

WAS ALEXANDER YPSILANDIS STRUCK OFF THE LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY?

On the night of 21 February 1821 (OS), Alexander Ypsilandis unexpectedly changed the *Filiki Etaireia's* revolutionary plans¹ and left Kisnov in Bessarabia, where he had had his headquarters since the autumn of 1820. Accompanied by his brothers, Nicholas and George, and a few close associates, he hastened to the Russo-Turkish frontier with the intention of declaring the Greek Revolution in Iasi in Moldavia². On the evening of the next day, he crossed the River Pruth and, leading a couple of hundred horsemen from the local guard who had come to meet him, he entered the principality's capital. Late that same night, he met Prince Michael Soutsos (who was privy to the *Filiki Etaireia's* plans) and other prominent members of the secret revolutionary organisation, and they made the initial decisions about the declaration of the Revolution³.

Two days later, on 24 February, Alexander Ypsilandis issued from Iasi his celebrated proclamation, which bore the title "Fight for Faith and

1. According to the plan of war entitled "General Plan", Al. Ypsilandis had to go to Peloponnese where he was supposed to declare the outbreak of the Greek Revolution early in the spring of 1821 [see, Ioannis Philimon, *Δοκίμιον ιστορικόν περί της Ελληνικής Επανάστασεως* (Historical Essay on the Greek Revolution), Athens 1859, vol. I, pp. 49 and 82-83; Al. I. Despotopoulos, *Η απόφασις περί της Ελληνικής Επανάστασεως του 1821* (The decision regarding the outbreak of the Greek Revolution in 1821), Athens 1965, pp. 92-96 and 102-107]. The leaders of the Greek secret revolutionary organization approved of the "General Plan" during their meeting at Ismail (a small town in Bassarabia) at the beginning of October 1820.

2. Al. Ypsilandis, in his letter of February 21st, 1821 (OS) sent from Kisnov to Emmanuel Xanthos in Ismail, wrote: "I, my brothers and relatives are leaving for Iasi this evening. We'll declare the outbreak of the revolution there, God willing" [see Em. Xanthos, *Απομνημονεύματα περί της Φιλικής Εταιρείας* (Memoirs concerning the Filiki Etairia), Athens 1939², p. 142].

3. J. Rizo-Neroulos, *Histoire moderne de la Grèce depuis la chute de l'Empire d'Orient*, Genève 1828, pp. 287-289; F. H. Marshall, "Η εν έτει 1821 στρατεία του Υψηλάντου εις τας Παραδουναβίους Ηγεμονίας" (Ypsilandis' expedition in the Romanian Principalities in 1821), in *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* X (1962) 468-469,

Country!" and summoned all the Greeks to arms to throw off the Ottoman yoke⁴. The same day he sent a relatively short, but very interesting letter to the Russian Tsar Alexander I, who was in Laybach, where the members of the Holy Alliance had been meeting since the end of January in order to discuss how to quell the rebellions that had broken out in Naples and Piedmont⁵. Ypsilandis first outlined the reasons which compelled the Greeks to take up arms against the Sultan, and then went on to inform the Tsar that the Revolution had spread all over the Balkans and that no human power could stop the Greek onslaught. He finally appealed to the Tsar's philanthropic and Christian sentiments and asked him to intervene on behalf of the Christians, ending with an epigrammatic flourish: "Purgez l'Europe de ces monstres sanguinaires [i.e. the Turks], et daignez ajouter à tous les grands noms que la reconnaissance européenne Vous donne déjà celui de libérateur de la Grèce"⁶.

The Tsar's reaction, when he received the letter and learnt of the rebels' initial actions in Moldavia and Wallachia, is well known. Wishing to prove his faith in the principles and aims of the Holy Alliance (for he had, after all, been the inspiration behind it), and urged on by the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich, he officially condemned the Revolution, assured the Sultan of his own good will, and declared his decision not to interfere in the Ottoman Empire's internal problems⁷. Finally, setting aside his personal feelings towards his former aide-de-camp, he is supposed to have ordered that Ypsilandis's name be struck off the list of Russian army officers.

All this is well known to modern historians, and no-one would seem to challenge it. However, a close scrutiny of the sources gives rise, in my opinion, to various pertinent questions, particularly with regard to whether or not

4. Philimon, *Greek Revolution*, vol. II, pp. 79-82. See also, *Μονόφυλλα του Αγώνος. Προκηρύξεις-Θεσπίσματα, 1821-1827* (Leaflets published during the Greek Revolution: Proclamations-Decrees, 1821-1827), Introduction by I. K. Mazarakis-Ainian, Athens 1973, vol. I, no 5.

5. J. A. R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question*, Oxford 1951⁴, pp. 194-5; Ed. Driault et M. Lhéritier, *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce de 1821, à nos jours*, Paris, 1925, t. I, pp. 129-131; P. V. Petridis, *Η διπλωματική δράσις του Ιωάννου Καποδίστρια υπέρ των Ελλήνων* (John Kapodistrias' diplomatic activity concerning the Greeks) (1814-1831), Thessaloniki 1974, pp. 129-131.

6. A. F. Prokesch-Osten, *Geschichte des Abfalls des Griechen vom Türkischen Reiche im Jahre 1821*, Wien 1867, vol. III, pp. 61-62.

7. See the "instructions" sent by Ioannis Kapodistrias on March 14/26, 1821 from Laybach to the Russian ambassador in Constantinople, Baron G.A. Stroganoff (*Ibidem*, pp. 68-70).

Ypsilandis's name actually was struck off the army list.

The matter is first mentioned by the first historian to write about the *Filiki Etaireia* and the Greek War of Independence, Ioannis Filimon. Referring to the Tsar's reaction to the declaration of the Revolution at Iasi, Filimon states that an "imperial decree" was issued at Laybach and that the first of its four sections ran as follows: "Prince Alexander Ypsilandis *is struck off* [my italics] the roster of the Russian military service"⁸. In an attempt to explain the Tsar's action, Filimon observes: "Since Ypsilandis had left the ranks of the army without first submitting his resignation and having it accepted, and since he had used his leave for a purpose other than the balneotherapy for which it had been issued⁹, and declared himself leader of a revolution, it was a natural consequence that he be struck off the roster"¹⁰.

