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GREEK VOLUNTEERS FROM WALLACHIA
IN THE MILITARY CORPS «LES CHASSEURS D'ORIENT»
DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF THE FRENCH ARMY
IN DALMATIA (1808-1809)

The regional popular uprisings and the attempts for liberation of the people of South - Eastern Europe, which took place in the period before the national revolutionary movements at the beginning of the 19th century, consist, as it is well known, the main subject of a great number of special studies. Therefore, I will only insist upon a phenomenon of great importance which should be considered as another attempt aiming to the liberation of the Balkan people: the organization of the «corps of volunteers», formed by men of balkan origin who fought as part of the armies of the states neighbouring with the Ottoman Empire (mainly the Austrian and Russian Empires).

It would be unnecessary, I think, to refer here to the activities of the «corps of volunteers» formed mainly during the Russian - Turkish war of 1768-1774 and 1806-1812 and the Russian - Austrian - Turkish war of 1787-1792, because this subject has already been studied¹. On the other hand, it would be useful to examine the primary causes for the organization of these «corps», stressing the fact that the enrolment of men of Balkan origin in these «corps» must not be confused with the recruitment of mercenary soldiers in the European countries during the same period². The Balkan people who hurried to join these

1. As an addition to the already known bibliography concerning the operations of the various corps of volunteers by the side of the Russian and Austrian army during the wars against the Ottoman Empire comes, I think, the enlightening dissertation of Nicholas Ch. Pappas, entitled: *Greeks in the Russian Military Service in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries*, Stanford University (California), 1982 (P. H. dissertation). I had the opportunity to consult and use this dissertation with the consent of the author to whom I would like to express my appreciation.

2. There are, however, few cases of Greeks and other men of balkan origin (especially Albanians), who either enrolled in European armies or formed special «corps» as mercenaries. A characteristic example is the corps «Reggimento Real Macedone», which operated during the 18th century as a special unit of the army of the Kingdom of Naples (see, N. Ch. Pappas, «Balkan Foreign Legions in 18th Century, Italy: The 'Reggimento Real Macedone' and Its Successors», vol. *Nation and Ideology Essays in Honor of Wayne S. Vusinich*, edited by Ivo Banac, John

«corps» had only one aim, to fight against the Ottoman tyranny. I came to this conclusion, based on the following: a) most of these «corps» were formed during the wars against the Ottoman Empire and were dissolved almost immediately after the cease of fire³, b) the men of these «corps», in the majority klephtes, panduri and haiduci, were all well known for their fights against the Ottoman tyranny⁴, c) almost

G. Ackerman and Roman Szporluk. *East European Monographs: Balder - New York*, 1981, pp. 35-59). There is also information referring to the enrolment of Serbian mercenaries in the military forces of the Republic of Venice see, G. Stanojević, «Jugosloveni u vojnoj službi Venecije na kopnu Italije u XVIII vijeku», in *Istorijski Casapis*, vol. XXIV (1977) 145-159.

