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## Smyrna in 1821: A Russian View

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# SMYRNA 1821: A RUSSIAN VIEW

*by*

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SMYRNA WAS A DANGEROUS, tumultuous outpost in 1821, especially for a Russian diplomatic official during the initial months of the Greek War of Independence. This is the most palpable conclusion from the personal diary of the Ionian Greek, Spyridon Iur'evich Destunis (1782-1848), who served as Russian consul general in Smyrna from 1818 to 1821. His unpublished diary, one of the richest files in the sizable Destunis collection housed in the Manuscript Section of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in Leningrad, appears here in English translation for the first time.<sup>1</sup> It offers an extremely valuable eyewitness account of the almost nonstop disorder and alarm which prevailed in Smyrna in the immediate aftermath of the outbreak of the Greek struggle. The diary merits close attention and scrutiny by historians of the Greek revolution, Ottoman government and society, and the Eastern Question.

The Greek revolt, erupting first in the Danubian Principalities and spreading to mainland Greece, generated renewed tension and hostility between the tsarist government and the Sublime Porte of the Ottoman Empire. The sultan, suspicious of Russian support if not instigation of the uprising in view of Russia's claim to protect Greek Orthodox Christians in the Near East, retaliated by violating Russo-Ottoman treaty agreements. Russian commercial vessels had to endure Ottoman restrictions, searches, and seizures, while several Greek Orthodox hierarchs, including Ecumenical Patriarch Grigorios V, were publicly executed in Ottoman

reprisals against the Orthodox church. These harsh measures led to the ultimatum (6/18 July 1821) delivered to the Porte by Grigori A. Stroganov, the Russian envoy in Constantinople and Destunis's immediate superior in the chain of command in the Foreign Ministry.<sup>2</sup> The sultan's failure to comply with the Russian request, which called on the Ottoman government to protect the Orthodox faith and innocent Christians and to ensure domestic tranquility, resulted in the Russian embassy's staff departing from the Ottoman capital on 29 July/10 August. With the severance of Russo-Ottoman diplomatic relations, both countries were seemingly on the verge of resuming another round in the series of wars which marked their relationship in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

Destunis, like most Russian consuls and vice-consuls stationed in Ottoman territories, felt the direct impact of this friction between Russia and Turkey.<sup>4</sup> Destunis's position was even more precarious because of the turbulent situation in Smyrna, a major Ottoman port with a multi-ethnic population of Turks, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and Western traders and diplomatic officials. His diary provides a vivid firsthand glimpse of Smyrna's turmoil during the spring and summer of 1821, a time of acute political unrest, social confusion, psychological uncertainty, and communal violence. By conveying his personal observations and impressions and by recording specific episodes and events, Destunis portrayed the human dimension of the "Eastern crisis" triggered by the Greek uprising. Illuminating details of daily life in Smyrna during this frenzied period are indelibly etched in one's mind precisely because this is a private document instead of an official report. This by no means minimizes the importance of Russian consular records, which are excellent sources on economic, social, political, and cultural conditions in the Balkans and Ottoman Empire. These reports are located in the Russian Foreign Policy Archives, which traditionally have been inaccessible to Western scholars, all the more reason why historians are fortunate that Destunis wrote this personal account.<sup>5</sup>

Most contemporary Greek and non-Greek sources describe events relating to the Greek revolution which occurred in the main centers of military and naval action, such as the Peloponnese and the archipelago. By focusing on Smyrna, Destunis sheds light on the relatively neglected issue of the profound and jarring impact of the Greek revolt on Greek-inhabited areas under Ottoman rule that were not directly involved in the fighting.<sup>6</sup> Escalating tension between Greek and Turkish communities in Smyrna was accompanied by the nearly total breakdown of municipal government caused by the unruliness of local janissaries and the fury of Turkish mobs. Indeed, Destunis's account of the city's unrest and disorder serves as a telling reminder of the violence that lurked beneath the surface of Ottoman society during the empire's political decline. In addition to illustrating the crisis of Ottoman imperial authority, the diary provides pene-

trating insight into the nature of the Greek War of Independence. Religious, ethnic, and communal hatred between Greeks and Turks prompted a series of reciprocal outrages and atrocities which transformed the revolt into a war of revenge.

The diary opens on 17/29 March, when news of the Ypsilantis revolt in Moldavia reached Smyrna, and closes on 26 July/7 August, when the Destunis family left Smyrna for Kythera, one of the Ionian islands off the southern coast of the Peloponnese. With the spread of rebellion to Greece proper and the islands, the desire of the Turks for reprisals became increasingly ominous, especially after Greek naval victories and the harsh treatment of Turkish settlements and garrisons in the Morea. Destunis cited numerous cases of Turkish violence in Smyrna, usually committed by throngs of janissaries and armed civilians roaming the streets and exacting random retribution against unarmed Greek Christians. They also vented their rage toward Ottoman officials who tried to restrain their lawlessness. Vivid images of Greek flight to the harbor seeking refuge aboard ships underscore the alarm, panic, and anguish permeating the Greek community. Greek fears were exacerbated by deteriorating economic conditions caused by food shortages, shop closures, and disruption of trade, all of which intensified the city's already volatile atmosphere.

In addition to describing these somber realities, Destunis expressed dismay regarding most Western diplomatic officials. They are castigated for their indifference to the plight of fellow Christians, their support of Ottoman policy, and their suspicion of Russian machinations in the Greek affair. Destunis was particularly incensed at the English consular staff for propagating unsubstantiated rumors that Russia instigated the rebellion and stood squarely behind the Greek cause. These "absurd rumors," according to Destunis, were all part of England's duplicitous policy of sowing seeds of discord between Russia and the Porte, which in turn would push the sultan closer to Britain for diplomatic and naval support.

In the midst of the random violence and growing tension in Smyrna, Destunis became understandably concerned about the safety of his family.<sup>7</sup> Like numerous Western merchants and consular officials, he sought refuge for himself and his family aboard a ship anchored in the harbor. They endured these "rocking quarters" for the last seven weeks of their stay in Smyrna. Destunis expressed anguish and prayed that his personal ordeal would end with his peaceful return to Russia. The diary concludes with the arrangements he made for his family's departure to Kythera in late July. Accompanying them were Russian consular officials and the consulate's archive. After seven months on Kythera, the Destunis family lived in Venice until their return to St. Petersburg in 1826.