Professor Apostolos Daskalakis republished the same "decree" about 100 years later, making a few merely linguistic changes to the text of it. According to his version, the first section was as follows: "Prince Alexander Ypsilandis *is dismissed* [my italics] from the service of Russia"¹¹.

Apart from the two mentioned above, most of the other historians who have dealt with the Greek War of Independence of 1821 also accept that Ypsilandis was struck off the list of Russian army officers by decree of the Tsar¹². Very recently, in fact, two Greek and one Soviet historians have

8. In the remaining three articles of the "Imperial decree" the Tsar: a) Disapproved of the Greek Revolution, b) Ordered general Wittgenstein, commander of the Russian army posted at the Russian-Turkish border, to continue with "strict neutrality" during the Greek-Turkish conflict and c) Announced to the Ottoman government that he would respect all the treaties signed by the two sovereigns in the past.

9. I deal with Al. Ypsilandis' "leave for balneotherapy" analytically later on.

10. Philimon, *Greek Revolution*, vol. II, p. 128.

11. A. Daskalakis, *Κείμενα-Πηγαι της ιστορίας της Ελληνικής Επανάστασεως* (Texts-Sources concerning the history of the Greek Revolution), Athens 1966, vol. I, p. 135. The above mentioned text, with few changes, was also published by D. Kokkinos in his voluminous work entitled *Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Επανάστασεως* (History of the Greek Revolution), Athens 1967 (vol. I, p. 107).

12. G. G. Gervinus, *Ιστορία της επαναστάσεως και αναγενήσεως της Ελλάδος* (History of the Greek Revolution and the regeneration of Greece). Transl. by I. H. Pervanoglou. Athens 1864, vol. I, p. 222; A. F. Prokesch-Osten, *Ιστορία της επαναστάσεως των Ελλήνων κατά του Οθωμανικού Κράτους εν έτει 1821* (History of the Revolution of Greeks against the Ottoman Empire in 1821). Transl. by G. G. Antoniadis, Athens 1868, vol. I, p. 35; K. Mendelson-Bartholdy, *Ιστορία της Ελλάδος από της υπό των Τούρκων αλώσεως της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μέχρι των καθ' ημάς χρόνων* (History of Greece from the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans till now). Transl. by M. I. Papparrigopoulos, Athens 1872, p. 226; Th. Gordon, *Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Επανάστασεως* (History of the Greek Revolution).

repeated this view, though they make no mention of the “imperial decree”. Professor Apostolos Vacalopoulos discusses John Capodistria’s letter of 14/26 March 1821 to Alexander Ypsilandis (which we shall look at below) and observes that “Alexander [Ypsilandis] and his brothers *were cashiered* [my italics] from the ranks of the army”¹³. In a study devoted to Ypsilandis, the Greek historian Georgios Kamarados-Vyzandios avers that the Tsar “dismissed him from the ranks of the Russian army” because “he considered him to be a rebel and a deserter”¹⁴. Finally, in a very recent study, the eminent Soviet scholar of that period, G. L. Arš, notes in this respect: “The Ypsilanti brothers *were discharged* [my italics] from the Russian service”¹⁵.

A careful examination of the above mentioned sources allows me to observe that: 1) The two Greek historians who publish the “imperial decree” neither mention the source in which they found the original text of the decree (the text they themselves publish, although they do not say so, is obviously a Greek translation), nor do they state its precise date of issue; and 2) Those historians who maintain that the Tsar punished Ypsilandis by striking him off the list of Russian army officers employ widely differing terms for one and the same action. Their indiscriminate use of such expressions as “struck off”, “dismissed”, “cashiered” makes one wonder, for there is a considerable difference between them.

What has been outlined above gives rise, in my opinion, to two pertinent questions: 1) Did the Tsar really issue an imperial decree at Laybach striking Major -General Alexander Ypsilandis off the list of Russian army officers? and 2) What was the precise penalty imposed upon Alexander Ypsilandis? Was he simply “dismissed” from the Russian military service, “struck off” the list of Russian officers, or, much more shamefully, “cashiered”?

As far as the “imperial decree” is concerned, the earliest information is to be found in Ilias Foteinos’s work on the aspects of the 1821 Revolution in Wallachia. He relates that, in an attempt to disunite the Greek and Romanian revolutionary forces that were active in Wallachia, Udritzky, the Austrian

Transl. by Frixos-Vrahas, Athens 1976, vol. I, p. 36; K. Paparrigopoulos, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* (History of the Greek Nation), 7th ed., Athens s.a., vol. V, p. 541.

13. A. Vacalopoulos, *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού*, τόμ. Ε': *Η Μεγάλη Ελληνική Επανάσταση* (History of the New Hellenism, vol. V: The Greek Revolution), Thessaloniki 1980, p. 224.

14. G. Kamarados-Vyzandios, *Η αλήθεια για τον Αλέξανδρο Υψηλάντη* (The truth about Alexander Ypsilandis), Athens 1984, p. 190.

15. G. L. Arš, “On the life in Russia of the Greek patriotic family of Ypsilanti”, in *Balkan Studies* XXVI (1985) 87.

Deputy Consul in Bucharest, notified the leader of the Romanian insurgents, Theodore Vladimirescu, of the content of two issues of the Viennese Greek-language newspaper, *Ellinikós Tilégrafos* (Greek Telegraph), in which the Tsar's condemnation of the Greek Revolution was discussed. The second issue contained the full text of the "decree" which, according to Filimon and Daskalakis, the Tsar had issued at Laybach. Foteinos republishes the text verbatim from the *Ellinikós Tilégrafos*, but at no point does he refer to it as an "imperial decree"¹⁶.