3. About the corps of Wallachian and Moldavian volunteers, who operated by the side of the Russian army during the Russian - Turkish wars of 1768-1774, 1787-1792 and 1806-1812 see, D. Bodin, «Însemnări cu privire la Tudor Vladimirescu în războiul ruso - turc din 1806-1812», in *Revista istorică română*, vol. III (1938); S. Vianu, «Din lupta poporului român pentru scuturarea jugului otoman», in *Studii*, vol. VI (1953) 65-95; idem, «Participarea voluntarilor români la războiul 1787-1792», in *Analele române - sovietice*, seria istorie, vol. X (1956) 97-111; D. Berindei - T. Mutaşcu, *Aspecte militare ale mişcării revoluţionare din 1821*, Bucureşti, 1973, pp. 28-33 and A. Stan, *Reaşterea armatei naţionale*, Craiova, 1979, pp. 32-44, 57-62 and 119-133). About the participation of Greeks in the Russian-Turkish war of 1787-1792 see, Konstantinos Sathas, *Τουρκοκρατούµενη Ελλάδα*, Athens, 1869, pp. 538-564; G. Koliass, *Οι Έλληνες κατά τον ρωσοτουρκικό πόλεμο 1787-1792*, Athens, 1940; E. G. Protopsaltis, «Οι Έλληνες κατά τον δεύτερον ρωσοτουρκικόν πόλεμον (1787-1792)», in *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* (in abbreviation ΔΙΕΕΕ), vol. XIV (1960) 33-135. Concerning the organization of the corps of Greek volunteers commanded by Nicholas Pangalos, which operated in Wallachia during the first phase (1806-1809) of the Russian - Turkish war of 1806-1812 see, Cleoboule Tsourkas, *Το ελληνικόν στρατιωτικόν σώµα του 1806*. Thessaloniki, 1961; Emil Virtosu, «Despre corpul de voluntari eleni creat la Bucureşti în 1807», in *Studii şi materiale de istorie medie*, vol. V (1962) 529-582; D. B. Oekonomidis, «Περί του εν Βλαχία ελληνικού στρατιωτικού σώματος (1807-1808)», in *Λακωνικά Σπονδαί*, vol. I (1972) 267-274; N. Ch. Pappas, *Greeks in the Russian...*, pp. 351-355. There is also information concerning a corps consisted of Bulgarian volunteers. This corps known by the name «Bălgarska zemska vojska» (Bulgarian Regional Army), was organized in Wallachia and operated during the second phase (1809-1812) of the Russian - Turkish war of 1806-1812. It was dissolved right after the signing of the Bucarest Treaty (1812) (see, C. Velichi, «Emigrarea bulgarilor în Țara Românească în timpul războiului ruso - turc din 1806-1812», in *Romano - slavica*, vol. III (1963) 27-58 and St. Dojnov, «Le mouvement de liberation nationale bulgare au debut du XIXe siècle», in *Bulgarian Historical Review*, vol. III (1975) 60-77).

4. The participation for example of the well known Greek «klephtis» Androutsos and his «pallikaria» (fighters) in the war of 1787-1792 is a very interesting

all these «corps» had a special name showing the national origin of the enlisted men⁵; they also had their own flag with the characteristic symbols of their religion and their native land⁶, d) many of the men

case (see, K. Sathas, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69, 92; K. D. Mertzios, *Νέαι ειδήσεις περί του Λάμπρον Κατσώνη και του Ανδροΐτσου*, Athens, 1959 (Essays of the Academy of Athens, vol. 23, no 3). In addition the participation of George Olympios, a well known «klephtis» and hero of the Greek War of Independence of 1821, in the Russian - Turkish war of 1806 - 1812 in charge of a corps consisted mainly of «klephtes» and «haiduci» (see An. Goudas, *Βίοι Παράλληλοι*, Athens, 1872, vol. V, pp. 404-407 and N. Camariano, «L'activité de Georges Olympios dans les Principautés Roumaines avant la Révolution de 1821», in *Revue des études sud - est européennes*, tom. II (1964) 433-434). Finally it is worth mentioning the organisation of a special corps in the Ionian Islands, consisting exclusively of fighters from the region of Souli (exiles there after the fall of Souli in December 1803) and «klephtes» from Peloponese, Central Greece and Epirus, who had sought refuge in the Ionian Islands. This corps remained in active service under the Russians, the French and the English during their successive occupation of the Ionian Islands till 1817 (see, G. Tertsetis, *Άπαντα*, Athens, 1967, vol. III: Th. Kolokotronis, *Απομνημονεύματα*, pp. 86-87; A. Boppe, *L'Albanie et Napoleon 1797-1814*, Paris, 1914, pp. 218-269 (Le régiment albanais, 1807-1814) and N. Ch. Pappas, *Greeks in the Russian...*, pp. 379-411).

