonstrate exemplary braveness and heroism; and you shall once more display the desired service that His Imperial Majesty expects of you.

[1769/173, *regarding the preparations for the siege of Missolonghi*
To the Governor of the Morea [Ibrahim Pasha]

January 21, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you confirm the arrival of our letter, as well as His Imperial Majesty's decree, which, on the suggestion of His Excellency the Governor of Egypt Ali Pasha, ordered the ships at your disposal, along with those accompanying ships of the imperial navy, to sail for Alexandria after your embarkation at Methoni. You also recount that you took along some of the troops and supplies assigned to you from Marmaris¹ to Souda and that you reported back to Marmaris to take aboard the remaining of your forces. Your Excellency states that you hope to set sail for Methoni in full force when the weather permits. You indicate in your correspondence that you will exert your best efforts to fulfill your orders to send to Alexandria the fleet under your command, which is composed of Egyptian ships and some ships of the imperial navy, despite the fact that some of these seem to require repairs and outfitting at the imperial arsenal rather than in Alexandria. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us, and we have presented the documents to His Imperial Majesty for review. Your Excellency has been appointed commander-in-chief in expectation of manifold services to the Sublime State as the astute son of a glorious vizier, the source of pride for His Imperial Majesty. While you have indeed committed yourself to your task up to now, by divine judgement southwesterly winds have predominated the seas this year, precluding your voyage to the Morea and causing many dangers to Your Excellency. Likewise, the land troops and functionaries remained idle and achieved nothing, wasting their time. Hence, all the measures and plans came to naught. As a result, the infidels grew more impertinent and committed themselves to treachery. One reason for the failure of our functionaries in the field is their non-observance of the principle of coordinated and unified action, as well as the lack of mutual assistance and help. The pacification of Acarnania and Missolonghi, the two strongholds of the infidels outside the Morea, requires the deployment of Albanian soldiers, who have the expertise on the local conditions, as opposed to Turkish soldiers, whose incompetence in this vicinity is obvious. Nevertheless, Albanian troops are motivated only by military pay, and it is indispensable to put them to good use. The potential sources of manpower in Albania are the *sancaks* that remain under the jurisdiction of Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Ioannina, but the locals are not fond of him. Besides, former governors of Rumelia utterly failed

1 Marmaris (Gr. Μαρμαρίς or Μαρμαρίδα): coastal town in southwest Turkey, across from Rhodes.

in the employment of the Albanian troops, due to various indignations and provocations from all sides, causing the waste of incommensurate amounts of money. It is necessary to act in unison to launch a simultaneous offensive from all sides on Acarnania and Missolonghi on the Rumeliot side, as well as Euboea, with the intention of removing the filthy bodies of the bandits upon your imminent arrival in the Morea. Therefore, we have placed Thessaloniki under Ömer Pasha's jurisdiction and instructed him to rush to the town. Our primary goal is to put Albania[ns] to good use, for which reason we have appointed Reşid Pasha, former castellan of Vidin and governor of the province of Rumelia and the *sancaks* of Ioannina and Delvinë, since he cultivated good relations with the Albanians in his past commission in the region. We have assigned the *sancak* of Vlorë to Süleyman Pasha, who is the son of the late Ibrahim Pasha and from a prominent dynasty of Vlorë, and the *sancak* of Trikala to Salih Pasha of Elbasan, former castellan of Giurgiu. Hasan Pasha, former castellan of Nafpaktos, has become the new castellan of Arta. We have put the renowned Geg and Tosk [Albanian] pashas and the nobles and prominent men of Albania under Reşid Pasha's command. We have also ordered Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of Shkodër, to send a force of five thousand men to Reşid Pasha. Finally, we have put Reşid Pasha in charge of removing the brigands from Acarnania, after which he shall cleanse Euboea. His Excellency has authority to recruit as many men as he deems necessary from the *kazas* of Rumelia, with their military pay to be sent by the Sublime State. Disagreements among our functionaries have been another reason for the lack of success in recent years, for these kept the governors of Rumelia from reaching their post in time; not before mid-summer would he be able to assemble the troops assigned to him, at which point men in the army camp would begin to suffer from pestilence in the summer heat. As we sent expedited orders, Reşid Pasha will take up his office by the day of *Hızır* at the latest, God willing, if not before *Nevruz* in order to launch the operations. He sent us news that he has left the defile and was about to arrive in Larissa any day, where he would stay eight to ten days to regroup his forces and leave for Missolonghi via Arta, while dispatching another force via Amfissa. Also, Ömer Pasha reported that he was soon to arrive in Thessaloniki. Reşid Pasha will have a force of forty thousand men, part of whom will follow the Agrafta route to Amfissa. Thus, his forces will begin pacifying the region following the coastline in two formations, with another one clearing the route all the way from the Agrafta mountains to Amfissa. They will all converge on Missolonghi to lay siege, with the help of God Almighty. The substantial quantities of supplies and provisions necessary for supporting these troops must be shipped from Istanbul by sea, for it is impossible to transport them overland. Moreover, intelligence reports reveal that the infidels have

made substantial reinforcements in Missolonghi, which is surrounded by sea from three sides and protected by a wet moat that they dug recently on the land side. Thus, battering the walls from the sea by cannons and mortars deployed on the small vessels called *lancons* is a better option than advancing on the fortress only from the land side. A rapid and successful conclusion to this affair is contingent on preventing the infidels from helping one another out, for which reason you should launch operations in the Morea, and the aforementioned forces should descend on Acarnania and Missolonghi simultaneously, while the imperial navy attacks the Archipelago, thanks to the support of your exalted father. Given the importance of keeping the army well-supplied and besieging Missolonghi from the sea, we have already decided that the grand admiral should leave Istanbul with a newly fitted fleet as the spring sets in. He shall escort the merchant ships to Preveza and Acarnania, where they would deliver the supplies and provisions for the Rumeliot army, and then join the siege of Missolonghi. When we learned that some of the ships in the imperial navy needed repairing, His Imperial Majesty decreed: "At the suggestion of the governor of Egypt, we have already ordered these ships to Alexandria after taking the governor of the Morea to Methoni. This recent correspondence indicates that some of them require considerable repairs and need to go to the imperial arsenal at any rate. You shall forward this correspondence of the governor of the Morea to the governor of Egypt and explain to him the other measures in detail immediately. We can make a decision accordingly, after we learn his opinion about these ships." As per His Imperial Majesty's will, we sent a communication to your father, explaining the details of our measures and the situation. However, you have neither stated the exact number of the ships of the imperial navy that are in need of considerable repairs in the imperial arsenal, nor the kind of repairs they require. It will take a great deal of time for these ships to arrive at the Dardanelles, to enter the imperial arsenal, and to set sail for Alexandria after the repairs and refitting. You should try to have them repaired as much as possible, in case it is feasible, in the provincial ports, such as Alexandria or Rhodes, since your exalted father wants these ships back immediately. We suggest this option to Your Excellency solely with the good intention of finishing this incident by attacking the infidels from all sides simultaneously—you and your father from the sea and our other functionaries overland—by the end of March, so that they would be too overwhelmed by the might of Islam to send aid to one another. Thus, you shall rearrange your ships after arriving at Methoni and then send the entire imperial navy to Alexandria immediately. Should there be any ships among the ones listed as unfit that really need to be repaired at the arsenal, you shall do what is necessary and always exert yourself to exercise good judgment.

[1769/175, *regarding the agreement with Russia concerning the repatriation of fugitives*]

To the Castellan of the Fortress of Tulcea Yunus Agha

January 25, 1825

We have received your correspondence relating certain news from Russia; you ask for instructions in case Russian soldiers and subjects flee to the Ottoman realms, in order to avoid the pestilence that broke out in Russia, and what to do if the Russian authorities subsequently demand their return. As we have informed you previously, the treaty between the Sublime State and Russia stipulates that the two states will not admit refugees from one another who left their respective countries due to some accusations, insubordination, or treason, except those who convert to Islam in the Sublime State and those who convert to Christianity in Russia. Such people should not be given shelter under any circumstances and either immediately repatriated or expelled at the request of the other state. The Sublime State performs due diligence to observe the stipulations of the treaty. It is the obligation of both states to honor the existing treaty; however, Russia has given asylum to those who fomented the sedition among the Greek *millet*, as well as those numerous *reaya* whose treacherous and abominable deeds have been proven. In spite of our insistent demands from Russia to honor the treaty, it has not handed back our *reaya* who had fled to Russia. Therefore, it is necessary to reciprocate by not repatriating the Russian subjects who flee to our territory. You should feign ignorance and act slowly when the Russians present us with a list of the fugitive Russian soldiers for repatriation. Nevertheless, you should not admit these fugitives openly either. You should rather officially inform the Russians in case of such a demand that the Sublime State always instructs its functionaries to pay utmost care to honor the treaty—as is known to everyone—and that the two states agreed on the condition of repatriation of fugitives. You should exert yourself to convince the Russians that you will search for the Russian fugitives, while, on the other hand, you turn a blind eye to the issue.

[1769/176, regarding the mutinous Albanian mercenaries]
 To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]
 January 27, 1825

We have previously instructed Your Excellency to deliver the salaries of the troops under the command of your predecessor, His Excellency Derviş Pasha, to stop their whining, using the sum of five hundred purses of piasters currently at the disposal of Derviş Pasha, as well as the sum of 2,500 purses that we have sent to you in advance to cover partially the expenses related to your office. While we have no doubt that you have already arrived in Larissa and have taken up office, we would like to dispatch this letter to you about the contents of the recent correspondence from Derviş Pasha for your information. Accordingly, his troops claimed that the amount of the military pay in arrears was roughly more than 4,400 purses as of the end of *Rebiülahir* [December 21, 1824]; and they threatened Derviş Pasha to abandon their duty and go to Larissa, taking the inhabitants of Lamia and Ypati along with them. He quelled the uproar by promising them out of necessity the delivery of half that amount. However, he laments that he had neither money, except the five hundred purses of piasters sent previously, nor any possibility to find a loan. Derviş Pasha states that he was bewildered at the repetition of the same grievances by the mutinous troops. Those who came down on Derviş Pasha were Abbas Pasha of the *mir-i miran* rank, Kasım the Blind and Ahmed the Albanian, both chiefs of the light cavalry [*delilbaşı*]. We are certain that you have already arrived there and will deal with the situation according to the local customs. We have thus written this letter solely for your information.

[1769/177, *regarding the provisioning of the army*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

January 27, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you state that you will proceed toward Ioannina, Arta, and Preveza and request the shipping of considerable quantities of provisions by *müstemen* vessels for the maintenance of the six thousand troops under your command until the day of *Hızır*, since there is no grain available in the region and it will take three months for the imperial navy to arrive in the vicinity with supplies. You also point out that Ebubekir Pasha, former *mutasarrıf* of Trikala, would turn over only five thousand *kantars* of hardtack despite his orders to deliver twenty thousand *kantars*, necessitating the shipment of as much grain as possible to Lamia, so as to support the troops to be appointed for garrisoning the town and the region. Not a single grain of barley is to be found in Lamia and its environs, while the available flour is delivered to the garrisons in and around. According to your report, you sent trustworthy men carrying mandates that instructed the tax farmers in Larissa to sell their grain to the commissary officer; and a signed inventory of the delivered quantities was to be prepared in the local court by the participation of all. However, you remark that this would be sufficient only for fifteen days for the troops and your retinue. The contents of Your Excellency's correspondence have thus become known to us, and we forwarded the documents to the chief accountant, who has provided a memorandum upon evaluating your correspondence. Accordingly, the Greek brigands intercepted the ship of Captain Eskadia [uncertain reading], which was carrying a load of 4,869.5 bushels of flour and 3,950 bushels of barley as part of the former delivery to be shipped in eight vessels to Preveza, in compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will. The Austrian merchant with the name of Borsobek [uncertain reading], who stood surety for the aforementioned ship, is currently indemnifying us for the loss of the cargo. The remaining seven ships delivered 31,296 bushels of flour and 25,740 bushels of barley in total to Preveza. Based on the news that you will arrive in Larissa by the end of the month of *Cemaziyelevvel* [January 20, 1825], we have ordered for the time being the dispatch to Volos of five ships with a load of 27,008 bushels of flour of the best quality and 17,375.5 bushels of barley to support you for two months. Three of these ships left Istanbul on the 27th day of the same month [January 17, 1825], and the remaining two are about to set sail for their destination. Relying on the register you submitted, the memorandum states that arrangements have been made to ship to Preveza, Patras, and Missolonghi 320,620 bushels of flour and 534,375 bushels of barley, in addition to the aforementioned shipments to Volos and Lamia for the consumption of the troops to join your camp from the 1st day of the

month of *Şubat* [February 13, 1825] to the 31st day of the month of *Teşrinievvel* [November 12, 1825]. There is still time until February, and, besides the arrangements for the shipment to Volos, we have also loaded 14,283.5 bushels of flour and 21,980 bushels of barley onto four ships destined to Preveza until now, and the loading of other ships is under way. With the help of God, we will send you in ten days a quantity of provisions sufficient for two months' consumption. As for the hardtack to be delivered by Ebubekir Pasha, he pointed out that it proved to be impossible to gather through official purchase the required amount of fifty thousand bushels of wheat for baking twenty thousand *kantars* of hardtack. He was likely to obtain through state purchase and certain taxes-in-kind 12,005 bushels of wheat, with which he could have five thousand *kantars* of hardtack baked and delivered. Therefore, the chief accountant states in his memorandum that he was then instructed to deliver five thousand *kantars* of hardtack and sent 20,000 piasters in advance to cover the cost of baking and of the sacks, as per His Imperial Majesty's will. Four *müstemen* ships are currently loading a cargo of ten thousand *kantars* of hardtack set aside from the output of the Bebek [Istanbul] hardtack bakery and intended for the army; they will take their cargo to Lamia and Volos. This completes the arrangement of the planned quantity of flour and barley for Volos for the consumption of your troops, while the arrangement for Preveza is also almost complete. The chief accountant notes that a significant quantity of provisions will be shipped to Lamia in the following days. This letter is to bring this memorandum to your attention and urge you to perform your duties diligently upon its reception.

FIGURE 16 Title page of BOA/Ayniyat Register 580

[580/2, *regarding the removal of Ömer Vrioni from Ioannina*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

February 4, 1825

We have received your correspondence in which you relate that you arrived in Bitola at the beginning of the month of *Cemaziyelahir* [late January 1825], as required by your commission. You state in your correspondence that after a short sojourn of seven to eight days, you will set out for Larissa and stay there for about five days, in order to take care of certain errands. Afterward, you will leave for Ioannina. You attach to your correspondence several intelligence reports regarding Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki, the correspondence from him to Your Excellency, and certain documents from Süleyman Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Vlorë, and his mother. You also add that you will send us all other intelligence that you will gather after you reach Ioannina. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. The attention Your Excellency pays to the appeasement of Ömer Pasha proves the vigilance expected of you. The content of the abovementioned correspondence of Ömer Pasha is similar to his submissions that reached us recently. Ömer Pasha claims that he got stuck in Ioannina, due to lack of necessary funds for his departure to his new commission in Thessaloniki. An imperial order, accompanied by one thousand purses of piasters from tax-farm revenues, in addition to another five hundred purses of piasters that were sent previously, was dispatched to instruct him to set out immediately for Thessaloniki. This matter was communicated to you as well. The messenger that Ömer Pasha sent here is not a regular messenger. He is a close associate and confidant of Ömer Pasha. In fact, he came here to investigate whether all was safe for his patron. He was called to the Sublime Porte and was reassured amiably. Ömer Pasha must be waiting for this messenger, who should arrive in a day or two. We hope that upon his arrival Ömer Pasha will set out for Thessaloniki with his fear allayed. We also heard that Ago Mühürdar, who is in Vlorë, is watching closely the course of action that Ömer Pasha will take. Therefore, after taking care of your business in Bitola and Larissa and reaching Ioannina, you are instructed to induce Ömer Pasha to depart for his new commission immediately.

[580/3, *regarding the granting of amnesty to Skiathos*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

February 4, 1825

His Excellency the grand admiral submitted to us certain petitions in the Greek language presented to him by the *reaya* of Skiathos, in which the latter express their desire to be pardoned and accepted to Ottoman subjecthood, along with several petitions of the *reaya* of Trikeri. The *reaya* of Skiathos claim that, even though they appeared to have rebelled, this happened beyond their volition. The brigands captured the fortresses on their island, and they were forced to get along with them. However, the brigands then evacuated the fortresses, and the *reaya* reclaimed them and accepted Ottoman subjecthood, as before. They now ask for protection from the enemy boats that sail in the region. In the translation of the document sent by the *reaya* of Trikeri, they maintain that they provided the salaries for 150 men to serve under the command of Tahir Agha, Castellan of Skiathos, in accordance with the grand admiral's prior admonition. The salaries of these men were to be sent by Ebubekir Pasha, former *mutasarrıf* of Trikala; however, the payment was not made. In order for these men not to disperse, the *reaya* of Trikeri made the payment, which has fallen into arrears since the 1st day of the month of *Muharrem* [August 26, 1824]. Hence, they demand that their salaries not be delayed in the future. They also plea for an imperial decree that forbids any investigation about the lootings which were carried out by the *reaya* of Trikeri in other places and by outsiders in Trikeri before the granting of amnesty. His Imperial Majesty approved of our suggestions concerning these matters and willed that, since matters of this sort fall under Your Excellency's authority, you should deal with them using your best judgment. As you are familiar with the affairs of Trikeri, you should attend to the matter regarding the troops' salaries; and you should inform us whether there are any drawbacks of issuing the decree that the *reaya* of Trikeri demands and whether a decree of that sort is necessary or not. His Imperial Majesty also approved our suggestion that we should pretend to trust the sincerity of the plea of the *reaya* of Skiathos for amnesty. Therefore, they have been granted amnesty with an imperial order. Thus, Your Excellency is instructed to take the necessary measures regarding this matter as well.

[580/4, *regarding pack animals*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

February 4, 1825

We have received your correspondence in which you state that you dispatched a note to Ebubekir Pasha, former *mutasarrıf* of Trikala, Ali Bey, accountant of Larissa, and Mustafa Agha, commissary officer, to inquire about the amount of grain and the number of camels and horses in the region of Larissa. In response, they reported that there is neither provisions nor camels in Larissa; however, in Lamia there are 120 camels and a few horses, all unsuitable for work, and the rest have perished. The pack horses that were collected last year could not endure [even] a month or two and have all died. However, the camels are still in their place. Your Excellency also points out that the availability of as many camels as required for the spring mobilization would facilitate success. When this matter was relayed to the chief accountant, he informed us that last year one thousand camels were leased from the *sancaks* of Hüdavendigar, Karesi, and Biga for the army in Larissa at the rate of 250 piasters each, in addition to 252 state-owned camels sent from the imperial stables in Edirne and Hayrabolu.¹ Moreover, orders were issued to collect one or two horses from each village and *çiftlik* in the *sancaks* of Trikala, Vlorë, Elbasan, and Ohrid, depending on their capability, and to send them to the army in Larissa after marking them with the state brand. In compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will, additional orders were issued to transfer to Your Excellency from your predecessor, Derviş Pasha, the state-owned camels sent from the abovementioned state stables, as well as the camels leased from the *sancaks* of Hüdavendigar, Karesi, and Biga to transport the army baggage. According to the chief accountant's report, for the year AH 1240 [August 1824–August 1825], arrangements were made for you to lease one thousand camels from the aforementioned localities and 2,075 horses at the monthly rate of 30 piasters per head, from Edirne, Plovdiv, Sliven, and thirty-eight other *kazas* [listed elsewhere]. Also, orders were dispatched for the transport of all available state-owned camels from the said state stables to Larissa. Your Excellency shall exert your best efforts to collect all the above-mentioned animals and put them to good use.

1 Hayrabolu (Gr. Χαριόπολη): town in Turkish Thrace.

[580/7, *regarding contention among the Greek revolutionaries*]

To the Castellan of Euboea [Ömer Pasha]

February 4, 1825

Your Excellency has sent to your agent at the Sublime Porte a report which contains auspicious news: that the traitors named Kolokotronis and Kondoyiannopoulos, who are among the chiefs of the rebellious brigands in the Morea, as well as Deliyiannis's sons and Manotik [unidentified person], from the *kocabaşı*s of Karytaina,¹ have left the assembly they call "Vouli," due to some unsettled accounts [among themselves] and claims for leadership.² They have started to fight and slaughter each other, owing to the malice that has occurred among them. Hydra and other islands have also been afflicted by this radical change of circumstances. The contents of Your Excellency's correspondence have thus become known to us. The efforts that Your Excellency thus made to draw our attention to this auspicious news confirm the piety and fidelity that are eminently present in your natural disposition. As this matter brought great pleasure to us, the report has been presented before His Imperial Majesty for review. The contention that has thus arisen among the wretched brigands will cause the dissolution of their alliance. Therefore, by God's hidden grace, they will all soon be vanquished and get their just deserts. It is commanded that Your Excellency shall at any rate pay attention to perform your duties with the requisite wisdom, as demanded by the zealous fidelity, astuteness and piety with which you are naturally gifted. You shall defend in the desired manner the areas that are entrusted to your heroism and also ensure the conditions that are necessary for taking revenge on the rebellious brigands. You shall hereafter describe and report to us any signs and auspicious news that you obtain about the enemy.

1 Karytaina (Turk. Karitena, Gr. Καρίταινα): village in the central Peloponnese, to the east of Tripoli.

2 Referring to what is called the Second Civil War in the historiography of the Greek Revolution.

[580/8, *regarding the pardoning of a Fanariot dignitary*]

To the Governor of Silistra, with a copy to the Beşlü Agha of Moldavia

February 4, 1825

The place of banishment of Kostaki, the son-in-law of the former voivode of Moldavia Iskerlet Kallimaki, has previously been transferred to Bursa. However, pleas have been made from Moldavia for a pardon to be granted to Kostaki and his three children, so that he may be settled in Moldavia. Consequently, permission for his release has been granted mercifully, in order that he settles in Moldavia, and the due imperial order has been given to the son of the voivode of Moldavia, who is in Istanbul. Although Kostaki has thus departed from Bursa and set off for Moldavia, the son of the voivode of Moldavia has claimed subsequently that he paid money to some offices for Kostaki's pardon and release and requested [this money] from him. As is known to everyone, no man under the shadow of His Imperial Majesty would dare to take money for such a matter, and no minister of the Exalted Sultanate would involve himself in such affairs. This matter must be communicated to Kostaki. Under no circumstances must he heed and give money to the said son of the voivode of Moldavia, if the latter tells him that he has paid money to the Sublime Porte or anyone else and requests something from him, for this is untrue. It is commanded that Your Excellency shall summon Kostaki, if he is in Silistra and has not crossed to Moldavia yet, and inform him that no money was taken from anyone when he was released. You shall secretly instruct him not to give anything to the son of the voivode of Moldavia, in case the latter requests money from him on the pretext of this affair, as it is untrue; and that if Kostaki has by now reached Silistra and crossed to Moldavia, Your Excellency shall swiftly write and forward this letter of ours to Ahmed Agha, the *Beşlü Agha* of Moldavia, in order that he secretly instructs Kostaki in this regard.

[580/10, *regarding the robbers from Samos raiding the Anatolian coasts*]

To Hasan Pasha, Castellan of Izmir

February 4, 1825

We have been informed that, since there are no troops in the district stretching six hours' journey along the coast, ranging from the outskirts of Izmir to Urla,¹ robbers from the island of Samos raid, day and night, the coastal localities three to five hours away from Izmir. They steal the animals and other property of the Turcomans residing in the area. If they capture someone, they kidnap him and take him to Samos after robbing him, in order to ask for ransom from his relatives. Your Excellency must be aware that, in the event that the infidel rebels figure out that the coast is unguarded, they will be emboldened to carry out all the perfidious and malicious deeds within their power. Since the safeguarding of Izmir and its environs is incumbent on Your Excellency, you will be held responsible for the encroachments and robberies of the infidels, if they were left to carry booty to that accursed locale of theirs, the island of Samos. Therefore, you are instructed by imperial order to exert yourself to be very circumspect day and night and make sure that those infidels not dare come to Izmir and its environs. In case they defy, you shall give them no respite to make the slightest move, let alone steal anything, and shall crush them. You shall also reinforce Izmir and its environs with the necessary number of troops, so that the poor inhabitants of the area will be safe from the encroachments of the wandering brigands.

1 Urla (Gr. Βουρλά): town located west of Izmir, western Turkey.

[580/13, regarding *Skiathos and Trikeri*]
To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]
February 4, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's letter in which you present the documents from *Skiathos* and *Trikeri*, along with their translations. Your Excellency states that the [matters mentioned in] the petition of the *reaya* of *Trikeri* are accurate. Your Excellency also asks for permission to send a mandate granting royal pardon to the *reaya* of *Skiathos* with the pretense that we believe their sincerity. The contents of Your Excellency's letter and the relevant documents have thus become known to us, and we presented them to His Imperial Majesty for review. As Your Excellency is well aware, *Trikeri* is adjacent to *Rumelia*. Thus, the governor of *Rumelia* would know better whether there is any inconvenience attached to the matter of [mercenary] salaries [that the *reaya* of *Trikeri*] brought to our attention, as well as to the issuance of the imperial decree they requested. Hence, Your Excellency should correspond with the governor of *Rumelia* regarding the matter. Concerning the issue of amnesty requested by the *reaya* of *Skiathos*, His Imperial Majesty approved of your proposed measure to accept their request, be it sincere or otherwise, and willed you to send a mandate that reads as follows: "The approval of your request to be pardoned and accepted into Ottoman subjecthood will lead to your well-being and security. Therefore, you should unfalteringly keep to the [requirements of] subjecthood. Then, you may rest assured that the Sublime State will recognize you [as loyal subjects] and always do what is necessary to protect you. However, decrees of amnesty are issued only after observing that the prerequisites of royal pardon have been met by the *reaya*. For this reason, the Sublime State will send an officer. Nevertheless, it is winter, and only when the imperial navy sets sail in the spring toward your direction will all your requests and affairs be dealt with." As explained above in detail, we have sent a letter to the governor of *Rumelia* regarding the issues in *Trikeri*. Your Excellency is allowed to issue a mandate pardoning the *reaya* of *Skiathos* and accepting them back into subjecthood.

[580/14, regarding the dispatching of Geg Albanian troops]

To the Mutasarrıf of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha Bushati]

February 5, 1825

His Imperial Majesty's express order demands that Your Excellency mobilize five thousand soldiers under your command from the *sancaks* that are assigned to you, as you pledged to do last year, and quickly dispatch them to His Excellency Reşid Paha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia. A special *haseki* from the imperial court was appointed and sent, in order to bring news to Istanbul as to whether these soldiers have been mobilized and dispatched; and we also communicated some pieces of advice in this regard. Considering the importance of the matter, it is expected that Your Excellency will have made every effort to fulfill your duties by now. No report has, however, been received yet as regards the mobilization and dispatch of the soldiers. Furthermore, as Your Excellency knows, a great many measures have been taken with the aim of putting an end, with God's help, to the disturbance in the Morea in this blessed year. All functionaries must by now have assumed the posts to which they have been appointed. It is evident that at this present time Reşid Pasha will have departed from Bitola and arrived in Larissa, where he will spend at least ten days; and that he will thereafter depart to his area of operation and embark upon the affairs which are entrusted to him before *Nevruz*. In this respect, it is apparent that all functionaries will be required by their piety to join Reşid Pasha quickly. The matter at hand is a war of religion, and it has become incumbent upon all Muslims to leave their sleep and comfort in this regard; otherwise they will be held responsible both in this world and the next for their indolence and inattentiveness. Your Excellency is comparable to no other and a member of a well-established [local] dynasty. You are one of the greatest viziers, who have acquired a prominent place among the servants of His Imperial Majesty. Hence, you must labor harder than anyone else in this most important matter of religion and strive to fulfill your duties. Your Excellency understands that if you send your soldiers in an untimely manner—as you did last year—they will not only be of no avail, but you will be considered not to have accomplished your duties. It is commanded that Your Excellency shall not waste even a day and immediately dispatch all of the aforementioned soldiers, if you have not done so by the time this command of ours reaches you; and that you shall ensure that they join Reşid Pasha's command as soon as possible. Your Excellency shall quickly report to us that you have dispatched all of the soldiers and thus fulfilled your duties, confirming your piety.

[580/29, *regarding the change in the administration of the Albanian provinces*
To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

February 16, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you inform us that that you have moved in the planned direction and arrived in Larissa on the 15th day of the month of *Cemaziyelahir* [February 4, 1825] in fulfillment of your duties. Your Excellency reports that the infidels from the regions of Euboea, Thebes, and Amfissa have sent their men to beg for amnesty in consequence of the appropriate measures Your Excellency has taken; and you also explain what sort of answers you have given to them. You state that you have dispatched five hundred soldiers, along with your treasurer, to take [over] Ioannina [from Ömer Vrioni], according to the state of affairs; and that you have sent 50,000 piasters to His Excellency the *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki [Ömer Vrioni], so that he leaves Ioannina as per your request; and also in what manner Your Excellency has commanded the said *mutasarrıf* to hurry up in order to move to his post as soon as possible. The report also includes that Your Excellency has given permission to His Excellency Yusuf Pasha of Berkovitsa, due to his weariness, and to His Excellency Ebubekir Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Bolu, due to his old age, for them to return to their posts. Furthermore, the report enumerates the sound and very pleasing measures that Your Excellency has taken with regard to Silahdar [Ilyas] Poda, as well as to the Geg [Albanian] squads that roam around Larissa. We have considered Your Excellency's report with great attention, as well as the reports that Yusuf and Ömer Pashas sent to you on previous occasions. The account of Your Excellency's arrival in Larissa conspicuously displays that your crushing force compels the *reaya* in these lands to beg for mercy; and the sound measures and wise decisions that you took with regard to Silahdar Poda and the Geg troops truly represent the outstanding feats that are expected from you and are occasion for greatest appraisal and satisfaction. These reports have been presented before His Imperial Majesty for review. As Your Excellency knows, we have the intention to eradicate, with God's help, the Greek sedition in this blessed year. We have communicated, one by one, what measures we have taken, so that the troops that are under your command or under the command of other functionaries not suffer from lack of provisions or equipment. It is clear that Your Excellency will by now have acquainted yourself with this matter. The measures that you took with regard to Silahdar Poda are completely in line with the adopted course of action. Our previous message regarding his employment suggests achievement of mutual trust, solely in the hope of mustering and reconciling the Albanians in the initial stages of the change [in the administration of the Albanian provinces]. On this account, Your Excellency's message to us has

been affirmed. Your Excellency has already engaged in these affairs and knows quite well which path to follow in order to employ Silahdar Poda, as well as the rich and the poor and the young and the old in Albania. You shall oversee the proper execution of all affairs, as demanded by your quickness of intellect and acuity. Therefore, all these employments, as and when needed, are entrusted to your good judgement. Since Your Excellency has given permission to Yusuf and Ebubekir Pashas to return to their posts, you are hereby notified that we have written to them in order to inform them that we also granted them permission, in accordance with His Imperial Majesty's will. It is commanded that Your Excellency shall at any rate perform with the requisite observance.

[580/47, *regarding the shortage of provisions due to the Greek blockade of Missolonghi*]

To the Governor of the Morea [Ibrahim Pasha]

February 21, 1825

A few days ago, we instructed Your Excellency to send aid immediately to Patras by a detachment of ships under your command, since the supplies from Istanbul destined for Patras and the fortresses around could not be delivered, because of the infidels' blockade of Missolonghi, reducing the fortress of Patras, the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio], and the Castle of Nafpaktos to an extremity. In addition, we forwarded to you the copies of the reports from Preveza by Bekir Agha, *Mütesellim* of Preveza, as well as Salih Agha, the wardrobe master [*iç çukadar*] of Yusuf Pasha, Castellan of Patras. While we have no doubt that Your Excellency will act upon our instructions with diligence, the fortresses of Patras, the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia, and Nafpaktos are, according to these reports, suffering acute shortages of provisions. Taking advantage of this situation, the infidels have begun siege operations. God forbid, an undesirable development will endanger the whole enterprise and cause much humiliation. Thus, it is imperative to rush to the aid of Patras at once by any means. If you have not yet fallen upon the Morea in your capacity as the governor of the Morea with full discretionary powers, it is our most sincere demand that Your Excellency strives to dispatch a sufficient number of warships to confront the infidels' boats, deliver the aforementioned provisions sent from here, and rescue the area from harassment; this is in order to protect our religious brethren, who have been afflicted by trials and tribulations for four years in their efforts to uphold the honor of religion and the Sublime State. We assume that you have already moved into the Morea, with God the Victorious on your side, but in the event that you have not, due to adverse weather conditions, we ask of you by this letter to send at once a sufficiently large squadron to Patras against the infidels' boats, whenever and wherever this letter reaches Your Excellency. You must exert yourself to reach the provisions kept in Zakynthos and Preveza for delivery to the aforementioned fortresses and finish the depredations of the infidels' boats in that region swiftly and decisively. We invite Your Excellency to demonstrate the diligent and distinct service expected of you by His Imperial Majesty on this matter and to inform us immediately after accomplishing the task at hand.