Much more specific information is to be had from the Romanian historian Andrei Oțetea's study of the 1821 Revolution in the Romanian principalities. With reference to the Tsar's reaction on hearing that the Greek Revolution had been declared at Iasi, Oțetea notes: "But the Tsar did not content himself with this censure, which was directed exclusively at Ypsilantis himself. At the Austrian government's request, he published in Metternich's official organ, the *Österreichischer Beobachter*, on 17/29 March and in Vienna's Greek newspaper the following communiqué, which was also printed in *The Times* of London on 11 April 1821"¹⁷. Oțetea then goes on to give, in Romanian translation, the full text of the communiqué, which is virtually identical to the text of what Filimon and Daskalakis call the "imperial decree".

Taking all the above information as my starting-point, I looked up the newspapers in which the Tsar's communiqué was printed. Issue No 89 of the *Österreichischer Beobachter*, dated 30 (and not 29) March 1821 (NS), contains the following article: "Zu gleicher Zeit wendete sich der Fürst Ypsilanti mit einer in ähnlichem Styl gefassten Bittschrift an S^e Maj. den Kaiser von Russland, und forderte diesen erhabenen Monarchen auf, der griechischen Nation, insbesondere aber den zunächst in grosser Gafahr schwebenden beiden Fürstenthümern, Seinen vielvermögenden Beistand nicht zu versagen.

Gleich nach Ankunft vorstehender Nachrichten zu Laibach, haben S^e Maj. der Kaiser Alexander zu erklären geruht, dass Allerhöchstdieselben die Unternehmung des Fürsten Ypsilanti nur als eine Wirkung des unruhigen Geistes, der die jetzige Zeit charakterisiert, so wie der Unerfahrenheit und des Leichtsinns dieses jungen Mannes betrachten könnte. Zugleich aber haben S^e Maj. der Kaiserl. Majestät Folgendes angeordnet:

1) Der Fürst Alexander Ypsilanti ist vom russischen Dienst ausgeschlossen.

16. E. Photeinos, *Οι άθλοι της εν Βλαχία Ελληνικής Επαναστάσεως το 1821 έτος* (The heroic events of the Greek Revolution of 1821 in Wallachia), Leipzig 1846, pp. 66-67.

17. A. Oțetea, *Tudor Vladimirescu și revoluția din 1821* (Theodore Vladimirescu and the revolution of 1821), Bucharest 1971, pp. 298-9.

2) Es wird ihm angedeutet, dass S^e Maj. der Kaiser sein Unternehmen durchaus missbilligt, und dass er dabei niemals auf irgend eine Hülfe von Seite Russlands zu rechnen hat.

3) Es ergeht an den commandirenden General der russischen Truppen am Pruth und in Bessarabien, Grafen v. Wittgenstein, der bestimmte Befehl, bei den in den Fürstenthümern Moldau und Wallachen ausgebrochenen Unruhen die strengste Neutralität zu beobachten, und unter keinerlei Vorwände, weder unmittelbar noch mittelbar daran Theil zu nehmen.

4) Diese Beschlüsse werden dem russischen Besandten zu Konstantinopel mitgetheilt, mit dem Befehl, die Pforte davon zu benachrichtigen, und die derselben bei Gelegenheit des neulichen Aufstandes in der Wallachen ertheilten offenen und lonalen Versicherungen abermals zu bekräftigen; Der Baron v. Strogonoff soll ausdrücklich erklären, dass die Politik S^r Maj. des Kaisers allen und jeden Umtrieben, welche die Ruhe irgend eines Landes bedrohen könnten, ein für alle Mal fremd ist; das jede Theilnahme an der dergleichen Bewegungen mit den rechtlichen Grundsässen S^r Kaiserl. Majestät im Widerspruche stehen würde, und dass der Kaiser in seinen Verhältnissen mit der Pforte keinen anderen Zweck und keinen anderen Wunsch kennt, als den der Aufrechthaltung und pünctlichen Vollziehung der zwischen beiden Mächten bestehenden Verträge¹⁸.

On the same day, issue No 26 of the *Ellinikós Tilégrafos* also contained the full text of the Tsar's communiqué;¹⁹ while some days later (on April 11th 1821) with reference to events in Moldavia and Wallachia, *The Times* likewise printed a translation taken from the *Österreichischer Beobachter*. The introduction and first section ran as follows: "As soon as the preceding intelligence was received at Laybach, the Emperor Alexander was pleased to declare that he could consider the undertaking of Prince Ypsilanti only as an effort of the unquiet spirit which characterizes the present times, as well as of the inexperience and levity of that young man; but at the same time His Majesty has resolved as follows:—Ist. Prince Ypsilanti *is excluded* [my italics] from the Russian service"²⁰.

It will have become quite clear by now that when he learnt of the declaration of the Greek Revolution at Iasi, Tsar Alexander did not, in fact, issue an "imperial decree", as certain historians have maintained. He gave out a simple communiqué, which "excluded" Alexander Ypsilanti "from the Russian ser-

18. See plate no 1.

19. See plate no 2.

20. See plate no 3-4.

vice". This is further reinforced by the fact that the valuable series of documents of nineteenth-century Tsarist foreign policy published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences contains no imperial decree even vaguely resembling the one the Tsar is supposed to have issued at Laybach in March 1821. Moreover, in the plentiful diplomatic correspondence published in the volume covering the period March 1821-December 1822, no reference whatsoever is made to the issue of an imperial decree concerning the events in Moldavia and Wallachia²¹.

The second question which concerns us here is whether Alexander Ypsilandis was "dismissed from the Russian service", "struck off the list of Russian officers", or "cashiered" from the rank of major-general in the Russian army.