5. For example: a) the military corps which was organized in Odessa in 1779 and is known as «Grecheskii Pekhotnyi Polk» (Greek Infantry Regiment) or as «The Greek Battalion of Balaklava» (see, N. Ch. Pappas, *Greeks in the Russian...*, p. 84); b) the corps which was also organized in Odessa by Greeks who had fought under the command of Lambros Katsonis in the Russian - Turkish war of 1787-1792 and it is known as «Odesskii Grecheskii Divizion» (Odessian Greek Detachment) (see, N. Ch. Pappas, *Greeks in the Russian...*, pp. 86-88); c) the corps organized in Wallachia in 1807 under the command of N. Pangalos known as «Ellinikon Soma», or «Ellino - Grecheskii Korpus» (Greek corps). The subunits of this corps had names influenced by the classic antiquity such as: «Thessalian», «Macedonian» and «Spartan» Legion (see, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*. Colecția Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, Cernăuți, 1938, vol. XIX parte II, p. 422; D. V. Oekonomidis, «Ανέκδοτον χρονικόν περί της εν Μολδοβλαχία Ελληνικής Επανάστασεως του 1821», in *Αθηνά*, vol. LX (1956) 80; E. Virtosu, *op. cit.*, pp. 531-532, 537; N. Ch. Pappas, *Greeks in the Russian...*, pp. 351-355); d) the corps of Bulgarian volunteers, which operated in Wallachia during the Russian - Turkish war of 1806-1812 and it is known as «Bălgarska zemska vojska» (Bulgarian Regional Army) see, C. Velichi, *op. cit.*, p. 49 and St. Dojnov, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

6. The information that exists concerning the special flags used by the different corps of volunteers during their military operations is particularly interesting. We know that: a) The corps of volunteers organized in Wallachia by prince Konstantinos Ypsilantis during the first phase of the Russian - Turkish war of 1806-1812 used a flag having the symbols of Wallachia and Moldavia (see, Anton D. Velcu, «Steagul lui Constantin Vodă Ypsilanti», in vol. *In amintirea lui Constantin*

of the «corps of volunteers» which fought during the Austro - Russian-Turkish war of 1787-1792 and the Russian -Turkish war of 1806-1812, played, at a later period, a preponderant role in the national revolutionary movement of the Serbian people (1804-1813) and the Greek War of Independence (1821-1829)⁷.

Based on the assertion that the activities of the «corps of volunteers» of the Balkan people against the Ottoman tyranny should be considered as one of the most important expressions of the patriotic spirit of the people of South - Eastern Europe, we can easily understand the reason why many of these "corps of volunteers" fought by the side of the Russian army, which operated in the Romanian Principalities during the Russian - Turkish war of 1806-1812. I could mention here Constantine Ipsilantis', Prince of Wallachia, corps of Romanian panduri; George Olympios' Greek corps of volunteers; the bulgarian corps of volunteers, later named «Regional Bulgarian Army»; the corps of Romanian panduri under the leadership of Tudor Vladimirescu; and, naturally, the corps of the Serbian revolutionary army which fought by the side of the Russians in Western Wallachia.

One of the most important corps, formed during the first phase of the Russian - Turkish war (December 1806 - August 1807), was the corps of «Greek volunteers» under the command of major Nicolaos

Giurescu, Bucharest, 1944, pp. 547-552). b) Special flags were also used by the «Greek corps» of volunteers commanded by N. Pangalos (see, E. Virtosu, *op. cit.*, p. 581); in this article the author refers to a manuscript listing the ammunition and the equipment left after the dissolution of the corps; in this catalogue six (6) flags of subunits of the corps are mentioned; c) A special flag was used by the corps «Les Chasseurs d'Orient» formed mainly by Greeks and operated by the side of the French in Egypt and Dalmatia. It is a french flag, which has on the left upper corner a white cross based on a white strip (the cross is on the blue strip of the flag) and on the right upper corner there is an inscription in greek in golden capital letters: «ΣΥΝ ΘΕΩ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ» (With God's blessings for the fatherland) (The flag of the first battalion of this corps is found in the Collection of the National Historical Museum in Athens. A coloured picture of this flag is published by Philippos Iliou in his study *'Ασμα Πολεμιστήριον. Ανώνυμο έργο του Κοραή*, Athens, 1982, pp. 24-25). The element that should be stressed is that the white cross on the blue background will become the national symbol of the Greek Nation during the Greek War for Independence of 1821.