The validity of Destunis's diary is confirmed by the eyewitness account of his antagonist, Francis Werry, who served as the Levant Company's consul general in Smyrna from 1794 to 1825. This long stint

gave him a sound grasp of local conditions, clearly seen in his numerous reports to the Levant Company. Werry accurately described the Smyrna rebellion of 1797, a prelude of sorts to the disorders of 1821, as a destructive urban riot provoked by the lack of discipline in the janissary corps.<sup>8</sup> Werry's reports of 1821, written with a distinct bias against the Greeks, whom he blamed for starting the revolt and killing Turkish prisoners of war, contain useful information on the dislocation of trade, Greek flight to the harbor and islands, and the collapse of law and order. Numerous incidents and episodes are recounted which support Destunis's observation that the local government was virtually powerless to subdue insubordinate Turks who caused civil unrest. Werry made several requests to Levant Company authorities to send a warship to protect British subjects and their property. We also learn that British vice-consuls in the archipelago wanted to be evacuated. Above all, Werry conveyed the general alarm, panic, and fear gripping Smyrna and fueling communal violence. By mid-July, random killings of Greeks had become commonplace, and the city appeared desolate, with many shops and houses abandoned.<sup>9</sup>

Destunis's diary of 1821 forms the last part of the journal he kept during his tenure as consul general. The entire work was subsequently copied and rendered into more legible script by Spyridon's son, Gavriil Spyridonovich Destunis (1818-95), a Byzantinist and neohellenist who taught at St. Petersburg University and published a wide range of scholarly studies on Greek history, culture, and literature during his long academic career.<sup>10</sup> Gavriil did more than simply preserve his father's Smyrna diary. He divided the document into two sections, the first and longer of which appears in a separate file in the Destunis manuscript collection. Entitled "Smirna do smuty" ("Smyrna before the Disorder"), it constitutes a valuable source on local government, the status of the Greek church, chronic outbreaks of plague, and other realities of life in Smyrna on the eve of the revolution.<sup>11</sup>

The second section of the diary, covering the spring and summer of 1821, appears here in English translation. Gavriil presented the document as a gift to Afanasii F. Bychkov, director of the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg. As he wrote in his cover letter to Bychkov on 18 February 1888, his donation to the library's manuscript collection actually consisted of three related parts: Gavriil's copy of his father's diary on the disturbances in Smyrna; Gavriil's Russian translation of an Italian diary written by an anonymous person who worked at the Russian consulate; and Gavriil's explanatory notes to both accounts. His letter noted that although he considered it premature to publish the diaries, he wanted the library to have these documents which illuminate "a little-known historical event." Bychkov's letter of 21 February acknowledged receipt of the gift and expressed sincere gratitude to Gavriil.<sup>12</sup>

The explanatory notes of the son enriched the father's eyewitness

description with useful information on incidents and individuals mentioned in the text. Gavriil identified the names of European consular officials and gave exact dates for episodes recounted by his father. In his quest for historical accuracy and detail, Gavriil relied on the works of nineteenth-century Greek historians like Ioannis Philimonos and Spyridon Trikoupis.<sup>13</sup> References to their studies on the Greek revolution corroborate some of Spyridon's statements and revise several inaccuracies. Gavriil performed another useful service by comparing his father's account to the anonymous Italian diary. In the preface to his Russian translation of the latter, Gavriil summarized its contents and noted that its author served in some capacity at the Russian consulate in Smyrna. The unknown diarist knew a great deal about consular affairs and concluded his text with the departure of the Destunis family. That the anonymous writer was not his father was clear to Gavriil because of the different writing styles. Spyridon's clarity stood in sharp contrast to the vague and muddled sections of the Italian diary, an indication to Gavriil that its author was not well educated. The Italian account also contradicted Spyridon's version in several places. Finally, Gavriil stated that there was no reason for his father to use Italian in his personal recollections, even though he wrote fluently in that language.<sup>14</sup>

In translating Destunis's Smyrna diary of 1821, I have tried to render it into idiomatic English, concerned above all with conveying the sense and meaning of the Russian original. Brief explanations of Turkish terms used in the text are enclosed in brackets. I have condensed and paraphrased the most relevant of Gavriil's explicatory notes, in particular those which contain information from the Italian diary that enhance our understanding of Spyridon's account. Some of my notes include quotations from the consular reports of Francis Werry that amplify and verify incidents described by the Russian consul general.

While an English translation of the Destunis diary would primarily be of interest to historians of the Greek War of Independence, it also serves as a reminder that some of our best resources on Greek and Balkan history are located in Soviet libraries, archives, and manuscript repositories. Among other things, these materials document the close religious and cultural ties between Russia and the Greek East.

*DNEVNIK O SMIRNSKIKH SMUTAKH*  
(*DIARY ON THE DISORDERS IN SMYRNA*), 1821

*March 17/29; March 25/April 6; March 27/April 8.*<sup>15</sup>

On 17 March, news was received about the unrest which has arisen in Moldavia. There is general alarm which increases the suspicion that Russia instigates these disorders. The Turks are furious, arm themselves, and make threats. The Greeks are terrified and fearful. The Europeans,

especially the English, are angry with Russia and curse the Greeks.<sup>16</sup> They say that harm will come to the Greeks and that the English will seize the Morea...if the Russians occupy Moldavia.

On 25 March, the patriarchal encyclical was read.<sup>17</sup> It aroused mixed feelings, but it seems that it is not politic to open the people's eyes to the existing conspiracy.<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile, the government has increased the numbers of guards and patrols, consisting mostly of persons from the vulgar rabble [*iz liudei nizskoi cherni*] who indulge in various sorts of mischief.<sup>19</sup>

On 25 March, drunken janissaries attacked the Spanish consul, who was on horseback, and threatened him with their *yatagans* [Turkish saber with a double-curved blade]. On the same day, the commander of the French division, Kergris, a merry and frivolous person who did not know the Turks very well, went for a walk about town with his officers at 10 p.m. A patrol attacked him, tore off his epaulettes, confiscated his sword, snatched his expensive belongings, and badly beat him. They threw his hat in the mud and then dragged him to the *bulumbashi* [Ottoman law enforcement official], who recognized Kergris and released him. The French consul, to whom the commander related what had happened, went to the *musseleim* [Ottoman municipal governor] around midnight. Accompanying the consul were the commander and his officers, who in their rage shouted, gesticulated, and stamped their feet. The *musseleim* promised satisfaction. Nevertheless, Kergris issued an order to light the lantern, strike the drums, and open the battery. In this threatening manner, he walked near the residence of the *musseleim*, going as close as possible, and stayed there until he left in the morning after alarming all the inhabitants in the area and arousing the indignation of the Turks.

#### *March 29/April 10*

There was a meeting of consuls. Mr. David presided, as he was more intelligent and enlightened than the other consuls.<sup>20</sup> We agreed to request the government to reduce the patrols, place guards instead of janissaries in the district where the Franks lived, close the taverns, and give Europeans a guarantee of safety. I opposed this last demand, certain that they would not grant it and that is indeed what happened.<sup>21</sup>

#### *March 30/April 11.*

We all went to the *megket* [Islamic religious court]. Leading the way were the janissaries, lined up in twos, behind them were the *dragomans* [translators or interpreters], and then the consuls. We arrived at the *megket*, where the *mullah* [teacher and interpreter of Islamic law], the *musseleim*, two customs directors, and the *serdar* [local janissary commander] were already seated to the right, while a bit further away sat the *ayanbashi* [local government official], the *mufti* [Islamic legal consultant], and

two more officials. We sat to the side of the divan where the *mullah* was sitting. Upon our entry, no one stood up, for this was a sacred place, a house of God. They treated us to coffee and a pipe. The French consul later spoke and said many courteous words. They answered in like manner. The English consul, forgetting that he had signed the document on the previous day, started arguing with the French consul but then calmed down. They still treated us, and we finally left satisfied.