His "striking off" the list of Russian officers is first mentioned by one of the Tsar's Ministers for Foreign Affairs, John Capodistria. On 14/26 March 1821, his instructions to the Russian Ambassador to Constantinople, Baron G. A. Stroganov, mentioned *inter alia* that: "Le Prince Ypsilanti ... *a été rayé* [my italics] de la liste des officiers russes"²². A few days later, on 30 March (NS), the Tsar's second Minister for Foreign Affairs, K. V. Nessel'rode sent a circular to the Russian diplomatic services, in which he mentioned the events in Moldavia and Wallachia and Russia's official position with regard to the Greek Revolution, and noted that Alexander Ypsilandis "est rayé des contrôles de l'armée avec défense de jamais rentrer en Russie"²³.

The problem is that the view expressed by the Tsar's two Foreign Ministers blatantly contradicts the imperial communiqué of 30 March 1821 (NS), which latter must unquestionably be considered to carry more weight than the two documents quoted above. According to the communiqué, the Tsar did not strike Ypsilandis off the list of Russian officers, but merely "excluded" him "from the Russian service": the German text published in the *Österreichischer Beobachter* and the English translation published in *The Times* are perfectly clear on this point. But in the *Ellinikós Tilégrafos* the words "ist vom russischen Dienst ausgeschlossen" are quite arbitrarily translated as "καθαιρείται ἀπὸ τὴν Ῥωσσικὴν δούλευσιν" (is cashiered from the Russian service), thus putting a different complexion on the whole affair and causing historians (particularly Greeks) unprecedented confusion.

21. *Vnešnjaia politika Rossii XIX i načala XX veka* (Russian foreign policy during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century), Moscow: ed. Nauka, 1980, vol. IV (XII), pp. 70 et seq.

22. A. F. Prokesch-Osten, *Geschichte des Abfalls...*, vol. III, p. 69.

23. *Vnešnjaia politika Rossii...*, vol. IV (XII), p. 70.

In view of all that has been said above, I am compelled to suppose that both Capodistria and Nessel'rode either put their own interpretation on the first section of the imperial communiqué, or, probably in order to create more of an impression, considered it expedient to 'upgrade' the penalty the Tsar had personally imposed on the former major-general of the Russian army and subsequent leader of the rebelling Greeks. However, since it would nonetheless be reasonable for some doubts still to remain concerning Ypsilandis's dismissal, let us look in detail at the actual events in chronological order.

On 12 April 1820, as we know, Alexander Ypsilandis was officially elected "Commissary General" of the *Filiki Etaireia*²⁴. Recent investigations by Arš have shown that at that time he bore the rank of major-general of the Russian army and was "Commander of the First Brigade of the First Division of Hussars"²⁵. When he became leader of the Greek secret revolutionary organisation, he was apparently ready to resign his commission, but at Capodistria's instigation he refrained from doing so²⁶. What he did do, though, was to withdraw from active service, seeking—and obtaining—two years' sick leave on the pretext of needing to travel abroad for balneotherapy²⁷. His resignation from active service is confirmed by: 1) John Capodistria, who notes in his autobiography: "In the winter of 1820, Prince Ypsilandis sought and was granted his retirement from active service and sick leave outside Russia"²⁸; and 2) the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, K. V. Nessel'rode, who, writing to the Russian diplomatic services on 30 March 1821 (NS), notes: "Le Prince Alexandre Ypsilanti, général major russe, mais hors d'activité de service depuis un an pour cause de santé..."²⁹.

To sum up: in spring 1820, Alexander Ypsilandis became leader of the *Filiki Etaireia* and for this reason resigned from active military service on the pretext of needing to travel abroad for reasons of health. As I see it, this means that he asked (and his request was granted) to be relieved of his duties as commander of his military unit; which was quite natural, in view of the fact that his forthcoming long absence would necessitate his being replaced. This

24. Philimon, *Greek Revolution*, vol. I, p. 33.

25. G. L. Arš, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

26. G. G. Gervinus, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 147; K. Mendelson-Bartholdy, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

27. G. L. Arš, *op. cit.*, p. 86 (In this study is published for the first time Al. Ypsilandis' passport issued by the Russian Imperial authorities on June 23rd, 1820 "for treatment abroad with mineral waters until the healing of his wounds").

28. *Αρχείον Ιωάννου Καποδίστρια* (Ioannis Kapodistrias' Archive), Corfu 1976, vol. I, p. 61.

29. *Vnešnjaia politika Rossii...*, vol. IV (XII), p. 70.

does not mean, however, that he lost his rank of major-general in the Russian army; he retained it, evidently in order to preserve the kudos it brought him in the eyes of the members of the *Filiki Etaireia* and the Greeks as a whole.

Ypsilandis officially resigned from the rank of major-general on 24 February 1821 (OS) in the letter he sent the Tsar immediately after the Greek Revolution had been declared at Iasi. At the end of the letter, he wrote: “Moi et mes frères nous demandons très humblement *notre démission* [my italics] du service de V[otre] M[ajesté] I[mpériale]”³⁰. Their joint resignation was accepted in a letter Capodistrias sent to Al. Ypsilandis on 14/26 March 1821 at the Tsar’s command. The relevant sentence runs as follows: “Vous n’êtes plus ni Vous ni Vos frères au service de S. M. Impériale”³¹. A. S. Sturdza independently confirms the acceptance of Ypsilandis’s resignation in a letter he sent to Capodistria on 2/24 April 1821, in which he wrote *inter alia*: “J’apprends avec une surprise mêlée d’émotion de joie et d’inquiétude que le Prince Alexandre Ypsilanti a levé l’étendard de la délivrance de la Grèce ... que sa démission du service de l’empereur lui a été accordée”³².

Consequently, when Tsar Alexander issued the communiqué published in the *Österreichischer Beobachter* on 30 March 1821 (NS) and “excluded” Ypsilandis “from the Russian service”, the latter was no longer a member of it, neither in practice nor even officially, having submitted his resignation on 24 February (OS) and the Tsar having accepted it on 14/26 March—no less than four days before the communiqué was published.