7. For instance, the leader of the first Serbian Revolution (1804-1813) Karagheorghis, the leaders of the Greek War for Independence (1821-1829) Alexandros Ypsilantis, George Olympios, Theodoros Kolokotronis, P. Papagheorghiou (Anagnostaras), Nikitas Stamatelopoulos, the Romanian leaders of 1821 Tudor Vladimirescu, Ioan Solomon etc.

Pangalos. Based on the documents I have in my disposal, this corps, which in a short time after its organization reached the number of 1500 men⁸, consisted of Greeks coming from Southern Russia, the Romanian Principalities and the Greek territories of the Ottoman Empire, as well as of Serbians, Romanians, Russians and a few Bulgarians⁹. According to the proclamation put in circulation on the 3rd of May, 1807 in Bucharest¹⁰ by the commander of the corps Nicolaos Pangalos and addressed to all «the sons of Greece», it becomes obvious that the corps was not only a unit of the Russian army but its main aim was to become the nucleus of the army for the national liberation of Greece¹¹. The organization of this "Greek corps" confirms once more my belief, first that the primary aim of the volunteers of Balkan origin who have been fighting by the side of the Russians was to fight against the Ottoman tyranny, and secondly that the influence of the liberal ideas of Revolutionary France regarding the national liberation was deeply rooted among its members.

Unfortunately, the Greeks, who hurried to join Pangalos' corps, as well as the other Balkan people, who formed similar corps of volunteers or were otherwise organized against the Ottoman tyranny, were soon disillusioned. Russia, after the treaty of Tilsit, signed an armistice with the Ottoman Empire (Slobozia, August 1807) and, consequently, once more abandoned her orthodox allies. Thus the immediate

8. Ioannis Philimon, *Δοκίμιον Ιστορικόν περί της Ελληνικής Επανάστασεως*, Athens, 1859, vol. II, p. 60; P. P. Panaitescu, *Correspondența lui Constantin Ypsilanti cu guvernul rusesc 1806-1810*, Bucharest, 1933, p. 61; E. Virtosu, *op. cit.*, pp. 537-538.

9. Based on the documents published by E. Virtosu in the appendix of his study (*op. cit.*, pp. 546-581) I composed a series of tables referring to the national and social origin, the rank in the corps etc. of 186 men of the corps commanded by N. Pangalos (I intend to use these tables in a special study I prepare concerning the «Greek Corps»). Based on these tables I assume that of those 186 men, for whom we have special information, 92 (49,46%) were Greeks, 24 (12,9%) Serbians, 20 (10,75%) Wallachians and Moldavians, 18 (9,68%) Russians and 12 (6,45%) Bulgarians. There was also an Austrian, a Montenegrin and a Jew (converted to Christianity). For the rest 17 men (9,14%) it was impossible to reach a conclusion referring to their national origin.

10. E. Virtosu, *op. cit.*, pp. 548-549 (original text in Greek and translation in Romanian).

11. In the proclamation it is emphasized that: «This small corps of Greeks that now comes into existence, intends with its operation to nothing else but to the long desired liberation of our enslaved fatherland...».

consequence of the new political situation created after the treaty of Tilsit, was the gradual dissolution of the corps of volunteers formed in the Romanian Principalities¹². At the same time the Russians adopting a policy of neutrality inaugurated a method of secret support towards the Balkan people, especially, the revolted Serbians¹³. In the period immediately after the treaty of Tilsit, France seemed to be the only European power capable to play an important role in the political situation of South - Eastern Europe. The French by occupying the Ionian Islands, evacuated by the Russians, and Dalmatia, evacuated by the Austrians, proved that they could change completely the political status of South - Eastern Europe, putting aside the defeated Austrian Empire and allying with the Russians¹⁴.