On the next day [March 31/April 12], a shot accidentally fired from a gun caused a very great alarm. The Turks armed themselves with their own weapons or with those seized at the market. Numbering ten thousand or more, they rushed to the quarter where the Franks lived and threatened to exterminate them. Their murderous intention was cut short rather easily by the *musseleim*..., and the Turks dispersed. But how does one describe the alarm, confusion, and terror of all Christians during this rebellion. Everyone fled toward the sea, looking for boats and even jumping into the water to save themselves. These moments marked the beginning of a movement of people. Some moved from the interior of the city to the shore, putting their belongings in stone warehouses, crowding themselves into any corner they could find, and settling in sheds, barns, and gardens in order to be closer to the sea. Others, living near the shore, rented boats or other vessels so that they could board them at the first alarm. There are still others who sought refuge on ships and decided to live on them to see what would happen. The anxiety continued the following days.<sup>22</sup> The news from Constantinople increased the terror, and the English spread absurd rumors.<sup>23</sup>

#### April 1/13

People who are not particularly well-meaning have inspired fear in the entire city by confirming that England and France forced the Porte to declare war on Russia. The courier who arrived [from Constantinople] put an end to the spread of this rumor. Many people have left on boats and ships for Chios, Samos, and Tinos. These unfortunate islands are so in need of food that an increase of people will inevitably lead to starvation.

*Dragoman* Gabriel<sup>24</sup> came to see me in the evening and brought news that *douanier* [customs official] Ali-bey, a man highly respected, sent a dispatch to Tudmas, an American merchant, which said that the *musseleim* informed him about the breach of peace with Russia. This news compelled me to set off around 10 p.m. with my wife and children to the French consul, David, while various official documents and personal belongings were sent to a ship for safety.<sup>25</sup> The French consul received us graciously and affably. Early the next day, I looked out the window and saw the flag standing at the consulate. I returned home and after some time ordered the flag raised. These events pleased many inhabitants and calmed their fears. The movement of people subsided. But there and then an English ship



brought news that a revolt broke out in the Morea and the Greeks killed Turks. There is renewed alarm and again people board vessels leaving port for open water.

*April 3/15 and 4/16*

These scenes lasted for many days, and the shore appeared animated and lively, which would have been quite pleasant if the reason for this was not so sad. During these sorrowful days, a great deal of misfortune occurred. At the slightest noise or shout, women who were already frightened fainted, some even had miscarriages. One, perhaps more than one, who was pregnant died from fear. Most of the shops were closed, trade came to a halt, no one paid anyone, and it was hard to find daily bread, especially for the poor. One could see women who did not eat for the entire day. Many probably died from bad food, from deprivation of the amenities to which they were accustomed, and from the night cold. Even aboard ship, a woman died. Only the arrival of a courier quieted the people.<sup>26</sup> Many returned to their homes, while others decided to go to the islands [in the archipelago or off the coast of Asia Minor]. On the fourth, the government forbade Turkish subjects to depart.<sup>27</sup>

Who disseminated these rumors which led to so much suffering? The English and the English vice-consul. Why? We knew that these rumors could cause harm to our interests. But such was the intent they wanted to achieve in this affair. Several intelligent people think that they wanted to arouse the Turks into committing some offense or insult against the Russian consulate and nation, as this without a doubt would become a pretext for the outbreak of war. Since they spread similar rumors in yet other places, there is no doubt that was the intention of their plans.<sup>28</sup>

*April 10/22*

Matins were recited at home.<sup>29</sup> I did not go to church, knowing that my presence there would not be pleasant. I informed the metropolitan that if anything caused trouble among the congregation, even then I would not go to church.<sup>30</sup> He agreed with me. This day and the next passed quietly. On Good Friday [April 8/20], the Greek community wanted to hold the traditional service. The *musseleim* and his guard stood close to the church gates during the night, protecting people who participated in the worship service. The *musseleim*, who received two thousand piastres for this, did not want the customary service abandoned. There was no noise, no drunkenness, no disorders on the streets. All the Turks carried arms, but it is generally known that they themselves are cowards and that in the Turkish part of the city there are almost as many guards as in the Greek and European parts.

*May 7/19*<sup>31</sup>

There is not a soul who can write or even think in an orderly, methodical manner. Time passes in idleness and anxiety. If I wrote my thoughts each day, there would be a tedious repetition: it's pitiful, vexing, sad! Why did God bring me to Smyrna? Was it perhaps as punishment? My predecessor, loathed by everyone for his egoism, spent six years quietly, without worry and responsibility, while me? One problem ends, another begins. Criminal investigation, plague, reprimands, inspection, earthquake, revolt, plots, fears of war... and all, all this during my stay.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, I have scarce means. Should I send my wife to Trieste? Is ten thousand piastres enough for the trip from Trieste to Odessa or St. Petersburg? There are no ships. Petser refused his, and there are no others. It's sad to look at my wife.

In addition to my own troubles, I am also worried about the difficulties of others. Four hundred letters from Samos have been intercepted. Sixty, with their ambiguous wording, can implicate a great many people. Oh, the ill-fated ones!<sup>33</sup>

Is it pleasant to hear the words of Christ-loving Catholics [Christians?] about the Greeks? The English consul calls them rascals and insurgents, while D'Hochepped [the Dutch consul] denounces them in my presence as "vagabonds, scoundrels, brigands, wretches, and thieves." Only the French, Austrian, Neapolitan, and several other [consuls] remain silent.

*May 9/21.*

A courier arrived from Constantinople with news that England is sending ships to assist its ally Turkey, that the Turkish fleet is ready to attack, and that the Ypsilantis affair has ended.<sup>34</sup> Everything is calm today. With the arrival of the pasha, order has been established....<sup>35</sup>

*May 10/22.*

Unpleasant news continues. The decree of the sultan was received: insubordinate islands to be given over to fire and sword, captives to be taken, and property to be confiscated.<sup>36</sup> Meanwhile, there is apprehension about war between Russia and England. Where should one go? We do not have the means to go to Trieste. This is what it is like to be in Turkey without sufficient wealth.

*May 11/23.*

News about the Greek victory and the death of the pasha who took Patras and killed Greeks in Corinth. The Turks are very despondent. News about the revolt in Attica, the defense of Thermopylae, and the battle with two pashas at Zituni, where a bishop was killed.<sup>37</sup>

*May 12/24.*

A meeting of consuls was held to discuss the embargo and the new demands of the government to inspect ships upon departure and arrival.<sup>38</sup> Expenses for a gift to the pasha were apportioned among various nations: the English, twenty-five hundred piastres; the French, fifteen hundred; the Austrians, one hundred; and the Russians, two hundred fifty.

There are rumors about the Turkish fleet which departed on 6 May. Eighteen ships in all, ten of them battleships. Where are their opponents? There are only ten ships on Tenedos. Could forty or sixty ships cope with these eighteen? But the Turkish crew is unskilled, and their gunners are not good shots. There is another problem on some ships. It is necessary to board the enemy's ships, but how does one scale the higher vessels and then descend? The opening salvo of the Turks is dangerous, but then it ceases. The Hydriots are skilled in the practice of boarding, in addition to fighting desperately. What will happen to the islands?<sup>39</sup> Ypsilantis fled, or he has few troops.

*May 16/28.*

News again about the capture of Thessaloniki and the imposition of tribute of ten million [piastres].<sup>40</sup>

*May 17/29.*

The government in its great wisdom closed and sealed the Greek hospital. Poverty, misery, decrepitude, and sickness, hidden in the depths of this sacred sanctuary, were brought to light and horrified sensitive hearts. The apparent reason for this is that the building is spacious and made of stone. Church hostels were also locked up, and churches too, most likely because they could serve as a refuge and a fortress. The shots fired by the English frigate yesterday, in celebration of the English king's birthday, were very disturbing for the people. Indeed, is it appropriate to rejoice when everyone is despondent? Today, around midday, firing was heard in the distance. It seems that all the troops left the fortress on wooden barges for either Samos or Menemen, and they were met by insurgents. This news is false.