[580/53, *regarding the change in the administration of the Albanian provinces*]
From Our Benefactor the Deputy Grand Vizier to [Mühürdar] Ago Osman
Agha, Mütesellim of Vlorë
February 23, 1825

We have received your correspondence that confirms your reception of our previous letter and relates the way in which you commit yourself to fulfill His Imperial Majesty's will following the arrival of Süleyman Pasha to that vicinity [i.e. removing Ömer Vrioni's men from the region]. The dignitaries of the Sublime State are aware that you are an able, competent, diligent, and loyal servant of the Sublime State and a man of prominence in the vicinity. In expectation of loyal service to religion and state, the Sublime State ordered you to guard the *sancak* of Vlorë and organize the recruitment process of the troops of Süleyman Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Vlorë. Your complete obedience to the imperial orders, as well as prudently arranging the transportation of the family of Ömer Pasha [Vrioni] from one mansion to another, have confirmed the past recommendations about you and have pleased everyone here. You have proved your loyalty as a faithful toiler and a well-meaning and scrupulous man; past thoughts and feelings gave way to a good opinion of you on the part of His Imperial Majesty. Thus, we assure you that all possible future slanders and denigrations about you will be ignored. Albania is safe and secure, since you are the steward and deputy of Süleyman Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Vlorë. However, keeping peace and order in the towns and villages of Albania in the future is possible only by finishing off the infidel brigands, which, in turn, requires the full participation of the Tosks in this endeavor. We believe that this is largely possible if you keep Süleyman Pasha well-supplied in manpower and provisions. You know how crucial it is to carry out immediately the measures you deem necessary on this subject, as suggested by the commander-in-chief. Clearly, it is a matter of honor for Toskëria that you serve the state and religion with such diligence and loyalty, which will not fade into oblivion. Past measures [which you might have considered against you] were only intended to serve the state and exhibit loyalty and diligence. This letter is to ask you to pay attention to run the affairs smoothly in the vicinity, attend to troop recruitment, and take care of other issues, performing your duties under the command of the governor of Rumelia.

[580/61, regarding Mühürdar Ago's compliance with the administrative change in Albania and the provisioning of the army at Missolonghi]
To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

February 22, 1825

Süleyman Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Vlorë, informed us that he arrived in Berat, the administrative center of the *sancak* of Vlorë, and took office. Mesud Agha, one of the imperial chamberlains, who accompanied Süleyman Pasha to his designated post and installed him in office, reported that Ago Mühürdar Osman Agha informed [him] in writing about his dedication to serving religion and the Sublime State heartily. His Imperial Majesty was pleased with the news and willed us to send separate letters to Süleyman Pasha and Ago Mühürdar Osman Agha, enjoining them expressively to follow your instructions as the commander-in-chief in the administration of the *sancak* and for the recruitment of troops. From now on, it is your duty as the supreme commander to communicate to them your opinion and instructions concerning the affairs of the vicinity and put them to good use. Last spring, when Your Excellency's army descended on Acarnania and Missolonghi, it was not possible to dispatch provisions from the hinterland. Hence, we have decided to send the necessary quantities of provisions to Preveza from here by sea, to be kept in stores by a commissary officer at the necessary locations. It is difficult to transfer provisions from Preveza to Missolonghi; thus, we considered it feasible to supply you with the provisions stored at Nafpaktos. All these require the appointment of a commissary officer to Preveza, who would send one of his trustworthy men to Nafpaktos to receive the grain deliveries and transport them to facilitate the logistics of your army at Missolonghi. Thus, we have appointed Mesud Agha, who completed his task in that vicinity, as the commissary officer of Preveza, in compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will. We instructed him to go to Preveza immediately to receive the shipments of provisions. Your Excellency should also appoint a trustworthy man from among your retinue to Patras to support your army at Missolonghi with the supplies from the stores at Patras. We warned Mesud Agha firmly that Your Excellency's army shall not suffer from a lack of supplies. We have also assured him that neither we nor Your Excellency would cause him distress in his task. He knows that the intention of his instructions is to prevent a shortage of supplies in your army, regardless of the route you take as you leave Larissa, and that you are the ultimate authority to approve these instructions or change them. This letter is to let you know about his instructions and to tell you to acknowledge the expenses required by his office as part of the administrative expenses of your office and pay them.

[580/69, *regarding the failure of the former commander-in-chief to reinforce Euboea*]

To the Castellan of Euboea [Ömer Pasha]

February 24, 1825

We understand from the correspondence of Reşid Pasha, Commander-in-Chief, that when you sent your treasurer to the former governor of Rumelia Derviş Pasha to communicate your need of money and soldiers, he failed to respond to your request, due to his proven lethargy and laxity in the management of the holy war. However, Reşid Pasha, as soon as he arrived in Larissa, forwarded you 85,000 piasters and sent one thousand footmen and four hundred horsemen under the command of your treasurer. He sent us the receipt for this transaction. Reşid Pasha is among the brave viziers of the Sublime State and famed for his devotion to serving the true religion and the caliph of the face of the earth. The responsiveness of the commander-in-chief to your call for aid is part of his duty, and he gained the full satisfaction of the Sublime State by fulfilling your demand. Following His Imperial Majesty's will, we sent the aforementioned sum of 85,000 piasters to the commander-in-chief, later to be subtracted from the money equivalent of 3,500 pay tickets [for mercenaries' salaries] assigned to him previously. This letter is to encourage you to exert yourself to repair and reinforce the royal fortifications entrusted to you with your victorious troops, guard that vicinity against the vices of the brigands, and fulfill your tasks diligently, as expected of you under any circumstances.

[580/70, *regarding the guarding of the Anatolian coasts*]

To the Castellan of Kuşadası

February 27, 1825

It was previously established that, owing to the lack of troops in the defiles on the coasts of Kuşadası, whose defense is entrusted to you, some infidels from Samos had thieved livestock and that some [of the local] infidels had managed to escape to Samos secretly. In your letter, you state that our dispatch containing instructions in this regard has arrived and that the reinforcement of Kuşadası and its coasts will be achieved if those five hundred soldiers from the districts of the *sancak* of Sığla, who are assembled on the island of Chios, are put under your command. You maintain that for this reason the soldiers should be transferred from Chios and put under your command. Taking into account the fact that Chios is a place which must be defended and that it will be impossible to deprive it of guard troops, it is not permissible to detach the said soldiers from this island. Since you have influence in this region, owing to your relatives and connections, and on the grounds of your previous request, you were dismissed from being present on Chios in person and appointed to Kuşadası. You were ordered to retain those five hundred soldiers on Chios under a suitable commander, and the sending of aid from Çeşme to Chios, when necessary, was stipulated as a part of your responsibilities. Therefore, it is your binding duty to implement the necessary precautions without further ado. This letter is written to ensure that you shall be vigilant and shall carefully consider the present state of affairs. You shall labor with great rigor to secure the proper defense of the areas under your responsibility and pay attention to their protection, for you will be held responsible and reprimanded in the event that some impropriety, God forbid, takes place in an area that is entrusted to you.

[580/71, *regarding the punishment of mercenary commanders*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

February 28, 1825

It is evident from the previously received dispatches of Your Excellency's predecessor, Derviş Pasha, that the troops under his command dared to perpetrate some improper deeds and to resort to violence in their demand for salaries. It is unnecessary to explain to Your Excellency that the soldiery has not accomplished anything worth even a piaster since the outbreak of the Greek sedition. They not only committed all sorts of infamy and abuse against the viziers who were appointed to the Morea in quarrels over the salaries, but have also caused untold squandering of resources since the commencement of the sedition. None of them has been punished for his deeds until now. Although punishing these traitors and thus salvaging the vizierial reputation is not a difficult matter to achieve, the present state of affairs clearly demands its undertaking in due course. At this point and time, such unthinkable and intolerable behavior, not befitting the principal of obedience, does not originate from the rank and file. Of course, it is obvious that this behavior would have been instigated by some influential people within the soldiery. As per His Imperial Majesty's order, several of these influential men should be executed when a favorable opportunity is found. Nevertheless, as every measure must be taken in due course, it is His Imperial Majesty's wish not to implement this immediately, but to do so at the appropriate time. It is, however, to be henceforth remembered that this course of action will be followed. It is entrusted to Your Excellency, and it is commanded, in strict confidentiality, that you shall keep this imperial order in secret for now and shall not reveal it to anybody else. You shall first of all discharge without demur those infamous men who deserve punishment and shall communicate their names, posts, and reputation to us. Your Excellency shall enforce His Imperial Majesty's order when the time is ripe and it is clear that there will be no drawbacks, immediate or future, to the enforcement of the punishment.

[580/76, *regarding the sailing of the imperial navy*]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

March 1, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's note asking for permission to anchor those ships that are equipped and refitted off the imperial arsenal and also to anchor the remaining ships offshore as they get refitted. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted your note to His Imperial Majesty, who, upon reading it through, issued the following imperial rescript: "The note from the grand admiral is brought to my royal attention. Spring has almost set in. As indicated by him, have the ready ships anchored offshore tomorrow and the other ships whenever they are refitted and equipped. Proper attention shall be given to bring them off Beşiktaş until the 15th day of the month of *Şaban* [April 4, 1825]. You are all aware how crucial it is to send out our imperial navy as soon as possible. Therefore, no laxity should be shown, making excuses such as 'It is the grand admiral's business to deal with the arsenal.' You should all strive in full cooperation to prepare the remaining ships. That you [the grand vizier] visited the arsenal at dawn today is brought to my knowledge through the grand admiral's note. Keep scrutinizing the process with due diligence and regular warnings. No news has come lately from the [shipyard in the] provinces. Presumably, it is taken for granted that it proceeds smoothly and no one checks on it, I am afraid. No progress will be made this way. It is necessary to persevere at all times." Indeed, spring is very close, as indicated by His Imperial Majesty. Your Excellency has been making preparations to sail out for some time, and we have been sending express instructions to the provincial shipyards to finish the construction of the ships and send them to the imperial arsenal in the month of *Şaban* or even before, if possible. As is known to Your Excellency, a ship is useless without a crew. While the time for your departure has almost come, you have not informed us about how many of those men mustered in the provinces have arrived up to now and how many of them are still expected. We ask of you by this letter to have the ready ships anchored offshore [before they set sail] and continue to anchor the others as they get refitted, so that they will show up off Beşiktaş until the 15th day of the month of *Şaban*, as decreed by His Imperial Majesty. You should also inform us whether the provincial crews have arrived, and, if they did, how many and when. While spending due effort in dealing with these matters, Your Excellency must point out the way in which we should contribute to these efforts. We assure you about our determination to help you in every way possible to have the imperial navy sail out on time. We request Your Excellency to keep us informed about the matters to which we should attend. Your Excellency shall strive day and night toward working to reach this objective.

[580/78, regarding protecting Mühürdar Ago from the possible vengeance of Ömer Vrioni]

From Our Benefactor the Deputy Grand Vizier to Ago Mühürdar Osman Agha March 2, 1825

Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], *Mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki, sent a note to Naşid Bey, his agent at the Sublime Porte, when he arrived in Ioannina from Arta, relating his correspondence with you; in this, he had urged you to meet him in order to go over the accounts of the tax farms of Vlorë that you manage as the *müt-esellim*. According to Ömer Pasha, you wrote in response that the proposed auditing required your presence, but you could not go in person, as you were appointed by imperial decree as the *mütesellim* of Vlorë. Ömer Pasha pointed out that, while you would have liked to go in person, you still deemed it dangerous to leave Vlorë without royal permission granted by an imperial decree; and thereby he requested this permission on your behalf, so that you could travel to Thessaloniki for co-auditing your accounts. Upon evaluating the situation, the Sublime Porte sent a response to Ömer Pasha through his agent in Istanbul. Accordingly, we have granted that this auditing had to be done without delay, since Ömer Pasha was too busy to go over your accounts before the termination of his term as the tax farmer. However, we have also underlined that this should not endanger the good administration of Vlorë and the ongoing recruitment of men for the army. Even if you really wished to go to Thessaloniki in person, as related in Ömer Pasha's note, it was not permissible for you to leave Vlorë anytime now or later. Thus, the Sublime Porte explained to Ömer Pasha as follows: "We heard that you wanted Ago Osman Agha to report to your side. This agha is the steward of the *Mutasarrıf* of Vlorë Süleyman Pasha and, by imperial order, the *mütesellim* of the *sancak* of Vlorë, as Süleyman Pasha will serve under the commander-in-chief, who is about to leave for Arta any day now. Süleyman Pasha needs Ago Osman Agha to stay at Berat to manage the affairs of Vlorë and assemble a large number of men, as required by the imperial orders. Besides, this agha is also in charge of supplying and reinforcing Süleyman Pasha from Berat. Management of these affairs will be seriously undermined should he leave for Thessaloniki in contradiction to His Imperial Majesty's will. You should instead send one of your trustworthy men to Berat to go over the accounts with Ago Osman Agha. We let him know about this decision of ours as well." It is indeed inappropriate that you leave Berat on any grounds, and thereby you need to apologize and decline Ömer Pasha's invitation. As previously written, you should commit yourself to take care of managing Vlorë and prepare the troops to depart on time with Süleyman Pasha. This affair is as important as the apple of our eye, and the Sublime State strictly demands your loyalty and good service, as well as the sincere commitment

of all Albania to this matter of religion in order to restore peace and order in Albania, with the help of God Almighty. His Imperial Majesty thinks highly of Albania[ns], and his trust in them is increasing day by day. Your loyal service will not be lost upon His Imperial Majesty, who, as I know personally, expects you to serve with loyalty and to exert your best effort to fulfill your task.

[580/100, *regarding the negotiations with Odysseas Androutsos for granting amnesty*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

March 13, 1825

In a letter we received recently from Ömer Pasha,¹ Castellan of Euboea, he gave an account of the meeting he had arranged with Captain Disava [Odysseas Androutsos], longtime captain of Livadeia and rebel since the outbreak of the sedition. Captain Disava had requested that an envoy be dispatched, designating a meeting point off the island of Euboea, so as to discuss, among other things, the terms under which he would be granted amnesty.² Ömer Pasha thus sent his council scribe. Upon completion of their negotiations, the captain pledged his service to the state, albeit on certain conditions, including his request that he be granted amnesty. Ömer Pasha has informed us that he has written to you, explaining the situation, and has presented a report in which he states clearly the conditions of the agreement he made with the said captain.³ According to the agreement, the captain is to reside in Thebes. Furthermore, you are to dispatch one thousand cavalry troops and five thousand infantry troops, for the protection of certain towns. Should the captain proceed to capture Athens or other towns, he shall be entitled to bring with him as many of these troops as he deems necessary; once he proves loyal, the troops will be paid their salaries and provided the necessary provisions immediately. The captain will oversee the dispatch of these troops to those towns which have not yet appealed for amnesty, with the exception of Livadeia, Thebes, and Atalanti—towns that are under his command. Your Excellency has not as yet expressed any opinion on this matter. The conditions outlined in the castellan's letter have for the most part been deemed unacceptable by us. However, having long served at his post, the said castellan knows the region well and is still in communication with the infidels. It is thus a mystery why he, being among those functionaries who have demonstrated great acumen and zeal in

1 When the revolution broke out, Ömer Bey was the *mütesellim* of Karystos. Within a year he was made a pasha of two horsetails [*mir-i miran*] and was appointed castellan of the *sancak* of Euboea.

2 For a British account of Androutsos's dealings with the Ottoman officials, see Edward John Trelawney, *Recollections of the Last Days of Shelley and Byron* (London: Edward Moxon, 1858), pp. 253–64. Trelawney was Androutsos's lieutenant and brother-in-law. For a Greek account, see N. Spiliadis, *Απομνημονεύματα διά να χρησιμεύσωσιν εις τη νέα ελληνικήν ιστορίαν* (Athens: X. N. Filadelfeos, 1852), vol. 2, pp. 411–14.

3 For details of the negotiation process, see BOA/HAT 39481-G. In this document, the grand vizier discussed Androutsos's demands one by one and proved them inappropriate (fig. 17). The grand vizier's main argument was that it was not befitting for a sublime state to cooperate with a person who was considered a bandit.

the past, should condone such an agreement; it is possible that he is reluctant to decline for fear that the captain may again join the rebellion or some other mishap. We were on the verge of writing to you to outline what opinions and concerns were brought to bear on the matter and to urge you to write to the castellan, proffering your opinion and advising him as to how to proceed, when we finally received your letter. While the castellan appears willing to accept the agreement made with the captain, if the captain's request is to be granted amnesty, he ought to have gone to Euboea to meet the castellan in person, leaving one of his brothers or his son behind as a pawn, which he did not. He only deigned to meet and speak with the castellan's envoy. His manner thus renders his pledge to serve and his displays of loyalty untrustworthy; and to employ him may cause various problems. Currently, all our efforts are concentrated on cleansing Amfissa of the rebels, and once, God willing, that has been accomplished, the *reyas* of Athens and its environs will promptly appeal for amnesty or flee. Therefore, you write that, should the captain's request be genuine, it will suffice to allot him a limited number of services. These services include gathering the *reaya* who have dispersed from the towns under his control, namely Livadeia, Thebes, and Atalanti; protecting the *reaya* from the rebel bandits; serving as a guide for the troops that, should the need arise, will be sent to the region; and facilitating the transportation of grain stores. You also clearly state that if the captain honors his pledge, then the conditions for his amnesty must be considered binding. He, his entourage, and the *reaya* he will gather and resettle must be protected; he must be pardoned for his previous crimes; and we must commit to our promise to grant him command of the militia in the towns under his control. We are of the same opinion on this matter. Should this arrangement prove successful, it will be a sign of divine assistance. It is imminent that this issue will be resolved properly, as is our aim, and the Muslims will be granted security. Your advice and thoughts on the matter, together with the letter sent by the Castellan Ömer Pasha, have been presented before His Imperial Majesty for review. Indeed, as you have pointed out, the fact that Captain Disava did not go to Euboea himself and leave his brother or son as a pawn, but rather entered into negotiations with the castellan's scribe, indicate that his pledge of loyal service is not to be trusted. Even if his request for amnesty is genuine, it would be inappropriate for the state to employ him and place troops under his command so soon. It will suffice to employ him simply to carry out the services you have listed. It is His Imperial Majesty's will that, given your deep understanding of the matter and freedom of action as commander-in-chief, you are to proceed as you see fit regarding the dispatch of the troops and all other matters. In addition, you are to inform the said castellan and provide him an explanation for your decision on the matter. We have

written to the castellan and, after recognizing his knowledge of the region, we have advised him manifestly to proceed along whatever lines you advise him to follow. A copy of our letter of reply to the castellan has been sent to you, and you are to entrust your own letter to the castellan to the chamberlain who bore his letter to you. Henceforth, in accordance with your wisdom and zeal, you are to proceed and take what measures you deem necessary in regard to dispatching the troops in question, as in all other matters. Your Excellency shall write to the said castellan at once, outlining the situation, and send the chamberlain on with your letter, as required.

[580/110, *regarding Ibrahim Pasha's arrival in the Morea*]

To Yusuf Pasha of Serres [Castellan of Patras]

March 18, 1825

Your Excellency's agent at the Sublime Porte forwarded us your letter in which you report the arrival of Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of Jeddah and the Morea, in the vicinity of Methoni and Koroni. Moreover, Your Excellency reports that the provisions arranged in Zakynthos have arrived, after the infidel boats [blockading] off the coast of Missolonghi dispersed. Your Excellency states that, once Ibrahim Pasha reaches Patras, you will be completely relieved from hardship. Ibrahim Pasha's arrival in the vicinity of Methoni was also communicated to us by Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia. The news caused a great deal of jubilation among the loyal [servants] of the Exalted State. We immediately presented the communications of Your Excellency and the commander-in-chief to His Imperial Majesty. It appears from the information gathered from Your Excellency's men who reached Preveza that Ibrahim Pasha dispatched eighteen ships to Patras after his arrival in Methoni and that the ships have entered the port of Patras. We expect that the provisions we have dispatched from here and the money sent from Izmir will also arrive there [shortly], and Ibrahim Pasha will settle in the region, by the Grace of God, and bring your suffering to an end. The governor and the commander-in-chief of Rumelia is about to reach Missolonghi. God willing, Ibrahim Pasha by sea and the commander-in-chief by land will launch an offensive and finish off the disturbance in no time. Your Excellency shall continue to show tenacity and exert yourself to assist Ibrahim Pasha by all means.

[580/117, regarding *Ibrahim Pasha's advance in the Morea*]

To the Castellan of Izmir [Hasan Pasha]

March 23, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's communication confirming your receipt of our past letter sent by two separate messengers, demanding the delivery of our correspondence fast and secure, to His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of the Morea and Jeddah and the supreme commander of the Egyptian navy. After assuring us that you would forward the correspondence to Ibrahim Pasha, you relate the news of his arrival off Methoni with five thousand troops aboard thirty-six vessels, capturing the fortress of Navarino and Kalamata.¹ We understand from your correspondence that His Excellency sailed back to Souda to transport the remainder of his troops to the Morea after repairing the defenses of Methoni and Koroni. We have been pleased with your auspicious news and presented your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty for review. News of Ibrahim Pasha's mighty arrival in the Morea has been related by other agents of ours as well, who also heralded his conquest of Navarino and Kalamata after battling the hell-bound heathens. We are expecting the arrival of his official news of conquest in a few days. We ask you by this letter to continue passing on to us all the intelligence you obtain through your enquiries without wasting time, as required by your devotion and diligence.

¹ Kalamata (Turk. Kalamata, Gr. Καλαμάτα): coastal town and district in the south Peloponnese.

[580/124, *regarding the granting of financial aid to Albanian pashas*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

March 27, 1825

Süleyman Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Vlorë, communicated to us that he would prepare his supplies and troops to serve under your command as required by his commission. Besides, his trusted man who arrived in Istanbul related that you asked Süleyman Pasha to raise eight thousand men in total. In addition to the four thousand men that he was to recruit from Vlorë, he would hire three thousand troops from his own pocket and one thousand additional salaried troops to be paid by Your Excellency. Although he set out to accomplish the orders, he hired only two thousand men out of his own pocket instead of three thousand, as he proved unable to afford it. This contingent, his trusted man pointed out, must have reached your camp at the time of this conversation. We understand from his words that Süleyman Pasha is in need of financial assistance. It is out of the question to lend financial support to him from Istanbul, lest it sets an example for others. We are confident that you, as the illustrious governor of Rumelia with full powers and freedom of action, will provide due help to the functionaries whom you employ in their best capacity. As we have brought to your attention, Süleyman Pasha suffered mistreatment from the slain [Tepedelenli] Ali Pasha and, although he was given the *sancak* of Vlorë, his revenues obviously fall short of hiring the desired number of men. His Imperial Majesty granted him 25,000 piasters as a royal gift prior to his departure from Istanbul for his post, and we alluded that he would be rewarded when he demonstrated his loyalty and dedication to service by raising a considerable force from the district under his authority. He would indeed deserve your favor, should he join your camp with a force in required numbers and put forth an effort to serve well. That said, it is your prerogative to employ and reward Süleyman Pasha, who is supposed to reach your camp by now, as well as other functionaries under your command as you see fit. We advised him in our letter that you, as the supreme commander with full discretionary powers, are the sole authority to whom to apply for all expressions of gratitude and complaints. This letter is to inform you that it is entirely your decision to support Süleyman Pasha financially, after getting first-hand knowledge of the current state of his force, without setting a precedent for other Albanian pashas.

Postscript: We assure you that this letter is not meant to back Süleyman Pasha by any means. We only forward this and similar petitions to you and tell the petitioners that you are the sole authority to decide on the matter

in question. This letter is solely to communicate to you the situation with Süleyman Pasha, who departed to his post from here and then sent confirmation of his arrival in which he also related the current state of his affairs. We express our wish for your commitment to exercise good judgment and prudence.

[580/135, *regarding the necessity to deploy Kirdzhali troops for the operations to begin*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Ormenio [Esad Pasha]

March 29, 1825

Your Excellency has been instructed previously to exert yourself to raise in no time three thousand Kirdzhali troops from the *kaza* of Komotini and to dispatch them under the command of their *ayan* to be deployed under Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia. However, Reşid Pasha has informed us that he has not received these troops, and his march on Missolonghi from Arta, where he arrived on the 29th day of the month of *Receb* [March 19, 1825], is contingent upon the arrival of these troops. His Excellency the commander-in-chief is currently awaiting the arrival of these troops with angst. It is of utmost importance that the said soldiers hurry to His Excellency's command, because, if the operations do not commence this season, the entire enterprise will stagnate. This affair is comparable to no other, and it is a religious obligation for everyone to exert themselves to fulfill their duties in a timely manner. Your Excellency is one of the great viziers, who knows the methods and timing of combat well. Your Excellency also knows well that in case these troops—who are to be raised from a region which falls under your jurisdiction—do not reach Reşid Pasha on time, they will be of no use. We have dispatched a *haseki* carrying an imperial decree that orders you to exert yourself to raise these troops and make sure that they swiftly reach Reşid Pasha, whom we have also duly informed.

[580/141, *regarding the need to inspect the fortresses under Ottoman control*]
To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

March 31, 1825

By the grace of God Almighty, we have received from Your Excellency and our other functionaries the news of the expulsion of the infidel boats across from Missolonghi and the arrival of the provisions in Patras. However, for some time, we have not obtained reliable information about the situation at the fortresses of Patras and Nafpaktos and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio]. Should we inquire from our functionaries in these strongholds, each would send a report of some sort. We need an authoritative inspection of the real conditions prevailing in these fortifications in terms of garrison strength, ammunition levels, supply stocks, and the population living inside; and this task is entrusted to Your Excellency. We ask you by this letter to send a trustworthy, adept, and observant man with an appropriate pretext in order to survey, without arousing suspicions, the quantity of provisions and ammunition, the strength of the garrisons, the state of the defenses, and the reinforcements made to the walls, as well as the likely size of the population in Patras, Nafpaktos, and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia. Your Excellency shall explain your findings to us in a memorandum.

[580/143, regarding the reprimanding of Ömer Vrioni for sluggish conduct]
 To Ömer Pasha [Vrioni], Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki

April 1, 1825

Your Excellency has previously received the imperial decree that ordered you to report to your assigned post at the head of one thousand men to serve under Reşid Pasha, Governor of Rumelia and Commander-in-Chief with full discretionary powers, twenty days before the day of *Hızır*. We have also written a letter to you informing you about the importance of this matter and the details of the military plans for this year. However, we have not received any news about your march or your arrival to your assigned post, although swiftness is necessary to fulfill His Imperial Majesty's will. Reşid Pasha left Ioannina for Arta on the 27th day of the month of *Receb* [March 17, 1825] and is currently about to march forward from Arta in order to engage the enemy, with the help of God Almighty. Does such lethargy of our functionaries in this most significant matter of religion not invite their punishment? We have previously informed you that His Imperial Majesty strictly ordered every functionary to perform their duties on time in order to bring this disturbance to a successful conclusion in this blessed year through a reinvigorated attempt. If by this sluggish conduct your intention is to arrive tardily [at the army camp] at the head of some ramshackle troops, as you did in the previous years, you should definitely know that those functionaries who do not report in person and on time to the command of the commander-in-chief with robust troops and who do not gain his favor by exerting themselves for religion and state shall most certainly receive due punishment. This time we send you orders with a *haseki*, who will accompany you swiftly to your assigned post. This is your last warning, and, if you want to evade punishment, you shall march day and night to reach your destination at the head of your troops as soon as you receive this letter. You shall then send back the *haseki* with the news of your arrival, so that you maintain your peace and security.

[580/144, *regarding the meat rations of the mercenaries*]

To His Excellency the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

April 1, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you disagree with our past decision against the appointment of a chief butcher and to procure only grain for the troops, for they would be sent into combat at once. Your Excellency points out that cutting meat rations is likely to cause grievance among the soldiery, as they are accustomed to receive bread and meat rations. Considering the futility of appointing a chief butcher at such a late time, you offer to provide meat rations from your own budget in agreement with the number of the pay tickets you have distributed. Accordingly, you also suggest that we send you 15 *paras* for each ration, along with the military pay, so that you distribute it as a compensation fee wherever meat is not to be found. In the future, you state that sheep can be procured from the proper locations and that dues can be paid by the imperial treasury. As is known to Your Excellency, the reason why we did not appoint a chief butcher this year is that we commuted the sheep requisitions from the *kazas* into the cash equivalent, so that no sheep would be collected. Indeed, it is necessary not to provoke resentment among the soldiery over this issue. However, it is already too late to appoint a chief butcher, as Your Excellency points out. Regarding your suggestion that we collect sheep from the *kazas*, this year, as we will raise troops—either in person or as a compensation fee—from most *kazas* of Rumelia, demanding sheep or their cash equivalent would jeopardize the mobilization and procurement efforts. Nevertheless, we have found your suggestion to give 15 *paras* to each man on the days when the meat rations cannot be distributed reasonable, and His Imperial Majesty has approved this measure as well. We will refund these expenses that you are authorized to make as the commander-in-chief. Your Excellency shall exert yourself to demonstrate the zeal and devotion that we expect of you by putting the assembled troops to good use.

[580/146, *regarding Ibrahim Pasha's advance in the Morea*
To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]
April 4, 1825

We have previously passed on to Your Excellency the news we received from the Morea that His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of the Morea and Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian navy, had captured the Castle of Navarino and the town of Kalamata upon his arrival at Methoni; and that he set sail to the port of Souda in order to take the remainder of his navy and troops left there to the Morea. At this point, according to the correspondence arriving from His Excellency, the imperial navy under his command had weighed anchor from the port of Marmaris on the 11th day of the month of *Cemaziyelahir* [January 31, 1825] with the intention of sailing to the Morea; but because he was dispersed by sudden storms, he reached Methoni with only twenty-five ships on the 5th day of the month of *Receb* [February 23, 1825]. After a few days of rest and refitting, His Excellency advanced on the Castle of Navarino at the head of a few soldiers. While it took only two hours from Methoni to Navarino, the road was not suitable for mounting horses, so that some infidels inhabiting the lodges around fled to the mountains when they could not withstand the mighty onslaught of the Muslim troops. All the sheep, goats, and various other commodities they left behind became the spoils of the victorious holy warriors. The fortresses of Methoni and Koroni have thus been rescued from the harassment of the infidels. His Excellency points out that he is anxiously awaiting the remainder of the navy and the victorious troops aboard, so that he is able to lead the army in the most promising direction for attaining victory. Based on his report, we assume that by this date the remainder of the fleet must have already arrived; and we expect this disturbance to be over soon, as he falls upon the traitorous brigands from all sides, praise be to God. We are also assuming that Your Excellency must have launched the intended operations. We hope Ibrahim Pasha shall proceed into the depths of the Morea, while you shall organize an all-out attack on the infidel bandits haunting Missolonghi and its hinterland, so that it will be possible to cleanse both the Morea and its surrounding from the putrid bodies of the infidel bandits, as well as cutting their veins of mischief, God willing. By this letter, we inform Your Excellency of the news that has arrived from His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha and call upon you to spare no efforts to carry out your duties with diligence.

[580/154, *regarding the siege of Missolonghi*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

April 13, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you relate that on the 8th day of the month of *Şaban* [March 28, 1825] you sent your steward at the head of four thousand men and on the 11th day of *Şaban* [March 31, 1825] you sent Ismail Pasha of Palasë¹ at the head of eight thousand robust troops through different routes for an offensive on the infidels from three sides. For this reason you also sent intimidating orders to quicken the pace of the troops coming from Amfissa. You explain in your report your plan for marching on Missolonghi and the necessary preparations and precautions you undertook, while requesting the immediate delivery of the cannons, mortars, and munitions by the imperial navy for this operation. The letters sent to you by the castellan of Patras report about the blockading of the strait of Patras by the infidel boats, which reappeared in the vicinity upon the departure of the fleet of Ibrahim Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, after disembarking troops at Methoni. You also explain in your correspondence your efforts to make another purchase of victuals of various kinds from Corfu. Moreover, Your Excellency confirms that you forwarded to the castellan of Euboea our correspondence addressing him on the matter of the plea of Captain Disava [Odysseas Androutsos] for amnesty, along with your own correspondence. Previously, the said castellan [of Euboea] had complained about the scoundrel called Ali of Skopje, the chief of the light cavalry who abandoned his troops at Euboea and went toward Lamia. He met his due punishment, and a suitable commander would replace him in the service of the said castellan, according to your correspondence. Finally, you recount our past instructions to you to settle quietly the dispute concerning the salary of the troops at Nafpaktos. We have sent considerable amounts of money at various times and three hundred purses of piasters just recently; however, this [mercenaries'] salary issue is unmanageable. Your investigation showed that the castellan of Patras had received money on two occasions, each amounting to three hundred purses of piasters, and you ask us to send four hundred purses more to pay them their salaries. You also request us to disregard the account books of your predecessor, Derviş Pasha, that you had forwarded to us previously in favor of the three account books you sent along with this correspondence. They elucidate the way in which you went over the military pay in question and made a payment plan to end the dispute. You request us to send you the

1 Palasë (Turk. Palas, Gr. Παλάσα): village in the *sancak* of Vlorë, southwest Albania, also known as Paljasa.

certificate of receipt as proof of their registration at the chief accounting office [*Başmuhasebe*]. The contents of Your Excellency's communication and also the report of the castellan of Patras and the account books concerning the dispute over the military pay in arrears have thus become known to us. Your Excellency has demonstrated the prudence and competence expected of you by executing your plan for an onslaught from three sides to overwhelm the infidels and rout the enemy and by exerting yourself to solve all the matters summarized above. We have presented your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty with all our prayers and gratitude. Your dedication to service in this vast military undertaking went beyond our expectations, which is a sign of your prospective success in all affairs, with God and the Prophet [Muhammad] on your side. Our primary concern is to facilitate your success through good measures. The cannons, mortars, and ammunition which you request urgently are ready for shipment by the imperial navy. The grand admiral has sent a squadron in advance to the Dardanelles to receive the firewood and hardtack from Gallipoli and Lapseki for the naval stores and is currently putting the remaining ships of the navy out to the sea, one by one. We hope that they are going to set sail from Istanbul toward the beginning of *Ramazan* [April 19, 1825] and deliver the abovementioned artillery and ammunition for the siege of Missolonghi in time, with the help of God. Ibrahim Pasha reported that he dropped anchor at Methoni on the 5th day of the month of *Receb* [February 23, 1825], relieved Koroni by lifting the siege, and returned victorious to Methoni. He informed us that he would decide on his course of action as required by the circumstances once the remainder of his navy and troops arrive back from Koroni. By now, he must have relieved Patras from siege, as his navy must have already made it to Methoni. We understand from your investigation that the castellan of Patras is keeping the six hundred purses of piasters sent for the troops at Nafpaktos in the past. Following your suggestion, His Imperial Majesty ordered this sum to be subtracted from the total amount of the military pay and registered in the relevant ledgers as a debit entry in the name of the castellan. In compliance with His Imperial Majesty's will, we forwarded an additional four hundred purses of piasters from the imperial mint to end the grievance of these troops. We adopted your suggestion to disregard the past account books registered at the chief accounting office in favor of the genuine ledgers you sent. We have dispatched a copy of these to you, along with a certificate of receipt. We reassure Your Excellency that we are dealing swiftly with the matters you have brought to our attention and we are making efforts to send out the imperial navy. We express our wish that you commit yourself to taking measures for due retribution from these infidels through rendering the expected service to religion and the Sublime State, as required by your commission.