The next pertinent question, then, is: What was the point of the Tsar’s “excluding” Ypsilandis from the Russian service at all, and particularly by the unorthodox means of publishing an “imperial communiqué” in the official organ of the Austrian government?

One thing that I personally believe should be ruled out right from the start is the suggestion that the Tsar was trying to diminish Ypsilandis as an individual. There are two main reasons for this: 1) Ypsilandis had already resigned from the Russian military service both in practice and by formal request, and consequently to “dismiss” him, at least as far as he himself was concerned, was quite meaningless; and 2) In becoming leader of the *Filiki Etaireia* and, after the Revolution had been declared, commander-in-chief of all the rebelling Greeks, Ypsilandis had acquired a special place in both

30. A. F. Prokesch-Osten, *Geschichte des Abfalls...*, vol. III, p. 62.

31. *Ibidem*, p. 67.

32. *Vnešnjaja politika Rossii...*, vol. IV (XII), p. 94.

Greek and European history³³. It would therefore be illogical to suppose that he might see the ending of his military career in Russia as a humiliation or an outrage to his personal honour and dignity.

Clearly the Tsar's action was not aimed against Ypsilandis as an individual. In "excluding" his former major-general and the present commander-in-chief of the rebelling Greeks "from the Russian service", his purpose was threefold: 1) To appease the Ottoman government by reassuring it in this way that Ypsilandis had acted without his consent³⁴, 2) To impress his fellow members of the Holy Alliance, who, justifiably or not, had been worried that Ypsilandis might have declared the Revolution with the Tsar's blessing³⁵, and 3) To convince European public opinion—which had enthusiastically hailed the Greeks' decision to cast off the Ottoman yoke—that Russia considered the Revolution to be unlawful and its leader a common renegade.

The Tsar's last, and most important aim was to deny Ypsilandis the kudos he gained amongst the Greeks and other Christians of the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire from his rank of Russian major-general. All these people, who were being called upon to rise against the Sultan, had therefore to be convinced that Russia was not about to support the Greek Revolution, even if its leader was a former officer of the Russian army and quondam aide-de-camp of the Tsar. So, apart from formally condemning the Revolution, the Tsar also wanted to reduce its leader's importance, which he tried to do by "dismissing" Ypsilandis from the Russian service—despite the fact that the latter, as an honourable soldier, had had the grace to resign his commission beforehand.

This hypothesis of mine is supported by three factors: 1) The fact that Austrian censorship required Vienna's Greek-language newspaper, the *Ellin-*

33. The well known Russian poet Alexander Pushkin, in a letter addressed to his friend Davidov in the beginning of March 1821, wrote about Al. Ypsilandis: "And dead or a conqueror, from now on he belongs to history...An enviable lot" [see M. Th. Lascaris, "Ο Πούσκιν και η Ελληνική Επανάσταση;" (Pushkin and the Greek Revolution), in *Néa Eortía XXI* (1937) 488 and J. Farsolas, "Alexander Pushkin: His attitude towards the Greek Revolution, 1821-1829", in *Balkan Studies XII* (1971) 64].

34. However, the Ottoman government was not sufficiently satisfied by the Tsar's measures, because "they expected...Al. Ypsilandis to be cashiered as a rebell and not to be simply struck off the records of the Russian military service" (G. G. Gervinus, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 222).

35. Al. Ypsilandis, in his proclamation issued in Iasi on February 24, 1821 (OS) (see note 4), referred to a "great power" ready "to protect the rights of the Greek people". That led the Europeans to suspect that Russia was ready to help the revolted Greeks (Philimon, *Greek Revolution*, vol. II, pp. 80 and 84).

nikós Tilégrafos, to publish the Tsar's communiqué on the same day as the *Österreichischer Beobachter*³⁶; [Furthermore, Austrian censorship was probably to blame, in my opinion, for the fact that the German "ist ausgeschlossen" was mistranslated into Greek as "καθαιρείται" (is cashiered)]; 2) The wide dissemination of the Tsar's communiqué, through the efforts of the Russian³⁷ and Austrian³⁸ diplomatic services; and 3) The negative effect on the political and military leadership, all the Greek, Romanian, Serbian, and Bulgarian fighters, and the people of the two Romanian principalities, of the announcement of the Tsar's decision to "exclude" Ypsilandis "from the Russian service"³⁹.

From all that has been said in this study, three main conclusions emerge: 1) Immediately after the Greek Revolution had been declared at Iasi, Alexander Ypsilandis officially resigned from Russian military service on 24 February 1821 (OS), though he had in fact retired a year before, on becoming leader of the *Filiki Etaireia*, and had sought, and been granted, two years' sick leave abroad; 2) Although Ypsilandis's resignation had been accepted on 14/26 March 1821 in a letter from Capodistria by order of the Tsar, for purely political reasons the latter issued an "imperial communiqué", which was published in the Viennese *Österreichischer Beobachter* on 30 March 1821 (NS) and "excluded" the leader of the rebelling Greeks "from the Russian service"; and 3) At no time did the Tsar issue an "imperial decree" by which Alexander Ypsilandis was "struck off the list of officers of the Russian army" or "cashiered".

36. Demetrios Alexandridis, the editor of the Greek gazette *Ελληνικός Τηλέγραφος*, after the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, was forced to obey "the instructions" of Metternich's censorship; otherwise the Austrian authorities would definitely close his gazette down [see G. Laios, *Ο ελληνικός τύπος της Βιέννης από του 1784 μέχρι του 1821* (The Greek press of Vienna, 1784-1821), Athens 1961, p. 91; N. E. Skiadas, *Χρονικό της ελληνικής τυπογραφίας* (Chronicle of the Greek Press), vol. I: 1476-1828, Athens 1976, p. 143].

37. See K. V. Nessel'rode's circular of March 18/30, 1821 addressed to the Russian diplomatic authorities. In this circular the Russian Foreign Minister annexed the issue no 89 of the *Osterreichischer Beobachter* [*Vnešnjaja politika Rossii...*, vol. IV (XII), pp. 70-71].