This was the most dangerous day.<sup>41</sup> The Candiots [Turks from Crete] became furious and about fifteen persons were killed. A Turk was wounded, and no one knows how or by whom. As a result of this, they [Candiots] flew into a rage and fired nonstop. People rushed toward boats and ships, terrified, weeping, and wailing. I never saw a more pitiful sight! People who feared death ran to the vessels to save themselves, crowding closely together, waiting idly, enduring afternoon heat and evening dampness, while those with small children were in utmost need. So many unfortunate people, what misery, what destitution! Even the pasha himself could not guarantee the safety of the city on this day.<sup>42</sup> Everyone thought

there would be rebellion and conflagration. I did not go out of the house, even though everyone in the neighborhood ran away.

*May 23/June 4.*

There was a meeting of consuls. The French consul read a letter from Constantinople in which the *Reis Efendi* [Ottoman official in charge of foreign affairs] complained that the disorders occurring in Smyrna are caused by the Franks who provided shelter in their homes and ships to the *rayahs* [flock or herd, the term used to designate non-Muslim, especially Christian, subjects of the sultan who were not permitted to bear arms or to serve in the army]. His Excellency [is mistaken]: this happened [giving shelter to *rayahs*] as a consequence of the disorders.<sup>43</sup>

The day passed more quietly, but four or five persons were killed.

Present circumstances have revealed all the cruelty in the soul of the Turks. A gardener was killed while sleeping. Many boys were shot on the streets. Animals also were killed. Trees in gardens were damaged, and grass was torn up. If they [Turks] are submissive in peacetime, this is because of fear which subdues them.

*May 25/June 6.*

Last night I had difficulty sleeping. I awoke at dawn, lay on the sofa, and fell asleep with a book in my hand. I dreamed that the Turks wanted to murder two Greeks. I sent a courier to the *dragoman*..., but he was delayed. I ran there myself, but changed direction when I saw the courier walking with my janissary. I returned and looked at the place where the tragedy occurred. I saw the Turks holding the heads of the slain victims in their hands, and with that I awoke.

During the day, I found out that an expedition was sent to Samos and that six hundred people were killed during the landing and at sea. A sea captain, arriving from Malta, confirmed that at Kavo Doro he encountered eighteen or twenty ships from Spetsae, which inquired about the fleet and then sailed with him to Psara, where they received news about the expedition. They had no lifeboats, and the sea captain wanted to know why. They told him that when things come to a head, they either had to win or else perish with everything. It is not necessary for them to have a way to escape. With such feelings, is it possible for them not to triumph?

*May 26/June 7.*

The Greek metropolitan was summoned to the pasha and was detained.<sup>44</sup> He sought any opportunity to avoid this but was unsuccessful. The elders convinced him to report to the pasha and not to be afraid. He did not take anyone with him, saying that "if harm comes to me, let me suffer alone." One of the deacons followed him on his own.

June 3/15.

I had to pay Pitaku forty piastres for some clothes. Today there was an inspection of Iankovich's ship. More than four hundred passengers with English passports were on it. The janissaries suspected that they were *rayahs* and that ammunition and provisions were also aboard the ship.

June 4/16.

Throngs of armed janissaries roamed about the city in the morning and committed various outrages. They killed Greeks, both men and women, whomever they happened to come across. It was a terrifying, unforgettable day! They resembled hunters pursuing people as their prey! To see defenseless, unarmed Christians falling like sheep from the bullets and sword blows of these hard-hearted criminals!<sup>45</sup> They wanted to return to the French consulate and put to the sword the Greeks who were there. They killed several and were able to lock the gates. The consul raised the danger signal, and French armed cutters rushed to help him. These cutters went along the shore and defended Christians who had escaped to the boats. One Russian Greek, who lagged behind and at whose boat the Turks fired when he went aboard with his family and many other Greeks, dared to fire grapeshot at them. It was amusing to see how these heroes began to flee after this single blow! For a long time, they did not reappear at that place! About four hours after midday, a mob killed the *mullah*, the *ayan-bashi*, and the *naib* [deputy of Islamic judge], while the *douanier* fled. They killed about fifty Turks. During the attack, some defended these officials. The *musseleim* went into hiding, and the pasha himself was in danger.<sup>46</sup>

Eyewitnesses recounted that several Turks came upon a prominent Greek. One of the frenzied Turks stopped him. The Greek, aware that he was in the midst of certain death, halted and looked firmly at the scoundrel who grabbed his pistol, fired straight for the chest, and missed. In vexation, he took out another pistol, fired, and missed. The Greek stood his ground, and the Turk became enraged. He grabbed the pistol of his friend and fired without success. He shot in vain five times, and in a frantic outburst took out his *yatagan* and hurled himself at the Greek in order to chop his head off. But he missed, wounding him slightly in the arm. This failure stupefied him, and he froze as though he were senseless. His friends seized him, and the Greek, looking straight at him firmly and, with *sang froid*, walked calmly into an inn and ordered a rum to wash his wound.

A gardener who grew vegetables, witnessing all the danger that befell his brothers, decided to head for the shore to seek shelter on one of the boats. Aware that they might kill him en route, he told himself that he would take his own gun. It would not be in vain, he thought, for if they killed him, he would be able to kill someone as well. As soon as he left the house, he encountered several young men who were armed. He leaned

against a wall and aimed his gun at them. They fled. Continuing his journey, he met several others who also fled headlong from him. This happened to him several times until he safely reached the shore.

*June 13/25.*

Everything has been calm since June 6. They kill Greeks, not with pistols, but behind their backs with knives and swords. Greeks are also hanged in public, one because he was dressed in European attire so that he could go to another part of the city more safely, another because he was a Samiot and so on and so forth. We live on a ship, as does the Austrian consul.

*July 3/15.*

We have now been living on a ship for thirty days.<sup>47</sup> Everything is all the same in the city. Yesterday, however, two Candioti with *yatagans* forced Greeks and Turks to run away at breakneck speed. Yesterday was also the day that the ship *Venera* left, an event which disturbed me, gave rise to quarrels among many, and became the pretext for all sorts of unpleasant and sad scenes....

It is not possible to describe all the various calamities endured by the Greeks here. The more submissive and timid they are, the more brave and daring are the Turks.<sup>48</sup> At the start of the revolt, the Turks feared the Greeks. At the slightest sound, they fled to the hills. Their women hid their valuables and even took remedies protecting them from the bewitching spell of the Greeks. That is how they feared the Greeks. Subsequently, however, seeing them run like hares, instead of taking pity on them or ignoring them, the Turks went around as though they were hunting people and sometimes killed persons who were sleeping. Even babies did not escape their rage.

*July 5/17.*

I will never forget yesterday's horrible sight. The decapitated trunk of a solidly built and robust man, with hands clenched in a fist, floated in the sea. I was on my way to the ship around 2 p.m. when this terrifying spectacle caught my attention.<sup>49</sup> Was it possible to have dinner after this? This was the body of a man who went to an Austrian ship so that he could board and leave. Turkish inspectors were on the ship at that very moment. They caught their prey, two Turkish subjects whose wives and children were on board. They took them to the pasha as though they were persons who had disobeyed a government order. The pasha, exerting power over the weak and defenseless which he does not have over the janissaries, ordered their heads chopped off. Some Jews assisted and flung the bodies into the sea.<sup>50</sup>

*July 6/18.*

We had dinner at home. It was cheerful to return to our house on solid ground after our rocky quarters at sea, although earlier we did not think our house was pleasant. We have thus come to know the value of things only by being deprived of them.