[580/155, *regarding the dispatch of Geg Albanian troops to Missolonghi*
To the Mutasarrıf of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha Bushati]

April 13, 1825

Your Excellency has been instructed by an imperial order to rush from the *sancaks* under your jurisdiction five thousand select and robust troops to the command of Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia. An imperial *haseki* was dispatched as a special messenger with the task of bringing us the news that you have duly fulfilled the requirements of the said imperial order. Additionally, we have also written to you regarding the necessary matters in detail. With regard to the importance of the issue, Your Excellency must have already embarked on carrying out your duty, as expected. However, we have yet to receive a communication from Your Excellency regarding the dispatch of troops. As is known to Your Excellency, it is obligatory for all functionaries to report for duty in a timely manner. Considering that the commander-in-chief has launched the onslaught, it is a religious obligation for all functionaries to rush to his command. The matter at hand is a war of religion, and thus it is imperative for all Muslims to abandon their sleep and comfort. Indolence and negligence will entail responsibility both in this world and the next. Your Excellency is comparable to no other as a member of a great dynasty and one of the greatest viziers of the Sublime State, who has gained great prestige in the eyes of His Imperial Majesty. Therefore, you are expected to distinguish yourself among your peers in carrying out the imperial orders completely in this very important matter of religion. If you do not dispatch the troops in time—as in the previous year—they will be of no use, and we will not consider that you have carried out your duty. We have sent a special messenger to you to obtain an answer to His Imperial Majesty's question as to whether you have dispatched the troops or not, and his expenses have been covered by us. If you have not sent the troops by the time this letter of ours reaches you, you should immediately do so without the slightest delay and send us confirmation through our special messenger. Your Excellency is expected to exert yourself to carry out your duty.

[580/156, regarding the dispatch of *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops]

To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ömer Vrioni]

April 13, 1825

We have arranged for the recruitment of three thousand *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops in this blessed year, two thousand of whom are to serve in rotation under Your Excellency's command. The rest has been commissioned to serve under the command of Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia. Kanturzade Mustafa Bey, *Çeribaşı*¹ of Tikveš, has been appointed the commander of these troops. An imperial order for the immediate dispatch of these troops has been communicated to Your Excellency with an imperial *haseki*, along with a note on the course of action to be taken this year and the importance of the issue. It is thus expected that the abovementioned troops must have been dispatched by now; however, Your Excellency has yet to notify us regarding this matter. Considering that the commander-in-chief has launched the onslaught, it is incumbent on all functionaries to carry out the requirements of their commissions as commanded by the imperial order. Therefore, we have sent special messengers carrying separate messages to each of the functionaries in order to investigate their conditions and actions. In this respect, we have dispatched to you one of our messengers—after paying his travel allowance—to find out the whereabouts of the said *Evlad-ı Fatihan* troops. This matter is a matter of religion, and it is incumbent on everyone to exert their best efforts in order to be absolved from all due responsibility. Hence, if you have not sent the [previously requested] one thousand troops by the time this letter of ours reaches you, you should immediately exert yourself to make sure that they reach the command of the commander-in-chief without the slightest delay and send us confirmation through our special messenger.

¹ *Çeribaşı*: commander of troops.

[580/161, regarding the reinforcements requested by Ömer Pasha of Karystos to meet Odysseas Androutsos's demand]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

April 14, 1825

We had previously received a communication from His Excellency Ömer Pasha, Castellan of Euboea, informing us about his request from Your Excellency to dispatch to Thebes an additional five thousand infantry and [one thousand] cavalry, based on the demand of Captain Disava [Odysseas Androutsos], who seeks to receive royal pardon.¹ We then wrote to you in detail about this subject and left it to Your Excellency's discretion to decide on the proper course of action. In response, Your Excellency recounted the measures you have taken, including the dispatch of four thousand troops under your steward and eight thousand troops under [Palashzade] Ismail Pasha from two different routes to fall upon the infidel bandits [at Missolonghi]. Moreover, you had strictly instructed Abbas Pasha and Binbaşı Mustafa Bey the Egyptian, who were in charge of the force sent through Amfissa, to join forces and launch the operations. Lastly, Your Excellency stated that you have already assured Ömer Pasha with a letter that you would execute the chief of the light cavalry [who deserted his command] at his request, send a replacement for the said chief, and try to fulfill all his future demands. Yet, we have received another communication from Ömer Pasha, indicating that he reiterated his demand to Your Excellency for the dispatch of five thousand men without losing time as the matter is urgent. Your Excellency is the glorious governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia with full discretionary powers, and we have no doubt that you will consider the right path to follow in terms of the protection and administration of all the domains within your jurisdiction. Your Excellency does not mention in your correspondence whether or not you would send a force to Thebes. Apparently, you are assuming that the forces sent upon Amfissa would go on to rescue Thebes and Athens after liberating Amfissa, thereby fulfilling Ömer Pasha's request afterward at any rate. Ömer Pasha's present correspondence is meant only for our information [without intention to complain about you]. Ömer Pasha is willing to serve, and his zeal for service must not be allowed to falter. Thus, following His Imperial Majesty's will, we have reiterated to him the information Your Excellency had relayed to him previously. We thus reminded him that Your Excellency sent forces in different directions; that the one advancing upon Amfissa has instructions to fulfill his request; that you would execute the chief of the light cavalry at his request and send another commander to replace him; and that you would strive to help and support

¹ See document 580/100 herein.

him in every way possible. We concluded our correspondence to him by mentioning that Your Excellency has instructions to stay in communication with the forces advancing upon Amfissa and to coordinate the operations in various directions with diligence. Obviously, all these matters are subject to Your Excellency's discretion. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to stimulate Ömer Pasha's zeal by treating him wisely and having him carry out his duties without any compromise.

[580/170, *regarding the reorganization of the administration of the Albanian provinces and the appointment of Ismail Pasha to Ioannina and Delvinë*]
To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

April 17, 1825

Palashizade Ismail Pasha, who is appointed under Your Excellency's command, has earned himself a prime standing with his zeal and demonstration of excellent performance in the service of the Sublime State. Not only is he well known to the Exalted Sultanate as one of its servants who is endowed with complete integrity, but Your Excellency has also witnessed his readiness to perform with self-sacrificing zeal. Although it has been made clear, through careful consideration, that there are some commendable advantages in the postponement of the assignment, at Your Excellency's request, of the *sancaks* of Ioannina and Delvinë to Ismail Pasha until the proper conclusion of the Greek sedition, Your Excellency suggests that Ismail Pasha's current assignment to the *sancaks* of Nafpaktos and Acarnania be renewed, along with a promotion to the rank of vizier of three horsetails, in order to improve his status among his peers and encourage his eagerness and zeal. The contents of Your Excellency's report have thus become known to us. Your Excellency is one of the greatest viziers of the Sublime State, who is endowed with innate prowess and wisdom. You have hitherto labored hard with all the passion of your being, in order to grasp fully the intricacies of the exalted post of commander-in-chief, which has been entrusted to you, and to advance in its affairs successfully. Your deliberations are always, by relying upon God's assistance, in agreement with the presently adopted course of action; and it is hoped and expected that divine favor will reveal all instances of service and fidelity you may render to religion and state, God willing! Because of this, His Imperial Majesty clearly places his imperial favors and trust in Your Excellency. As for Ismail Pasha, he is one of the most obedient servants who have been enjoying, from father to son, the pecuniary benevolence of the Sublime State. Taking into account his praiseworthy deeds and past experience while postponing the assignment of [new] *sancaks* to him for now, and as the request that Your Excellency has made in this regard is appropriate, we accepted the obligation to submit the matter before His Imperial Majesty and to do what is necessary, so that Your Excellency's request will be approved. Therefore, as soon as His Imperial Majesty considered Your Excellency's report, we prostrated ourselves before him in earnest appeal with regard to the coincidence of the [payment of the] half-yearly salaries with the Day of *Yuvan* [the Feast of St. John the Baptist (?); uncertain translation]. His Imperial Majesty uttered in his inimitable parlance the good tidings that Your Excellency's wise and well-considered actions, which you take in relation to Albania and in your personal affairs, are in consonance with His

Imperial Majesty's disposition; and that they are the object of his kindness and favors, which are growing day by day; and also that Your Excellency's request is approved. At this present time, Your Excellency endeavors with all the passion of your being to put a definite end, with God's aid, to this seditious disturbance of the Greeks in this blessed year. You swiftly send functionaries with detachments—you have already sent Ismail Pasha with a detachment of eight thousand soldiers—and you hasten to depart for Missolonghi in person immediately, with God's help! In view of that, we rest our hopes upon divine favor that you will depart from Arta these days, attack the rebellious infidels, and succeed in capturing Missolonghi as soon as possible. This is what preoccupies His Imperial Majesty's mind and concern at present. As Ismail Pasha is worthy to be rewarded with His Imperial Majesty's goodwill, in the manner suggested by Your Excellency, it is deemed suitable to extend to Ismail Pasha the goodwill gestures which His Imperial Majesty demonstrates to Your Excellency; and also to redouble Your Excellency's glory and authority as commander-in-chief, provided that the capture of Missolonghi is reported soon. Your Excellency thus understands that His Imperial Majesty is absorbed in expectations of the arrival of happy news in this regard. The thoughts of our Majestic Master [the sultan], may God perpetuate his possessions until the Day of the Last Judgement, are preoccupied day and night with this most important matter of religion. It is unnecessary to explain to Your Excellency how important it is for the faithful servants to labor with might and main, by relying upon God's help and embracing the spiritual aid of the first among the prophets, the Prophet Muhammad, in order to conclude this matter with success. It is therefore commanded that Your Excellency shall labor with as much effort as possible and put these rebellious infidels to the sword immediately; and that you shall send without delay the happy news about the eventual capture of Missolonghi, God willing, and make all the necessary endeavors that are expected of you.

[580/176, *regarding the capture of the Makrinoro Defile and the siege of Missolonghi*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

April 19, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you report that the Makrinoro Defile,¹ along with its monastery and redoubts, which the infidel rebels had fortified in the vain hope of blockading Missolonghi, were captured; that many soldiers were deployed in its defense; and that no obstacle remained before the Muslim army in their advance on Missolonghi. Furthermore, Your Excellency states that you would immediately head, by relying upon God's help, for Missolonghi, as soon as the construction of the bridge over the Aspropotamos River² is completed. You also report with details on the arrival in Patras of the grain sent from Istanbul, as well as the grain from Zakynthos, the dispatch of which had been arranged by Your Excellency, which would completely relieve Patras of the want of grain; and that it would be necessary to dispatch the grain arranged for Preveza swiftly. Furthermore, Your Excellency reports that Silahdar [Poda] Ilyas Bey, who had been positioned at the Trikala Defile, endeavors to put an end to the unrest of the infidel rebels in the region of Agrafta, as per Your Excellency's instructions, and that you have forwarded to us his Greek-language letter and its translation. You report that there are indications of victory, thanks be to God, in these regions. Your Excellency's report also includes an enquiry as to how to dispatch the severed heads of the brigands that will be acquired in the impending battles with the rebellious infidels. We have considered with great attention the contents of this honorable report, as well as the translation of Ilyas Bey's letter. Since the capture of the said defile [Makrinoro] with such ease is a prelude to many more victories and good tidings, this is an occasion for great pleasure and satisfaction. When Your Excellency's correspondence was presented before His Imperial Majesty, he inscribed upon it his imperial command, including the following heartfelt and auspicious prayer: "The capturing of the defile named Makrinoro with such ease is a prelude to many more victories and successes, God willing! I am much pleased. May God make the Muslims always victorious, amen!" As is known to Your Excellency, since these infidels have not met the religious zeal and the might of Islam from the functionaries until now, they have entrenched the necessary areas as they wished, and

1 Makrinoro Defile: defile on the Makrinoro Mountains, the only passage by land from Epirus to Aetolia-Acarnania.

2 Aspropotamos River (Turk. Aspropotam suyu, Gr. Ασπροπόταμος): tributary of the Achelous River in west Greece, which meets the sea to the west of Missolonghi.

the contemptible *reaya* who have no knowledge of a true battle or fight have felt capable of opposing the Muslims. Being one of the high-ranking ministers who is pious and heroic and who can fully appreciate what results will be brought by the spiritual and worldly disadvantages that this sort of commotion entails, Your Excellency has been chosen by His Imperial Majesty to be appointed as commander-in-chief, so that you carry out with your zealous piety what is necessary for this affair of highest importance for [our] religion. As Your Excellency at any rate demonstrates exemplary conduct and fidelity, more and more good signs appear that you have become an object of divine favor, to which endless thanks are due. Therefore, we wholeheartedly hope and beg for divine favor, so that Your Excellency successfully puts an end soon and in the desired manner to this unsightly sedition, which has protracted for so many years and caused great troubles to the community of the Prophet Muhammad. As a prime concern for facilitating Your Excellency's tasks, great efforts have been spent for the provisioning of Preveza, about which you have reported; and many vessels have hitherto been loaded and dispatched; and a register of their condition has been sent to you. We therefore expect that these boats will gradually arrive, provided that the weather is suitable, God willing! It is well known that we do not waste even a minute in our endeavors in this and other issues and that we shall hereafter continue to do so. Although according to Your Excellency's report Ilyas Bey acts in the required manner, it is clear that his future proper conduct and efforts to demonstrate his fidelity depend upon Your Excellency's influence and dexterity. It is commanded that Your Excellency shall immediately prove the zealous piety that all of us—and especially His Imperial Majesty—expect from you; and that you shall do your utmost, by relying upon God's succor, to demonstrate the crushing might of Islam, which these infidels have not seen for so many years. You shall exert all powers under your command to achieve success in putting this disturbance to an end soon and to display praiseworthy conduct that will earn you a place in history until the end of time. Your Excellency shall swiftly report to us the good news on the capture of Missolonghi, with God's aid, which is our greatest expectation. As for the severed heads that will be acquired when the rebellious infidels are crushed, it will be improper to send a small number of them to Istanbul, but it will be suitable to send a few hundred heads as they accumulate and dispatch them altogether. It is expected that you will immediately set yourself to work, so as to prove your avowed firmness at any rate.

[580/180, *regarding Greek women from Andros detained at the Dardanelles*]¹
To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

April 21, 1825

His Excellency Mustafa Pasha, Castellan of the Dardanelles, has reported that he is keeping under custody at Kale-i Sultaniye fifty-eight Christian women, young and old alike, who arrived from the island of Andros² at the Dardanelles on their way to Istanbul, and sent along a register listing their names. We are at a loss to know whether this island is currently in revolt. Besides, Mustafa Pasha points out that there must be a reason for their crowding onto a Russian merchant vessel and arriving at the Dardanelles. That is to say, how would it be possible to exit the island if the island is in revolt or otherwise why would they leave their homes if they are still loyal subjects? Moreover, they will obviously be denied passage from Istanbul into the Black Sea if their intention is to flee to Russia. In any event, we have forwarded Mustafa Pasha's letter to you. This note is to request Your Excellency to tell us your opinion and information about the matter, so that we can send him the necessary instructions. Your Excellency shall take the required measures upon investigating the matter through Mustafa Pasha when you arrive at the Dardanelles.

¹ See document 580/197 herein.

² Andros (Turk. Andıra, Gr. Ἀνδρος): northernmost island of the Cyclades, to the southeast of Euboea.

[580/181, *regarding the granting of amnesty to Odysseas Androutsos and Greeks in the region of Missolonghi fleeing to the Ionian Islands*
To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

April 22, 1825

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency conveys the letter of Ömer Pasha, Castellan of Euboea, reporting that the issue of the amnesty for Captain Disava [Odysseas Androutsos] has been settled and verified and that the *reaya* of Thebes, Livadeia, and Atalanti reaccepted [Ottoman] subjecthood through his efforts, while the villagers around the Defile of the Morea [the Isthmus of Corinth] also asked for royal pardon. Your Excellency relates that you have summoned and treated with kindness the scribe of the said captain [Androutsos], who came there along with a man of Ömer Pasha, assuring [their] safety. Your Excellency further reports that you had the weapons of the *reaya* collected and stored in the Castle of Euboea and that it was decided that you will keep the said captain's brother as hostage. Your Excellency sent the *reaya* the mandates setting forth the conditions upon which they received royal pardon and duly informed Ömer Pasha about the process. The report of your steward, who went ahead of the army to Missolonghi as the vanguard, and the intelligence gathered from others indicate that the *reaya* in the region of Missolonghi fled to the British islands [the Ionian Islands] and that no *reaya* were left in the region. Your Excellency states that this last issue may cause inconveniences in the future and that the [British] ambassador here should to be made aware of the situation in order to find ways to settle things down. The contents of Your Excellency's letter regarding these and other issues have thus become known to us. That the matter in the region of Euboea has been easily eliminated by the resubjugation of the *reaya* is a pleasing development. Similarly, the undertakings and measures of Your Excellency in this affair affirm the precious gem of experience and discretion that are embedded in your character and earn the utmost pleasure. Your letter has also been immediately presented to the attention of His Imperial Majesty for review. Your Excellency does not need to be reminded that the abovementioned *reaya* were scared of the might of Islam and realized the impossibility of resisting the courageous soldiers, for which reason they accepted the humiliation of flight. Nonetheless, their flight from the domains of the Exalted State is of course not safe from inconvenience and necessitates a solution for its prevention. It is a common rule that the friendly states do not accept or protect each other's rebels or refugees. Therefore, the illustrious *reisülküttab* wrote to the British embassy in order to urge [the British] not to allow those fugitive Greek bandits on the British islands and to write a letter to the general of Corfu regarding the issue. Based on the well-known manners and characters of the Franks, even

when they seem to conform to our demands here, the actual application of the measures is incumbent on Your Excellency's efforts. Accordingly, as per His Imperial Majesty's orders, Your Excellency shall put pressure on the general of Corfu and other British officials in order to deal with this problem smoothly. The matter needs to be referred to His Excellency the grand admiral as well, who is instructed to communicate with Your Excellency and exert his best efforts as soon as he arrives there. Your Excellency, as befitting the diligence of a commander-in-chief, shall exert yourself to find ways to urge the British officials there to bring the refugee issue to an end and ensure a quick and smooth settlement of each and every affair relating to the proper accomplishment of the duties of the office of commander-in-chief.

[580/197, *regarding the Greeks of the Archipelago going to Istanbul for fear of a raid on their islands by the imperial navy*
To the Castellan of the Dardanelles [Mustafa Pasha]

May 1, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you relate that a certain commercial captain named Dimitri di Georgi arrived at the Dardanelles on his way to Istanbul aboard his *marticana*,¹ flying the Russian flag and carrying fifty-eight Christian women, young and old alike, from the island of Andros. You inform us that the women are currently under arrest, as they had no travel permits; and having sent us a list of their names, you state that you wait for our orders. Upon our inquiry, the grand admiral stated that there has been no sign of rebellion among the inhabitants of Andros; however, considering that some Latin [Catholic] and Greek [Orthodox] *reaya* have been coming to Istanbul lately, the group in question might have followed suit, either due to the fear of the brigands [Greek revolutionaries] or for fear of a raid on their island [by the imperial navy] in this blessed year. We have instructed the grand admiral to do whatever is necessary concerning this matter, as he is about to arrive at the Dardanelles. After consulting with him, you shall pay attention to carry out his relevant orders.

1 *Marticana* (Turk. *martika* or *martiko*, Gr. *μαρτίνο*): sailing vessel with two masts and rigging, characterized by its high stern and high prow curved backward.

[580/199, *regarding the production of counterfeit gold coins on Syros and Tinos*]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

May 1, 1825

The honorable superintendent of the imperial mint submitted for our consideration a dispatch reporting that some people on the islands of Syros and Tinos have dared to produce counterfeit gold coins. Although action must be swiftly taken to put an end to this tribulation, its eradication in the desired manner is incumbent on the suppression of the sedition, with God's help, in the Aegean. At this present time, Your Excellency's duties are devoted to the waging of jihad. It is apparent that you will do your utmost for the proper eradication of this issue when its turn comes, God willing! This amicable note, however, was written only to bring this matter to Your Excellency's knowledge.

[580/200, *regarding the siege of Missolonghi*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

May 2, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you state that it would be against diligence, piety, sense of honor, and bravery to lose time to start the operations that require swiftness and due care; and that you have encircled Missolonghi from all sides with the soldiers of Islam, who were led by proper commanders to the other bank of the river on rafts made on the spot at the place called Gouria.¹ Yet, Your Excellency points out that bringing the infidels in Missolonghi to bear the full brunt of the siege is contingent on the siege equipment that is to be transported by the imperial navy. Stating your extreme suffering from the lack of this equipment and food supplies, you plea for the delivery of these at full speed. Indeed, the launching of the siege to capture and pacify Missolonghi after a swift river crossing is proof of your sense of honor and bravery. We pray for your victory and safety in this affair, which we all expect you to bring to a complete end this year. We have submitted your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty as well. You are the supreme commander with full discretionary powers, by His Imperial Majesty's decree, in finishing the disturbance of the treacherous Greeks—the enemies of our religion and state—who are targeting our imperial domains. With the might of God and the assistance of the Prophet [Muhammad] on your side, you have set out to perform your duty in a timely manner by laying siege to Missolonghi. Therefore, it is a religious duty for all of us to support Your Excellency in every way we can in order to facilitate your victory. No fault in this endeavor is permissible. Most of the *müstemen* vessels contracted to carry the grain arranged for Preveza and Patras are Austrian. We have recently begun to send them in convoys of eight to ten vessels. Preveza-bound ships have numbered twenty-seven until now, and we expect them to arrive at your side piecemeal in these days, God willing. In line with Your Excellency's previous request, from now on we will reroute the supply ships to Patras. Following His Imperial Majesty's will, we have instructed the grand admiral, who lifted anchor off Beşiktaş and set sail to his destination, to hurry to Missolonghi without spending much time at Gallipoli, since you are in need of substantial quantities of supplies and provisions. He also has orders to force the grain ships he encounters on the way or at Zakynthos to rush to your side. In addition, we have instructed the superintendent of the grain administration to attend swiftly to the contracting of additional vessels. This letter is to express

1 Gouria (Turk. Gurya, Gr. Γουριά): village by the Achelous River, northwest of Missolonghi.

our wish that Your Excellency, confident of our proper organization of the logistics in Istanbul, performs the tasks required by your office diligently and makes these infidels pay for their deeds. We are waiting for your news of the desired retribution and victory, as proof of your good judgment and sense of honor.

[580/215, *regarding the siege of Missolonghi*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

May 10, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you report the details of your launching of the siege of Missolonghi by sending forward Palaslızade Ismail Pasha and a number of *binbaşıs* [mercenary commanders], who occupied the villages of Galatas¹ and [illegible village name], as well as the pier of Krioneri,² on their way. The capture of the earth redoubt erected by the infidel brigands near Missolonghi was imperative at the initial stage of the siege, and you recount that the traitor bandits fled the redoubt from the seaside, as they could not withstand your assault. While you led our victorious troops to surround Missolonghi from three sides of the landward walls afterward, you point out that the imperial navy and the supply ships should rush to your side as soon as possible. We have also received the translation of the Greek-language documents submitted by the abovementioned *binbaşıs* and Poda Ilyas Bey concerning the operations against the brigands at Agrafa. Indeed, the treacherous infidels inside Missolonghi consider this stronghold as the pivot of their power. Their conceit and arrogance have grown, and they have become fearless of the might of the Sublime State, as they have not received a blow so far. You achieved the overpowering of these brigands and captured the aforementioned redoubt in a short time, fulfilling with dedication the requirements of your glorious and prestigious title as supreme commander. Fully satisfied with your accomplishments, we have presented your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty, who, having learned of the fall of the redoubt, is awaiting the felicitous news of the conquest of Missolonghi. Also, the grand admiral has already lifted anchor and reached the Dardanelles with the imperial navy and the supply ships; he is currently about to leave for his destination. Although he does not need further warning about the importance of the siege and his terms of commission, we have communicated to him the details of your correspondence and firmly instructed him to set sail to his destination at once, as soon as the weather permits. The siege of Missolonghi is under the close scrutiny of His Imperial Majesty, and we all expect that the imminent arrival of the imperial navy and supply ships at your side will render you victorious in the conquest of Missolonghi in a short time.

1 Galatas (Turk. Galata, Gr. Γαλατάς): village to the east of Missolonghi.

2 Krioneri (Turk. Sovuksu, Gr. Κρυονέρι): pier to the east of Missolonghi.

[580/218, *regarding the grand vizier's summary of the situation and measures taken for supplying the army*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

May 13, 1825

Despite having saturated them with the ample blessings, privileges, and benefits bestowed by the Sublime State on them, the treacherous Greeks took the path of brigandage and rebellion without cause. The fact that this disturbance is yet to be quelled has numerous drawbacks for the present time, as well as for the future. Particularly, despite its innate bravery and might, the Sublime State of Islam suffers from great humiliation in the eyes of foreign states. Bringing them [the Greeks] into line and demonstrating the might of Islam to the satisfaction of His Imperial Majesty are incumbent on the employment of a person famed for his courage, bravery, piety, and zeal as the commander with full freedom of action, such as Your Excellency. With the expectation of taking revenge on these infidels, His Imperial Majesty, who holds Your Excellency in high favor, granted you full discretionary powers in this matter of religion. As Your Excellency sets out to labor in your task with devotion in a timely fashion, it is incumbent on all of us to support you and facilitate your victory. In case you follow the route through Lamia, we have previously arranged for the shipment to the piers of Volos and Lamia of roughly 118,000 bushels flour and 196,000 bushels of barley, sufficient to support thirty thousand horsemen and footmen for four months. Similarly, to the piers of Preveza and Patras we have arranged the delivery of roughly 320,000 bushels of flour and 334,000 bushels of barley; the quantities to be delivered to Preveza are sufficient to keep fifteen thousand horsemen and footmen for four months, while those to be shipped to Patras would suffice for forty-five thousand horsemen and footmen for five months from the beginning of last *Şubat* [February] through *Kasım* of the current year [AH 1240]. For Euboea, we have also arranged the shipment of a quantity of flour, enough for six months, and of barley, enough for three months, for fifteen thousand horsemen and footmen. Besides the flour, barley, and hardtack sent primarily to Lamia and Volos aboard *müstemen* ships, we have sent to Preveza and Patras for the consumption of your army approximately 114,300 bushels of flour and 171,000 bushels of barley on twenty to thirty ships, as communicated in our past correspondence. From the agreed consignment to Preveza, there remained roughly six thousand bushels of flour and 162,000 bushels of barley to be sent from the provisions set aside for Istanbul. Again, for the stores of Preveza, we have contracted and sent eleven *müstemen* ships to deliver from the pier of Enez 200,000 bushels of flour and 200,000 bushels of barley supplied by the *mutasarrıf* of Ormenio. According to the terms of their contract, the captains of these ships would call at Enez in order to receive

the abovementioned provisions after unloading the provisions from Istanbul at Preveza. Following your recent correspondence, they would deliver these provisions to Patras. We have made this logistical planning outlined above with a view to having enough provisions for any given number of troops in any zone of conflict until *Kasım*. Only the flour and barley shipped from Istanbul would keep the forces assembled under you on the ground for three to four months, when the delivery is complete. We have been dealing with these matters with full attention and instructed the grand admiral to pick up any tardy supply ships he might intercept on his way or at Zakynthos and force them to rush to their destinations. Most of these supply ships are Austrian-owned, and the Austrian authorities have been inclined to be cooperative to do their bit. Thus, we had the Austrian ambassador, through the *reisülküttab*, send a letter to the commander of the Austrian fleet in the Mediterranean, instructing him to prompt these supply ships to complete delivery without delay. In summary, as we have repeatedly pointed out to Your Excellency, we have taken every possible measure to rush the imperial navy and the supply ships, and the grand admiral spares no effort to carry out his instructions. He will set sail from the Dardanelles any day and drop anchor off Missolonghi in a few days. Provisions shipped from Istanbul will also reach you in shipments and save you from a shortage of foodstuffs. It is our priority to take precautions, lest you suffer from a dearth of provisions, in case the imperial navy is left motionless due to a lack of wind or delayed for dealing with the brigand boats on the way, or if the supply ships are deterred by the blockading brigand boats. Therefore, we have sent you one thousand purses of piasters, as per His Imperial Majesty's will, so that you are able to buy provisions from Zakynthos and around whenever it is necessary. This sum is to be entered in the registers as part of your official expenses. Should there be no need to make emergency purchases in the vicinity due to the arrival of the supply ships, you shall spend this money on military pay. Finally, it is left to your full discretion to seize Missolonghi, which is the key to the affair, by force or by agreement. His Imperial Majesty has given his consent to either solution, and thereby we are awaiting the auspicious news from you.

FIGURE 18 Title page of BOA/Ayniyat Register 580-1

[580-1/8, *regarding the whereabouts of Ibrahim Pasha*]

To Şükrü Bey, Mutasarrıf of Rhodes

May 26, 1825

As a servant of the Sublime State who is famed for his perseverance, attentiveness, dedication, and loyalty, you have been instructed lately to scrutinize closely the Egyptian navy and the state of the brigands at all times and to pass on the intelligence you obtained to us on a regular basis. While it is imperative to follow your instructions, you have not sent any correspondence for two months. We are at a loss to understand this kind of behavior on your part. You have a good judgment of the present state of affairs, as an incomparably scrupulous man, and it is no secret to you that we are concerned about the situation with His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of the Morea, as it has been a while since he landed at Methoni. We are equally concerned about the whereabouts of our navies [Egyptian and Ottoman], the circumstances of the brigands, and the safety of the coasts. Your location is close to everywhere [the conflict zones], and this is why we wonder about the reasons for your failure to dispatch any correspondence in the past two months. Thus, we send this communication by a special messenger. You must write in detail the location and circumstances of Ibrahim Pasha at present and produce an explanation for not writing to us for so long in your dispatch, to be entrusted to the said messenger. We invite you by this letter to demonstrate the diligence expected of you by reporting regularly about the operations of Ibrahim Pasha and the state of the infidels, as well as of the coasts, from now on.

[580-1/22, *regarding the capture of Amfissa and Lidoriki*
To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]
June 3, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence relating the dispatches of your steward, whom you put in charge of taking Amfissa, as well as of Emin Agha, Castellan of Nafpaktos, concerning the routing of the useless infidels and the capture of Amfissa by the victorious troops under your steward. You communicate to us that these dispatches recount the number of the dead and captives among the infidels and report the seizure of gunpowder, lead, and ammunition weighing as much as one thousand *kyyes* in the stores of the fortress of Amfissa. In addition, the chief of the light cavalry attacked Lidoriki and freed the Muslims who, numbering fifty to sixty, had remained captive in the hands of the brigands. You suggest that Missolonghi would fall in five days if the navy arrives in a few days, for this victory would instill the seditious hearts with more fear. These pieces of felicitous news prove the loyalty that His Imperial Majesty and all of us expect from your pious person as commander-in-chief. We wish that the rescue of Amfissa, an equal of Missolonghi as a strong base in the eyes of the infidels, and Lidoriki from the insignificant bunch of brigands is a sign of the removal of the filthy bodies of the brigands from Missolonghi quite soon and the ultimate end of the ominous affair that the Muslims have been suffering. When we brought your auspicious correspondence to the attention of His Imperial Majesty, he manifested his imperial rescript, reading: "I am very pleased that Amfissa and Lidoriki were captured easily, with the help of God. We plead with God for the conquest of Missolonghi in a short while." May God render the loyal servants of the Sublime State such as yourself successful in their every undertaking, amen. It goes without saying that all of your measures and decisions since the beginning of your appointment have been well-approved with no objection, which is a strong evidence for the imminent success. The infidels, on the other hand, have not faced any determined response from our functionaries since the beginning of their sedition, causing them to grow ever more impertinent. Nevertheless, the moment that they got wind of your success and victory they retreated to the realm of misfortune, as described in the saying [of the Prophet Muhammad], "The traitor is weak." We are similarly expecting the conquest of Missolonghi in particular and other places in general in the near future, overwhelming the destructive brigandage, by the help of God. As related to you previously, the grand admiral left the Dardanelles and has set sail for Missolonghi; he must be due to arrive at your side any day. We instruct you with this letter to exert yourself to take Missolonghi from the misdeed-perpetrating hands of the infidels by any means as soon as possible, which is the primary expectation of His Imperial Majesty and all of us from your diligent and pious person.