It is for this reason that the Balkan people, already agitated by the Russian - Turkish war of 1806-1807, turned for support towards Napoleon's France¹⁵. On the other hand, the French, realizing the great

12. The corps, after participating in various battles, the most important being the one at Obilești (May 26, 1807) in defence of Bucharest (see, E. Virtosu, *op. cit.*, p. 538), was ordered to retreat towards Rimnicul - Sărat a small town in Western Wallachia. The retreat took place probably immediately after the sign of the Tilsit Treaty (August 1807) and the departure of the Prince of Wallachia and Moldavia Konstantinos Ypsilantis. After a short period of time the disarming of the «Greek Corps» and its final dissolution was ordered (January 1808).

13. Lidia Démeny, «Relațiile ruso - sirbe în anii 1806-1812», in *Studii istorice sud - est europene*, vol. I (1974) 141, 144 and 147.

14. Concerning the Russian - French plans of this period about the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, see E. Driault, *La question d'Orient* (depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours), Paris, 1912, pp. 91, 93-96; E. Driault et M. Lhéritier, *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce* (de 1821 à nos jours), Paris, 1925, vol. I, pp. 38-42; J. A. R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question. An Historical Study in European Diplomacy*, London, 1940 (4th edition), pp. 184-189; Μ. Θ. Λάσκαρι, *Το Ανατολικόν Ζήτημα (1800-1923)*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1948, pp. 29-30; A. Oțetea, *Scrieri istorice alese*, Cluj, 1980, pp. 166-170.

15. The first attempts of the Greeks to approach the Revolutionary France and especially Napoleon are dated since 1797, when the French occupied Italy and the Ionian Islands (see, Dimos and Nikolo Stephanopoli, *Ταξείδι στην Ελλάδα*, Αθήνα 1974 (introduction by Tasos Vournas), pp. 18-19; Olga Katsiardi, «Ελληνικά διαβήματα στον Βοναπάρτη. Η περίπτωση του Γεωργίου Παλατινού», in *Ερανιστής*, XIV (1977) 36-68). These Greek attempts will be repeated a few years later, when the French, after the Treaty of Tilsit, will again occupy the Ionian Islands (1807-1814). During this period of time the French besides the organization of the «régiment albanais» consisted of Greeks, made specific plans for the liberation of Peloponnesus as well (see, P. Zeros, «Δύο προεπαναστατικά σχέδια απελευθέρωσης της Πελοποννήσου», in *Πελοποννησιακά*, VII (1969-1970) 176-181). Not only the Greeks, but also

opportunities given by their new position in South - Eastern Europe and observing the influence they had upon the Balkan people, tried to profit from this political situation. Among the first attempts made by the French in order to preserve and expand their sovereignty and, mainly, to strengthen their influence upon the Balkan people, was the organization of corps of native volunteers which would fight by their side. This attempt, as it is well known, led to the organization of the «Régiment albanais» in the Ionian Islands formed by the Souliotes in exile and other Greeks established in Corfu and the other Ionian Islands¹⁶. Contrarywise in Dalmatia the native Slavic people showed a cold and, some times, hostile behavior towards the French attempt for the organization of a Dalmatian corps of volunteers¹⁷. This must be one of the most important reasons why the French tried and partly succeeded to convince some of the Greek volunteers of the corps commanded by Nicolaos Pangalos to join the French army in Dalmatia.