All day long Candiots kill Greeks with indifference. One of them boasted that he killed sixty-four and did not intend to stop until he killed one hundred. Gardeners suffer most of all, and it's certain that about one hundred fifty of them have been killed.

*July 16/28.*

...Yesterday and today it was decided that Nastinka [Spyridon's wife Anastasia] will go to Cerigo [Kythera]. Everything has already been sent to the ship. I have now left her for a few days in order to find out whether we will definitely stay here or leave with a guarantee that French and English warships will not refuse assistance. The English consul responded to my written inquiry in writing, while the French consul answered by word of mouth. This is not customary procedure, but he and the commander [Rear-Admiral Algan] authorized that I could leave on any frigate I please along with my family and officials of the consulate.

*July 17/29.*

We went to see Rear-Admiral Algan. Why are there so many French ships? They now have five here.<sup>51</sup>

Church utensils stolen from Nea Skala were sold on the market. The heroes returned to Smyrna from Nea Skala. We asked one of them why they did not go to Samos. The Turk answered that all the *giaours* [term applied by Muslims to unbelievers, especially Christians] were driven out and no one is there anymore.<sup>52</sup>

My God! What an existence, and it has lasted now for four months! At night you cannot sleep, and during the day you are in a state of anxiety, torment, and agony, if not about yourself then about others! All-powerful God! Put an end to my sufferings! Let me rest quietly in Russia! Yesterday they chopped off the heads of twenty-four persons captured on a Sardinian ship departing for the islands....They also hanged the skipper of this ship, and eight sailors had their heads chopped off, although they were all Europeans. Very few could be saved with money.

If I am not mistaken, it was on this day exactly three years ago that the *ukaz* regarding my current appointment was signed, and Count K. [Kapodistrias] informed me the following day.<sup>53</sup> Wouldn't it be strange if tomorrow a decision on my fate is announced: whether I will languish here or leave for some secluded and calm place.

*July 20/August 1.*

The summer rains can also be added to the unusual events of this year. There were strong rains in June, while today the weather is overcast with a south wind. A shower is coming. Yesterday there was powerful lightning in the distant storm clouds. The sky flashed, but thunder was not audible.

O vile Franks! What other epithet is more appropriate for you! Haters of the Orthodox faith, powerful Russia, and defenseless Greeks. Envy consumes you who wish that Russia would perish and that the Greek people would be eliminated from the face of the earth. But God will not permit that, and the unfortunate Greeks, after centuries of political death, will arise and be loyal to Russia. And you, Franks, whether you are French, English, Germans, Italians, you who can marvel at some Turks, being similar to them in upbringing and principles, you must and will come to know that God is with us.<sup>54</sup>

*July 26/August 7<sup>55</sup>*

We transferred our belongings to the frigate *L'Arriège* on Monday evening. For several days, I asked the French consul in writing for permission to leave Smyrna on a French warship. After a few days, he replied verbally that they would try to assist the Russian consul and Russian subjects and that my wish would be fulfilled. The same reply was repeated to the office by the consul himself and by Rear-Admiral Algan. I went to see the latter on Sunday to find out more accurate information about my departure. But he started talking callously that such an action could inflict harm on the French nation, that in case of war he would not render assistance to me, and that even though there was no war now, he feared irritating the Turks. I replied that during a war this help would be difficult to render but there was no war now and thus nothing to fear. I said that I only wanted to leave on a French warship in order to avoid a Turkish inspection. I desired nothing more but to leave under the protection of a warship and then transfer to a merchant vessel. He said this could be done, and I replied that was all that mattered. After this, I went to the consul and told him that he and the rear-admiral did not agree but that I would be satisfied if the rear-admiral agreed to take me out under the protection of a warship. It did not matter to me how soon I left Smyrna or how far I had to travel before transferring to a French merchant ship escorted by a convoy.<sup>56</sup>



## NOTES

The research for this project was made possible by the support of the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) and by the assistance of the staff at the Manuscript Section of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in Leningrad (hereafter cited as OR, GPB).

1. The Smyrna diary of 1821, entitled "Dnevnik o Smirnskikh smutakh" ("Diary on the Disorders in Smyrna"), is located in *fond* 250 (Destunis collection), *delo* 57, *listy* 1-118. For a description of the Destunis papers as well as biographical information on Spyridon Destunis, see Theophilus Prousis, "The Destunis Collection in the Manuscript Section of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in Leningrad," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, 5 (1989):395-452.

2. In the nineteenth century, the old style Julian calendar used in Orthodox countries was twelve days behind the new style Gregorian calendar used in the West.

3. The Greek struggle was one of several issues which eventually led to military conflict between Russia and Turkey during the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-29. For a good introduction to the implications of the Greek affair for Russo-Turkish relations, see Barbara Jelavich, "Tsarist Russia and Greek Independence," in *Greek Connections. Essays in Culture and Diplomacy*, edited by John Koumoulides (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), pp. 75-101, which cites the relevant Soviet and Western historiography on the subject.

4. The landmark Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji (1774) gave Russia the right to appoint consular officials in the Ottoman Empire. The tsarist government usually selected for these positions Russian subjects of Greek or Balkan descent because of their knowledge of local languages and their familiarity with conditions in the Near East.

5. Grigorii L. Arsh, a prominent Soviet historian working in the field of Greek-Russian relations, effectively uses Russian consular reports in his publications on the Greek national movement in Russia. See in particular the first chapter of his study on the Philiki Etaireia, the Greek secret society which planned the War of Independence, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie v Rossii. Osvoboditel'naia bor'ba grecheskogo naroda v nachale XIX v. i russko-grecheskie sviazi* (Moscow, 1970), pp. 27-76.

6. On the unrest in Constantinople caused by the Greek revolt, see the eyewitness account of Sergei I. Turgenev, secretary to the Russian envoy, which has been published by Glynn R. Barratt, "Notice sur l'Insurrection des Grecs contre l'Empire Ottoman: A Russian View of the Greek War of Independence," *Balkan Studies*, 14 (1973):47-115. Turgenev's personal report is a valuable primary source on the precarious state of Russo-Turkish relations and on the intensifying hostility between the Greek and Turkish communities in Constantinople, especially after the public hanging of the patriarch. Also see the firsthand account by the chaplain at the British embassy, Reverend Robert Walsh, *A Residence at Constantinople* (London, 1836), vol. 1, pp. 306-37.

7. Destunis married Anastasia Vasil'evna Gerakova in 1808, and they

had four children: Gavriil, Georgii, Nikolai, and Eleni. Destunis's wife was of Greek descent, her father having settled in Moscow from the Peloponnese.

8. Richard Clogg (ed.), *The Movement for Greek Independence, 1770-1821: A Collection of Documents* (London, 1976), pp. 15-17.

9. Richard Clogg, "Smyrna in 1821: Documents from the Levant Company Archives in the Public Record Office," *Mikrasiatika Chronika*, 15 (1972):313-71. Hereafter cited as Werry. Both Destunis and Werry participated in the religious and cultural life of Smyrna before the Greek revolt. Their names appear on the list of subscribers to the Smyrna Bible Society, founded in 1818 by Reverend Charles Williamson, chaplain to the Levant Company's factory in Smyrna. Williamson's death in 1820, together with the disturbances in Smyrna in 1821, contributed to the early demise of the local Bible Society. See Richard Clogg, "The Foundation of the Smyrna Bible Society (1818)," *Mikrasiatika Chronika*, 14 (1970):30-49.