[580–1/26, *regarding the provisioning of the army after the capture of Amfissa and Lidoriki*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Trikala [Salih Pasha]

June 3, 1825

His Excellency Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia, laid siege to Missolonghi; and after that he sent his steward with many soldiers on a mission to capture Amfissa, Lidoriki, and the surrounding areas and to purge them from the ominous grip of the brigands. His dispatch has just brought the glad tidings of the capture of Amfissa and Lidoriki, praise be to God for granting this success! As is known to everyone, however, the determination and resoluteness of the military is dependent upon the availability of grain. Consequently, by communicating the news of this victory to you, we expect that His Excellency Reşid Pasha will write to you, in one way or another, in order to call your attention to this momentous matter and that you will send grain to this region [Amfissa and Lidoriki], lest the said steward suffer from scarcity of provisions. We also desire that you will immediately execute whatever order or instruction comes from Reşid Pasha in this regard. Nevertheless, it is announced that it is demanded from you that, and it is expressly commanded that, if you have received no news yet from Reşid Pasha in this regard, due to his being occupied, you shall immediately engage in correspondence with the said steward; and in any case you shall gather and prepare three hundred pack animals from this area [Trikala] and send grain to Amfissa; and that you shall pay extreme attention to this momentous matter, lest the armies of Islam who are located in Amfissa and Lidoriki be afflicted, in any way whatsoever, by deficiencies of grain.

[580-1/28, regarding the Greeks of Ayvalık returning to their hometown]
To the Superintendent of Timber in Izmit

June 4, 1825

The *reaya* of Ayvalık, who had dispersed at the beginning of the sedition, received an imperial permit to return to their hometown upon their petition. They have recently begun to arrive in the town, but, since their houses were previously burned, they need to be built anew. However, Mustafa Agha, Superintendent of Lesbos, communicated to us that there was no timber in Ayvalık and requested permission to buy from the vicinity of Izmit a variety of types of timber, such as those sawn in a water buffalo-driven sawmill and double mill [uncertain translation]. It was forbidden by several imperial decrees to sell timber to Muslim and *müstemen* shipowners alike for a duration of six months, but, now that the ban has expired, we instruct you by this letter to ship to Lesbos whichever kind of timber Mustafa Agha may ask of you and send the voucher to Istanbul. You shall make the shipment after a credible guarantor is produced, who will confirm the destination as Lesbos, and take every precaution to make sure that the brigands do not lay their hands on even a twig by any means, the prohibited goods notwithstanding.

[580-1/34, regarding the naval skirmish off Agios Efstratios]

To the Castellan of the Dardanelles [Mustafa Pasha]

June 6, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence confirming your reception of our instructions concerning our letter addressing Grand Admiral Hüsrev Pasha. We had instructed you to deliver our letter to him if he was at the Dardanelles or otherwise to return it. You recount in your correspondence that you sent back our letter, as Hüsrev Pasha left Tenedos on the 10th day of the month of *Şevval* [May 21, 1825]. He engaged the infidel boats in the vicinity of Agios Efstratios the following day, with the result that the brigands fled in the direction of Psara and Agios Efstratios. The imperial navy, on the other hand, suffered no harm and headed to its final destination in two squadrons through the Strait of Andros. We presented your correspondence and the documents you forwarded to His Imperial Majesty. Your communication of the grand admiral's operation and pledge to keep us informed about all the news of the navy have demonstrated that our expectations of your diligent and prudent person are not misplaced. We express by this letter our wish that you will commit yourself to passing on to us from now on all the intelligence and news you can obtain about Hüsrev Pasha's operations.

[580–1/38, regarding the capture of Navarino]
To the Governor of the Morea [Ibrahim Pasha]

June 8, 1825

His Imperial Majesty appointed Your Excellency as the commander-in-chief of the Morea with full discretionary powers with the expectation that you quell the rebellion of the enemies of [our] religion and remove their filthy bodies from that province. Accordingly, Your Excellency dropped anchor off Methoni with the imperial navy, which was off Souda, and it is now high time for you to fulfill your duty. Thus, Your Excellency dispatched the commanders Hüseyin Bey and Hurşid Bey with an abundance of troops to the island across from Navarino [Sfaktiria], since its occupation is necessary for the smooth capture of the Castle of Navarino. However, those salaried Rumeliot infidels, who were hired by the Moreot infidels and amount to roughly three thousand bandits, chose to engage your forces and fled to the villages at two hours' distance from Navarino after they were defeated. Upon learning their whereabouts, you sent in forces in three columns and scattered them before you set out to occupy the island. You mention in your correspondence the capturing of captives, comprising a captain and six men, along with thirty-six severed heads. Your Excellency reports that you also attacked another band of brigands, who regrouped at a place at four hours' distance from Navarino, capturing four captains, fifty-six men, and 156 severed heads before retreating to Methoni. You inform us that you captured the Castle of Old Navarino, as the bandits inside begged for mercy during the assault. As a result, you sent the 866 infidels residing in the castle into the depths of the Morea, after taking two priests among them [as hostages]. When you set out to advance on the Castle of Navarino by land and sea, the *reaya* inside walked out to submit peacefully and, upon their petition, they were sent to Kalamata on three Austrian ships, after delivering their arms. Your Excellency has thus conquered completely both Old and New Navarino and their environs. You also report that you arrested the infidel Yorgaki, son of the traitor Petro, Bey of Mani, as well as the wicked Yatraki, one of the captains from Messinia¹ due to some considerations. A fleet of eight infidel boats, having realized the impossibility of operating in the vicinity, decided to escape from the port of Navarino, but ran into the imperial navy on their way. In the resulting battle, three of them were captured and taken into the port of Methoni. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us. The capture of these castles, as well as the island, through peaceful submission is an auspicious sign of having God on your side in your heroic deeds. Your victory has caused great gratification to all of us. May God grant

1 Messinia (Turk. Messina, Gr. Μεσσηνία): the southwestern part of the Peloponnese.

Your Excellency many more victories. Upon reading your correspondence, His Imperial Majesty inscribed on it his imperial writ, which reads: "Well done! He truly seems to have toiled heroically and bravely, and those under him did well and served diligently. I am much pleased. May God reward their deeds, amen. God willing, I wish them to make many other great conquests in the future." Apparently, this is an indication that the complete conquest of the Morea is imminent and that you will duly demonstrate the overwhelming Ottoman might to these infidels. By His Imperial Majesty's will, we have sent you through your agent at the Porte many pieces of clothes, raincoats, robes, and sable furs as gifts and presents for your men in the army and the navy. Besides, His Imperial Majesty has also sent 100,000 piasters, which you will distribute accordingly among the *kapudana bey*, *Patrona* Hasan Bey, Halil Bey of Çeşme, and other captains, as well as all officers of the Egyptian navy and those of the Barbary Regencies, in order to inspirit them. Your Excellency shall make the Moreot brigands taste the sharp sword of Islam, so that their impudence and malignancy is cut off for good. We all wait impatiently for the news of Your Excellency's victories, for which we expect you to exert your best efforts.

[580–1/39, regarding the exchange of high-profile prisoners]

Addendum to Ibrahim Pasha [Governor of the Morea]

June 8, 1825

You have informed us in the postscript to your correspondence that you detained the accursed Yorgaki,¹ son of the infidel Petro, who is the Bey of Mani, and the scoundrel named Yatraki,² one of the captains of Messinia, so that these two could be exchanged with Ali Namık Pasha³ and Salim Pasha,⁴ who have been held captive in the Castle of Nafplio. This measure of yours, which aims to save the said pashas from the infidels' hands, is rather well-chosen and is also a testament to your adroitness and prowess. We rejoiced at the news and once again said prayers for your success and well-being. By this addendum we would like to express our pleasure with your efforts and endeavors.

1 Referring to Georgios Mavromichalis, son of Petrobey Mavromichalis. He was captured in Navarino by Ibrahim Pasha and exchanged with Ali Namık Pasha.

2 Referring to Panagiotis Yiatrakos.

3 Ali Namık Pasha, a native of Nafplio, was the *mutasarrıf* of Trikala when he was commissioned with the defense of Nafplio in the late spring of 1822. He was imprisoned in December 1822, when the castle was captured by Greek revolutionaries. See document 578/65 herein.

4 Salim Pasha was the Castellan of Nafplio until Ali Namık Pasha's arrival.

[580–1/40, regarding the provisions detained on Zakynthos
by Konstantinos Kanaris]

To the Castellan of Patras [Yusuf Pasha]

June 16, 1825

The correspondence you have sent relates that Konstantin Kana [Konstantinos Kanaris], his brothers, and the Austrian consul on Zakynthos provoked and abused the captains of the *müstemen* vessels contracted in Istanbul to ship provisions to the army of Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia with full powers, and to Your Excellency. As they tried to induce these captains to unload their cargo at Zakynthos, you plead with us to have the Austrian ambassador reprimand them by sending a letter. You also suggest that the Austrian ambassador should send a letter to the *müstemen* merchant Canco Mikavel [uncertain reading], the [Austrian] consul in Patras who stays on Zakynthos, in acknowledgement of his good service and loyalty. As is known to Your Excellency, we hired these ships in Istanbul to carry the provisions to assigned destinations, and it is a violation of the terms of the contract to detain and unload their cargoes at Zakynthos. Thus, we received from the Austrian ambassador a letter addressing the Austrian council on Zakynthos and dispatched it to you, along with its translation. While we understand that the Austrian council in Patras renders good service, a letter of acknowledgement in his name is not congruent with our purpose. In principle, it is your obligation to reward such amiable and loyal men as you see fit. We instruct you by this letter to reward him and forward the aforementioned letter to the Austrian consul.

[580–1/46, *regarding the siege of Missolonghi awaiting the arrival of the imperial navy*]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüseyin Pasha]

June 17, 1825

As we have written to Your Excellency on several occasions, Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia, has duly carried out his instructions and besieged Missolonghi from three sides in a timely manner. It has become clear that its conquest depends on your arrival with the imperial navy, since Missolonghi is not situated in an open space [uncertain translation]. As Reşid Pasha has pointed out numerous times that the imminent arrival of the imperial navy is essential, we have sent you a relevant imperial decree. We then received Your Excellency's communication that you had left the Dardanelles and passed through the Strait of Andros, overpowering the infidel boats you encountered on the way. We were truly supposing that the siege would be successfully completed with your arrival, as expected by His Imperial Majesty, until Reşid Pasha informed us in his recent correspondence that the imperial navy had not appeared in the vicinity as of the 19th day of Şevval [June 6, 1825]. His Excellency points out that your participation in the siege is crucial, before fatigue overtakes our troops in this final stage of the siege. We first assumed that you must have been delayed due to vicissitudes of weather and possibly arrived at Missolonghi after the commander-in-chief had sent this dispatch, but then learned that you had actually dropped anchor off Souda around those dates. As is known to Your Excellency, the frantic preparations zealously made in Istanbul led the commander-in-chief to believe that the imperial navy would participate in the siege in time, for which reason he headed to Missolonghi and, confining the redoubts and trenches, he besieged it from one sea to another and trapped the infidels inside. The capture of Missolonghi depends on your mighty arrival there. Troops may lose zeal in the siege if their expectation of your arrival remains unrealized for such a long time, which, in turn, God forbid, may lead to setbacks in this final stage of the operations. This would be unacceptable, especially when we are so close to victory after working for it over many years. Your Excellency shall rush to Missolonghi by hell or high water, ignoring minor obstacles that delay you, and no longer let down the commander-in-chief. Obviously, you do not need any admonition to perform your duties with the diligence and sense of honor expected of Your Excellency. Nevertheless, His Imperial Majesty manifested his will that we dispatch an express communication to you—for the completion of the siege requires your participation with the navy, and it has already been a long time

since the commander-in-chief invested the fortress with a substantial number of troops. In case you have not arrived off Missolonghi when this private letter of ours finds you, we urge you with respect to go to Missolonghi without wasting a single moment and to carry out your duty with swiftness and in due haste.

[580–1/49, regarding the failure to collect compensation fees]

To the Governors of Damascus, Aleppo, Karaman, and Sivas; the Mutasarrıf of Ankara, Hamid, Bozok,¹ and Karahisar-ı Sahib; the Castellan of Vidin; and the Beylerbey of Edirne

June 18, 1825

We have previously sent Ali Agha with the imperial decree that ordered the collection of the compensation fee in lieu of the assigned number of men to be raised from the *sancaks* [under your jurisdiction] this year for the army under the governor of Rumelia. The imperial decree required you to collect this sum and deliver it to the aforementioned *haseki* by now. However, you managed to raise only a portion of this sum, and 117,500 piasters are yet to be delivered. As is known to you, we decided to raise this compensation fee with the pure intention of quelling the rebellion of the Greek brigands, who are the enemies of our religion and state. The imperial mint supplied this sum in advance in order to prevent financial setbacks, and it is an immediate priority of His Imperial Majesty to pay this sum to the imperial mint by raising the compensation fee without losing a single moment. Further delay in honoring the imperial order will obviously be attributed to your negligence of duty, thereby leading to a loss of credibility. Those who attempt to delay the collection of the compensation fee will face punishment, since the amount of the assigned sum was determined by unanimous consent that was backed by a strict imperial decree. We instruct you with this letter to raise urgently the assigned sum of the compensation fee in full and forward it to the imperial mint, have you not done so by now, in order to avoid any charge of dereliction.

1 Bozok: historical *sancak* in central Turkey, with Yozgat as its capital.

[580-1/53, *regarding the siege of Missolonghi*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

June 22, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you relate that when you were about to dispatch a celebratory message with your scribe to Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of Jeddah and the Morea, in acknowledgement of his capturing of the Castle of Navarino, you received the imperial order and our letter concerning the commissioning of the Algerian vessels to Missolonghi. You thus sent by two ships of Yusuf Pasha, Castellan of Patras, a letter to the Algerian fleet commander about this order and entrusted the imperial order to your scribe. While these ships were tacking about in the Strait of Patras due to heavy weather, two brigand boats appeared on the horizon to blockade their entrance into the strait. In the resulting battle, the victory seemed to be on their side at first, but both of the boats had to retreat, as one of them was damaged. Your Excellency states that you sent the aforementioned imperial order through the efforts of the castellan of Preveza. You remark that you were longing for the arrival of the imperial navy, since the supply ships sent from Istanbul would not possibly enter the strait when they arrived, due to the blockade of the infidel boats that dropped anchor off Missolonghi, also preventing the shipping of supplies from the Archipelago from time to time. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. Auspicious signs of your imminent success in your task have appeared since the beginning of your appointment, all proof of your innate qualities of diligence, resilience, and piety. God knows that we attempt day and night to eliminate all the difficulties imbedded in your grand and crucial duty as commander-in-chief. We understand from your previous and later reports that you laid siege to Missolonghi from one shore to another and were about to conquer its fortress, by the help of God. Nevertheless, the capture of the infidels, along with their families, goods, and items, depends on the arrival of the imperial navy, despite all your efforts to carry out this most crucial task. Therefore, we have repeatedly pointed out to the grand admiral to rush to Missolonghi, and, when we learned that the imperial navy was at anchor in the port of Souda, we sent strict instructions to him by His Imperial Majesty's will. We will inform Your Excellency duly. We believe that by now the imperial navy and the Algerian fleet must have already arrived in Missolonghi and we wait day and night for the news of its conquest. Similarly, the supply ships should arrive these days, as the blockade that you relate in your correspondence must have already been lifted. Presently, we are awaiting from you the news of victory. Ibrahim Pasha has related in his recent correspondence that he moved from Methoni and annihilated the hell-bound

bandits assembled on the mountain called Maniaki,¹ adjacent to Skaramanga [unidentified place], which is south of the mountain known as Koundourina. He has informed us that he sent five hundred pairs of ears taken at the battle, along with 302 pairs of ears taken in the previous battles, and stated that the bandits would not be able to withstand the might of Islam as they witnessed the flaming sword of victorious Muslims.² We express our wish by this letter that you have already conquered Missolonghi by now and removed the filthy bodies of the rebellious bandits with the arrival of the imperial navy and the Algerian fleet. Your Excellency shall exert yourself to demonstrate the diligence that His Imperial Majesty expects of you by sending us the news of victory that we await day and night.

1 Maniaki (Turk. Manyaki, Gr. Μανιάκι): mountainous village in Messinia, in the southwest Peloponnese.

2 Referring to the Battle of Maniaki, which took place on June 1, 1825, between the Greek revolutionary forces led by Papaflessas and the Egyptian forces of Ibrahim Pasha. Papaflessas, one of the most important figures of the revolution, was killed in the battle.

[580–1/54, *regarding the Battle of Maniaki*
To the Governor of the Morea [Ibrahim Pasha]

June 22, 1825

Your Excellency has set your foot in the Morea with your God-given fortitude and zeal, in order to fulfill your task as commander-in-chief [of the Morea], and has planted the flag on the treacherous idolaters by capturing Navarino and its vicinity in a short time. As we considered this the harbinger of a series of victories, we have received your present correspondence relating your attack on more than 2,500 accursed infidels assembled on the mountain called Maniaki, adjacent to the town Skaramanga [unidentified place], which is to the south of the mountain Koundourina. Accordingly, you chased those who fled and dispatched their malignant souls to the lowest level of hell, sending us the ears taken in this battle and the previous ones, 880 pairs in all. Your pursuit of victory and relentless efforts for the success of the Muslim troops have served to reilluminate the title of the book of bravery and made us rejoice. We submitted your correspondence to His Imperial Majesty at once, and the severed ears were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to serve as an example. God willing, the bandits of the Morea will all soon fall under the avenging swords of Islam, as you suggest. This would be the manifestation of your inherent qualities of the bravery, fortitude, and might you employ in the service of holy war, which is incumbent on all of us. We pray for a successful end to your task and express our wish by this letter that you keep all Muslims rejoiced by your further news of victories that we await day and night.

[580–1/55, *regarding the naval skirmish off Lesbos and the movement of the imperial navy*]

To the Castellan of Chios [Yusuf Pasha]

June 22, 1825

We have received your correspondence in which you relate, according to the information conveyed by Nevruzoğlu Ibrahim, one of the captains of the imperial navy, that the imperial navy sailed from the Dardanelles and engaged with the infidel boats, first off the coast of Sigri¹ and then at the Strait of Andros. In both engagements, the imperial navy prevailed and afterward reached the waters of Karystos safely. You also inform us that, according to a piece of intelligence you gathered, the grand admiral later set sail toward the Morea, with a stopover at the harbor of Souda. This correspondence of yours is another testament to your astuteness, which is anticipated of you, in collecting useful intelligence. Your correspondence has also been presented to His Imperial Majesty. We constantly need to be updated with regard to the state of our troops in the Morea and the movements of the imperial navy. Since the ships from Chios are more likely to run into the imperial navy and hear about the state of affairs in the Morea, it would be possible for you to collect intelligence regarding both the situation in the Morea and the imperial navy constantly. Therefore, you are instructed to continue sending us every single piece of intelligence you gather, as you have already been doing.

¹ Sigri (Turk. Sığrı, Gr. Σίγρι): village on the western tip of Lesbos.

[580–1/57, *regarding the blockade off Missolonghi*]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

June 22, 1825

We wrote to Your Excellency a few days ago about the ways in which His Excellency Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia, had beleaguered Missolonghi. We also wrote to you that the only thing left for Missolonghi's fall is that Your Excellency casts anchor off Missolonghi and that you were therefore required to make haste to reach there at once. In view of this, Your Excellency will apparently do your utmost in this regard and will move with great speed to reach Missolonghi as soon as possible. Nevertheless, Reşid Pasha reports in his last dispatch that some brigs and gulets of the wretched infidel rebels are currently moored in front of Missolonghi. They try with small caiques to prevent the transport of provisions from the islands and have shut all passages. Even if boats with provisions arrive from Istanbul, it is obvious that they will be unable to enter because of the blockade. His Excellency reports that he has injured Missolonghi from all sides; however, its conquest is incumbent on the arrival of the imperial navy. It is impossible to prolong any further, God forbid, this issue, whose end draws near. His Imperial Majesty's command also categorically demands that Your Excellency reach Missolonghi at once. As Missolonghi is under siege, the sinful infidels have been gripped by fear and consider taking flight, and the Muslim soldiers have expressed their desire to march forth. Thus, now is the time for the imperial navy to lay anchor in these waters. If the imperial navy is yet to arrive in front of Missolonghi, Your Excellency is kindly asked, whatever you do, to waste not even a minute more and set off for Missolonghi the instant you receive this letter. It is expressly commanded that Your Excellency shall labor to the extreme, so that this battle will be won, lest you make excuses that the imperial navy could not take part, God forbid, in this Missolonghi issue, whose end draws near.

[580–1/65, *regarding the return of the property of fugitive Greeks*]

To the Castellan of Chios [Yusuf Pasha]

June 28, 1825

One of the residents of Chios, a *zimmi* named Konstantin Vartodori, owned a dwelling in the Bayezid district in Galata [in Istanbul], which is adjacent to the Chiot church¹ in the said district and is widely referred to as “the priests’ house.” This dwelling was seized by the imperial fisc, because Vartodori was a fugitive. He, however, filed a petition requesting the return of the dwelling to him on the grounds that he was not a fugitive, but he resided with his family on the island of Chios. He also presented in this regard a writ issued by the *naib* of Chios. When the matter was forwarded to the honorable chief accountant, he stated that the said dwelling was seized by the imperial fisc as Konstantin Vartodori had previously been reported to be a fugitive. The chief accountant also stated that proper responses have been given to such people whose property has been seized by the imperial fisc as “fugitive property” and who subsequently come out claiming that they were not fugitives and attempt to request its return. You must therefore be queried with reference to this matter. In view of this, we write to you, so that you establish the fact of the matter and swiftly report it back to us, whatever it may be, as to whether Konstantin Vartodori was indeed not a fugitive and resided on Chios with his family or whether he was one of those who escaped during the sedition and returned afterward; and also, in case he has resided on Chios since the sedition, where he had been during the events on the island and what happened to him.

1 Referring to St. John of the Chiots (Gr. Αγίου Ιωάννου των Χίων).

[580–1/66, *regarding mercenary salaries and preparations to capture Athens*
To the Castellan of Euboea [Ömer Pasha]

June 28, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's dispatch in which you state that the dues to the soldiers who have previously been mustered under your command—dues which are calculated separately from the monthly salaries they earned until the end of the month of *Şevval* [June 16, 1825]—amount to a sum of 757,000 piasters and that you have presented a register of the pay in arrears. You request the swift dispatch of this money, for you deem its deferment improper. Your correspondence and the said register have been brought to our attention and presented before His Imperial Majesty, who has considered the matter. Your Excellency is one of the greatest viziers of the Exalted Sultanate, who is adorned with true bravery and heroism and with sound wisdom and zeal. For this reason, we obviously trust that you will act bravely and work with self-devotion for the sake of our religion and state. It is apparent that you will, God willing, distinguish yourself among your peers by rendering all instances of high service. As it is desired to comply with the request in your letter and do what is necessary in order to support your authority and power thoroughly, and as no money has been sent to you since the expenditure which was allotted to you earlier by imperial edict—save the sum of 150,000 piasters, which was sent on one occasion, an imperial edict has been issued as regards the preparation and sending of the requested 757,000 piasters. The whole sum has been sent to Your Excellency through your messenger and the messenger's companion. We have written a special reminder to Salih Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala, so that he ensures the conditions for the immediate and safe arrival of the money. With God's help, the money will reach Your Excellency swiftly, and you will not have to concern yourself with the salary issue any more. By performing with the necessary zeal and chivalry, you will reveal that you work rigorously to fulfill the prerequisites of valor and astuteness. At the present time, His Excellency Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia, has already sent seven thousand soldiers to his steward, who is in the region of Amfissa. His Excellency has notified his steward that he is appointed on a mission to go to Thebes, to join Your Excellency's command there and, with combined zeal and courage, to capture Athens, as soon as he crushes, with God's aid, the infidel brigands who have rallied and fortified themselves in Livadeia. Therefore, Your Excellency must start preparations already and expect the arrival of the said steward; and when he comes, you shall set yourself to work in mutual consent; and if Reşid Pasha recommends to you a certain course of action, you shall follow it and [thus] spare no effort to prove your avowed zeal. It is commanded that Your Excellency shall, as per your wisdom and astuteness, join forces with

the said steward on his arrival, reach the necessary consensus, take the needed measures to cleanse Athens of the brigand's filth, and thus prove and confirm the zeal and valor that we expect of you. By offering the necessary help to Reşid Pasha, you shall direct all your attention and efforts to redoubling the great favors which we pour upon you.

[580–1/70, *regarding the siege of Missolonghi and the movement of the imperial navy*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

June 28, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you report that, as you have always devoted your thoughts to the proper coordination of all matters pertaining to the office of commander-in-chief, you have sent a dispatch to Salih Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala, for fear that the functionaries and victorious troops in Amfissa, whose conquest was previously achieved with the amicable help and favor of God Almighty, might suffer from a scarcity of provisions. Furthermore, Your Excellency states that you received the dispatch about our command that you were to forward to Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of the Morea and most heroic vizier, as regards the Algerian ships, which we wrote as our minds were preoccupied night and day with the expectation that some imperial ships would soon cast anchor off Missolonghi. Your Excellency also reports that you were endeavoring to ensure that provisions would be delivered to Amfissa and that you had previously sent money, pack animals, and a special mandate to Salih Pasha to this end. You state that you forwarded to Preveza our dispatch with the imperial order to Ibrahim Pasha, so that he mobilizes the Algerian ships. Your dispatch, which also explains which measures you took for the destruction of the rebellious lot that swarmed into the pier of Livadeia, has been brought to our attention and presented before His Imperial Majesty for review. Your Excellency is one of the high-ranking viziers of the Exalted Sultanate, who is embellished with splendid zealousness and firmness. You have abandoned your sleep and comfort for the sake of the good management and coordination of all affairs under the high office of commander-in-chief, which has been entrusted to you. Hence, it is certain that you will make all the necessary efforts in this regard. There is also no shade of doubt that our previous reminder to Salih Pasha will have been necessitated solely by the preoccupations which the proper conduct of his duties causes us night and day. We understand that Your Excellency is actually referring to the port of Navarino when you write in your dispatch that the Algerian boats are in the port of Kalamata. Nevertheless, it is understood that, in view of the current conditions, these boats will not be able to go to Missolonghi on their own until the arrival of the imperial navy. It has been heard that the grand admiral arrived at the port of Souda, and the state of the sea is unknown. Without doubt, the infidel ships will spare no effort to prevent the imperial navy from going to Missolonghi. According to the news that was received on the 7th day of the month of *Zilkade* [June 23, 1825], the imperial navy left the port of Souda with a total of 112 vessels, landed troops in the bay of Kalamata, and then departed

for Patras. Consequently, as it is evident from Your Excellency's report that the army in Amfissa and the troops in the defense of this region suffer from a dearth of provisions, it is very much desired that this want of provisions be put to an end when the imperial navy arrives in Missolonghi these days, with the magnanimity and benevolence of the Prophet [Muhammad] and by God's help. If, however, the imperial navy should need more time [to arrive], there is a possibility to obtain provisions, so long as there is cash money, both from the [Aegean] islands and, considering that it is currently the harvest season, from Larissa and other regions, with a view to prevent any sort of dearth, God forbid. Therefore, Your Excellency should work to obtain provisions in whatever way you find possible; send sufficient money to Salih Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala, for hiring the necessary pack animals for the transportation of the provisions that will be collected from Lamia; and not allow the troops in the siege of Missolonghi to be dispirited with worries about provisions, owing to the delay of the imperial navy. To this end, it has been found suitable to arrange one thousand purses of aspers and to allocate these funds as salary payments in the event that the imperial navy arrives shortly or, if the imperial navy should be late, to spend the funds to obtain the necessary provisions in whatever way Your Excellency finds possible, as described above. An imperial edict has also been issued in this regard, and, according to it, the said funds of one thousand purses have been dispatched in cash to Your Excellency. As Your Excellency has requested, an imperial order has been sent to Salih Pasha, so as to instruct and remind him to pay the utmost attention to the transportation of provisions by land to the places in need. It is commanded that Your Excellency shall find a way to purchase provisions from the islands and other regions in the event that the imperial navy has not arrived yet, notwithstanding the evidence of divine favor and some recent information that the imperial navy should by now have cast anchor off Missolonghi, being carried by the favorable zephyr of the Creator; and that, in case the imperial navy has arrived, with the aid of God the Everlasting, you shall allocate the aforesaid funds for the payment of [mercenary] salaries, as you did previously; and that you shall at any rate perform with the requisite expertise and wisdom.

Postscript: Let it also be known to Your Excellency that we wrote to the castellan of Euboea to inform him that Your Excellency sent troops to your steward; that the castellan must offer them assistance when they arrive and demonstrate vigilant efforts for the capture of Athens; and, in short, carry out whatever order or instruction Your Excellency may send to him. It is expected that Your Excellency will in any case perform with the requisite acuity and dutifulness.

[580–1/75, regarding the return of the Greeks of Naousa to their hometown]
To the Mutasarrıf of Thessaloniki [Ömer Vrioni]

July 4, 1825

The town of Naousa, within the *sancak* of Thessaloniki, had previously faced destruction due to the uprising of its *reaya*, who, having been granted royal mercy upon their petition, began to return in a piecemeal manner; and the town is likely to recover. Although we expect no further uprising from the *reaya* owing to the proper punishment and suppression to which they were exposed, Ibrahim Pasha [former *mutasarrıf* of Thessaloniki] made a proposal in the past to construct a small fortress for security reasons and a mosque adjacent to the fortress, in a suitable location in the town. Moreover, roughly one hundred Muslim households from the towns of Tikveš and Sarigöl¹ were to be encouraged to settle in the town by distributing among them sufficiently the vineyards and properties of the infidel bandits who perished. Accordingly, once the town recovered, thanks to these measures, the imperial mint was to audit the accounts of the fixed taxes per annum payable to the treasury of the Two Sacred Cities [Mecca and Medina] as before. The town of Veroia was to oversee the judicial affairs of the town. The town was to be declared a royal property, in which half of the crops raised by the new settlers, Muslim and *reaya* alike, would belong to the Administration of Royal Properties. We sent an inspector in charge of rendering the town as a royal property and making a register of the properties and estates in the possession of the rebels of the town. Then, those who fled before and after the clashes were to be granted amnesty for the sake of the recovery of the town. Upon completion of the survey, Ibrahim Pasha sent separate registers that showed the belongings and estates to be abandoned in favor of those who beg for mercy; the properties and lands left uninherited, as their possessors perished during the clashes; and the quantity and value of the grain sold after their possessors perished. As your predecessor, Ibrahim Pasha, had previously pointed out, there would be many future and immediate benefits in declaring the town a royal property and leaving the management of its revenues to the imperial mint. Thus, we sent imperial orders to this effect, by which the town was to pay the fixed taxes stipulated in the registers to the treasury of the Two Sacred Cities and other assigned receivers out of its annual revenues as it recovered. We announced in these imperial orders that the forgiven *reaya* who were settled in the town and given back their former estates would have to pay their tithes and dues at previous rates

1 Probably referring to Ptolemaida (Gr. Πτολεμαΐδα), a town in northwest Greece. The Ottoman name for Ptolemaida was Kayalar; however, the closest town to the now dry Sarigöl (Yellow Lake) is Ptolemaida.

as before. Nevertheless, one third of the revenues of the estates that were to be given to Muslim and non-Muslim subjects, for the lack of inheritors, would belong to the Administration of Royal Properties. It was also decreed that the royal endowments were to meet the construction expenses of the small fortress to be built on a suitable site, along with a mosque and the salaries of the mosque staff. In addition, these orders included the transfer of a hundred or more Muslim households from nearby places to the town and of roughly 14,000 piasters obtained from the sale of the provisions to the imperial mint. Finally, we gave additional orders to send us the stamped book of expenditures concerning the construction of the small fortress and the mosque, as well as the cost of the salaries of the mosque staff. In response to these imperial orders, Ibrahim Pasha then sent us a communication in which he related that merely seven or eight Muslims showed some interest in settling in the town, despite all his efforts, and that he failed to obtain the consent of the inhabitants to a share of two thirds of the revenue. Thus, he had to spread news that there would be no demands on the settlers in order to render the town prosperous for the time being, which encouraged many Muslims and *reaya* to settle in the town. Ibrahim Pasha related in his correspondence the suggestions made to keep the town prosperous in the meeting held with those who knew the local conditions. Accordingly, in the past the town used to pay only the extraordinary taxes [*tekalif-i miriye*] and deliver to the endowment 900 piasters in lieu of the tithe, as well as the land tax-in-cash paid by the non-Muslims [*resm-i ispençe*]. Besides, the farms and vineyards had been left unattended for a few years until the pacification of the town, and the one-third share of the revenue would not cover the expenses of land rehabilitation. He put functionaries in charge of assessing the revenues, tithe, and other dues last year, following the norm in nearby villages, and the total revenue turned out to be 7,500 piasters. Therefore, he suggested in his correspondence the payment of the abovementioned sum and the cash land tax paid by the non-Muslims at the past rates to the endowment, with the remainder of the revenues to be transferred to the imperial mint. As revealed in the aforementioned imperial order, he pointed out, those farmers who settled afterward should be given the vacant farms, vineyards, and mulberry groves, and both the locals and the newcomers should pay the tithe and other dues. Ibrahim Pasha noted that the register of those estates and trees that have hitherto been distributed among the Muslim and non-Muslim newcomers, as well those left undistributed, has been presented. According to him, it would be possible to sell all the estates and properties currently left vacant at their market value, once those emigrants arrive in the town and settle down. He also expects that the vacant estates with no inheritors would yield considerable revenues, comprising tithe and non-Muslim land tax-in-cash, as well as

annual lump sums from the vineyards and mulberry groves, if it was stipulated that the new holders coming from outside would enjoy usufruct rights for generations untouched and that they will not object to the transfer of their farm to another bidder, should they move to another place. Another suggestion was that the imperial treasury should make funds available to meet the predicted expenses of the construction of a mosque and deduct the sum from the local revenues in the future. In addition, it was necessary to establish an endowment based on the vacant estates to cover the management expenses of the mosque and the construction of a school adjacent to it; the predicted expenses were to be listed and sent to Istanbul. As for the small fortress, it was deemed unnecessary, because of the unsuitable location of the town, which had been guarded by a company commander and his troops. The locals attending the meeting hoped that there would be no need for a garrison if the town recovered soon. Although we decided to take the proper course of action upon receiving this report, Ibrahim Pasha was dismissed from his post and he left Thessaloniki. It is now your duty to reconsider these measures, as you succeeded him in office and definitely have a better understanding of local customs and manners. We need to have your confirmation if the proposals of your predecessor conform to the prevailing local conditions. His Imperial Majesty manifested his will for the rehabilitation of the town and reinforcement of its defenses. We trust that you have had enough time to contemplate the proposals of Ibrahim Pasha up to now. It goes without saying that any measure related to that vicinity needs your approval, since you are the *mutasarrif* of that region. We express by this letter our wish for your commitment to collecting local information and explaining to us your opinion about the means of recovery of the town.