38. See the report of April 16, 1821 (NS) sent to Metternich by Fleischhackl von Hakenau, the Austrian consul in Wallachia [*Documente privind istoria României. Colecția E. Hurmuzaki. Serie nouă, vol. II: Rapoarte consulare austriece (1812-1823)* (Documents concerning the Romanian history. New series, vol. II: Austrian consular reports, 1812-1823), Bucharest 1967, pp. 667-8]. See also A. Oțetea, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

39. E. Photeinos, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Philimon, *Greek Revolution*, vol. II, pp. 128-129; K. Mendelson-Bartholdy, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-6; A. Oțetea, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-330 and 344.

N^{ro}. 89

Oesterreichischer Beobachter.

Freitag, den 30. März 1821.

Meteorologische Beobachtungen	Zeit der Beobachtung.	Therm. nach Reaumur.	Barometere.	Wind.	Witterung.
8. März 1821.	8 Uhr Morgens	+ 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Grad.	28 B. 1 L. 10 P.	SE. schwach.	frül.
	3 Uhr Nachmittags	+ 9 Grad.	28 B. 1 L. 4 P.	SE. mittel.	—
	10 Uhr Abends	+ 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ Grad.	28 B. 1 L. 0 P.	SE. schwach.	Eisig.

„Gleich nach Ankunft vorstehender Nachrichten zu Gaibach, haben S^r. Maj. der Kaiser Alexander zu erklären geruht, daß Allerhöchstdieselben die Unternehmung des Fürsten Ipsilanti nur als eine Wirkung des unruhigen Geistes, der die jetzige Zeit charakterisirt, so wie der Unerfahrenheit und des Leichtsinns dieses jungen Mannes betrachten könnte. Zugleich aber haben S^r. kaisersl. Majestät Folgendes angeordnet:“

„1) Der Fürst Alexander Ipsilanti ist vom russischen Dienst ausgeschlossen.“

„2) Es wird ihm angedeutet, daß S^r. Maj. der Kaiser sein Unternehmen durchaus mißbilligt, und daß er dabei niemals auf irgend eine Hilfe von Seite Rußlands zu rechnen hat.“

„3) Es ergeht an den commandirenden General der russischen Truppen am Pruth und in Bessarabien, Grafen v. Wittgenstein, der bestimmte Befehl, bei den in den Fürstenthümern Moldau und Wallachen ausgebrochenen Unruhen die strengste Neutralität zu beobachten, und unter keinerlei Vorwände, weder unmittelbar noch mittelbar daran Theil zu nehmen.“

„4) Diese Beschlüsse werden dem russischen Gesandten zu Konstantinopel mitgetheilt, mit dem Befehl, die Pferte davon zu benachrichtigen, und die derselben bei Gelegenheit des neulichen Aufstandes in der Wallachen ertheilten offenen und sonalen Versicherungen abermals zu bekräftigen; der Baron v. Strogonoff soll ausdrücklich erklären, daß die Politik S^r. Maj. des Kaisers allen und jeden Umtrieben, welche die Ruhe irgend eines Landes bedrohen könnten, ein für alle Mal fremd ist; daß jede Theilnahme an dergleichen Bewegungen mit den rechtlichen Grundsätzen S^r. kaisersl. Majestät im Widerspruch stehen würde, und daß der Kaiser in seinen Verhältnissen mit der Pferte keinen andern Zweck und keinen andern Wunsch kennt, als den der Aufrechterhaltung und väterlichen Vollziehung der zwischen beiden Mächten bestehenden Verträge.“

Plate 1.

At the same time, Prince Ypsilanti addressed a petition, drawn up in the same style, to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and called upon that august Sovereign not to refuse his powerful support to the Greek nation, and particularly to the two principalities which were exposed to great danger.

“As soon as the preceding intelligence was received at Laybach, the Emperor Alexander was pleased to declare that he could consider the undertaking of Prince Ypsilanti only as an effort of the unquiet spirit which characterizes the present times, as well as of the inexperience and levity of that young man; but at the same his Majesty has resolved as follows:—

“1st. Prince Ypsilanti is excluded from the Russian service.

“2d. It is notified to him that his Majesty the Emperor entirely disapproves of his enterprise, and that he is never to expect any kind of support in it on the part of Russia.

“3d. Express orders are given to General Count Wittgenstein, commanding in chief the Russian troops on the Pruth and in Bessarabia, to observe the strictest neutrality in the troubles which have broken out in the principalities of Moldavia and Walachia, and under no pretext whatever to take any part in them, either directly or indirectly.

“4th. These resolutions are communicated to the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, with orders to communicate them to the Porte; and, to confirm the frank and open assurances given to it on occasion of the late insurrection in Walachia, Baron Von Strogonoff shall expressly declare that the policy of his Majesty is, once for all, alien to all and every intrigue which may threaten the tranquillity of any country whatever; that any participation in such commotions would be in contradiction to the upright principles of his Imperial Majesty; and that the Emperor, in his relations with the Porte, has no object and no wish but the maintenance and punctual execution of the treaties subsisting between the two powers.

“Orders have likewise been given by our Court to the imperial Austrian internuncio at Constantinople, to express himself in the same manner, and to signify to the Porte, in the most friendly terms, the sincere desire of his Majesty the Emperor, by the inviolable observance of the treaties, to preserve unshaken the relations of peace and amity now subsisting between Austria and the Sublime Porte.”



ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΣ ΤΗΛΕΓΡΑΦΟΣ

ΕΙΔΗΣΕΙΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΑ Ἀνατολικά μέρη

πολιτική, φιλολογικήτε καὶ ἔμπορικὴ ἡμερίς.

Παρεκκευῆ, τῆ

— 26 —

30. Μαρτίου 1821:

ἀδελφ καὶ πρηνεμὴ κτισσερθεσθαικῆ.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑΙ ΕΙΔΗΣΕΙΣ.

ΕΙΔΗΣΕΙΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ Κ. Β. ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ.

Ἴδου ἡ περιστατικώτερα περιγραφή τῶν νεω-
τερῶν συμβάντων πολεμικῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἐν Ἰτα-
λίᾳ, περὶ τῶν ὁποίων ἀντιφέρονται ἐν τῷ προη-
γουμένῳ ἀριθμῷ ἐν περιλήψει.

„Τῆ 15. Μαρτ. ἐπροχώρησεν ὁ ἀντιχι-
λιάρχος Entsch ἐκ τοῦ 11. λόχου τῶν Κιουρκιῶν
διὰ μέσου Tagliacozzo εἰς τὴν Σόραν, ἵνα αἱ
Ναπολιτάνοι εὐρίσκοντο 2000 τῶν ἀριθμῶν,
διοικουμένοι ἀπὸ τῶν γνωστῶν χιλιάρχων de Con-
cillia, ὅςιν κοινῶς ἐκηνοῦνται ὅτι ἔδωκε τὸ
πρῶτον σημεῖον εἰς ἀπορρασίαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
προσπερῆσαν τὴν ἑπικουρίαν Κυβερνήσεως τῆς
Ναπολεως· ὅμως δὴν ἀνταρθεῖ καλλίτερον
παρὰ τοὺς λόγους, ἐπειδὴ ἡ Σόρα ἀδείσθη με-
τὰ πολλὰ ἐλήγη ἀντίστασιν, καὶ μέγα μέρος
τῆς ἐκεῖ φρουρῆς ἔγινε αἰχμαλώτων, ὁ δὲ ἀν-
τιχιλιάρχος Entsch ἐξηκολούθησε τὴν κρατείαν
τοῦ ἀνιμπόλεως διὰ τῆς Αἰτίας.

„Ἡ φραγὴ τῆς κρατιωτικῆς μόρας Στου-
τεργόμ, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἀνήκει οὗτος ὁ ἀντι-
χιλιάρχος, ἐκοινῶν ἤδη μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Abruzzo
προχωρήσαν φάλαγγα τοῦ αντιφιλομαρσιάλου
βαρῶν Mohr, τῆς ὁποίας ἡ ἐμπροσθεφυλακὴ
ἐβόησε παρεμύτως τῆ 15. εἰς Σουλμάνου, καὶ
ἐπεβόησε τὸν ἔχθρον εἰς τὸν δρόμον πρὸς τὸ
Castel di Sangro.

„Ὁ κρατιγὸς Πέπε ἐκινήθη, καθὼς ἔδει-
ται, μετὰ τὴν παντελῆ λύσιν τοῦ κρατιωτικοῦ
σώματος, μετὰ τὴν ἴσχυριν τῶν περὶ τοῦ εἰς Νεά-
πολιν, κατ' ἄλλους δὲ, διὰ τὰ παράλια τοῦ Ἀ-
δριατικοῦ πελάγους. Ἡ καταλαβὴ αὐτῶν τύ-
χη ἔκαμε μεταξὺ τῶν ἐκ τῶν κρατιγῶν Ca-
raicosa, Filangieri καὶ Ambrosio κρατιωτῶν
μεγάλην ἐντύπωσιν.

Τούτῃ τῇ ἐπιγῆ ἠλθόμεν τὸς ἀκόλουθους
νεωτέρας εἰδήσεις.

Κ. Β. κρατιωτῶν ἐν Cerneno, τῆ 17. Μαρτ. 1821.

Ὁ ἔχθρος, ἀχρηστικός ὢν καὶ κραταπε-
δύων ἐκ πολλοῦ ἤδη καιροῦ παρὰ San Germano
ἐφαίνετο θλίβω νὰ μὴς προσμείνῃ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
θίσει· πλὴν, ἐπειδὴ διὰ τῶν παντελῶν δυσκαρ-
πισμῶν τοῦ κρατιώματος τοῦ κρατιγῶ Πέπε
εἰς τὸς Abruzzi δὴν τοῦ ἔμεινεν ἄλλο μέρος
τοῦ νὰ ἀνταρθεῖ εἰς τὴν διὰ μέσου Σουλμάνου
κατὰ πῶτον τῆς θίσεως παρὰ τῷ Garigliano
προχώρησεν τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρῶν Mohr Κ. Β.
κρατιωτικῆς φάλαγγος, ἐγκατέλειπε ταύτην τὴν
θίσειν ὄντι ἀντίστασις τινὸς, ὥς ἡ ἡμετέρα
ἐμπροσθεφυλακὴ ἐμβόηκε τῆ 17. εἰς τὸ San Ger-
mano, ἵνα ἀκολουθεῖ αὐρίων καὶ τὸ κρατίωμα
αὐτό.

Λότμπαχ, τῆ 25. Μαρτίου.

Τῆς Βιέννης ἡ αἰλιχὴ ἡμερίς περιεῖχε τῆ
29. ταύτου τὰ ἀκόλουθα εἰς τὸ ἀρῆρον τοῦ
Λότμπαχ ἀπὸ 25. Μαρτίου.

εἰς τὸ ἔργον τῆς ἐλευθερώσεως, καὶ περιγράφει τὴν ἀπορρασίαν ὅλων τῶν Γραικῶν φυλῶν ὡς μίαν ἐκ πολλῶν ἤδη ψηφισθεῖσαν καὶ προπαρασκευασθεῖσαν μὴν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀπὸ φιλοπατριδῶς μυστικῆς εἰσιρέσεως, ἥδη δὲ πανταχοῦ ὠριμάσασαν ἐπανάστασιν, βεβηθῶν ἐν αὐταῖς μετῴμιαντικῶς λόγους, ἔτι τὸ ἐπιχείρημα θελεῖ εἶχει τὴν ἐπισήρῃν καὶ δραστην σάϊπην μιᾶς μεγάλης γυιεντιουούσης δυναμείας.