10. See the biographical information on Gavriil Destunis, including citations to his diverse publications, in Prousis, "The Destunis Collection," pp. 401-3.

11. OR, GPB, *fond 250, delo 55, listy 1-174*. The Destunis collection also contains a file with Spyridon's letters from Smyrna and Pera, *delo 54, "Pis'ma o zhizni v Smirne i Pere," listy 1-278*. I was denied access to these potentially valuable materials which might provide additional information on events described in the Smyrna diaries.

The growth of Smyrna as a major port in Levantine trade during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is covered in Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990); Sonia Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycout at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); and Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "Trade between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe: The Case of Izmir in the Eighteenth Century," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 2 (1988):1-18, an outgrowth of her thesis, "The Commerce of Izmir in the Eighteenth Century (1693-1820)," Ph.D. dissertation, London University, 1986. On Smyrna in the early nineteenth century, see the account by the British traveller John Oliver Hanson, "Recollections of Smyrna, 1813," A. Angelou (ed.), *Mikrasiatika Chronika*, 13 (1967):435-520.

12. OR, GPB, *fond 250, delo 57, listy 2-3*.

13. Ioannis Philimonos, *Dokimion istorikon peri tis Ellinikis Epanastaseos (A Historical Essay about the Greek War of Independence)*, 4 vols. (Athens, 1859-61), and Spyridon Trikoupis, *Istoria tis Ellinikis Epanastaseos*, 4 vols. (London, 1853-57).

14. OR, GPB, *fond 250, delo 57, listy 44-45a*.

15. Spyridon Destunis used the old style (o.s.) Julian calendar in dating. I have added the new style (n.s.) equivalents based on the Gregorian calendar. Because the opening entry includes events from three different days, it is clear that Destunis began this portion of his Smyrna diary on 27 March (o.s.) or later.

16. Alexandros Ypsilantis launched the Greek uprising in Moldavia on 22 February/6 March. Two days later in Jassy, he issued a proclamation urging Greeks to rise in revolt and dangling the false hope of Russian intervention: "Move, o friends, and you will see a Mighty Empire defend our rights!" Rumors of this kind, along with the fact that many followers of Ypsilantis were recruited and organized in southern Russia, contributed to Great Power apprehension of

tsarist involvement in the Ypsilantis affair. In his explanatory note, Gavriil Destunis quoted from this proclamation, which appears in English translation in *The Movement for Greek Independence, 1770-1821*, pp. 201-3.

17. The encyclical of Patriarch Grigorios V, issued upon the order of the sultan, excommunicated Ypsilantis and the *hospodar* of Moldavia, Mikhail Soutsos, for their "wretched enterprise" which transgressed Ottoman and divine law and which "hastened to bring common and general ruin on the whole nation." The encyclical urged fellow Orthodox Christians to remain loyal to the sultan and to sever all ties to conspirators against the established order. This document, mentioned in Gavriil's note, is published in *The Movement for Greek Independence, 1770-1821*, pp. 203-6.

18. "Existing conspiracy" refers to the Philiki Etaireia, the Greek conspiratorial society which planned the Ypsilantis uprising. The Soviet neohellenist Grigorii Arsh maintains that Destunis and numerous other Russian consuls and vice-consuls in the Near East were members of the society, *Eteristskoe dvizhenie v Rossii*, pp. 189-99, 207-10, 224, and *I. Kapodistria i grecheskoe natsional'no-osvoboditel'noe dvizhenie, 1809-1822 gg.* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 184-86. This may indeed be true in the case of Destunis, but the files in the Destunis collection which I examined did not mention his membership in or involvement with the Philiki Etaireia. Arsh, with access to a broader range of archival materials, is in a better position to make this connection between Destunis and the conspiratorial society.

19. The phrase "vulgar rabble" expressed Spyridon's scorn and derision for the Turkish common people. Francis Werry, the English consul, echoed this sentiment in his description of Turkish crowds in Smyrna as "the lower orders," a term which he also applied to the Greeks (Werry, pp. 320-21, 324). From the context in which Werry used this phrase, it is clear that "lower orders" not only identified the ranking of Turkish and Greek commoners in the local social structure but also carried pejorative connotations regarding their character.

Destunis and Werry shared a common image of the Turks, prevalent in both Russia and the West, as Asiatic, barbaric, and backward. Destunis's Smyrna diary before 1821 (OR, GPB, *fond* 250, *delo* 55) and several other of his manuscripts (*dela* 60, 81, 89) contain unflattering comments associating the Turks with fanaticism, intolerance, ignorance, and fatalism. The Ottoman Empire, Destunis often wrote, was characterized by despotic government, the absence of enlightenment, and religious discrimination. For a good introduction to European and Christian attitudes toward the Turks, see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), and Norman Daniel, *Islam, Europe, and Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966).

20. David was the French consul. Gavriil Destunis, in his note for this entry, wrote that his father spoke highly of David and called him a man of noble character. Spyridon's favorable view of the French consul was no doubt reinforced by the latter's assistance in the safe departure of the Destunis family and the Russian consular staff from Smyrna in late July 1821.

21. Instead of a written guarantee for the safety of European subjects in Smyrna, local authorities appointed additional patrols to preserve order. The refusal to issue such a guarantee stemmed from the sultan's decree ordering the punishment of all those guilty of conspiracy and rebellion. Werry reported to the

Levant Company on 31 March/11 April that the local government, in augmenting the guards of the town, "improperly admitted a number of vagabond Candiots [Turks from Crete] and others" who subsequently contributed to disorder instead of order. (Werry, p. 318.)

22. The phrase "the following days" indicates this is another entry which Spyridon wrote several days after the alarm prompted by the accidental shot of 31 March (o.s.).

Werry's reports also described Greek migration to the shore. "The lower orders, and I am ashamed to say many of the higher but equally as weak, have embarked and gone to the Islands. This emigration we endeavor to check by refusing to Ionian vessels passports and clearance under seven days previous notice. Most of the emigrants have left nothing but their debts in the place." (report of 6/18 April, Werry, p. 320.) A few weeks later, Werry wrote that "the emigration of the Greek inhabitants, or rather precipitate flight of vast numbers of them for their personal safety from this place, has left a vacuum generally felt by all. Trade, of course, has become entirely paralyzed for the moment. But I expect when the panic which has seized them subsides and they learn the forbearance of the Turks, they will return to procure that subsistence which can only be found in this place by persons of their description." (report of 21 April/3 May, Werry, p. 321.)

23. The news from Constantinople which increased the sense of alarm was the execution without trial of several prominent Greeks accused of involvement in the revolt. For example, the *dragoman* (interpreter) of the Porte, Konstantinos Mourouzis, was executed on the same day that the patriarch issued the encyclical denouncing the rebellion.

24. The anonymous Italian diary, according to Gavriil Destunis, identified Gabriel as a supernumerary *dragoman* of the Russian consulate. His family name was Gabriel di Say.

25. Gavriil Destunis found more information about this incident in the Italian diary. The Russian consulate received news that a war between Russia and Turkey was imminent and that a decision had been made on 31 March (o.s.) ordering local Ottoman authorities to seize the consulate, detain the consul, and take whatever was found in the consulate building. The first or senior *dragoman* of the consulate, Paparigopulo, sent official papers and personal items to a French ship in port. The *musseleim* later assured Paparigopulo that he had received no such news about a break in Russo-Turkish relations.