[580–1/91, *regarding the arrival of the imperial navy off Missolonghi*
To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

July 22, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you relate that His Excellency the grand admiral arrived with the navy off Missolonghi on the 25th day of the month of *Zilkade* [July 11, 1825] and put pressure on the infidels inside Missolonghi from the seaside as well, thereby exhausting their strength completely. The mound you set out to build almost reached the bank of the ditch, which you hope to capture in a few days. You also describe the details of the way in which you granted amnesty to the inhabitants of the town of Apokouro, upon their request, in return for hostages, as the issue of Missolonghi is soon to come to an end. Your Excellency states that, while you sent Yusuf Pasha, Castellan of Patras, four hundred purses of piasters in aid, he sent you a note in response to your previous inquiry into his purchase of grain. Finally, you plead with us to dispatch to Your Excellency large sums of money to pay the troops and to buy grain, for you suffer from a shortage of funds, due to your surmounting responsibilities as commander-in-chief. We have also received a communication from the grand admiral that informs us about his arrival at Missolonghi. Based upon your past and present correspondence and predictions, we believe that you must have completely captured Missolonghi and burned the community of bandits with the flames of your swords by now, as the grand admiral and you have been pressing on the fortress both from the seaside and landside. We offer our prayers for the long-awaited victory before God. You have the approval and consent of His Imperial Majesty in all the important services you have rendered before and now, and we pray day and night for an imminent and successful conclusion to your task. It is appropriate that you set out to send money and provisions to Yusuf Pasha as necessitated by circumstances. In his note he asks for authorization to make a purchase of grain on the spot through the services of the merchants at Zakynthos. Nevertheless, as the imperial navy has arrived in the vicinity, there remains no obstacle on the way for the supply ships we send from here. Obviously, you will distribute the provisions as they arrive among those places, such as Patras, depending on their need. It is essential that you pay utmost care to take the necessary course of action in this matter as the supreme commander with full discretionary powers. Apart from the one thousand purses of piasters sent for grain purchase in the past, we have lately sent an additional one thousand purses of piasters just in case, especially for the purchase prior to the dispatch of your correspondence, which must have reached you. However, we have sent you 3,500 purses of piasters on this particular occasion, following His Imperial Majesty's will, for our single priority is to facilitate your work. This

sum is to be entered in your account book as part of the expenditures peculiar to your office. We expect you to distribute the provisions in every necessary direction, including Patras, as the supply ships we are sending from here reach Patras. Furthermore, we have written to the grand admiral to perform his task in unison with you and we also expect you to exercise courtesy toward him. We express our wish by this letter that you spare no effort in achieving the auspicious goal of capturing Missolonghi by besieging the fortress from both land and sea, sending us the long-awaited news of its conquest and the conclusion of the disturbance of the brigands.

[580–1/100, *regarding the impossibility of replacing troops*]

To the Castellan of Chios [Yusuf Pasha]

July 29, 1825

You request in your correspondence royal permission to discharge Osman Bey, head of the musketeers, who is deployed in the town of Çeşme, as well as five hundred soldiers from the *sancak* of Sığla, who are currently garrisoning the island of Chios, on the grounds that they have been serving for quite a long period of time. However, as is known to all, the rebellion of the Greek infidels still continues, and it is impermissible to neglect the protection of necessary places. We are at a loss to understand from your correspondence whether you are pledging to guard Çeşme and Chios satisfactorily with your present troops, in the event that we discharge the aforementioned contingents, or you will request new soldiers in their stead. As this point needs clarification, we would like to notify you by this letter that you will be held responsible for any undesirable consequence should these troops be discharged, since there are no available troops at hand to replace them. You should point out the exact situation to us by paying attention to this point, so that we will take the necessary course of action.

FIGURE 19 Title page of BOA/Ayniyat Register 581

[581/5, *regarding Greeks breaking through the siege of Missolonghi*
To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

August 22–24, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you relate that you had fallen upon Missolonghi following your orders as commander-in-chief and that the rebellious infidels understood that they would have to beg for quarter, as they could not withstand the daring Muslim onslaught. Accordingly, while you were about to exchange hostages, by a decree of Providence the imperial navy weighed anchor off Missolonghi due to an incident. As the coasts of Missolonghi became free of the control of the imperial navy, bandit vessels arrived with reinforcements and abundant supplies. Emboldened anew by the sudden turn of events, as pointed out in your report, the bandits launched an attack in order to intimidate your army. In the ensuing battle, with the help of God and the sacred favor of His Imperial Majesty pouring on Your Excellency, you withstood the enemy attack with great success, slaying more than eighty bandits and putting the rest to flight. Your Excellency assures us about the intensification of pressure on the accursed enemy. Finally, you report the arrival of four to five hundred purses of piasters sent for the salaries of the troops and the purchase of grain. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted it to His Imperial Majesty. It is a great relief of heart that you have been working more than before toward the annihilation of the enemy, and we are certain that your efforts will soon yield victory. May God raise your flag to the victorious heavens and condemn the ominous banner of the bandits to sink upside down to the soil of ill fortune, amen! You are among the great viziers of His Imperial Majesty, endowed with bravery, zeal, and comprehension. His Imperial Majesty bestowed on you his royal favors by appointing Your Excellency commander-in-chief with full discretionary powers. Truth be told, all your well-pointed arrangements have been clear of blemishes so far, and all your actions have been in line with the good name of our sultan's reign. [The rest of this document is omitted due to missing page(s) in the register].

[581/21, *regarding the provisioning of the army*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

September 2, 1825

On the orders of His Imperial Majesty, we have already asked Your Excellency for information regarding the provisions sent to Volos, Lamia, Preveza, and Patras aboard the *müstemen* merchant ships for the consumption of the forces under your command. While your answer to our inquiry has not reached us yet, we have all set our minds and thoughts to facilitating your task to terminate the Greek disturbance, which has been a serious matter of concern for us for quite some time. Thus, we deliberated on the matter of provisions and submitted the following suggestions for the approval of His Imperial Majesty. As the winter is closing in, we need to arrange and deliver the provisions for the winter consumption of the glorious soldiers. Some of our troops are currently fighting at Missolonghi and will serve in the surrounding garrisons after its conquest, which, with your gallant endeavors, is definitely to ensue. Others are guarding places, such as Amfissa and Patras, that have not fallen to the hands of the infidels. It is not possible to send these provisions by land, because of the approaching winter; we have to rely on either the ships of the imperial navy or those of the *müstemen* merchants. Nevertheless, the imperial navy is involved in the siege of Missolonghi, whereas the *müstemen* merchants seem to be reluctant to carry the provisions by ostensibly arguing that: "The bandits seize the provisions from us by force, and you require us to compensate in cash for the loss based on the insurance agreement we have concluded with you. This ruins us completely." However, it is in fact quite obvious that they intend to help the Greeks at any rate by refraining from carrying supplies to the aforementioned destinations. We have confirmed that of the provisions destined for the ports of Preveza, Patras, and Volos a quantity of 222,000 bushels reached their destinations. In addition, Your Excellency bought supplies using the sum of two thousand purses of piasters we had sent you previously. All these provisions constitute the summer allotment of the troops, and we believe that Your Excellency will manage the rations until *Kasım* with the available supplies at your disposal. There are presently 400,000 bushels of supplies in Enez purchased on our orders by the *mutasarrıf* of Ormenio as part of the winter allotment. These provisions, which would abundantly suffice for the winter, could not be sent, due to the reluctance of the foreign merchants as explained above. This compels us to search for alternative solutions. Previously, we took the nominal figure of forty-five thousand for the number of troops serving in your army and in Amfissa and other places when calculating the required quantity of rations for the summer; and we shall follow the same calculation in the organization of the winter supplies. Thus, at the calculation of 300 *dirhems*

[952 grams] of regular white bread per man per diem for the duration of six months, from *Kasım* until *Hızır*, the winter allotment of forty-five thousand men is equal to three hundred thousand bushels of grain in total. Of this total, Your Excellency must buy 100,000 bushels from Preveza and Parga through your agents there, as well as from the Ionian Islands through the Frankish merchants, and from Vlorë and Shkodër through the intermediation of the commanders of the contingents contributed by Süleyman Pasha of Vlorë and Shkodër to your forces. Last year, we rerouted to you around forty thousand bushels of provisions from Larissa's quota for the consumption of Istanbul, which amounted to hundred and twenty thousand bushels of wheat and thirty thousand bushels of barley. According to certain statements, two thirds of the estates controlled by the landlords in the district of Larissa are state property, and the rest are farms and tax farms from which we can procure an additional quantity of thirty to forty thousand bushels of provisions. Thus, in total it makes around seventy to eighty thousand bushels of grain from Larissa alone. Therefore, Salih Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala, along with the commissary officer of Larissa, should try to meet the quota of one hundred thousand bushels of provisions by making purchases and requisitioning the produce of the imperial estates. We need to inquire from Your Excellency about the amount of the grain bought as part of the compulsory grain contribution of Larissa for the year of AH 1240 [August 1824–August 1825] and the supplies we sent to Larissa from here, before taking action to meet any missing quantity in your quota for the winter allotment. Afterward, Salih Pasha must transport all these provisions to Lamia, and Your Excellency should then arrange for two thousand pack animals to bring them from Lamia to the pier of [the *kaza* of] Amfissa [Itea?]. Although this number of beasts can transport one hundred thousand bushels of provisions from Lamia to Amfissa no sooner than in five to six months, it would be rather onerous to gather more horses. Thus, by necessity the transportation should be carried out with two thousand horses no matter how long it would take. The pier of [the *kaza* of] Amfissa is at the Strait of Nafpaktos [the Gulf of Corinth], and currently there are no brigand boats there. Therefore, transportation of one hundred thousand bushels of provisions to the port of Missolonghi, as well as Nafpaktos, Patras, and Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio], should be possible by using small row boats following the coastline; your agents employed along the Amfissa road should collect these boats from the aforementioned places. As the Frankish merchants refuse to provide freight liability insurance, we contracted captains of five to six ships here to carry grain brought by the Frankish merchants from the Black Sea to Patras, Preveza, and Lamia, provided we make payment only after the confirmation of delivery. We have recently learned of the safe arrival

of one of these ships to its destination. Nonetheless, considering the fact that the Frankish merchants had previously delivered provisions to the brigands, in spite of the signing of insurance contracts, it would be too optimistic to expect that they would deliver all their cargoes to their rightful recipients this time. However, we shall continue to contract them to send 100,000 bushels of supplies on the aforementioned principle as we buy them. If we can presume that the Frankish merchants will adhere to their contracts and deliver cargoes to Lamia, then the winter allotment of three hundred thousand bushels will have been procured completely. Conversely, if they do not deliver anything at all, Your Excellency should take care, as ably as you can, of the feeding of the forty-five thousand soldiers with the two hundred thousand bushels of provisions to be bought by you and procured from Larissa. In this case, you must reduce the daily bread ration per man from three hundred *dirhems* to two hundred *dirhems*. We have thus suggested forwarding to Your Excellency the money necessary for the purchase of one hundred thousand bushels of provisions and the leasing of two thousand pack animals for a period of six months at the rate of thirty piasters per horse per month. Obviously, these supplies are for the consumption of the troops only; you shall provide the necessary fodder for the beasts in the same way as in the past. While debating these measures to our best ability in light of the current state of affairs, we have decided to inquire about Your Excellency's opinion, since you most likely ponder upon the procurement of the winter provisions as well. We have also thought it wise to ask Your Excellency how many provisions you currently have at your disposal and how much more you can procure. Lastly, in case Your Excellency approves our proposed measures regarding the procurement of 200,000 bushels of grain, we suggest concealing them from the Franks, lest they attempt to undermine our efforts. His Imperial Majesty has given his consent to our suggestions, and based on the imperial decree we would like to ask of Your Excellency by this letter, which we send in two copies with two separate couriers, your opinion on the matter of the winter allotment for the aforementioned places. We must know the amount of grain you currently have and are likely to procure before coming to a final decision on the matter. If you accept our suggestion of supplying two hundred thousand bushels of provisions in the proposed way, you will keep it secret to prevent the Franks from hindering this operation. The deeds and measures Your Excellency have put forth since the beginning of your commission are a token of your wisdom and comprehension and they defy all criticism. Your diligence, perseverance, and prowess merit the appreciation of His Imperial Majesty, as well as of the commoner and the elite alike. We have no doubt that Your Excellency will render many more precious services to the state and distinguish yourself among your peers. It is quite clear

from the correspondence you have sent us up to now that the conquest of Missolonghi is neigh, for which you have been working ceaselessly. It is our utmost expectation and ultimate hope that when Your Excellency conquers Missolonghi, by God's help, the den of mischief will completely be lost to those infidel brigands. As they will then collapse in total despair, the Frankish will be despondent, which will facilitate the procurement of the winter supplies. By contrast, if, God forbid, the question of Missolonghi is prolonged and the infidels once again get away with the abominable deeds they have committed so far, you surely know that this will be an enormous disgrace for the Sublime State. However, you should not be embarrassed by the prolongation of this matter and torment your mind by consternating over it. You must rather exert yourself to search for the means of achieving your mission. Success and victory come with perseverance and determination. Your Excellency enjoys the holy royal favor, and all our auspicious prayers are for your victory. You must be sure that you will succeed in liberating Missolonghi in consequence of your labors and suffering. You must pray for victory with a strong heart, set your mind on invigorating the troops and providing supplies for them, and send us the news of victory that we have been longing for. Obviously, those places that owe their liberation to Your Excellency or the troops you employ along the Amfissa road have received garrisons. You do need not our guidance or instructions for the relevant measures. The infidel rebels dare attack places which they deem vulnerable or discover to be unguarded, because they are persistent in their rebellion and mischief. In case they cause the slightest harm to one of these localities, they will be emboldened anew in the most improper way. Therefore, it is our most sincere demand and expectation that Your Excellency devotes attention to guarding all the localities that need protection in order to fend off the enemy.

[581/24, *regarding supply ships captured by Greek revolutionaries*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Ormenio [Esad Pasha]

September 2, 1825

By His Imperial Majesty's decree, we hired at Istanbul the ships recorded in the list attached and sent them to the port of Patras in order to load 250,000 bushels of flour and 200,000 bushels of barley to be bought from Edirne and nearby localities to supply the forces of the governor of Rumelia and transported to Enez through your services. Those ships that reached Enez were laden with 90,000 bushels of wheat and barley. However, we have heard that on the way most of these provisions were captured by the infidel boats. When we rented these ships, their owners signed a contract to the effect that, in the event that their cargoes do not reach their destinations, they must compensate for the loss; these contracts are kept at the office of freight payments. By the terms of the agreement, the shipowners now have to compensate for the undelivered quantities. We ask of you by this letter to send to Istanbul a detailed list that shows the number of ships that arrived at the port of Enez, as well as the type and quantity of cargoes they had loaded.

[581/26, *regarding the ammunition to burn the dwellings inside Missolonghi*
To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

September 3, 1825

It is our obligation to reinforce your power and authority by every means, for Your Excellency is in charge of a sacred task as commander-in-chief. We have explained in our correspondence that we were aware of your need for considerable amounts of military supplies and that we paid much attention to dispatch ammunition from Istanbul in the past and now from Thessaloniki. We take this opportunity to assure Your Excellency once again that we immerse ourselves day and night in seeking out the means to alleviate your burden and facilitate the accomplishment of the task through constant deliberation. Our couriers informed us that the brigands captured the carcass shots and other ordnances that we had sent previously. Thus, we held a special meeting with the chief bombardier on this matter. Based on the intelligence that the dwellings inside the Castle of Missolonghi are made of timber, we contemplated that one can start fires by shooting carcass shots into the wooden buildings. Thus, we have decided to dispatch to Your Excellency 48 14-caliber carcasses, 48 22-caliber carcasses, and 4 36-caliber carcasses, one hundred shots in total. We have sent them along with our special couriers overland by horse. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to ensure their use in due fashion and exert yourself to fulfill your duties.

[581/95, *regarding the siege of Missolonghi*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

September 17, 1825

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency confirms the arrival of our letter regarding the question of Missolonghi. You explain that it would no longer be possible to keep soldiers in the trenches, due to imminent heavy rain, and the troops could not be deployed in the redoubts any longer. Thus, you have ordered the construction of three large redoubts that can accommodate five to six thousand select troops within the range of musket shot to Missolonghi in order to continue the siege in the winter. In addition, Your Excellency reports that two towers facing one another on the two banks at the crossing point of the great river called Aspropotamos are currently under construction, as well as the forts and other strongholds at the locations shown in the plan appended to your correspondence. Your Excellency also relates that, aside from the troops that are being raised in Albania for the winter, you have sent out mandates to several towns of Rumelia, indicated in the appended list, instructed their *ayans* to muster troops, and urged some of them to lead their soldiers in person. Therefore, you plead with us to send the relevant imperial decrees to this end. Your Excellency also informs us that your resources to feed the troops are currently confined to the remaining provisions in Preveza and the tithes collected from the estates and agricultural produce in Ioannina, Arta, and Preveza. Thus, you communicated in writing with the British consul in Preveza [William Meyer] for bringing provisions to the town and point out that his letter sent in response is in the attachment of this present correspondence. Destitute of royal support regarding troop payment and supply purchases, Your Excellency requests us to send large cash sums. Furthermore, you explain your decision to appoint Salih Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Trikala, as the castellan of Amfissa. Recounting his assignment of transporting provisions to Lamia with one thousand pay tickets given to maintain his contingent, you think he may be given an additional five hundred pay tickets to garrison Amfissa at the head of five hundred troops. You also request the appointment of an official for the reception of the provisions from Lamia and their dispatch to and protection in Amfissa. Moreover, you ask us to send an encouraging imperial order to Ali Hıfzı Bey, Superintendent of Skopje, instructing him to join your command for the winter operations. Your Excellency mentions your decision to appoint Osman Pasha of Bosnia of the rank of *mir-i miran*, who is now under your command as the castellan of Lamia, based on his worthiness and diligence, and to assign him the task of transporting supplies to Amfissa. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted it to His Imperial Majesty, along with the appended documents, including the translation of the letter from the British consul. Since you have been appointed as commander-in-chief,

you have forsaken comfort in the name of religion and the Sublime State and served worthily. We are aware of the fact that you have endeavored diligently to conquer Missolonghi. Therefore, you need not be apologetic for that matter. The latent reason for the delay in the liberation of Missolonghi is due to the inscrutable decree of divine providence. The manifest reason, by contrast, is surely the difficulty of reconnoitering Missolonghi from the seaside [uncertain translation] and the well-known disposition of the Albanians. God willing, the infidels will find it impossible to withstand the siege in wintertime, because of the redoubts and forts under construction, and will take recourse to either flee or surrender. The measures you point out for the winter mobilization are appropriate. However, the situation with the soldiers from the *kazas* is no secret to Your Excellency. One can never trust if they will follow the mobilization orders and show up in the exact numbers at their assigned posts at the said time. For the lack of a better alternative, however, we have sent out stern orders at your request, instructing quick mobilization of the troops listed in the muster rolls. We also endorse your decision to appoint Salih Pasha as the castellan of Amfissa and have issued the necessary imperial order of appointment. We have also ordered Hıfzı Bey, Superintendent of Skopje, to winter at your army camp via an encouraging and flattering imperial decree. We have also sent Your Excellency a letter addressed to him. Regarding the assignment of an official for the reception of the provisions in Lamia, we have appointed for this task Mehmed Naim Agha, one of the imperial chamberlains and steward of the late Ahmed Pasha, and we delivered the imperial order of appointment to him before he left for his assigned post. It is our primary concern to augment your power and prestige. For this reason, we sent you five thousand purses of piasters in two equal installments, which, we assume, must have reached you after you sent us this correspondence. Your Excellency has not failed in your endeavors until now, and we expect this to continue. God willing, the imperial navy will arrive off the coast of Missolonghi any day. Even though rain makes it hard to serve in the trenches, winter has not set in fully, and the order for the evacuation of the trenches may wait a little longer to forestall the slackening of the siege. We assure you that the royal favor bestowed on Your Excellency is not withheld; nor is the belief abandoned that this incident will come to a fruitful conclusion, owing to your diligent service. Therefore, Your Excellency should in no way let yourself be overtaken with anguish because of the unavoidable delay in this affair; and you should avert weariness seizing our troops. You should rather exert yourself to taking appropriate measures in line with the current state of affairs to accomplish the task at hand as commander-in-chief with full discretionary powers. Lastly, we approve your suggestion to appoint Osman Pasha as the castellan of Lamia and to put him in charge of bringing provisions to Amfissa.

[581/97, *regarding Crete*]

To the Castellan of Rethymno

September 18, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you report that some brigands from among Cretan fugitives and the runaways of other islands dared to attack the fortress of Gramvousa with caiques and capture it and to wreak havoc on the district of Kisamos.¹ Although Osman Agha, an officer in the Egyptian army, made zealous efforts to defend the area, he could not offer resistance in the desired manner and withdrew to Chania. Furthermore, you stated that tremendous shortages have arisen in the area under your administration and that you are in need of imperial aid. The contents of your correspondence and other items of intelligence have thus become known to us. Their Excellencies the castellans of Chania and Irakleio also informed us a few days ago that the wretched fugitives had assembled and dared to attack and capture the fortress of Gramvousa and that they attempted to drive them away. Apparently, His Excellency the governor of Egypt must again ensure the defense of Crete, as he had previously succeeded in doing, by making special efforts to wrest the island from the ominous grip of the infidels. It is clearly understood from his dispatch, which arrived earlier, that he is again preparing troops, in addition to the troops available on Crete, and is about to send them with the imperial navy, for he heard that the wretched brigands had the intention to harass the island. We hope and beg divine favor that these troops will have reached Crete by now, driven the brigands away, and cleansed these lands of the rebels' filth. Since we wish to comply with your request, in accordance with our favor and fondness toward you, we have implored His Imperial Majesty, and a royal gift of 25,000 piasters has just been prepared and sent to you by virtue of His Imperial Majesty's will. It is therefore commanded that you shall hereafter defend, with the requisite wisdom and zeal, and at any rate, this fortress [Rethymno] of His Imperial Majesty, which is entrusted to you, from the subversive plots of the brigands and that you shall in any case employ all the mastery at your command, so as to perform your duties with the desired wisdom.

1 Kisamos (Turk. Kisamo, Gr. Κίσσαμος): coastal town in the northwest of Crete.

[581/63, *regarding the Battle of Trikorfo and the capture of Tripolitsa by Ibrahim Pasha*]

To the Governor of the Morea [Ibrahim Pasha]

September 27, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you relate that you marched from the plain of Messini¹—which you had occupied previously with your God-given bravery and determination—to your administrative seat at Tripolitsa, which Your Excellency intended to rescue from the damned hands of the infidels. However, the idolaters entertained the perverted hope to obstruct the march of your army; and the accursed Kolokotronis had strong and fortified trenches dug in the defile of the mountain called Şahbaz [Trikorfo]² with this purpose in mind. *Miralay* Selim Bey moved forward with Hurşid Bey, and Reşvan Agha, commander of the light cavalry, was sent from the rear to engage the infidels. In the resulting battle,³ the victorious troops of Islam, with cries of "Allah Allah," forced their way through the guarded defile to the plain near the *kaza* of Leontari.⁴ According to your correspondence, you marched on Tripolitsa, crushing the sighing infidels on the way, and recaptured the town and its surroundings. Afterward, you took captives, burned cultivated fields, and drove cattle back to Tripolitsa by making incursions into the surroundings of Nafplio and Argos. Finally, Your Excellency points out that you sent five hundred pairs of ears. The contents of Your Excellency's correspondence, which was brought here by your arms bearer, Selim Agha, has thus become known to us and caused us great joy and satisfaction. We have been eagerly awaiting your news day and night and, having God and the Prophet [Muhammad] on your side, you retook such a large town as Tripolitsa, along with numerous locations in its vicinity, which had remained for some time in the cursed hands of the infidels. This military feat of yours, as one of the bravest and the most dignified viziers of the Exalted Sultanate, pleased His Imperial Majesty, who embellished the margins of your letter with his praise, which reads: "Well done! Full marks to him for his diligence. May he be prosperous. God willing, he will have the honor and pride of making many more great conquests. My good prayers are for him to gain divine favor. Indeed, I am gratified." The ears you sent were tossed on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to

1 Messini (Turk. Nisi, Gr. Μεσσήνη, Νησί in the Ottoman period): town in the southwest Peloponnese, to the west of Kalamata.

2 Trikorfo (Gr. Τρίκορφο): mountainous region in Messinia, in the southwest Peloponnese.

3 Referring to the Battle of Trikorfo, which was fought on August 4, 1825, between the Greek forces commanded by Theodoros Kolokotronis and the Egyptian forces commanded by Ibrahim Pasha.

4 Leontari (Turk. Londar, Gr. Λεοντάρη): town and district in the south-central Peloponnese.

serve as an example. It would be superfluous to recount to Your Excellency how the infidel Greeks have engaged in all sorts of treacherous and abominable deeds against Muslims, as treason is a latent quality in their heinous disposition. However, praise be to God, ruin has befallen the infidel bandits since you set foot in the Morea. We have no doubt that you will soon overpower the wicked infidels, and, as suggested by the divine favors manifested in your past victories, you will accomplish your given task of completely pacifying the Morea. In short, you have the approval and support of His Imperial Majesty, the ministers of the Sublime State, and perhaps the deceased members of the Muslim community in recognition of the efforts you put into these conquests. We all await the news of victory that you undoubtedly will have by recapturing the remaining Moreot fortresses and towns controlled by the brigands. We dispatch our letter to you with your arms bearer, Selim Agha, relaying our expectation that you will relieve the nation of Muhammad of this incident as soon as possible by clamping down on the infidels.

[581/72, *regarding administrative changes in Albania to motivate the Albanians for the siege of Missolonghi*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

October 2, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you confirm the arrival of our agent, Haseki Ahmed Agha, carrying the imperial order with His Imperial Majesty's handwriting atop, which emphasized our impatience about the conquest of Missolonghi, the key to the Morea. You had it read aloud [at the army camp], as we had sent it to motivate the soldiers of Islam to conquer Missolonghi before the winter sets in, and dispatched the copies of the imperial order to Ioannina and Delvinë. Your Excellency also requested the dispatch of the relevant orders and letters of appointment that formalize Palaslızade Ismail Pasha's succession of Süleyman Pasha in office with the title of vizier, as of the first day of the month of *Safer* [September 15, 1825] and the promotion of Mühürdar Ago Süleyman [*sic.* Osman] Agha to the rank of the imperial guards [*Silahşoran-ı Hassa*] as his new steward. This change of office was necessary to boost the army morale, since Süleyman Pasha failed to deal with the troops and win over the locals, due to his erratic character as the *mutasarrıf* of Vlorë. Your Excellency points out that, in light of the potential drawbacks of keeping Süleyman Pasha in office, you used your full discretionary powers as commander-in-chief to appoint Palaslızade Ismail Pasha, *Mutasarrıf* of Acarnania and Nafpaktos, as the *Mutasarrıf* of Vlorë, promoting him to vizierial rank. Referring back to your past request for the transfer of 2,500 purses of piasters, which you have not received yet, you ask us to send 2,500 additional purses immediately to purchase provisions and to pay the troops. You also noted the past dispatch of the lists of provisions you had purchased from the *müstemen* merchants for the garrisons of Patras, Nafpaktos, and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio] and that you would submit the receipts of these purchases as well. We have no doubt that Your Excellency exerts yourself to complete your mission with success as a man of fortitude and resoluteness in the service of [our] religion and the Sublime State. The dignity of his dynasty was the sole reason for the previous appointment of Süleyman Pasha to Vlorë, in the hope that he might have gained the loyalty of Albanians as a member of an ancient Albanian dynasty, since Albanians traditionally revere the local dynasties. Yet, we understand from your correspondence that Süleyman Pasha confessed his incompetence to Your Excellency in a letter, as he was frustrated by Albanians, who, in turn, hated him. Ismail Pasha, on the other hand, has been serving zealously since the early days of the sedition. Thus, we were contemplating to reward him upon the conquest of Missolonghi as he is worthy of royal favor. That said, we approve of your decision to promote him to vizierial

rank and to appoint him to Vlorë; and we are certain of your commitment to do whatever is necessary, using your full discretionary powers, for the completion of the present task. As proof of our good opinion of you, we have given the robe of appointment to Ismail Pasha's agent at the Porte, Nayab Efendi, and entrusted with him the necessary imperial orders of appointment that affirm [Ismail Pasha's] promotion to the vizierial rank and the date of his appointment as the 1st day of *Safer*. We have also given Nayab Efendi the necessary verbal instructions and the letter of admission addressing the aforementioned [Mühürdar] Ago in recognition of his promotion to the rank of the imperial guards. There is no mention of Acarnania and Nafpaktos in your correspondence. We leave it to you to decide whether it is appropriate to put these places under the authority of Ismail Pasha as well or to make separate appointments. It goes without saying that we are concerned day and night about facilitating your task by every possible means. Prior to the arrival of this letter, you must have received the 2,500 purses of piasters we sent previously. We have sent you 2,500 additional purses of piasters at your request, by His Imperial Majesty's will. We will take care of the bills of exchange you delivered to the *müstemen* merchants to buy provisions for the aforementioned fortresses as soon as they arrive in Istanbul. We are concerned with the likelihood that the approaching winter might cause fatigue and languor among our troops, God forbid. Thus, it is our most sincere demand from you to take whatever measures necessary to capture Missolonghi as soon as possible.

[581/80, *regarding battle on Euboea*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

October 12, 1825

Ömer Pasha, Castellan of Euboea, informed us in his report that the infidel bandits were persistent about landing on the island of Euboea with the seditious aim of provoking the *reaya*, despite the patrols he deployed in a number of places for the protection of the island. He reported that he dispatched a sizable force to engage those bandits, who came to the island on a multitude of boats. In the resulting battle at the place called Baltora [uncertain reading] in Sohorkolu [uncertain reading], the abject bandits were put to flight, with many perishing by the sword. The garrison forces captured one of their boats, and some threw themselves into the sea at the battle and died afterward. Moreover, Ömer Pasha sent eighty-five heads and pairs of ears to Istanbul. Having saved the island from the spark of evil and wickedness, as he recounted in his letter, he can manage his troops for the time being through appeasing the commanders under him. He is, nevertheless, concerned about the fact that the troops assigned from Amfissa have not shown up in his service, and, given that winter is approaching, it is doubtful that they will appear after this moment. He sent from Chalkida to Karystos five thousand bushels of wheat to alleviate the shortage of provisions; and he requested permission to send ten thousand bushels of wheat and one hundred *kantars* of lead to Karystos, since it borders the hostile zone infested by the bandits. We have sent him a letter in reply and explained to him that the *müstemen* merchants have been refraining from offering cargo insurance for the shipment of provisions for some time. Thus, the superintendent of the grain administration contracted the French merchant Vagras [uncertain reading] to carry roughly 10,500 bushels of wheat from Izmir to Karystos, where he would receive his payment upon the delivery of cargo at the rate of 10 piasters a bushel. We also told Ömer Pasha that one can never be sure if Vagras would make the delivery, since these *müstemen* merchants have the inclination to sell the cargo to anyone who offers a higher price, regardless of the contract they signed. Nevertheless, we did not have an alternative option. Since we cannot trust *müstemen* merchants, as we wrote to the castellan, we set out to dispatch the requested one hundred *kantars* of lead by land. We are aware that you are busy with the siege of Missolonghi these days; however, as per His Imperial Majesty's will, we write you this letter to keep you informed about the aforementioned correspondence.

[581/86, *regarding the replacement of the Albanians in the army at Missolonghi with troops from Rumelia*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

October 13, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you confirm the arrival of our correspondence that reiterates your instructions as commander-in-chief. As for the reasons for the protraction of the Missolonghi affair, Your Excellency maintains that the Albanians cannot be trusted to persevere, given their manners and disposition, and you ask for the reiteration of the imperial orders sent to the *kazas* of Rumelia on your recommendation for raising troops to replace the Albanians for the winter. The new orders, you argue, should make it explicit that the new recruits must show up at your army camp immediately for further deployment in their assigned posts. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted it to His Imperial Majesty, along with the appended joint petition presented to your subordinates in Amfissa, as well as a register that shows the places to receive garrisons. Your Excellency merits the appreciation of His Imperial Majesty, as well as of the commoner and the elite, for all the deeds and measures you put forth to complete your assignment with success as a token of your wisdom and comprehension. We accept the issue of Missolonghi as the crux of the matter. We are aware that Your Excellency devotes all your efforts to bring pressure on the brigands who have taken refuge within Missolonghi. We all think it is as clear as daylight that you are vigilant about stationing troops at the necessary places in a timely fashion, in order to block the roads used by the wicked bandits to commit sedition and brigandage. It would be rather superfluous to state that we are doing whatever is necessary in order to expedite your commission and address the needs of your army. In spite of this, it must definitely be the decree of divine providence that the Missolonghi affair has not yet reached a successful conclusion. However, it is obvious that God's grace will immediately be upon this community, worthy of divine compassion, so that this affair will soon end favorably. Nonetheless, it is not permissible to let negligence overtake us because of the prolongation of the affair; we must not neglect the manifest factors that bring victory. It is our chief concern to follow your guidance in the treatment of the matter in order to augment your power and capability. Upon your previous correspondence on the matter of winter mobilization, we sent relevant imperial orders with our couriers to the indicated locations in the submitted list, as we have previously notified Your Excellency. After receiving your recent plea for the immediate dispatch of these troops in full numbers, we sent separate letters addressed to authorities of the localities registered in the abovementioned list, reiterating past orders, as per His Imperial Majesty's

will. Having reminded them of your demand for troops to deploy in the affair of Missolonghi and to garrison other significant places, we ask them to provide these troops in exact numbers at the earliest and to send them to Your Excellency. We also warn them that, at Your Excellency's request, they will have to face the consequences of failure to comply with the orders, including, but not restricted to, procrastination in mobilization. [The rest of this document is omitted due to missing page(s) in the register].

[581/90, *regarding British officials protecting Greeks*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

October 15, 1825

In your past correspondence Your Excellency informed us that there were Greek brigands who escaped from Missolonghi and other places to the island of Kalamos¹ and other British islands [the Ionian Islands] and found shelter there. The British officials, you maintained, welcomed and protected these Greek brigands, supporting some of them with cash and military equipment. Acting upon this intelligence, the *reisülküttab* then notified the British ambassador by a note and an official memorandum that demanded the prevention of protection and support by the British officials in the said islands of this sort of fugitive brigand, for this violated the treaties and posed a threat to the friendship between the two states. Later on, we delivered a lengthy memorandum to this effect, to which the British ambassador replied through his dragoman, stating that he would convey our message to both his government and the commander of Corfu; we sent Your Excellency a copy of this memorandum at that time. The British ambassador has recently presented the official response of his government to our memorandum. Based on the content of the translated document, the British state claims to have been neutral since the inception of this sedition, by which reason those identified as combatants are denied asylum and those refugees who showed hostility to Muslims after returning to their hometowns are not readmitted. The commanders of the Seven Islands and Kalamos allegedly have instructions to admit temporarily anyone from the warring parties in imminent peril. According to the memorandum, some of those refugees did in fact return to their localities after the restoration of peace in their hometowns, but they would take refuge again in case of war. Finally, it argues that those currently present in the aforementioned islands have taken refuge because of their destituteness and intend to go back to their hometowns upon the restoration of peace and order. Finally, it asserts that the British officials admit and protect them purely upon humanitarian considerations and also give shelter to Muslims when they ask for it on occasion. This memorandum is in fact a blatant admission by the British that they grant refuge to the brigands. The [Ottoman] state cannot accept the way [Britain] employs the term of neutrality, as well as some other terms. In fact, according to the rumors circulating in the international arena, two British generals, Cochrane and Wilson, will enter the Castle of Nafplio with several thousand troops in order to assist the brigands. Similarly, some newspapers are writing that Cochrane will take three thousand troops aboard seven to eight boats to

1 Kalamos (Turk. Kalamos, Gr. Κάλαμος): one of the Ionian Islands to the southeast of Lefkada.

the Morea to provide help for the brigands, whereas others refute this claim and state that he will take care of the vouchers for the sums loaned by the British to the brigands in the past. There are also newspapers that maintain that his government forbade Cochrane from going to the Morea, whereas others question the authenticity of this piece of news. All these controversial pieces of news suggest that the British government has not yet commissioned him to assist the brigands. However, it is obvious that the British have been treating the brigands favorably. As the ambassador's communication fell short of addressing the concerns explained in our memorandum, we delivered to him a new official memorandum through the *reisülküttab* that paraphrases the aforementioned news and sets out our viewpoint regarding the attitude of the British officials on the islands. We have informed the governor of Egypt and Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of the Morea, on the current British policy. We are sending Your Excellency a copy of this latest memorandum as an attachment to this letter. Since you have full discretionary powers over the conduct of operations, you need to know all the developments related to your task, so that no setback will occur in performing your duty.

[581/93, *regarding the pack animals to be collected from Rumelia*
To the Deputy Judges, Notables, and Officers of the following towns [with the requested number of horses from each town]: Sofia 250, Dupnica¹ and Blagoevgrad 150, Kyustendil 150, Radoviš 100, Razlog 100, Prilep 100, Bitola 250, Serres 200, Gotse Delchev 100, Pazardzhik 100, Tran 80, Radomir 30, Sidirokastro 50, Petrich 50, Melnik 50, Strumica 100, Štip 60, Tikveš 41
 October 16, 1825

The illustrious vizier His Excellency Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia with full discretionary powers, requested the arrangement of pack animals from suitable *kazas* for transporting provisions. The commander-in-chief is currently fighting against the Greek brigands, the enemies of [our] religion and state, and will carry out this fight in winter as well. Thus, pack animals will be in much demand to carry supplies. We have arranged for supplying two thousand horses from several suitable towns at the monthly rate of forty piasters per horse, along with a groom per five horses. As part of this decision, we require the *kaza* of Sofia to contribute 250 horses. While we are about to send out the relevant orders with ushers, the urgency of the matter dictates that you should exert yourself to gather the horses prior to the arrival of the usher. Therefore, we write this letter to explain to you in advance the arrangement, so that you start immediately to collect the horses and grooms in the stipulated numbers and send them to their designated destinations as soon as the usher arrives with the imperial decree. Accordingly, we inform you that the payment at the rate of 40 piasters a horse per month will be made by the commander-in-chief. You shall carry out the order swiftly and prevent any setback in the process.

1 Dupnica (Turk. Dupniçe, Gr. Ντούπνιτσα): town in west-central Bulgaria.

[581/85, *regarding Geg Albanians leaving the army at Missolonghi*
To the Mutasarrif of Shkodër [Mustafa Pasha Bushati]

October 25, 1825

Mehmed Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia, communicated to us his concerns about the departure of the Shkodër contingent from his army camp back to their hometowns as *Kasım* is approaching. He pointed out that these troops, three thousand men in total, had served well until now under his command, but their sudden departure en masse would likely dispirit others in the army camp. As we have already made it clear, it is the will of His Imperial Majesty to work with devotion for the conquest of Missolonghi, in order to shatter and crush the infidels completely. Although the commander-in-chief is duly besieging the land walls of Missolonghi at the present time, its capture will be delayed due to the need for reconnaissance on the seaside, as well as the extreme persistence and malice of the infidels. It goes without saying that the functionaries and their men in the army are prepared to persevere in the siege until they complete the mission by conquering Missolonghi, with the help of God. As Reşid Pasha stated, any army deprived of three thousand men all at once will obviously suffer from the loss of zeal among the troops, who may even desert the army camp. We have sent imperial orders and letters to encourage the army to continue the siege under the commander-in-chief in wintertime with determination until the victory. We have also strictly ordered the hiring of fresh salaried troops from the *kazas* of Rumelia to serve with the commander-in-chief under the command of their own *ayans*. The perseverance of the Shkodër contingent is essential for the completion of the task as well. Nevertheless, considering the sick and injured among the soldiers from Shkodër, we have decided to give permission for leave for up to 1,500 men who have health problems, and we have sent Mehmed Reşid Pasha a letter about this decision. We ask of you to let the commander of the Shkodër troops know about our decision in a strict manner and send us confirmation of the implementation of this decision.

[581/104, *regarding the need for Rumeliot troops for the continuation of the siege of Missolonghi in winter*]

You, the aforesaid Ayan [To the Ayans of Rumelia]

October 25, 1825

His Imperial Majesty's principal wish is to put the disturbance of the rebellious Greeks to an end as soon as possible, with the Creator's help and grace. At this present time, His Excellency Mehmed Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia, is besieging Missolonghi with the victorious troops under his command. As was explained at length in the imperial order that was previously sent to you, the capture of Missolonghi, by God's help, is imminent, and the troops there labor at full strain to encircle and annihilate the infidels. In spite of this, with the sole purpose of not losing this opportunity and by disregarding the season, it is intended to reinvigorate those soldiers who have labored hard to bring this affair to an end and who have now grown weary of fighting in the siege. A winter camp must hence be set up, and additional troops must be sent to Mehmed Reşid Pasha. In view of the arrangement of salaried soldiers from the *kazas* of Rumelia, in addition to the soldiers who are being recruited from Albania for the winter, Mehmed Reşid Pasha has previously demanded that you personally be put under his command, along with one thousand salaried soldiers from Xanthi. His Imperial Majesty has decreed that you take this number of soldiers with you and set off; and an imperial order has been issued in this regard. You will certainly pay attention to act in conformity with the imperial order. It is nevertheless apparent that His Excellency Mehmed Reşid Pasha will be in critical need of the soldiers under his command for the affairs which are being devolved upon him now and that this issue is a service to religion—and thus everybody is enjoined by his duty to religion to act with zeal. Mehmed Reşid Pasha has again requested that careful efforts be made so that your soldiers be swiftly mustered, without any deficiencies, and be sent to him, for he wants to employ them in this important affair of Missolonghi or in the defense of other areas. Furthermore, His Imperial Majesty categorically demands that you bear in mind that, in respect of the current state of affairs, no excuses will be taken into consideration and that you do your utmost swiftly to enforce the imperial order accordingly. It is unquestionable that those who fail to do so will be unable to offer any plausible excuse and will deserve the most severe punishment and reprimand. Therefore, if you have not yet departed in conformity with the said imperial order, you must hereafter allow no repose or inaction and must immediately recruit salaried soldiers, without lacking even one vigorous and skillful soldier; take them to Mehmed Reşid Pasha and pay attention to demonstrate zeal and fidelity in the service that you will render. Under no

circumstances must you dally, for this affair is a matter of religion, and its end is imminent. You must understand that you will be in great peril, which you will regret, if Mehmed Reşid Pasha should send some sort of complaint to us; so, whatever you do, you must promptly embark upon the fulfillment of your duties. Mehmed Reşid Pasha has been appointed in charge of this affair and has been entrusted with absolute authority and indisputable discretion by His Imperial Majesty. He is a vizier who enjoys His Imperial Majesty's respect and trust. His gratitude or complaint have at any rate considerable influence over the Sublime State, and his standing can call forth the implementation of whatever he deems necessary. Therefore, you must act according to his will and pay extreme care to demonstrate acts of self-devotion and fidelity to the fortunes of the sultan; and you must immediately arrive at the place of your appointment. Also, you, the *naibs*, and others [of local importance] must understand the importance of this affair, whose end is imminent, and accordingly make all the necessary arrangements, effectively and without lapse, so as to muster and obtain the said soldiers at once. If you should try to answer with some squabble, God forbid, and this causes some inconvenience, you will at any rate earn yourself a most severe punishment. This letter was written to you, and two of our couriers were sent to you, in order to remind you explicitly that you must not go astray in the slightest degree, but you must swiftly apply yourself to your task.

[581/107, *regarding the property of fugitive Chiots*]

To the Castellan of Chios [Yusuf Pasha]

October 26, 1825

A register was previously made and sent to you, with regard to the properties, lands, and other possessions located in the surveyable lowland villages from among those fifty or sixty villages on Chios and the coast of Çeşme that were owned by the infidels who rebelled and deserted or were executed. The register also includes the properties in one highland village, as well as the inns, shops, warehouses, and other possessions in the location named Varoş [the neighborhood outside the castle]. You were also notified that the survey of the mastic-producing villages is dependent upon His Imperial Majesty's decree and that the survey of the other villages is incumbent on the suppression of the rebellion. Another register would be sent to you thereafter as regards the amount of the advance payments for the properties on the coast of Çeşme that would be determined at auction. As you are one of the faithful servants of the Exalted Sultanate, we expect you to render excellent service to the Sublime State, and it is self-evident that you will demonstrate zeal in this matter. Nevertheless, in view of the abundance of inns, shops, warehouses, and other possessions in the aforementioned villages and quarters of Chios, it will be impossible to sell them in the appropriate manner, given the current state of affairs. Therefore, they have been registered as imperial estate as of AH 1240 [August 1824–August 1825] and will be administered by the imperial mint for the time being. Although the *reaya* of the mastic-producing villages were previously granted amnesty, some of them escaped to Psara before the [official] surrender; and the properties of those fugitives and of those who were killed in battle or executed were expropriated by the imperial treasury. Consequently, the necessary imperial order has been issued in conformity with the holy fatwa, so that these properties may be determined and registered, and the register containing the amount of the advance payments for, and the names of the potential vendees of, the properties on the coast of Çeşme can be sent. These properties, however, are not in one place, but are scattered. As you are busy with the defense of Chios, it will be impossible for you to oversee all affairs in person, no matter how much care and attention you pay for their proper administration. Furthermore, as per the advice of some knowledgeable people and on the grounds of the abundance and dispersion of the said properties, it is expected that there will be numerous benefits to the Exalted Sultanate in the event that we send an independent superintendent, who will determine the properties in person, village by village. Thus, it is certain that the proper administration of the properties will be achieved if the Exalted Sultanate sends a person under the guarantee of a trustworthy moneylender and if you work in agreement

with that person. It does, however, spring to mind that your engaging in the administration of these properties while you are occupied with the defense of Chios may cause disruptions in the defense. We expect that you wish to uphold your authority and reputation, for you are a *mir-i miran* who is endowed with zeal and integrity. Thus, the appointment of a superintendent from Istanbul may in some way injure your authority. Owing to that, we have found it appropriate, first and foremost, to write to you about this matter; then, in view of your response in this regard—namely, in the event that you are unable to find a way to ensure the defense of Chios against disruptions, while being entrusted with all of the said properties, and that the sending of a superintendent from Istanbul does not infringe upon your authority—to appoint and send a suitable superintendent. It is therefore commanded that you shall swiftly respond with an explanation of the situation, so that the necessary arrangements may be made, in case you deem that the improvement of the said properties and their proper administration will hereafter be achieved through the efforts of a special official.

[581/115, *regarding the honorable discharge of Yusuf Pasha from office*
To the Castellan of Patras [Yusuf Pasha of Serres]

November 3, 1825

Your Excellency is well known to the Exalted Sultanate for your feats of outstanding prudence, which you have demonstrated in the defense of the fortress of Patras and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio], which have been entrusted for a long time to the innate heroism, zeal, intrinsic manliness, and valor with which your natural constitution abounds. It is unnecessary to explain that your great service, which you have hitherto rendered to the righteous religion and the imperial fortunes of our Majestic Master [the sultan], will not be forgotten. As Your Excellency has endured hardships in the defense for so long and grown weary of the inconveniences caused by the soldiery [mercenaries], it is deemed suitable, by force of circumstance, to deploy the troops of His Excellency the governor of Egypt in Patras and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia. His Excellency the grand admiral departed from Alexandria for Missolonghi on the 3rd day of the month of *Rebiülevvel* [October 16, 1825] with many ships of the imperial navy and plenty of military stores. Therefore, it has been found fitting that, once he reaches Missolonghi, with God's help, and installs the Egyptian troops at Patras, the grand admiral will take Your Excellency to the side of His Excellency the governor of Rumelia. Hence, there is no need to keep Your Excellency in Patras any longer. As it is desirable to give you some respite in return for the hardships which you have endured in service to His Imperial Majesty, he has decreed that Your Excellency presents yourself to the governor of Rumelia and thence go to your post in the *sancak* of Ayдын. An imperial order has been issued in this regard, and the governor of Rumelia has been notified on the matter. We have also decreed that Your Excellency prepare and send us a register that describes the sorts, quantity, and condition of whatever grain, military stores, and equipment are available in Patras. It is therefore commanded that Your Excellency shall deliver the fortress of Patras once the Egyptian troops arrive with the imperial navy and that you shall present yourself to the governor of Rumelia. You shall then depart from there and go from the pass of Gallipoli [the Dardanelles?] to your post; and you shall prepare and send us a register with the grain, military stores, and other miscellanea that are available in Patras.

[581/119, *regarding the grand admiral's instructions for Missolonghi*]
To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüseyin Pasha]

November 3, 1825

As befits his chivalry and zeal, His Excellency the vizier Mehmed Ali Pasha, Governor of Egypt, arranged in abundance the requisite grain, provisions, ammunition, and military stores for the imperial navy. He had eight thousand soldiers for jihad embarked on the imperial ships, with the grain and military stores that are needed for Missolonghi, as well as more than one thousand cavalrymen for His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of Jeddah and the Morea and Commander-in-Chief. He also made haste to obtain some additional necessary ships, assembled the imperial and the Egyptian ships, and sent them off on the 3rd day of the month of *Rebiülevvel* [October 16, 1825]. It is intended that Ibrahim Pasha should go directly to Missolonghi, with God's help, and apply himself to the fulfillment of his duties the instant the troops disembark at Navarino. Mehmed Ali Pasha also wishes that, once Your Excellency reaches Missolonghi with the imperial navy and delivers the military stores and troops, you should go to Patras and take His Excellency Yusuf Pasha of Serres from there to His Excellency Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia, and also install troops for the defense of Patras and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio]. Thus, it is intended to take Yusuf Pasha to the Commander-in-Chief Reşid Pasha. Furthermore, Ibrahim Hoca arrived in Alexandria in order to fulfill his duties: he had been appointed to take from Mehmed Ali Pasha, and to pay them out and issue receipts for, the salaries for the first quarter of AH 1240 [August 1824–August 1825] to the crews of the imperial, Tunisian, and Tripolitanian ships, which Ibrahim Pasha held under his command. It would have been necessary, after Ibrahim Hoca had bestirred himself to pay out the due salaries, to reinvigorate these crews by paying the salaries that they had earned and deserved during the campaign. Therefore, Ibrahim Hoca also paid out on behalf of Mehmed Ali Pasha, and issued receipts for, the salaries of all [crews], in total 755,333 piasters, as follows: the salaries for the second quarter of AH 1240 [August 26, 1824–August 15, 1825] to the seamen on payroll [*gedüklüyan*]; the topmen's monthly salaries for three months until August 1825; and the common sailor's quarterly salaries for the summer. These pieces of information are clearly stated in Your Excellency's dispatch, which was received just now, as well as in the receipt notes that Mehmed Ali Pasha received and forwarded [to us]. His Excellency Mehmed Ali Pasha also sent a dispatch, from which it is clearly understood that he forwarded a register of the equipment that was loaded on the imperial navy ships; that Muharrem Bey, Castellan of Alexandria, was appointed as the commodore of the Egyptian ships, and the necessary instructions were communicated to

him and the others; and that the aforesaid quarterly salaries were paid out as described above. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us, and we presented the documents to His Imperial Majesty for review. As no objection could be raised against Mehmed Ali Pasha's zeal, which he has previously demonstrated, as well as to his endeavors and service that are witnessed this time, his deeds became occasion for His Imperial Majesty's elation and satisfaction. May God, from whom we all ask assistance, bestow His favor upon us and make all of us rejoice at the achievement of many more great victories, amen! Being one of the high-ranking ministers of the Sublime State who are characterized with profound chivalry and zeal, Your Excellency truly deserves our trust that you will work with might and main to render excellent service and will assert yourself in the fulfillment of your duties. With respect to our previous letters, it is apparent that Reşid Pasha is making tremendous efforts to carry out the land siege of Missolonghi, which is the key to the Morea, whose capture was entrusted to him and Your Excellency. In spite of that, the [difficulty of] accessibility to Missolonghi by sea encourages the infidels' stubbornness and resistance. For this reason, Reşid Pasha is in anticipation, night and day, of the arrival of the imperial navy. Therefore, the efforts of Mehmed Ali Pasha, as well as your departure from Alexandria fully provided with military stores and equipment before the season has passed, brought satisfaction to His Imperial Majesty. It is very much expected that Your Excellency will appear with your crushing force off Missolonghi any day now. Furthermore, our prime objective is to put an end to this Missolonghi issue for good in any way possible. As time is pressing us, great grievance and all sorts of disadvantages will be brought upon ourselves, if once more nothing should be achieved, and all the hardships and labor, which have been endured and spent on land or at sea, go to waste, when so many ships, military stores, and provisions were sent from Alexandria. Therefore, we have written to Reşid Pasha to inform him that Your Excellency is sailing toward him and to give him the necessary instructions. His Imperial Majesty has uttered a prayer for Your Excellencies and wished you good fortune! It is His Imperial Majesty's command and ultimate wish that Your Excellency must engage in correspondence with Reşid Pasha and Muharrem Bey, the commodore of the Egyptian ships; and that all of you must sincerely reach a mutual agreement and union of hearts, as if you were one body, and work with all your strength and in cooperation, so as to capture Missolonghi, in whatever way possible, by relying upon the power and might of the most auspicious of the helpers, God himself. With respect to Your Excellency's report, the deployment of the troops of Mehmed Ali Pasha in the defense of Patras and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia has been found appropriate. Consequently, an imperial

order has been issued on the matter, so that Yusuf Pasha's term of service in Patras will be terminated, and he will depart for his post in the *sancak* of Aydın, since he has endured so many hardships and grown weary in his long service in the defense of Patras. We have written to Yusuf Pasha in the due manner, and His Imperial Majesty has decreed that he be reminded to prepare and send to Istanbul a register of all grain, military store, and equipment that are available in Patras. It is announced to Your Excellency that the necessary imperial order has been issued in this regard and sent to Reşid Pasha, along with our command; and that the said imperial firman and our dispatch have been sent to Yusuf Pasha. Furthermore, Reşid Pasha has been notified that the troops of Mehmed Ali Pasha will be quartered in Patras and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia and that Yusuf Pasha will present himself to him and after that will go from the pass of Gallipoli [the Dardanelles?] to his post in Aydın. As for the aforesaid quarterly salaries, the matter has been communicated to the chief accountant, so that the salaries will be deducted from the Egyptian revenues. It is also commanded that, if you have not cast anchor off Missolonghi yet, you shall not waste time to stop anywhere without need, drop off the aforementioned cavalymen at Navarino and move to Missolonghi; and that you shall afterward depart for Patras in fulfillment of your duties, install the troops of Mehmed Ali Pasha there, and prepare the register of the available military stores and grain together with Yusuf Pasha and then send Yusuf Pasha off. You shall engage in correspondence with Reşid Pasha and Muharrem Bey and form a wholehearted union, as if you were truly one body, and put an end, with God's help, to this Missolonghi issue; and you shall render such service to the Sublime State that will remain as one of the finest examples of all times until the Day of the Last Judgement; and you shall make enormous efforts, so as to reap great rewards in this world and the next.

[581/137, *regarding the siege of Missolonghi*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

November 7, 1825

We have received your correspondence in which Your Excellency confirms the arrival of our letter to which we appended the copy of the letter of Ibrahim Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Morea with full discretionary powers. Brought to Istanbul by his arms bearer, it related the victories he achieved, thanks to God Almighty's favor. In your letter, you relate the efforts you have made so far toward carrying out your task. You make plain that what accounted until now for the delay of the liberation of Missolonghi, which we have been expecting day and night, was the untimely departure of the imperial navy. Your Excellency informs us that you have sent warning letters to those functionaries to join your camp immediately in order to serve in the winter. Finally, you argue that if the imperial navy did not reach the area shortly, a lack in the supply of grain would be inevitable, as the pack animals used in the transport of grain have perished. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted the letters to His Imperial Majesty. The bravery and temerity that you have demonstrated since the beginning of your appointment as commander-in-chief is a token of your innate qualities of zeal, diligence, and prowess. Equally as clear as daylight to His Imperial Majesty and all others are the heroic feats you achieved against the enemies of religion and the services you have rendered to the true religion and our Sublime State, by God's grace and His Imperial Majesty's blessing. We forwarded Ibrahim Pasha's letter about his conquests to Your Excellency to inform you about the victory and boost your moral. However, we infer from your letter that you misinterpret our intention, as if we were insinuating that you have failed to conquer Missolonghi and have been wasting time. However, in our previous letter, we attempted to prevent such interpretations by explaining in detail that we were forwarding the news of victory only to reinforce your determination in carrying out the siege. May God Almighty be our witness that ours was not by any means a tacit criticism of your conduct of the siege, but only an act of encouragement and an announcement of the victory. At any rate, we have no objection to raise against your efforts and toiling. Even though the Missolonghi affair is delayed a little bit by the inscrutable decree of divine providence, we are certain that all the efforts you have spent so far are not for nothing, and, God willing, soon enough Your Excellency will succeed in the conquest of Missolonghi. Whatever high regard His Imperial Majesty had about Your Excellency at the time of your departure to Larissa after your appointment to the office of commander-in-chief has not changed in the slightest in the since then—if anything, it might even be higher now.

Thus, it is our primary wish that you clear your mind of any such concerns and doubts. We wrote to you in detail a few days ago that the governor of Egypt has completed the refitting of the imperial navy and seen it off from Alexandria directly to Missolonghi under the grand admiral on the 3rd day of the month of *Rebiülevvel* [October 16, 1825]. Most probably you will not need our correspondence to learn this piece of news, since, God willing, the grand admiral will have reached the shores of Missolonghi by now. After his arrival in a perfect state of preparedness, the troubles faced in the matter of provisions and other issues will fade away. Then we will await the liberation of Missolonghi in a short time, as a divine favor bestowed on us. In order to reinforce your strength and prestige without wasting time and to hold a tight grip over the situation, following your request we sent express letters to support our past orders of reiteration by special couriers to the localities in Rumelia you have designated for the recruitment of winter troops, hurrying them to send out the recruits. In addition, in response to your other request, this time we reiterated sternly the past orders sent along with ushers to the suitable *kazas* of Rumelia for the requisitioning of pack animals in order to expedite the process, following the relevant imperial decree. We assure Your Excellency by this letter of His Imperial Majesty's appreciation of you and ask of you to remain contented and at inner peace. You should dedicate all your strength to the fulfillment of your duty and send us the news for which we have been longing.

[582/11, regarding the sea battle off Chios]

To the Castellan of Chios [Yusuf Pasha]

November 28, 1825

We received your letter in which you recount the repulsion of the brigands who came from the direction of Samos aboard thirty ominous boats and attempted to raid the port of Fokna [uncertain reading]. Accordingly, when the troops assigned to the defense of the port noticed the attempt, they fell upon the brigands, capturing thirteen boats and sinking the rest. While most of the hell-bound traitors aboard were sent to the bottom of hell, those who escaped the sword took refuge in the mountains in the area. You relate that you have sent along with your correspondence thirty-three severed heads and three banners captured during the battle. You state that you also sent a force in pursuit of the runaway brigands to destroy them. Lastly, we understand that all the captured boats, with the exception of two, were given to the troops as bounty. We rejoiced exceedingly at the news of your destruction of the wretched bandits with such zeal and attentiveness. We also deem it very appropriate that you gave the boats to the victorious troops. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted it to His Imperial Majesty and tossed the severed heads and the banners on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace]. You are one of the *mir-i mirans* endowed with comprehension and commitment to the true path. There is no doubt about your dedication and selfless efforts to serve for the sake of the true religion and His Imperial Majesty by guarding the strongholds entrusted to you against the trickeries of the enemy wholeheartedly and loyally. Thus, it would be rather redundant to reiterate to you your instructions. We write this letter to you to encourage Your Excellency to continue to remain vigilant in carrying out your duties and to report back in detail the result of the pursuit of the fleeing bandits.

[582/14, *regarding Albanian mercenaries taking the son of Yusuf Pasha of Serres as a hostage for their salaries in arrears*]

To the Ayan of Serres

December 1, 1825

Yusuf Pasha [of Serres, Castellan of Patras] has sent a letter here, according to which the soldiers [Albanian mercenaries] stationed in Patras took his son as a hostage, demanding that their accrued salaries be paid within forty days. Yusuf Pasha therefore pleads with us to send the demanded sums. We have sent to him a rounded total sum of 1,000,000 piasters until now. Of this sum, roughly 231,000 piasters were sent in the past to cover the pay in arrears from the year of AH 1240 [August 1824–August 1825], while the remaining 700,000 plus piasters were just sent to cover the salaries accrued from the first two months of the year of AH 1241 [August–September 1825] and those to be earned in the future months. However, six hundred of the disgruntled soldiers took Yusuf Pasha's son together with them and left Patras for Serres on the pretext that the payment did not reach them within the period of grace, cited above as forty days. We were informed that the amount sent to Yusuf Pasha was redirected to Serres from the route of Patras. Thus, considering that the troops left Patras for Serres completely of their own accord, it occurred to us that they might entertain the idea of intercepting the money in Serres in order to draw their salaries as they please. However, without Yusuf Pasha reporting the exact amount to which these troops are legitimately entitled, it will clearly not be appropriate to make any payment to them solely on the basis of their claims. Therefore, it is His Imperial Majesty's will that, should the troops presume to seize the cash sum for obtaining their salaries as they wish, you should first address them softly and say: "Each troop commander should leave a man here to be held under custody. Upon Yusuf Pasha's reporting of the exact amount of your entitlement, the payment will be delivered to your man in the full amount by the consent of the Sublime State," thereby trying to silence them and dismiss their claims. Should they refuse to listen and eventually resort to weapons in an insolent attempt to seize the salaries by force at the rates they decide, you must strive to guard the money by repulsing and punishing them. We hereby also send you letters addressed to the *ayans* of the towns of Gotse Delchev and Sidirokastro, obliging them to send you additional troops, which will reinforce you in deterring the aforementioned troops and keeping the money safe without any fear. Now, if these troops could not be silenced and dismissed and if they dare commit any abominable deeds as explained above, you should send these letters to the said *ayans* in order to assemble troops for guarding the sums at your disposal without any fear. You should also learn and thoroughly report back here where these functionaries and soldiers are from and what their names and titles are.