Ἐν ταύτῃ ἔγραψεν ὁ πρίγγιψ Ἰψηλάντης ἀνφορὰν πρὸς τὸν μεγαλειότατον αὐτοκράτορα Ῥωσσίας, συγγεγραμμένην κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον ὄρος, προσάσων ἐν τῇ τῶν σέβαστον Μονάρχῃν ἀμὴ ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸ Γραικικὸν ἔθνος, καὶ μολίσα εἰς τὰς ἀμέσως κινδυνεύουσας μεγάλας δύο ἡγεμονίας τὴν πολυδύναμον βόρθητιαν.

Εὐθὺς ἀπὸ ἤλθον εἰς τὸ Λαίμπαχ αἱ συνωπῆσαι ἐδούλοισι, κηδόμενοι ὁ μεγαλειότατος αὐτοκράτωρ Ἄλ ἐξ ἀνόρου εὐακροῦν, ὅτι ἡ Μεγαλειότης του εὐτοῦτο εὐακροῦν τὸ ἐπιχείρημα τοῦ πρίγγιπος Ἰψηλάντου μόνον ὡς ἀποτίλημα τοῦ χωραεπὶκτοῦ τὸν παρὶντα καιρὸν φελοταρχοῦ πνεύματος, ἔτι δὲ τῆς ἀπειρίας καὶ ἐλαφροῦσας τούτου τοῦ νέου σιδρός. Ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ δέταξεν ἡ Καισαρικὴ Μεγαλιότης του τὰ ἀκόλουθα.

1) Ὁ πρίγγιψ Ἰψηλάντης καθαιρεῖται ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωστικῆς δούλειου.

2) θελεῖ τοῦ κηρυχῆ, ὅτι ἡ Μεγαλιότης του ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ κατακρίνει διόλου τὸ ἐπιχείρημα του, καὶ ὅτι κατὰ τοῦτο δὲν ἔχει πατὴ εὐακροῦν εἰς κἀμῖαν βόρθητιαν ἐκ μέρους Ῥωσσίας.

3) θελεῖ προσηχῆ ῥητῶς ὁ δικαῖων ἀρχερατήγος τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Πρωτότον καὶ ἐν Βεσσαραβίᾳ Ῥωστικῆς στρατιμῆτος, κόμη Βεττεγγενσάν, εὐακροῦν κατὰ τὰς ἐπραγίτας ἐν Μολδαυίᾳ καὶ Βλαχίᾳ ταραχῆς ἀκρῶν εὐδὲ-

περότητα, καὶ εὐακροῦν εἰς αὐτὰς ἐπὶ κἀμῖα προφάσι, οὐτ' ἀμείως οὐτ' ἐμείως.

4) Αὐταῖ αἱ ἀποφάσεις θελοῦσαι κοινωτῆ εἰς τὸν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ῥωστικῶν πρίδου, μεπροσηγὴν τοῦ εὐακροῦν εἰς αὐτῶν τὴν Ἰψηλὴν Πόρταν, καὶ εὐακροῦν εἰς αὐτῶν τὴν κατ' εὐκαίριαν τῆς νεωσὶ συμδασῆς ἐν Βλαχίᾳ δοθείσας ἐλικρικεῖς βεβηθῶσεις· ὁ δὲ βαρῶτος Στρογονόφ εὐακροῦν ῥητῶς, ὅτι ἡ πολιτικὴ τῆς Μεγαλιότητος του εἶναι δὲ πασις ξένη εἰς πῶσαν σαιτωρῆν καὶ μηχανῆς ἀποδλεπούσας ἐναντίον τῆς ἡουχίας ὀποιασθῆποτε χῶρος· ὅτι πᾶσα κοινωτῆ εἰς τοιοῦτα κηνηματα θελεῖ ἀνεμῶχεται εἰς τὰ χρησῆ καὶ τίμια φρονηματα τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς Μεγαλιότητος του, καὶ ὅτι ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ εἰς τὰς σχῆσεις του μετὰ τῆς ὑψηλῆς Πόρτας δὲν γουρῖζει ἄλλου σκοπῶν καὶ εὐχῆν· εἰμῆ τὴν διατήρησιν καὶ ἀκριβῆ ἐκτίλσαι τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν δυναμῶν συνθηκῶν.

Ἐκ δὲ μέρους τῆς ἐνταῦθα ὑψηλοτάτης αὐλῆς ἐσῆλη προσηγῆ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει πρίδου εὐακροῦν εἰς αὐτῶν τὴν ἴδιον εὐνοίαν, καὶ εὐακροῦν παρατήρη με τοὺς πλείους ἡουχαρῆτικῶς λόγους τῶν ἐλικρικῆ ζῆλου τοῦ μεγαλειότατου αὐτοκράτορος πρὸς ἀπαρῶδατον διατήρησιν τῶν μεταξὺ Αὐστρίας καὶ Πόρτας ὑπαρχουσῶν συνθηκῶν, καὶ ἐπομῶνως ἐρητικῶν καὶ φιλικῶν σχῆσεων.

Νεσπυλεις, τῆ 13. Μαρτ.

Ὁ Αὐστριακὸς Παρατηρητῆς περιεχεῖ ἰδιαιτέρων ἐκ Νεαπόλεως ἀπὸ 13. Μαρτ. γράμμα τοῦ ἐποίου ἰδοῦ ἡ περὶ αὐτῆς.

Ὁ πρίγγιψ Ραγιέντης εἰκηθῆ δια τὸ εἰσπερῆτον τοῦ Μιγνασο εὐακροῦν εἰς αὐτῶν τὴν ἐκδοσῆσιν μιᾶς ὀρηθῆς τῆς ὑποίαν ὁ Πίππ εἰσελε εὐακροῦν εἰς αὐτῶν τὸν Αὐστριακῶν εἰρητικῶν τοῦ δὲ τῶν κηκῶν ὀμως καιρῶν ἐμῶν τῆ 9.