26. The courier, Gavriil Destunis noted, carried dispatches from the Russian consulate reassuring those who fled that rumors of imminent war between Russia and Turkey were false.

27. Gavriil Destunis commented that in view of this government order, the Greeks of Smyrna now faced a serious dilemma. Unarmed Greeks who remained in the city were severely beaten by "armed Turkish riff-raff [*svoloch'*]," while those who tried to leave were subject to capital punishment. (OR, GPB, *fond 250, delo 57, list 14.*)

28. According to Gavriil, his father and the anonymous diarist shared the view that the English were not the only ones inciting Turkish hostility against Greeks and Russians. Local Jews and Catholics were also accused of sowing seeds of discord between Muslims and Orthodox Christians, an obvious reference

to inter-communal tension between non-Muslim peoples in urban centers of the Ottoman Empire during its political decline. Travel literature on the Levant during the nineteenth century often mentioned the antagonism between Greeks and Jews in Constantinople, between Orthodox and Uniate Christians in Aleppo, and between Orthodox Greeks and Catholics in Smyrna.

29. These were Easter matins. Orthodox Easter Sunday in 1821 was on 10/22 April.

30. Gavriil Destunis added this revealing note regarding his father's decision not to attend church: "In order to understand why the Russian consul did not think it was appropriate to attend church in Smyrna on this day, it is necessary to remember that public opinion in the East did not refrain from attributing the entire Greek movement to the secret initiative of the Russian government, notwithstanding all its assurances to the contrary." (OR, GPB, *fond 250, delo 57, list 15.*)

31. It is indeed odd that Spyridon did not write in his diary from 10 April to 7 May (o.s.), especially in view of the public hanging of Patriarch Grigorios V on Easter Sunday in Constantinople. Despite his encyclical condemning Ypsilantis, the patriarch was still guilty in the sultan's eyes of failing to perform his basic duty as head of the Orthodox *millet*, namely, to ensure Greek obedience and submission to Ottoman rule. Adding insult to injury, Ottoman authorities left the corpse hanging for three days, after which they ordered members of the Jewish community to remove the body, drag it through the streets, and toss it into the sea. The corpse was retrieved by an Ionian Greek merchant vessel which sailed to Odessa, where the patriarch received a ceremonial funeral befitting his high status in the Orthodox church. On the executions of the patriarch and numerous Phanariot Greeks, see Reverend Robert Walsh, *A Residence at Constantinople*, 1, pp. 306-23.

The death of the patriarch, more than any single event, sanctified the cause of Greek independence not only for Greeks but also for many Eastern Orthodox believers, especially in Russia. It also inflamed anti-Turkish feeling in the Morea and archipelago, as noted by Werry in his report of 21 April/3 May: "The execution and indignity shown to the Greek Patriarch's corpse, and the continual decapitation and execution of great numbers of Greeks in the capital, will certainly create the strongest sensation in the insurgents in the Morea, and lead to a retaliation on those Turks who are in their possession." (Werry, p. 321.) His report of 22 April/4 May made another reference to the impact of the patriarch's fate: "The impression which the death of the Greek Patriarch made on all the ranks of the Greeks destroyed the confidence we hoped was reviving. Emigration has again begun....Such is the panic which has possessed them they give up all for lost." (Werry, p. 322.) During a five-day period between May 12-17 (n.s.), according to Werry's report of 5/17 May, "killing has been the order of the day and night too, the inhabitants of this place and the villages flying where they could for protection." The same report stated that Greeks "have without mercy indiscriminately cut the throats or otherwise destroyed all the unfortunate Mussulmen that have fallen into their power—so sure do they make themselves of ultimately securing their independence and liberty." (Werry, pp. 323-24.)

During this lengthy interval of silence by Spyridon Destunis, the Italian diary recounted several incidents verifying Werry's description of an escalating crisis in Smyrna. Gavriil Destunis briefly summarized these episodes, thus con-

tributing to our picture of the local government's failure to maintain law, order, and security: OR, GPB, *fond 250, delo 57, list 16*.

32. This tone of despair also emerges from Destunis's Smyrna diary for the period 1819-21 (*delo 55*). It contains numerous references to obstacles and difficulties he encountered, such as the outbreak of plague, a chronic problem in Smyrna and other Near Eastern ports. In the same document, Destunis bemoaned the approach of his two-year anniversary in Smyrna because it marked "the most disorderly and unpleasant period of my life." His personal ordeal in what he regarded as a hardship post was greatly exacerbated by the disorders of 1821 and by his growing concern for the safety of his family.

33. Spyridon was aware that "ambiguous wording" in the intercepted letters could lead to the arrest and capital punishment of those who were implicated. This is perhaps a reference to the correspondence of the Philiki Etaireia, whose members tried to disguise their revolutionary planning in cryptic and ambivalent language. If so, it would corroborate Arsh's research that Destunis, like other Russian consuls in the Near East, was directly involved in the secret society.

34. The only correct news item here was the readiness of the Ottoman fleet to attack insurgent islands. The Ypsilantis affair ended in June, at the battle of Dragatsani, after which he surrendered to Austrian authorities.

35. This was either wishful thinking or an inaccurate assessment of the situation in view of subsequent events recounted in Spyridon's diary.

36. The sultan's order was issued in response to the successful naval activities of the combined Greek fleet from the islands of Spetsae, Hydra, and Psara. These were not the only islands participating in the revolt, according to Werry's report of 30 April/May 12: "All the minor islands in the Archipelago have hoisted their new flag and swear to die or conquer under it. This is all very fine, but as they have no foreign power to assist them, no trade to support them, nor provisions to subsist for any length of time, I see this Grecian affair must end in piracy." (Werry, p. 323.)

37. This news, Gavriil Destunis noted, referred to Greek control of Athens and to the Greek victory at Gravia, not far from Zituni and Thermopylae.

38. The Ottoman government also requested foreign consuls to extradite Ottoman subjects seeking refuge in their consulates.

39. This is another reference to Spetsae, Hydra, and Psara, whose ships formed the backbone of the Greek fleet during the War of Independence. Spyridon's assessment of Ottoman naval competence is reinforced by Werry's description of a nearby Ottoman squadron: "I am under strong apprehensions for the fate of this squadron, they have a motley crew, very few sailors. The officers know nothing of the common managements of a ship. The Greeks in their flotilla have sailors, and the mass of the crews are excited by enthusiasm, hatred, and despair, calculating on their numbers to board. The season for light and moderate breezes prevails and will give the small vessels many advantages. They are collecting in a body their fleet and will, if they intend to attack the Turks, make it in a few days. Should they succeed the Turks in this place will be guilty of the greatest excesses." (report of 21 May/2 June, Werry, p. 326.)

40. These were unsubstantiated rumors.

41. Werry's account of this day confirmed Destunis's observation: "...a general and promiscuous massacre was intended. Fortunately the local authori-

ties were alert and the horrid situation was in part suspended. Fifteen were killed in the course of that night in the town" and twenty more in the environs. Because of these murders, all shops in the bazaar were shut on the following day. (Werry, p. 327.)

42. Werry's report of 21 May/2 June also made reference to the inability of the pasha to maintain law and order: "We have been several times on the brink of a massacre....We cannot calculate on personal security, all depends on chance. The pasha who has the wish and inclination to punish has not the force to protect" himself from insubordinate Turks. (Werry, p. 324.)

43. Gavriil clarified his father's comment, underscoring that disturbances in Smyrna compelled European consuls to offer refuge to persecuted *rayahs*.