1826

[582/38, regarding the instructions of the imperial navy for the spring campaign]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

January 2, 1826

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you request that all ships of the imperial navy that are under your command, save the frigate and corvette you and the *riyala bey* are on board, as well as the frigate named *Kayd-ı Zafer* [Harbinger of victory], be inspected in the imperial arsenal, for they are in need of repair. You also request that a further four galleons and twenty corvettes be newly equipped for the spring campaign; and that a part of all those ships be prepared to combat the infidels' boats and another part to carry on the blockade. Furthermore, you require that the equipment of the corvettes in the imperial arsenal be coppered. You also state that His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of the Morea, requested the construction of about two hundred cutters [*filika*] of the barge [*iskampavya*] type, which can fire cannonballs of 1.5 and 3 *vukiyyes*, so that they can be used to disembark troops when you reach Hydra. You also request that a further two hundred robust cutters be constructed for the use of the imperial navy. Finally, Your Excellency demands that the imperial navy ships which will leave the imperial arsenal in the spring be sent to you under the captaincy of Ibrahim Pasha, Commodore of the Danubian shores of the rank of *mir-i miran*, Şükrü Bey, *Mutasarrıf* of Rhodes, Osman Bey, steward of the imperial arsenal, and Papuççu Ahmed, Head Agha of Galata, since you will be unable to return to Istanbul, unless the affair [the Greek Revolution] is brought to an end. We have acquainted ourselves with the contents of Your Excellency's correspondence and have presented it to His Imperial Majesty for review. Your Excellency is one of the greatest viziers of the Exalted Sultanate who is endowed with profound zeal and piety and immense fidelity and vigilance. Your prime concern will therefore be about the organization of all matters pertaining to your duties in the appropriate manner. His Imperial Majesty has expressly decreed that you shall not return to Istanbul in this blessed year, but move on to the port of Navarino once you deal, with God's help, with the disturbance in Missolonghi and spend the winter there, in order to storm Hydra together with Ibrahim Pasha [governor of the Morea]. The imperial orders for you and Ibrahim Pasha, adorned with His Imperial Majesty's sacred and wondrous autograph, have been issued in this regard. His Excellency Hüsnü Bey, currently the Chief Halberdier of the Imperial Council [*Çavuşbaşı-i Divan-ı Hümayun*], and Necib Efendi, Superintendent of the imperial gunpowder mills [and the governor of Egypt's

agent at the Sublime Porte], have been appointed to deliver the orders. You will have acquainted yourself with the aspects of your mission, at least in brief until now, for it was written to you earlier, so as to familiarize first and foremost Your Excellency with the matter; and then in details from His Imperial Majesty's decree, which the said functionaries will have brought to you by the day this letter of ours arrives, with God's help. With respect to the fact that you will spend the winter in Navarino, you were notified previously that only when the imperial navy arrives in the spring, with God's help, may your ships that need repair be dispatched to the imperial arsenal. It is hence clear that this is one of the matters that has been decided upon. Undeniably, you are charged with the matters of jihad, and thus it is incumbent upon us to reckon and comply with the requests in your report. Therefore, upon consultation with those concerned with the preparation of the required galleons, corvettes, and cutters, the coppering of the corvettes, and their dispatch under the captaincy of the aforementioned officials, it transpired that at this present time three galleons, four frigates, and twelve corvettes are being equipped at the imperial arsenal and that it will be possible to repair the faulty sections of the imperial galleon named *Fatih-i Bahri* [Conqueror of the seas]. Nevertheless, if it should be required to produce new cables for this galleon—for it lacks around twenty cannons and has no cables—this will be impossible, and no cannons can be supplied, because there is no spare wire available in the imperial arsenal, even though the necessary rigging for the other three galleons can be procured from other places. While rigorous efforts are being made for the completion by spring of the two frigates and the corvette which are under construction, and while the equipping thereof, as well as of other available ships, is about to be undertaken, it is beyond the realm of possibility to build four hundred cutters in the imperial arsenal in the three months left until spring. Even if we suppose that they could be built, eight hundred cannons would be needed, two pieces for each cutter. Considering that the necessary cannons for the imperial ships are yet to be completed, owing to the lack of copper, it would be impracticable to cast this number of cannons for the cutters. It is unnecessary to explain that these vessels would at any rate be an impediment to the imperial navy and a cause of many troubles to the crews; and also that if they were to encounter a storm, the crews would be unable to save the cutters and would have to cut the cables and leave them behind, thus sacrificing the boats for naught. All these matters are very well known to Your Excellency. Although you requested two hundred of these cutters on account of the demand of Ibrahim Pasha [governor of the Morea] and demonstrated the need for the other two hundred for the disembarkation of soldiers when you reach Hydra, it appears that they will not be needed at all, as advised by some men of knowledge, for the waters of

Hydra are not shallow and allow for big vessels to dock alongside. The aforementioned three galleons, four frigates, and twelve corvettes, which are to be equipped for the spring campaign, that is, nineteen imperial ships in total, will represent a full fleet, stronger than the one that was deployed last year. In view of all this, it is apparent that you too will acknowledge this genuine justification with regard to cutters. Furthermore, a quantity of 300,000 *vukiyyes* of copper is needed for the completion of the cannons necessary for the imperial ships currently in the imperial arsenal. Apart from that, it is evident that much more copper will be required for the ammunition and cooking utensils of the imperial ships to be equipped for the spring campaign. The available amount of copper is very little, and what is available in the imperial gun foundry and arsenal is being used in the foundries for casting cannons for the imperial ships. Also, since it will be impossible to obtain the copper arranged in Samsun¹ due to winter, it is unnecessary to explain further that, by virtue of the principle of giving priority to the most urgent matter, the available and obtainable quantity of copper will be used for the completion of the imperial ships' cannons. His Excellency the superintendent of the imperial arsenal has been instructed, in accordance with His Imperial Majesty's decree, that the construction of the vessels [cutters] was rejected exclusively on grounds of the expressed justification, as well as of the warning of those knowledgeable people and the clear demonstration that such small boats will be unable to accompany the imperial navy; and that he must at any rate labor hard for the refurbishment of the aforementioned galleon, the *Fatih-i Bahri*. As a further matter, a commodore must indeed be appointed to the imperial ships that will leave Istanbul in the spring. Your Excellency's remark in this regard is to the point. Ibrahim Pasha had previously served as a captain and steward of the imperial arsenal. Although he is now the commodore of the Danubian shores, there are four flotillas employed in Vidin, Silistra, and Ruse, and formerly they could be administered by the local castellans through the flotillas' commodores. There is therefore no obstacle to summoning him to Istanbul and appointing him as commodore [of the imperial navy]. The steward of the imperial arsenal and the head agha of Galata are also suitable appointments. As for Şükrü Bey, *Mutasarrıf* of Rhodes, however, the island of Rhodes is in the Mediterranean and is full of *reaya*, and there are always brigand boats that roam these waters. Apart from that, there are five or six islands that are dependencies of Rhodes and whose *reaya* are in rebellion. While Şükrü Bey has governed his province well for several years, installing a deputy in his place and taking him away is not free from drawbacks. As for Papuççu Ahmed, he governs

1 Samsun (Gr. Σαμψούντα): coastal town in the central Black Sea region.

the neighborhoods under his jurisdiction without squabble, but it will be improper to appoint him until he gives strong assurances about his eventual substitute. Although he has expressed his desire to leave [with the navy], he cannot guarantee to find a suitable substitute. Therefore, the appointments of Şükrü Bey and Papuççu Ahmed have been rejected. We have issued separate imperial orders and sent special dispatches to [commodore] Ibrahim Pasha, in order that he comes to Istanbul and be appointed as commodore of the imperial navy and sent to Your Excellency, in the manner you have requested; and to His Excellency the governor of Silistra and the castellans of Vidin, Brăila, and Ruse, so that the matter be communicated to them and they administer the flotillas on the Danube through the flotillas' commodores, as was done formerly. With regard to Osman Bey, steward of the imperial arsenal, he has already begun his [new] tasks, and Ali Bey, the former harbor master, has been appointed as his deputy. Your Excellency must nevertheless be asked whether you require suitable substitutions for Şükrü Bey and Papuççu Ahmed; whether the appointments of Ibrahim Pasha and Osman Bey should suffice; and whether there should be other indispensable appointments. Furthermore, provisions for the ships under your command must be loaded on, and dispatched with, the fleet that will leave Istanbul in the spring. This is in addition to its own six-month load of provisions, taking into account the fact that you will not return to Istanbul this winter; and that the five-month load of provisions, which the imperial and other ships under your command received from Egypt, will have been consumed by February. This fleet will be able to load provisions for one or at the very most two months, in addition to its own. This amount, however, will be insufficient for your ships, for they will also need to be supplied with provisions for six months in any case. Let us suppose that the imperial navy took a two-month load of provisions. In this event, there would be no other way to deliver provisions for four months other than loading them on Muslim merchant vessels and sending the vessels with the imperial navy, for the Frankish ships cannot be trusted. It has nonetheless been learned through experience that such an attachment of merchant vessels to the fleet would hinder the latter in battle, if it were to encounter any brigand boats, and at the same time would cause great loss to the Sublime State and the merchants if, God forbid, these vessels could not be protected and fell into the brigands' hands. You have sent no reports with reference to this issue until now, perhaps because you are considering to write about it later or to bring [provisions] from Egypt again. The cause for that [silence] notwithstanding, it is an undeniable fact that the problem ought to be resolved well in advance. You may therefore be assured that His Imperial Majesty demands in the imperial order, which is adorned with his autograph, that you be queried with regard

to this issue. It is commanded that you shall, as befits your wise character, and in accordance with the requirements of His Imperial Majesty's decree, swiftly send a note of clarification as to whether suitable substitutions for Şükrü Bey and Papuççu Ahmed should be appointed; whether the appointments of [commodore] Ibrahim Pasha and Osman Bey should suffice; and whether there should be other indispensable appointments, so that the necessary arrangements are made accordingly. You shall communicate with His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha [governor of the Morea] about the provisions issue, for there are several obvious handicaps to the supply of your ships with the provisions necessary for six months for the period from March to November; namely, these provisions are fairly sizeable, despite the fact that there is a dearth of rice in Istanbul nowadays and thus beans and lentils must be provided instead. Other types of grain must be purchased as customarily, and even though it will be possible to dispatch at the very most a load of provisions for two months with the imperial navy in the spring, in the manner described above, the remaining load for four months can be sent neither by *müstemen* vessels, owing to the mistrust [toward the Franks], about which you know, nor by an attachment of Muslim merchant vessels to the imperial navy, for the aforementioned objections will be raised. You shall therefore communicate with Ibrahim Pasha, obtain provisions for six months from Alexandria, and make sure to report the matter to us, whatever arrangements you make, and shall at any rate act with vigilance and knowledge of what bears highest priority.

[582/39, *regarding the prevention of British aid to insurgent Greeks*
To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

January 5, 1826

Your Excellency is very familiar with the well-established fact that the British have repeatedly provided aid to the treacherous Greek bandits. We had taken the first steps toward its prohibition during the term of the [former] British ambassador, Viscount Strangford. The office of the *reisülküttab* made the necessary statements verbally and delivered due responses regarding the issue time and again. In addition, upon the report of the governor of Rumelia on the admittance of the fugitive bandits from Missolonghi and nearby towns by the British officials into the British islands [the Ionian Islands], we presented the current British ambassador [Stratford Canning] with a note demanding the prevention of such undesirable situations. We argued that this situation undermined the peaceful and amicable relations between the Sublime State and Great Britain and provided a prop to the bandits, leading to the prolongation of the sedition and hindering the restoration of order. Then, following the arrival of the second and third letters of complaint from the governor of Rumelia, we delivered two more memoranda to the ambassador, based on our treaties, in order to prove and further strengthen our point. Eventually, in reply to our memoranda the ambassador presented an official memorandum to the Sublime Porte, the translation of which alleged that the British state was neutral and claimed that feelings of fraternity singularly accounted for giving shelter to the fugitives on the British islands. This is an overt confession of British aid to the Greeks. Thus, in order to debunk and refute the claims of neutrality and fraternity properly, and duly demand that the British officials relinquish aid to the bandits in any case, we gave the ambassador another memorandum with detailed clarifications. Though the ambassador reported that he forwarded the memorandum to his government and that he would present the reply upon its arrival, so far nothing has arrived. In the meantime, some other states have condemned the British position on the matter. For instance, the Austrian ambassador to Istanbul reported that his government officially and unequivocally demanded an explanation from the British government about its treatment of the matter. Subsequently, the British government published a declaration that temporarily banned supplying military supplies to the bandits. However, this proclamation predates the arrival of our third memorandum to the British government, mentioned above. The British government's real intentions regarding the affairs of the Sublime State will be uncertain until the arrival of its official response to our last memorandum. The *reisülküttab* has frequently been urging the British embassy for the delivery of this awaited official reply. While what the British have to say on the matter is

evidently unknown, the content of the correspondence from the governor of Rumelia is indicative. Accordingly, the interrogation of the captives detained on the road from Nafplio to Missolonghi revealed that the British merchants had collected 200,000 purses of piasters to deliver to the infidels rebelling in the Morea and nearby, in trimonthly installments of 10,000 piasters each. His Excellency reported that he intercepted 1,200 purses of piasters carried by these captives as part of the first installment to cover the salaries of the infidels at Missolonghi. Pointing out that this sum was seized as booty, he requests us to query the British ambassador about this issue. Taking advantage of the occasion, the matter of the official British reply to our letters, as well as the question of aid, will be duly probed with the ambassador. As per His Imperial Majesty's will, we would like to ask for your opinion and suggestions on the subject in question, since Your Excellency would have learned about it until then. His Imperial Majesty also wishes you to participate in the efforts to prevent this British aid. We have attached to our present letter a copy of the third memorandum, in order for you to become more acquainted with the course of action adopted by the Sublime State on the matter, as well as the statements we made to the British. Your Excellency should report the information you obtain through investigation of the questions below and explain your opinion and concerns about the present and future course of events. Have 200,000 purses of piasters been collected by the British merchants as aid to the bandits prior to the publication of the British proclamation? Was its first installment of 10,000 piasters transferred to Nafplio, again before the proclamation? Alternatively, are the British not going to relinquish financial aid, since the declaration explicitly bans only certain military supplies to the exclusion of any clear provisions about financial aid? We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to communicate with the British general on Corfu and other British commanders and admirals on the matter of prevention of aid, should the need or occasion arise. As a wise dignitary of state, you should articulate certain statements and reminders in line with the terms of the attached memorandum.

[582/52, *regarding the confiscated Greek property on Chios*]

To the Castellan of Chios [Yusuf Pasha]

February 2, 1826

We have received your letter in response to our inquiry on the matter of appointing a separate superintendent to the confiscated estates and properties on Chios. In our previous correspondence we explained that the dwellings, shops, stores, and other properties of this sort confiscated from the infidels in the villages and surroundings of Chios and Çeşme after their flight or execution have reached substantial numbers. On account of the impossibility of selling them at the proper price in the present conditions, they have been registered as imperial estate as of AH 1240 [August 1824–August 1825] and will be administered by the imperial mint for the time being. Considering you were preoccupied by the issues of the defense of the island, we conceived of appointing a particular superintendent of properties. In your present correspondence, you argue against this scheme on the grounds that the presence of a separate superintendent would detract from your authority, thereby causing administrative disorder, misery, and the dispersion of the *reaya*. You suggest that we should drop this scheme and authorize you to continue to manage these estates and properties as in the past, until the restoration of peace and order, which is a necessary condition for their sale. You propose to rent all the confiscated groves and fields in the villages and towns of the island—except for the mastic-producing villages—to Muslims and non-Muslims alike. The arrangement, you maintain, should be the same as the *gedik* system, in which the property belonged to the state, but the usufruct rights were transferred to the highest bidder at auction for lifetime and revert back to the state upon the extinction of the renter's line. We inquired about this matter from the chief accountant, who explained in his memorandum that the superintendent of the imperial mint raised objections to your suggestion on the grounds that the restoration of peace was the prerequisite to implementing the *gedik* system. The latter, the chief accountant noted, suggested that we should abandon the idea of having a separate superintendent based on your objection, as well as the *gedik* system, and put you in charge of the management of the confiscated estates and properties. We ask of you with this letter to administer them efficiently and transfer the revenues in full and in time to the imperial mint as they accrue piecemeal, along with the stamped and signed account books.

[582/55, *regarding the assignment of the governor of Rumelia in the siege of Missolonghi*]

To Hüsniü Bey [Chief Halberdier of the Imperial Council] and Necib Efendi [Superintendent of the Imperial Gunpowder Mills and the governor of Egypt's agent at the Sublime Porte]

December 19, 1825

The governor of the Morea [Ibrahim Pasha] and the grand admiral [Hüsrev Pasha] arrived at the Castle of the Morea [Rio] to fulfill their task and mediated exchanges concerning the siege of Missolonghi with the governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha] on several occasions. During the consultations, the former pashas suggested that the governor of Rumelia should capture Missolonghi with the troops at his disposal. Upon expressing his doubts about the success of the proposed scheme, they presented him with three options. According to the first option, he was to stay with his own retinue [and join the siege] after withdrawing his forces from the field of Missolonghi and discharging them. Alternatively, he would either deploy his forces in the region of Amfissa under his own command or retreat even further away. Nevertheless, the governor of Rumelia accepted none of these options, compelling the governor of the Morea and the grand admiral to request together an imperial decree in favor of one of these options. The governor of Rumelia, on the other hand, wrote to us that he did not want to make a blind commitment when the aforementioned pashas asked him to capture Missolonghi within twenty days and decided rather to take counsel with us. We presented all of these communications for His Imperial Majesty's information. As you already know, His Imperial Majesty's desire is the suppression of this disturbance by any means, namely, first and foremost, through making a joint effort to conquer Missolonghi. While the governor of Rumelia is an assiduous and brave man, his manpower is composed of Albanians, who consider the prolongation of the conflict a profitable trade. Obviously, it is a waste of time to rely on them for any achievement. It goes without saying that the participation of the governor of the Morea and the grand admiral—who went to Missolonghi with full equipment and robust men—in the siege hinges on an imperial decree that would also be sanctioned by the governor of Egypt. Thus, following His Imperial Majesty's will to put the aforementioned pashas in charge of the siege of Missolonghi, we sent the imperial decree to the governor of Rumelia ordering him to move from Missolonghi with a sufficient force to Amfissa and to suppress the infidel brigands there. The correspondence we received from the governor of Rumelia suggests that we keep Silahdar Poda [the slain Tepedelenli Ali Pasha's arms bearer] by all means in his office as the superintendent of the defiles, based on his record of good and loyal service. Similarly, he suggested that the others deployed in

guarding the defiles should stay in their posts. He forwarded to us the question as to whether he should take along Ismail Pasha, Castellan of Nafpaktos, to Amfissa or leave him in his office. We instructed him to leave for Amfissa at once at the head of a sufficient number of troops, after disbanding the others and dealing with the matters of military pay and so forth. We also warned him to prevent the development of any overt and covert situation harmful to the crucial operation at Missolonghi. We also sent a letter to Silahdar Poda to reaffirm his commission in his task. In addition, we sent two thousand purses of piasters to Yusuf Pasha [of Serres], former castellan of Patras, to cover the monthly military pay in arrears and those to be paid in the future. We previously instructed the governor of Rumelia on the stipends of the troops in the garrison of Nafpaktos and the recruitment of additional troops for the fortress garrisons, if necessary. Currently, the troops from Corinth left Patras and went to Serres.¹ Thus, we wrote to the governor of the Morea and the grand admiral, as per His Imperial Majesty's will, to put sufficient forces in Patras and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio]. They shall see Yusuf Pasha off from Patras to his new post overland. We urged the grand admiral and Ibrahim Pasha to join forces to capture Missolonghi as soon as possible. His Imperial Majesty also willed us to instruct you to reach your assigned post immediately; we wrote a letter to Necib Efendi to this effect as well. This letter is thus to instruct you to report to your post without delay on the road and exert yourself to perform your task diligently.

¹ See document 582/14 herein. The Albanian mercenaries who were originally deployed in Corinth had come to Patras after the former's capture by the Greek revolutionaries.

[582/57, regarding *Ibrahim and Hüsrev Pashas taking over the conduct of the siege of Missolonghi*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]

December 19, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you report the communication and negotiations you had with the governor and commander-in-chief of the Morea [Ibrahim Pasha] and the grand admiral [Hüsrev Pasha] about the course of the siege of Missolonghi. Your Excellency confirms the arrival of our letter about the imperial navy's departure from Alexandria to reach Missolonghi and recounts the letter from the governor of Egypt announcing the dispatch of two regiments of *Cihadiye* soldiers [Westernized Egyptian army troops] and an abundance of ammunition aboard the imperial navy to your army. Although the grand admiral delivered a certain amount of ammunition upon his arrival, Ibrahim Pasha stated later on that it would be inappropriate to place the *Cihadiye* troops under your command; and he made a pledge to provide all the necessary military supplies, should you promise to liberate Missolonghi within twenty days with your own troops. If, however, they [Ibrahim Pasha and Hüsrev Pasha] were to commit their forces to the siege, they maintained, Your Excellency would have to withdraw your forces from Missolonghi and go somewhere else. At the end of the deliberations, you all agreed to refer the matter to Istanbul, for no promise could be made on a matter that was behind the veil of mystery, even though, in all probability, the subjugation of Missolonghi is imminent. In your letter, Your Excellency stresses that you would not leave Missolonghi until the arrival of due instructions from Istanbul in order to forestall the resentment of the [Albanian mercenary] troops at the precipitous decision to go elsewhere. After all, you point out, they had arrived at Missolonghi by enduring all the hardships of a march from Albania and various *kazas* in Rumelia. Lastly, you mention that all the oral and written communications among the three of you took place in the Castle of the Morea [Rio]. The situation was further clarified by the joint report that contained the formal request of instructions. The contents of your communication and all other documents have thus become known to us, and we submitted them to His Imperial Majesty. Since the day the great rank of commander-in-chief was bestowed upon you in recognition of your courage and comprehension and your loins were girded with the sword of full discretionary powers as an ornamentation, all your actions and behavior have been in compliance with the tenets of statesmanship and commandership. By the same token, your decision to continue the siege of Missolonghi prior to our permission to leave is a sound proof of your resourcefulness and zeal and a token of your enthusiasm and firmness in serving the religion and the Sublime State. However, it

is clearly known, as you would admit, that the Albanian troops consider the prolongation of the conflict a profitable trade. If it is left to them, they would never finish off the affair of Missolonghi. Obviously, if the troops employed in battle are not disciplined and obedient, the efforts of the commander alone will not succeed. Surely, in the particular case of Missolonghi, the prolongation of the operations beyond and against all expectations will cause weariness and lethargy at any rate. Needless to say, any course of conduct that causes a waste of time is impermissible by law and inconceivable by reason, given that the liberation of Missolonghi is His Imperial Majesty's unequivocal desire. Based on His Imperial Majesty's explicit decree, we have sent to Your Excellency the imperial order obliging you to take with you an adequate number of troops and go to Amfissa within your zone of operations, in order to put the rebel infidels in that area to the sword. As per the imperial decree, Ibrahim Pasha and the grand admiral henceforth must take over the siege of Missolonghi. As they brought new and fresh troops, it should fall soon, by God's help. Your Excellency will continue to be the governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia as before and will enjoy royal favor in recognition of your past record of distinct service. Your diligent efforts will be cherished by His Imperial Majesty as before. Without losing any time, you should choose the most reliable troops of your force to form an adequately strong army and disband the rest of your force. We believe that you would in no way allow hindrances, such as military pay, to come in the way of the process, and you should leave Missolonghi at once for Amfissa. In this whole affair, there is nothing to hold against Your Excellency or cause the wrath of His Imperial Majesty, whose favor and faith remain upon you as before. However, His Imperial Majesty has decreed that Your Excellency must fear royal wrath and punishment if the troops grow contentious because of your dereliction of duty and loose conduct, due to a likely embitterment resulting from the unfulfillment of your wish [to capture Missolonghi]. Any misbehavior that leads to the frustration of Ibrahim Pasha and the grand admiral and jeopardizes the liberation of Missolonghi will invite royal wrath, and your resulting apologies for failing to keep your troops under control will fall on deaf ears; in that case, you will be held responsible and severely reprimanded. As per the imperial decree, we would like to inform Your Excellency by this letter that you must follow the clear orders regarding the change of your assigned post. You are hereby informed that orders have been written and sent to the grand admiral and Ibrahim Pasha to the effect that they should deploy an adequate number of troops at Patras and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Antirrio] and that they should liberate Missolonghi at once. We have also written to Silahdar Poda [the slain Tepedelenli Ali Pasha's arms bearer], using appropriate language, that he should continue to guard the defiles with

complete determination as before. We would like to learn your opinion on the proper course of conduct. Is it better to keep Silahdar Poda at his post this way? Would you prefer to keep the other functionaries in their assigned posts of defense as before and take along only Ismail Pasha, Castellan of Nafpaktos, who is presently serving under your command, to Amfissa? Alternatively, would you like to employ him in the defense of Nafpaktos? By imperial decree, Your Excellency must refrain from lingering there and assemble a new force of reliable men, while sending the others back to their hometowns. It is necessary that you do not defer any matter regarding military pay or any other issue before rushing to Amfissa to cleanse the area from the filth of the bandits. It is His Imperial Majesty's particular demand that you act with prudence to prevent any situation that would offend Ibrahim Pasha and the grand admiral, thereby causing a setback in the operations at Missolonghi. In your letter, you request the dispatch of considerable sums to cover the expenses of your office. Five or six days prior to the date of this letter, we sent three thousand purses of piasters to Your Excellency in order to facilitate the execution of your duties. We would like to urge you to follow the course of action outlined above.

[582/59, *regarding operations and plunder in the Morea*]

To Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of the Morea

December 20, 1825

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you related the way in which you carried out the planned operation in the area between the *kaza* of Arkadia¹ and [the town of] Pyrgos.² We have delegated to Your Excellency full discretionary powers to remove the filthy bodies of the malicious infidels from the surface of the Morea by administering your gallant sword on these hell-seekers, present in every corner of the province; and to conquer the Morea as proof of your world-famous bravery, chivalry, and valor, which are inherent qualities in your character. As part of your unquestionable devotion to this endeavor, you and your victorious troops assaulted the infidels inhabiting the region between the *kaza* of Arkadia and [the town of] Pyrgos, who have amassed on the island in the lake adjacent to seaside. Your Excellency also reports that some infidel bandits, who dared to fortify themselves and put up a fight in the name of their false religion in some other places, had to join the abominable rabble who went to hell. You set fire to their dwellings and held many children and women as captives. Your Excellency also notes that you have taken the property and animals in the region as booty and sent us 222.5 pairs of ears. You also mention your meeting with Yusuf Pasha [of Serres] in the village of Ali Çelebi, as well as with the grand admiral in the port of the castle [of the Morea, i.e. Rio], in which you discussed the measures and decisions to be taken concerning the siege of Missolonghi. Your past and present deeds rendered for the sake of His Imperial Majesty are indeed memorable feats for posterity and they invite no criticism. On the contrary, all appreciate the way in which you brought victory to the Muslims and humiliation to the hell-seeking infidels. We brought your correspondence and new conquests to the attention of His Imperial Majesty and tossed the ears on the ground in front of the Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace] to serve as an example. We will explain in detail in our following letter His Imperial Majesty's decree that puts you in charge of subjugating Missolonghi and affirms the bravery and determination inherent in your character and manifest in the fulfillment of the crucial tasks assigned to you. We send you this letter to tell you that we pray incessantly for your accomplishment of the tasks you undertake as commander-in-chief and encourage you to show your commitment to service by performing deeds of bravery and dignity in the future as well.

1 Arkadia (Turk. Arkadya, Gr. Αρκαδία): district in the central Peloponnese.

2 Pyrgos (Turk. Pirgoz, Gr. Πύργος): town in the west-central Peloponnese.

[582/62, *regarding postponing the recommissioning of Reşid Pasha to Amfissa*]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüseyin Pasha] and Ibrahim Pasha [Governor of the Morea]

February 6, 1826

We have received your joint correspondence in which you confirm the arrival of our letter and the imperial order by which we have entrusted Your Excellency and Ibrahim Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Morea, with the task of subjugating Missolonghi and conveyed our hopes for receiving good news soon. With that letter we had also approved your suggestion of relocating Reşid Pasha, Governor of Rumelia, from Missolonghi to Amfissa with the task of crushing the infidel rebels in that region. However, you explain in your present correspondence that you decided before the arrival of the aforementioned dispatch to continue the siege of Missolonghi altogether, in order to preserve Reşid Pasha's reputation unscathed. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we submitted it to His Imperial Majesty. We fully endorse this course of action, which is surely to prevent any split among the ranks of the servants of the Sublime State and promote cooperation in dealing with the present incident to our satisfaction. We believe, with this appropriate decision, that you merit God's blessings. In the relevant imperial rescript, His Imperial Majesty has expressed his pleasure at this gesture of solidarity. You are among the esteemed viziers of the Sublime State, reputed for prowess and courage, and we have no doubt that you will spare no efforts to bring the siege of Missolonghi to a successful conclusion quite soon. Based on your distinct record of service, it is obvious that you need neither guidance nor warning in the fulfillment of your duties. Having said this, we have communicated our opinion related to this subject to the Commander-in-Chief Ibrahim Pasha. Besides, Reşid Pasha communicated your decision to us a few days ago. In response, we have written to him to act in unison with you in the siege operations. We ask of Your Excellency by this letter to pay the utmost attention to be in harmony with both Ibrahim Pasha and Reşid Pasha in the conquest of Missolonghi at the earliest, which is the utmost demand of His Imperial Majesty.

[582/63, *regarding several issues for the attention of the governor of Rumelia*]
To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahi)]
February 7, 1826

We have received and presented to His Imperial Majesty Your Excellency's correspondence in which you relate several matters. One of the issues Your Excellency relates is that English merchants have put together 200,000 purses of piasters for the sake of assisting the rebels in the Morea and the other infidels who are in revolt. This money would be sent every three months in installments of ten thousand purses per each delivery. A part of the first installment, in the amount of 1,200 purses of piasters, was sent in advance to the infidels in Missolonghi. This delivery was intercepted en route and confiscated as booty, thanks to the information extracted from those [Greeks] who were seized on their way from Nafplio to Missolonghi and were held as captives. You also note that you wrote to the [British] general of Corfu not to accept the fugitives who escaped to the island of Kalamota [uncertain reading], which is under British rule, and asked for the return of such fugitives. However, Your Excellency states that you have not received any reply from the British general yet. You also report that according to the information gathered from our spies and the captives, the [British] commander of Lefkada hoisted a flag over the island of Petalas,¹ which is in the possession of the Sublime State. In your correspondence, you ask from us to reinstate under your command [the Geg Albanian] Yaşar Pasha, Hüseyin Pasha, and others, who had forsaken their commissions in Amfissa and escaped. You also request from us the issuance of the orders and assignment of government agents in order to make a probate inventory for the official confiscation of the plentiful estates of Sulço [Sulço Gorça or Süleyman Agha, one of the military chiefs of the slain Tepedelenli Ali Pasha], who was executed in Lamia because of the mischief he committed. Another matter you raise in your correspondence is the lack of funds necessary for the provisioning of the troops. You ask that the grand admiral should be notified about the necessity to purchase grain with due payment from the islands and *müstemen* ships. Additionally, you ask the imperial treasury to support you with abundant funds as well. In your correspondence you included the letter and notes that were sent by the castellan of Euboea regarding the grain arranged in and dispatched from Istanbul to Euboea. Additionally, there is in your correspondence the records of the communication you had with the *mutasarrıf* of Trikala, with regard to the arrangement of ten thousand bushels of wheat and the dispatch of these on board two ships through the agency of

1 Petalas (Turk. Petala, Gr. Πεταλάς); the largest of the Echinades islands in the Ionian Sea, off the coast of Acarnania.

Tahir Binbaşı, Castellan of Trikeri. The contents of your communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. We instructed the grand admiral to correspond with the British general in Corfu and other British commanders and admirals whenever necessary, in order to deal effectively with the problem of British merchants assisting the rebels financially, along with the disturbance caused by the hoisting of a flag over the said island by the commander of Lefkada. Regarding your entreaty to reinstate Yaşar Pasha, Hüseyin Pasha, and others under your command, we decline your request, which we consider you not have made, as they abandoned their posts without any reason and thus committed a crime. In fact, even if we pardoned them, it would not still be certain whether they would return to their commissions, given that they might be intimidated by the execution of Sulço. Even if they came back, the Sublime State anticipates no service from these traitors and actually would be inclined to expect that they could commit further unpatriotic deeds. Therefore, these men should be punished as had been decided before. As regards the confiscation of Sulço's inheritance, we have appointed Ibrahim Efendi, a former principal clerk of the imperial treasury, and sent him to Trikala to attend to this matter. As for your request that the grand admiral should be notified about the grain purchase and that necessary funds should be sent to you, it would be superfluous for us to state that we will do whatever is necessary to facilitate your duty. Nonetheless, we sent you upon your previous requests three thousand purses of piasters for your expenses. Apparently, this consignment happened before your current request and it must have reached you by now. Hence, you must have undertaken the procurement of the necessary food provisions in order to avert the hardship you mention in your correspondence. Therefore, it would be like forcing an open door to notify the grand admiral at the moment. In fact, we have earmarked 150,000 piasters from the money sent to you in order to cover the debt borrowed from the grand admiral for the payment of the salaries of the Nafpaktos contingent. That sum was transferred from the imperial mint to the grand admiral's agent in Istanbul upon the grand admiral's request. In your correspondence, Your Excellency states that you attached the notes appended to the letter of the castellan of Euboea. However, no such notes could be found in your correspondence. Probably, these notes were left unsent by mistake, and His Imperial Majesty wondered about their whereabouts. We ask of you by this letter to exert yourself to fulfill your duty in accordance with our previous letter to you and to act in close collaboration with the grand admiral and Ibrahim Pasha.