44. Werry observed that the arrest of the Greek hierarch "threw the Greeks into a general consternation....The ships and boats were crammed with these unfortunates when presentiments of all the horrors attending a massacre were continually present. The place remained with a casual murder now and then" until 2/14 June. (Werry, p. 328.)

45. Gavriil corroborated his father's description by quoting from the Greek historian Trikoupis: "So much innocent blood was shed that the killings of the previous days seemed insignificant." (*Istoria tis Ellinikis Epanastaseos*, 1, p. 288.)

Werry attributed the renewed fury of the janissaries to news that Greek sailors had captured and burned a seventy-six gun Turkish ship. "The knowledge of this loss became general. It was one that I had calculated would irritate the Turks to revenge it on the innocent and defenseless Greeks of the towns. It visibly affected the Turks whose ill humour was sufficiently braced without it. The premeditated massacre was again repeated and their intentions became too visible by the murders committed daily." Werry then described what he called a "scene of horror" near the port: "Groups of Turks armed with rifles firing at all the Greeks they saw. Fortunately they are not expert riflemen, and the numbers killed in the town and on the Marine is not exactly known. It cannot be less than one hundred sixty." (report of 6/18 June, Werry, p. 328-29.)

46. Werry related the same incident of crowd violence against the local government. The officials were murdered for permitting a Russian ship to leave port. The vessel, rumored to be carrying provisions, ammunition, and recruits for the Greeks, ran aground and was forced to return to port. "But previous to her return, the mob, armed with rifles and pistols...and seconded by the janissaries," shot the three officials, cut them to pieces, and threw them into the sea, "thus committing open rebellion. Indiscriminately men and women fell into this horrid scene which continued for some hours ceasing only when none was to be found. Thus we are without any constituted government." (Werry, p. 330.)

47. In his note for this entry, Gavriil Destunis relied on the Italian diary to explain his father's move to the harbor on 4/16 June. Spyridon and his family sought refuge aboard ship after the senior *dragoman* of the consulate, Paparigopulo, informed him of the killing of the three Turkish officials. The *dragoman* conveyed the additional news that the Russian ship in customs was about to be seized and that the consul was to be held hostage after the planned assault on the consulate. Paparigopulo, who remained on shore, was equipped with

this timely information by dint of generous bribes to Turkish friends who kept him informed.

48. Werry had this to say about the communal violence: "Partial massacres must be expected. Prudence requires that we take no notice of it, lest they should say that it is not our affair." (report of 20 June/2 July, Werry, p. 334.)

49. Although Spyridon and his family lived aboard ship, the Russian consul had to go to the city for official business.

50. Werry's report to the Levant Company, written on the same day as this entry by Destunis, described the cumulative impact of communal tension and hostility: "the city, except a part of Frank Street, is wholly abandoned, shops and houses closely shut. All has the appearance of desolation." (report of 5/17 July, Werry, p. 337.)

Reverend Robert Walsh, visiting Smyrna in 1822, described one of the places near the harbor where Greeks had been massacred: "During the ferment in Smyrna the year before, nearly eight hundred unfortunate victims were dragged to this place, and assassinated in cold blood. Here, as in Constantinople, the Turks had favourite spots for taking away human life, and, as if to show their contempt, they perpetrated the deed among the carcasses of dogs and horses. Through the mouldering remains of this Golgotha, we recognized human bones mixed with those of the inferior animals, and we hastened to leave a spot rendered frightful by the atrocities committed, as it was dangerous from the foul miasma generated under a burning sun." (Walsh, *A Residence at Constantinople*, 2, pp. 44-45.)

51. Gavriil Destunis noted that eight or nine warships, including the French ships and one Dutch frigate, were anchored in the roadstead of Smyrna.

52. Nea Skala, the harbor located on the gulf south of Smyrna, was the place where Ottoman troops assembled to attack Samos. These forces, according to Werry, numbered about eighteen thousand and consisted of "demi-savage fellows from the interior" who volunteered "to partake of the spoils." They threatened to murder their own officers, who lacked the power to restrain them. (report of 21 June/2 July, Werry, p. 335.) The English consul subsequently wrote that the "absence of the Turk fleet threw despair on the hopes of the Turks who had calculated on plunder and the slaves Samos would produce." These "strangers in the Turk army" and "savage mountaineers" staged a mutiny and retreated to Nea Skala, sacking the town and killing two hundred Greeks. (report of 21 July/2 August, Werry, pp. 339-40.)

53. Spyridon Destunis was on close terms with another Ionian Greek, Count Ioannis A. Kapodistrias, tsarist foreign secretary (1815-22) and modern Greece's first elected president (1828-31). Their friendship was based on their service careers in the Russian Foreign Ministry and on their Greek national consciousness. Both men were prominent figures in the Greek community of St. Petersburg, and promoted Greek interests in Russian official and unofficial circles, as seen in their support of Greek educational endeavors in Europe, Greece, and Russia. The Destunis collection contains several files, both manuscript writings and correspondence, indicating the close relationship between Destunis and Kapodistrias. For a brief description of these particular materials, see Prousis, "The Destunis Collection," pp. 416-17, 425-26, 429.

54. Werry commented on Destunis's anti-Frank sentiment: "The obsti-



nacy of the Russian Consul and want of feeling for the welfare of the Franks is not surprising. He is a Cefaloniot and a Greek." (report of 6/18 June, Werry, p. 331). Some of Destunis's manuscripts on the Greek revolt expressed scorn and indignation toward European Christians indifferent to the plight of fellow Christians. For example, he bemoaned the fall of Mesolonghi in April 1826 "before the eyes of civilized Europe, at a time when a sacred alliance [the Holy Alliance]" was supposed to bring peace and brotherhood to all Christian nations. OR, GPB, *fond 250, delo 60, list 1*.

55. This was the date of Destunis's departure, with his family and consular staff, for the Ionian island of Kythera. Destunis wrote this final entry of the Smyrna diary after he had left. Werry's report of 5/17 August also mentioned that Destunis departed on 26 July/7 August. (Werry, p. 341.)

56. In his note discussing arrangements for the departure, Gavriil Destunis relied on a French document written by his father on Kythera in August 1821. Gavriil included this revealing section from that source: "Being an eye-witness of the bitterness of the Turkish mob against Christians and in particular against Russians, I knew that this mob was especially attentive to my activities and that it would not have been possible for me to leave Smyrna against its will, since all European [merchant] ships were inspected by government officials and janissary chiefs. My public departure could have become the signal for general alarm, the consequences of which I was not in a position to consider because for a long time the rabble of Smyrna had done whatever it pleased to control this unfortunate town and to direct the government. In order to avoid the inspection and all the inconveniences that could arise, I decided to leave on a European warship." (OR, GPB, *fond 250, delo 57, listy 36-37*.) Spyridon turned first to the commander of a Dutch frigate who more than once had expressed his willingness to assist the Russian consul. But the commander changed his mind due to rumors about the breach in relations between Russia and Turkey. Spyridon then turned to David, the French consul, whose help in this matter is recounted in the diary. The French warship *L'Arriège* transported Destunis, along with his family, consular employees, and the consulate's archive, to Kythera. Stelios Seferiadis, "I Smyrni kata tin epanastasin tou 1821. Mia mavri selis" ("Smyrna during the Revolution of 1821. A Black Page"), *Mikrasiatika Chronika*, 1 (1938):54-57, makes reference to the humanitarian efforts of David to provide shelter and transport for Greek refugees from Smyrna.