[582/64, *regarding the detained Christian women from Andros*
To the Naibs of Erdek,¹ Paşalimanı,² and Marmara,³ separately
February 12, 1826

The castellan of the Dardanelles previously informed us that fifty-eight Christian women who left the island of Andros to go to Istanbul had been detained at the Dardanelles. Following our instructions at that time, he dispatched them to Marmara Island, Ekinlik,⁴ Paşalimanı Island, and Erdek, and the Greek Orthodox patriarch communicated this matter to the metropolitans and *kocabaşıs* through letters. Later on, the patriarch explained the situation regarding the abovementioned Christian women, and we granted his request for lifting the ban on travel with our verbal permission. When the metropolitans of Kapıdağ⁵ and Paşalimanı acted upon our permission, based on the instruction of the patriarch, you refused to issue the travel permits, due to the lack of written orders. Having relayed this information, the patriarch appealed to us in writing that the travel of those Christian women to Istanbul should not be hindered. These Christians consist of feeble people and women, who suffer much misery in their places of detainment. Thus, we gave our permission to travel out of compassion. This letter is to instruct you to allow those Christians to travel to Istanbul, based on our orders and the relevant documents sent by the patriarch previously. We take this occasion to encourage you to continue to prohibit anyone without a permit from traveling.

1 Erdek (Gr. Αρτάκη): town on the south coast of the Sea of Marmara, northwest Turkey.

2 Paşalimanı Island (Gr. Αλώνη): one of the Marmara Islands in the southern Sea of Marmara, northwest Turkey.

3 Marmara Island (Gr. Προικόννησος): largest island of the Marmara Islands in the southern Sea of Marmara, northwest Turkey.

4 Ekinlik Island (Gr. Κούταλη): smallest of the Marmara Islands in the southern Sea of Marmara, northwest Turkey.

5 Kapıdağ (Gr. Κύζικος): peninsula on the south coast of the Sea of Marmara, northwest Turkey.

[582/97, *regarding precautions against a possible Greek assault through the Dardanelles*]

To the Mutasarrıf of Ormenio [Esad Pasha]

March 14, 1826

The Castellan of the Dardanelles Vizier Mustafa Pasha communicated to us the intelligence he obtained from a Russian captain, who arrived at the Dardanelles wounded by the bandits. As he was with the bandits, he said he knew that, praise be to God, they realized the crushing might of Islam everywhere and, losing hope in their false cause, they allegedly decided to risk death by plotting to force their way into the Dardanelles aboard forty to fifty vessels of various sizes in the days of the strong southwesterly winds of March. Mustafa Pasha pleaded with us to dispatch a sufficient number of troops from Rumelia, which he requires greatly these days, as he has to guard five to six locations with the troops under his command, a task that has proved challenging already. In the past we have received reports about these bandits having such wicked designs, according to which they planned to raid the strait, taking advantage of the southwesterly winds with the vain hope of causing some sensation. We then ordered the dispatch of artillery units to reinforce the fortresses and redoubts on the strait, upon the imperial decree, and also instructed you to protect the coasts that fell under your administrative authority against the tricks of the enemy. This recent correspondence of Mustafa Pasha that we described above contains the kind of news that confirms the previous intelligence. We plead with God the Revenger and Subduer day and night to deny them such an opportunity and vanquish them soon by meting out due punishment. That said, it is still necessary to exercise some caution in the present conditions, and we must expect all sorts of treason and malice from these infidel bandits, as they vowed to run the risk of their life. Should we order the troops requested by Mustafa Pasha from Anatolian provinces, it would take quite long for them to reach their assigned posts, and they would not render due service, as is clear from past experience. Moreover, Mustafa Pasha specifically demanded Rumeliot troops. Therefore, we conceived of a measure that appeared to us as the only feasible solution: this envisions your dispatch of one thousand robust and able men immediately for a service period of two months, until the suitable season for the rumored attack of the infidels is over. His Imperial Majesty approved this measure and willed you to send at once all the mercenaries currently serving under your company commander and the chief musketeer in your retinue under the command of a strong-willed man capable of keeping these men in line. You shall fill the missing ranks in this contingent of one thousand men later and rush the fresh men behind them. You shall instruct the commander of the contingent to put the men to good use in case of battle and obey all

orders of Mustafa Pasha, as if he were part of his retinue. Any accusation of insubordination by Mustafa Pasha would require the commander's punishment. As per the imperial will, you shall also protect the coastline up to Enez from the trickery of the enemy. We have communicated to Mustafa Pasha that we would send the stipends and rations of this contingent of salaried troops, as well as managing the reinforcement of the fortifications of the Dardanelles. When you receive this letter of ours, you, as a man of prudence, competence, and diligence, should keep the news secret. We ask you to exert yourself to send the available troops in your retinue in advance to the strait under a strong and capable commander. You should then send fresh troops behind in full arms to make up the deficit in manpower in the unit without wasting a single moment. We expect you to negotiate the monthly payment of these men on the basis of proximity to the front, with a view to favor the treasury, and inform Mustafa Pasha and us about the agreed sum. You should also instruct the commander of the contingent to encourage the men to persevere in a likely battle. He must obey all orders of Mustafa Pasha with devotion, as if he were part of his retinue, and clearly know that we will punish him immediately upon any accusation from Mustafa Pasha of insubordination. As we always point out in our correspondence to you, you shall spare no efforts to protect the coasts up to Enez from the tricks of the enemy and attacks of the foe.

[582/101, regarding the siege of Missolonghi]
 To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]
 [No date]

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you confirm the arrival of our letter that urges you to exert your best efforts to subjugate Missolonghi together with Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of the Morea and Jeddah, and Mehmed Reşid Pasha, Governor of Rumelia, for whose stay at the siege an imperial edict has been issued. Your Excellency expresses your pleasure to learn that His Imperial Majesty's will was thus manifested, so as to keep Mehmed Reşid Pasha at the siege. According to your correspondence, Ibrahim Pasha wrote to you on the 16th day of the month of *Receb* [February 24, 1826] that he would give no respite to Missolonghi from cannon and mortar fire, and so you delivered to him whatever he demanded to this end. You also report that pirate boats attempted to bring aid to Missolonghi five or six times, but were forced to retreat with losses. Now that Missolonghi has been besieged completely from land and sea, you pray for its imminent fall. As for provisions, you point out that the navy ran out of clarified butter and olive oil. After you bought on the spot more than 2000 *kyyes* of olive oil at the rate of 3.5 piasters per *kyye* in order to light the deck lanterns, an Austrian-flagged ship loaded with supplies entered the gulf. Thus, you also bought from it 25,613 *kyyes* of olive oil, paying 75 *paras* per *kyye*, as well as 31,314 *kyyes* of olives, paying 25 *paras* per *kyye*. In addition, you made purchases of hardtack from several boats. You suggest that all these purchases supplied the imperial navy with provisions to last for two months. As you have brought to our attention previously, the governor of Rumelia carried out an investigation of the case of the British assistance to Greeks, during which his patrolling troops coincidentally intercepted the sum sent as a stipend from Nafplio to Missolonghi. Although you had inquired into this matter by sending a communication right away to Pişel [uncertain reading, unidentified person], British commander of the Ionian Islands, you have not received a response as of yet. Your Excellency assures us that you will discuss his response and keep us informed about the process. The contents of your communication and the letters Your Excellency forwarded to the superintendent of the imperial arsenal have thus become known to us, and we have submitted the documents to His Imperial Majesty for review. Ibrahim Pasha and Mehmed Reşid Pasha have already sent a joint letter to the effect that they established a determined siege of Missolonghi; we pray for a prompt end to this affair. His Imperial Majesty is pleased with the fact that you eliminated the problem of the shortage of foodstuffs by thus replenishing the two months' supplies of the navy. As per His Imperial Majesty's will, we are going to send you from the naval treasury the sum of money to cover the cost of your purchase of olive

oil and olives, although we had previously ordered olive oil for the navy from Lesbos. This letter is to encourage you to exert yourself in unison with Ibrahim Pasha and Mehmed Reşid Pasha to the rescue of Missolonghi from the damned hands of the infidels as soon as possible.

Postscript: From the note you sent to the superintendent of the imperial arsenal, we understand that you want him to dispatch some quantity of tar and pitch with the battleships prepared for the spring campaign. We inform you with this letter that we cautioned him to take care of the matter, since tar and pitch are much needed by the ships of the imperial navy.

[582/106, *regarding the insurance agents in Alexandria refusing to insure ships carrying provisions to the Morea because of Lord Cochrane's operations*]

To the Governor of the Morea [Ibrahim Pasha] and the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüseyin Pasha], separately

March 17, 1826

We have communicated to you several times that we have approached Your Excellency's glorious father, Mehmed Ali Pasha, Governor of Egypt, with a commission to supply the imperial navy and various other ships with four months of provisions, due to the current hardships involved in their shipment from Istanbul. In his present correspondence, Mehmed Ali Pasha states that he has ordered the preparation and shipment of three months of provisions immediately after receiving our request and dispatched the related documents to Your Excellency, to the grand admiral, and to his own agent at the Porte, Necib Efendi, who is presently at your side. The agreement with the insurance agents in Alexandria was that they charged a sum equal to 8% of the value of the six months of provisions that arrived in Methoni safe and secure and, in case of loss or damage, they pledged to pay a sum equal to 70% of the value of the same load in compensation. Therefore, Mehmed Ali Pasha offered them to insure the present load of three months of provisions on the same terms and informed his translator in Alexandria accordingly. The translator, nevertheless, communicated to Mehmed Ali Pasha that letters had arrived for the merchants of Alexandria from their partners in England, passing on the news that the British General Cochrane has left England for France in order to join the American ships in Marseilles before sailing to the "lands of Rum" [*cânib-i Rum*, referring to the non-Arab domains of the Ottoman Empire]. The said insurers, the translator continued, refused to insure the provisions for the time being, as they are also business partners of the merchants of Alexandria. Thus, Mehmed Ali Pasha decided to send half of the provisions to the imperial navy by offering the merchants an 8% bonus, apart from the freight payment, should they make a safe delivery and absolving them from all responsibility for any loss or damage to the load. He points out that, should the news turn out to be correct, the grand admiral would have to send to Alexandria the merchant ships available in the imperial navy in the escort of a number of battleships in order to receive the other half of the provisions. A few days ago, a communication arrived from the grand admiral, stating that the imperial navy has two months of provisions. This, coupled with the provisions to be sent by Mehmed Ali Pasha, which are adequate for 1.5 months, and the provisions that we will send with the fleet, will save the imperial navy from suffering any shortage of rations. As for General Cochrane, we have read in some newspapers that he

arrived at Zakynthos and Corfu, but we could not confirm the information. This letter is for your information only that we informed Mehmed Ali Pasha of His Imperial Majesty's will. His Imperial Majesty thinks that the provisions listed above should support the imperial navy sufficiently and that there is no need at the moment to send a fleet to Alexandria to receive the remainder of the provisions from Egypt.

[582/108, *regarding the dispatch of Rumeliot troops to the Dardanelles*]

Note to the Mutasarrıf of Ormenio [Esad Pasha]

March 18, 1826

We had related to Your Excellency the news concerning the infidels' plan to enter the Dardanelles with a strong southwesterly wind, God forbid. Then, the castellan of Gallipoli confirmed the news that the bandits were entertaining vain hopes to carry out this abominable plan. This prompted us to instruct you a few days ago to send the available mercenaries serving with your company commander and the chief musketeer in your retinue in advance to the strait under a strong and capable commander; and to rush fresh troops behind to make up the deficit in manpower in the unit without wasting a single moment. We believe that you have already received His Imperial Majesty's decree and that you will duly carry it out. There is no question that these infidels will meet failure in this attempt, which they plan to make in reaction to the recent manifestation of the might of Islam. Nevertheless, they have turned into suicide soldiers [*ölüm eri*] and are determined to risk death and treacherously attack here and there like mad dogs. Hence, it is necessary to reinforce the strait to repel such a perfidious attack. We trust that you will do your best to serve His Imperial Majesty and assume that you have already dispatched the available mercenaries in your retinue to the strait. My dear brother, I would like you to confirm your implementation of the aforementioned imperial order, since the matter requires full attentiveness and quick response. In addition, we had previously let you know about His Imperial Majesty's decree that ordered you to set aside an agreed quantity of flour from among the grain stocked in Enez and currently in Tekirdağ en route to Istanbul. Based on His Imperial Majesty's will, you should ship these provisions immediately to the strait for the consumption of your troops to be deployed there. We would like to reiterate this order in this letter of ours as well.

[582/110, *regarding the capture of the island of Vasiladi, off Missolonghi*
To the Governor of the Morea [Ibrahim Pasha] and the Governor of Rumelia
[Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

March 22, 1826

We have received Your Excellencies' joint letter on the progress of the siege [of Missolonghi]. As required by your commission and demanded by the world-famous bravery, chivalry, and valor inherent in your character, you devotedly continued with the siege of Missolonghi with fortitude and decided to attack the island of Vasiladi¹ to bring more pressure on Missolonghi, for this island is the key to the subjugation of Missolonghi from the sea. You report that you had rafts constructed and men deployed on them under the command of Hüseyin Bey, the commander of the forces [*ser-çeşme*] on Crete, and sent them forward in the escort of cutters and boats. These forces captured the island after engaging the enemy successfully on the last day of the month of *Receb* [March 10, 1826], the details of which, you pointed out, were to be found in the report of Hüsnü Bey and Necib Efendi. The letter of these functionaries of ours is indeed a testimony to the diligent service of our victorious troops and your attentiveness to this sacred task. We hope that the capture of the island by a bold and valiant assault of the aforementioned troops is a sign of the conquest of Missolonghi in the forthcoming days. With pride and joy, we submitted your letter to His Imperial Majesty, who, having learned of your victory, was much pleased. We have full confidence that you will make all of us jubilant by conquering Missolonghi soon, for you devote yourself to perform your duty with your innate qualities of prowess and courage. We take the liberty to remind you, not of the necessity, to serve diligently, for that would be stating the obvious. We already know that you spare no efforts to perform your duty in the best possible way. God only knows how much we pray day and night to receive the news of the conquest of Missolonghi. We write this letter to encourage you to perform deeds of bravery and dignity that are to become a source of joy for elites and commoners alike and memorable feats for posterity.

1 Vasiladi Island (Turk. Vasil ada, Gr. Βασιάδα): small and strategic island to the west of the coast of Missolonghi.

[582/112, *regarding the attack on Aitoliko*]

To Hüsnü Bey [Chief Halberdier of the Imperial Council] and Necib Efendi [Superintendent of the Imperial Gunpowder Mills and the governor of Egypt's agent at the Sublime Porte]

March 22, 1826

We have received your joint correspondence with the appended documents in which you relate the details of the subjugation of the island of Vasiladi, across from Missolonghi. This island, as you say, is the key to the conquest of Missolonghi and thereby was heavily reinforced by the infidel bandits. As its capture was necessary, the victorious soldiers assaulted the island under heavy enemy fire successfully. You made an inventory of the captured guns and ammunition after occupying the island, and that is to be found appended to your correspondence. You also inform us that the construction of the tracks that are essential for attacking Missolonghi from land and sea are completed. You describe the way in which you decided to storm Missolonghi upon the capture of the island of Aitoliko, which is located two hours away from the fortress. We have been relieved and very pleased by the subjugation of the island of Vasiladi, which, we hope, is a sign of the imminent seizure of Missolonghi from the damned hands of the infidels. We received this news also from Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of Jeddah and the Governor and Commander-in-Chief with full powers of the Morea, as well as Mehmed Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia, and submitted their communications to His Imperial Majesty, who had his imperial writ inscribed on them, praying for victory. As is apparent from your reports, the infidels had indeed turned the aforementioned island [Vasiladi] into a full-fledged fort, for they consider Missolonghi as their sanctuary. God willing, just as they could not withstand the brave assault of our victorious troops on the island [Vasiladi], they will be overwhelmed and crushed in Aitoliko and Missolonghi as well. This letter is to tell you of our joy for your good news and that we are urgently waiting for the news of victory.

[582/115, *regarding the refusal of British mediation between the Sublime Porte and the Greek revolutionaries*]

To the Grand Admiral [Mehmed Hüsrev Pasha]

March 27, 1826

In a previous communication, the governor of Rumelia informed us that the British merchants had gathered 200,000 purses of piasters to deliver to the Greek bandits in trimonthly installments of 10,000 purses of piasters. His patrols intercepted en route to Missolonghi 1,200 purses of piasters, sent as part of the first installment to Missolonghi as military pay. In response, we sent him a copy of the official and detailed memorandum we delivered to the British ambassador in Istanbul, in which we demanded the prevention of British financial aid to the brigands. Your official correspondence reached us after we rushed a letter to you, asking for your consultation on this matter. You relate that you invited Pişel [uncertain reading, unidentified person], the naval commander of the Ionian Islands, to discuss this matter with you, which he accepted. However, he then sent word that, when he had left Zakynthos to meet you, his superiors suddenly called him to Malta and that he would meet you subsequently. You inform us in your correspondence that you would duly express our concerns on this subject in the prospective meeting and submit your report. There is no need to mention to you that it is the habit of the Frankish states to resort to deceits and ruses in pursuing political goals and that one should never trust them. The new British ambassador [Stratford Canning] pleaded for an audience immediately after his arrival in Istanbul [October 1825], and a conference was held with him at the residence of the *reisülküttab*, at which the former began by expressing his government's view on the Greeks. The *reisülküttab*, in turn, drew his attention to the full support of the local British functionaries for the Greeks and followed the official line drawn by the abovementioned official memorandum; the details of the negotiation can be found in the minutes of the meeting. The gist of the official British message conveyed by the ambassador is that the Russians are intent on declaring war against the Sublime State because of the Greek question and that the British government has the good will to reconcile the Sublime State and the Greeks in order to nullify the Russian intention. The ambassador demanded the discussion of the British proposal by the high dignitaries of His Imperial Majesty and asked for a concrete answer if the Sublime State would consent to the British intermediation. After listening to the minutes of this conference in the Imperial Council held at the Sublime Porte, the high dignitaries present agreed on the rejection of the British proposal, as in the past, when Britain and the powers known as the Four Allied States, namely Russia, Austria, France, and Prussia, had made similar offers on different occasions.

Found in contradiction with the holy law and sovereignty rights, the Sublime State then adamantly refused to be reconciled with the Greeks through their intermediation, and no such offers have been heard again since then. The British are now in haste to repeat this offer, although they refrained from being involved in similar offers by the Four Allied States to this effect in the past. This can be explained by the fact that the failure in the suppression of the Greek sedition caused the British to be greedy in the last two years; they have been contemplating taking the Morea under their own control, similar to the case in the Ionian Islands, for which reason they are currently giving aid to the Greeks. The participants in the consultation also questioned the likelihood of a Russian aggression. The late Russian Emperor Alexander had resolved to declare war on the Sublime State because of the Greek question, but he perished before realizing his goal, praise be to God.¹ Most probably, the British are concerned with the grave sedition and rebellion raging on in Russia, as well as the imminent fall of Missolonghi, for which reason they attempt to achieve their goal immediately by intimidating the Sublime State with Russians [i.e. a possible war with Russia]. According to the news, the change of British policy in the last two years resulted from the designs of the British Prime Minister [*sic*] Canning.² It is plausible that the prime minister [*sic*] attempts to gain popularity in his country by having the consent of the Sublime State to the British offer, which would place the Greeks under British influence, so that he would be able to say: "You see, I managed the affair without letting your [monetary] aid for the Greeks go to waste." Greeks [*Rum*] raised this sedition and rebelled on the perverted claim that they were the genuine Greek [*Yunan*] government, aiming to restore past administration of their own by refusing to be the *reaya* of the Exalted Sultanate. The Frankish offer to reconcile the two sides is based on their decision to advance the vain claims of the Greeks by obtaining many privileges that would end their *reaya* status completely and bestow them with a government. God forbid, this would cause a multitude of drawbacks that are likely to bring graver harm than the declaration of war by Russia or Britain. In consideration of the holy law and sovereignty rights, the participants in the Imperial Council decided unanimously to advise the rejection of the British proposal resolutely, as was the case with the Four Allied States in the past. Following His Imperial Majesty's will based on this suggestion, the *reisülküttab* officially told the British ambassador that the Sublime

1 The Russian Emperor Alexander I died on December 1, 1825, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Nicholas I.

2 George Canning was not prime minister at the time, but secretary of state for foreign affairs between September 1822 and April 1827.

State had no choice but to refuse the British proposal as before, since it ran contrary to [our] religion and the Muhammadan law. Considering that we must keep you informed about this development, we have sent you a copy of the aforementioned minutes of the Imperial Council and the details of the conference at the residence of the *reisülküttab* along with this letter of ours. It goes without saying that you should keep this secret. When you negotiate with the local British commander, you should follow the official line as contoured in these documents and try to have them stop aiding the Greeks.

[582/121, *regarding the capture of Aitoliko*]
To Hüsnü Bey [Chief Halberdier of the Imperial Council] and Necib Efendi
[Superintendent of the Imperial Gunpowder Mills and the governor
of Egypt's agent at the Sublime Porte]
March 31, 1826

We have received your joint communication, as well as the joint correspondence of Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of Jeddah and Governor and Commander-in-Chief with full powers of the Morea, and Mehmed Reşid Pasha, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Rumelia. You recount that after the occupation of the island of Vasiladi, which had been communicated to us previously, our troops attacked the tiny island [Dolmas] whose distance from Vasiladi was thrice the range of a cannon, for the downfallen infidels, numbering more than two hundred, had reinforced this place by erecting redoubts and placing guns, turning it into a nest of misfortune.¹ As a felicitous prelude to the capture of the island of Aitoliko—which is to the west of Missolonghi—the Muslim warriors undertook an offensive from land and sea, and, being unable to withstand the might of our troops, more than two hundred wicked infidels were crushed and ruined during the invasion of the island. Afterward, Ibrahim Pasha and Reşid Pasha together launched an offensive on Aitoliko, upon which the infidels inside [the fortress of Aitoliko] wanted to submit peacefully. By the granting of mercy, men, women, and children totaling 3,118 walked out. You point out in your communication that you also sent the list of those martyred and injured in action, as well as a list of the captured guns and boats. This news of the crushing of the infidels is such a relief for the Muslims and an occasion for merriment. His Imperial Majesty was pleased with the news and had his imperial writ inscribed on the abovementioned correspondence that we submitted to him. We sent appreciative letters to Ibrahim Pasha and Reşid Pasha in response. We expect that, from now on, the infidels will not be able to withstand the crushing might of Islam anywhere and that they will be crushed. God willing, Missolonghi has also fallen by now. While you indicated in your communication that the list of the captured guns and boats was included in the dispatch, they were not present in the package; we have no doubt that they were left out of the dispatch mistakenly. This note is to encourage both of you to continue working together to perform your tasks diligently.

¹ Referring to the Battle of Dolmas, which took place on March 12, 1825. Dolmas was defended by Grigoris Liakatas, who was in command of three hundred men from Aitoliko.

[582/124, *regarding the preparations for the campaign on Athens*]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

April 5, 1826

We have received Your Excellency's past and present communications about your new commission in and around Athens and submitted them to His Imperial Majesty. You plead with us to make the arrangements and send the imperial orders for the collection of provisions, the substitution fee in lieu of militia levy, and pack animals in advance, so that after the fall of Missolonghi you could perform your duty of removing the filthy bodies of the bandits from Athens and its vicinity. You suggest that we send imperial decrees to Shkodër, Ohrid, and Elbasan, commuting the soldier levy into cash substitution this year and that the imperial navy should deliver cannons, cannon balls, and ammunition, for it would be difficult to bring them to Athens from Euboea. The contents of Your Excellency's communication have thus become known to us, and we have submitted your letters to His Imperial Majesty for review. Obviously, it is imperative to support your troops in Amfissa and Athens by arranging for the pay and provisions for a six-month period, as well as the pack animals, in a timely fashion. While the populace in the *kazas* of Rumelia and Anatolia have grown poor due to the consecutive soldier, animal, and provision levies in the last couple of years, we have no other option than collecting compensation fees as much as possible from these localities this year as well. With the approval of His Imperial Majesty, we made the following decisions. In order to alleviate the situation, some towns are to pay one third of the previous year's rate and others two thirds. Also, we will decrease the burden on the local poor by dispatching the relevant imperial decrees to the governors and *mutasarrıfs* through their agents in Istanbul rather than sending them by apparitors, so that the locals would be relieved of paying service fees to the apparitors. Accordingly, the governors will collect the cash compensations and forward them to the imperial mint. The *ayans*, voivodes, and deputy governors of twenty-eight *kazas* in Rumelia do not have agents who transact their affairs in Istanbul. Although some of these *kazas* are under your jurisdiction, you are too busy to send apparitors to collect the compensation fees from them. Thus, each apparitor is to be responsible to deliver the relevant imperial decrees to three to four of these localities, thereby reducing the burden on the populace. We understand from the content of your correspondence that the pack animals for the previous year's campaign were not sent in the stipulated numbers and that most of those requisitioned were frail and perished on the road. Thus, we included in the imperial orders the stipulation that the locals should deliver to the head of the local post station [*kiracıbaşı*] robust animals and that we would have them compensate for the missing ones again, should the pack animals be frail and lacking in number. Rumor has it that last year the

recruited animals were denied provender in the *kazas* along the road to the front and they perished. Therefore, we entrusted with the commissioners the necessary imperial orders to the effect that the *kazas* should give free provender to the pack animals for the night they stay in the *kazas* until they reach your side. We sent these imperial orders concerning the substitution fee to the *kazas* and the collection of pack animals to the head of the local post station. We also sent you an imperial order for your information about these decisions. As for your suggestion of collecting substitution fees in lieu of soldiers from Shkodër, Ohrid, and Elbasan, there is no precedence for this practice in these [Albanian] *sancaks*. Thus, as per His Imperial Majesty's will, we sent you an imperial order to the effect of collecting soldiers from these *sancaks*. As the prudent governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia, we deem it proper that you communicate with Mustafa Pasha [Bushati], *Mutasarrıf* of these *sancaks*, to deliver the aforementioned imperial decree. That said, you are free to seek a way to implement the collection of the substitution fees rather than raising men. You also ask for permission to obtain cannon and cannon balls from the imperial navy. However, the grand admiral will obviously need the naval armament present in the navy. We are afraid that we cannot ship them either by the fleet that will sail away from Istanbul, on the consideration that the fleet may not have enough space to load the equipment and the crew you are asking for. Even if it does, it may arrive late at Euboea to deliver them to you, due to the vicissitude of the sea. On the other hand, it is incumbent on us to give you unconditional support in this matter of religion and keep you fully equipped. Therefore, we dispatched the following overland to Larissa, where they will be awaiting further orders from you to join your forces, once you leave Missolonghi for Amfissa and Athens: two mortars of 22 calibers with full equipment from the inventory of the imperial shell factory, along with four companies of bombardiers, two companies for each mortar; two companies from the corps of miners with full equipment; a culverin-type cannon with its ammunition; one thousand bombshells for each mortar, making two thousand in total; five hundred cases of ball cartridges and five hundred barrels of gunpowder from the inventory of the imperial armory; two thousand solid balls of 7 calibers from the foundry in Eleftheroupoli; two companies of cannoneers, a company of waggoneers, 4 howitzers of 5 calibers, along with 4,000 bombshells in suitable calibers, from the inventory of the imperial foundry; and finally, two competent engineers to serve under you. We instructed the *mutasarrıf* of Trikala to safeguard these armaments and ammunition and to supply the companies with the basic provisions. We will handle the matter of the provisions and keep you informed about it. We ask you by this letter to exert yourself to perform your duties until then.

[582/126, *regarding the appointment of a new castellan to Nafpaktos and Acarnania*]

*To Ali Namuk Pasha, who was given the Sancaks of Nafpaktos and Acarnania
April 5, 1826*

The governor of Rumelia brought to our attention that the appointment of a gallant and diligent vizier as the castellan of Nafpaktos and Acarnania would be imperative to guard Missolonghi, Nafpaktos, and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio], as well as to eliminate the brigands who got away from the sword, who might appear in the vicinity again after the imminent conquest of Missolonghi. As the governor of Rumelia would have to report to his new post in Amfissa and Athens afterward to fight the infidel brigands, it is indeed necessary to put in charge a diligent man with determination who is familiar with the region, such as yourself, in order to duly protect Missolonghi, Nafpaktos, and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia. Besides, you have familiarized yourself in the past with the ways of the infidels of that vicinity as a member of the retinue of the late Hurşid Pasha. It is beyond doubt that you will spare no efforts to serve the Sublime State and [our] religion in this capacity. His Imperial Majesty also shares this opinion and wills you to be the castellan of the *sancaks* of Acarnania and Nafpaktos. Based on this, we have delivered to you through your agent in Istanbul the relevant appointment order, along with 75,000 piasters as a gift from His Imperial Majesty, who ordered us to support you financially and in terms of manpower. The governor of Rumelia will rush to his new post to crush the brigands after the fall of Missolonghi, which is only a matter of time. While we are sure that you will show eagerness to perform your duties, you would be unable to raise men and collect provisions in such a short time. Therefore, we have asked the governor of Rumelia to support you fully in this matter and we sent your appointment orders to him through his agent in Istanbul as well. This letter is to instruct you to exert yourself to further increase His Imperial Majesty's confidence in you by serving diligently, following the instructions in the imperial order we sent to you.

[582/131, *regarding the rekindling of the uprising on Crete*]

To His Excellency the Governor Egypt [Mehmed Ali Pasha]

April 6, 1826

While Your Excellency has extinguished the flame of brigandage on Crete, the *reaya* of Sfakia have recently rebelled, as related in a letter from Mustafa Bey, the commander of the Egyptian forces, and Sührab Pasha, Castellan of Rethymno, to Lütfü Pasha, Castellan of Irakleio. They complained in the letter of severe shortages of men and provisions. There is no need to mention that these infidels always feign peaceful submission, as they know their weakness *vis-à-vis* the sword of the holy warriors, and then attempt brigandage whenever they seize the opportunity. On this occasion, it is obvious that they realized that there is a lack of troops and provisions on the island and began to engage in abominable deeds. We are sure that you have already taken the necessary measures if the aforementioned castellan informed you about this recent development, for you are in charge of removing the filthy bodies of the brigands from Crete completely; this is obvious from your past record of service, as well as commendable qualities inherent in your personality. Nevertheless, based on the correspondence from Lütfü Pasha and the information conveyed by the courier from the island, the scarcity of troops and foodstuffs at the disposal of the castellan and the aforementioned functionaries led to the recurrence of the rebellion of these infidels. This letter is to ask you to take whatever measures are necessary for supplying the island with men and provisions to restore order, as required by your commission on Crete and your defining qualities of piety and sense of honor.

[582/137, regarding the appointment of Ali Namık Pasha to Nafpaktos and Acarnania]

To the Governor of Rumelia [Mehmed Reşid Pasha (Kütahî)]

April 8, 1826

We have received Your Excellency's correspondence in which you suggest the appointment of a gallant and diligent vizier as the castellan of Nafpaktos and Acarnania to guard Missolonghi, Nafpaktos, and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia [Rio and Antirrio], as well as to eliminate the brigands who got away from the sword, who might appear in the vicinity again after the imminent conquest of Missolonghi. You indicate that you would have to rush to your new post in Amfissa and Athens immediately after the conquest of Missolonghi to fight the infidel brigands and promise to assist the appointee in terms of supplies and provisions. We appreciate that you express such a crucial opinion of yours, which is indeed required of your position as governor and commander-in-chief of Rumelia with full discretionary powers. It is certainly necessary to put in charge a diligent man with determination who is familiar with the region, in order to protect duly Missolonghi, Nafpaktos, and the Castles of the Morea and Rumelia. Ali Namık Pasha, who is currently located in Manisa with the rank of vizier, is familiar with the local affairs and infidels of that region, which makes him an appropriate candidate for the post. Therefore, His Imperial Majesty appointed him as the castellan of the *sancaks* of Acarnania and Nafpaktos. However, these *sancaks* are currently incapable of yielding revenues or supplying troops, and thereby it is essential to assign Ali Namık Pasha a benefice in Rumelia, as he would otherwise be devoid of financial means to carry out his tasks. Ismail Pasha has proved inefficient in administering Vlorë, due to popular opposition against him. The locals even sent a collective petition and a representative to the Sublime Porte to the effect that we should replace him with another Ottoman vizier. When we consulted with you on our response to this demand, you suggested that Vlorë should be placed under Your Excellency for the moment. We understand from your correspondence that your suggestion stems from the need for calming down the popular resentment in this *sancak* and bears no motivation for advancing personal interest. Yet, this would be an additional burden for you, and thus we have deemed it proper to give Vlorë to Ali Namık Pasha. First of all, he would be able to impose your authority as the supreme commander in the region. Secondly, the resources of this *sancak* can partially support him in recruiting men and provisions. Moreover, the locals will have no reason to complain about him, as he will manage Vlorë through a *mütesellim*. As for Ismail Pasha, we suggested that it would be inappropriate to keep him sidelined as a vizier of the Sublime Porte with a long record of service; and, given that there are no vacant posts in Rumelia, we recommended

his appointment to a place in Anatolia. His Imperial Majesty has approved our suggestion. This letter is to invite you to convey your opinion on our decision to place Vlorë under the jurisdiction of Ali Namık Pasha, as well as our suggestion about Ismail Pasha. We would also like you to give full support to Ali Namık Pasha, since he would not be able to gather troops and supplies at short notice, which was also a point that you previously made in your correspondence.