Referring once more to the French army operating in Dalmatia, I would like to underline that, according to my researches, in the period from 1806 till 1809, a Greek corps of volunteers named "Les Chasseurs d'Orient" was fighting in Dalmatia by the side of the French. This corps, organized by Napoleon himself in 1798 during the French campaign in Egypt¹⁸, was transferred after the withdrawal of the French army from Egypt to Marseilles and later to Toulon. In 1806 the corps joined the French army which disembarked in Dalmatia and took part in the siege of Dubrovnik¹⁹.

But the corps of "Les Chasseurs d'Orient", while operating in Dalmatia, had to face the great problem of recruitment. Many of the

the revolted Serbians turned at the same period of time towards France of Napoleon, who had already sent his army to Dalmatia (see, S. Benović, «Sremski trgovci i prvi srpski ustanak do 1809 godine», in *Zbornik Matice Srpske. Serija društvenih nauka*, vol. V (1953) 7-8 (I was given this information by my colleague J. Papadrianos whom I thank); A. Oǎetea, *op. cit.*, p. 148; L. Démeny, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144; N. Ciachir, «Serbia pe drumul cucerii independenței naționale 1804-1878», in *Studii XXXI* (1978) 2238).

16. A. Boppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-229; N. Ch. Pappas, *Greeks in the Russian...*, pp. 382-385.

17. *Istoriija Srpskog naroda*, V knjiga, tom. II (1804-1878), Beograd, 1981, p. 282.

18. K. Rados, «Έλληνες στρατιωτικοί υπό ξένας σημαίας περί το τέλος της ΙΗ' εκατονταετηρίδος και τας αρχάς της ΙΘ'», in *ΑΙΕΕΕ*, vol. VII (1910-1916) 206-207.

19. *Ibidem*, pp. 217-218.

volunteers, after their arrival in Dalmatia, deserted the corps returning to their fatherland after a long absence²⁰. As a result, the subunits of the corps remained without the necessary number of soldiers and, according to some information, in 1809 the whole corps was reduced to 400-500 men. The attempts made by the commander of the corps to recruit Dalmatians or Albanians from the neighbouring regions were unsuccessful and the corps reached the point of dissolution²¹.

At the same time, according to the documents I have in my disposal, the "Greek cops of volunteers" commanded by Nicolaos Pangalos, which had successfully operated in Wallachia in 1807, was dissolved by the Russians (January 1808)²². The "Greek volunteers" (especially those of Serbian origin and many Greeks who wanted to continue fighting against the Ottomans), right after the dissolution of the corps, demanded with persistent petitions to the Russian headquarter to be transferred either to Southern Russia or to Serbia²³, or to be allowed to remain in the Romanian Principalities. At the same time, a great number of volunteers of the dissolved corps commanded by Pangalos required officially from D. Lamare, French consul in Bucharest, to be allowed to return to the Ionian Islands. According to Lamare's report of March 27, 1808 addressed to the French Foreign Office, we are informed for the following: a) Sixty men of the "Greek corps of volunteers" signed a petition asking permission to return to their native land, the Ionian Islands; b) the French consul promised to arrange their return on condition that they would take the following oath: «ne servir désormais que leur nouveau souverain, ce qu'ils lui m'ont joué avec beaucoup d'enthousiasme»; c) there was a proposition by Pangalos to D. Lamare for the transfer of 300 fully armed men of his dissolved corps to Dalmatia in order to fight by the side of the French; d) the French consul asked the approval of Sebastiani, French ambassa-

20. *Ibidem*, p. 219.

21. *Ibidem*, p. 224.

22. E. Virtosu, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

23. After the dissolution of the corps, in a total of 186 men for whom I have specific information: a) 22 (11,83%) asked to fight by the side of the revolted Serbians, b) 21 (11,29%) asked to join the Russian army commanded by general Isaieff, which operated in Oltenia (Small Wallachia) in cooperation with the Serbians and c) 25 (13,44%) asked to be allowed either to join the Russian army of general Isaieff or to fight by the side of the revolted Serbians (that is 68 men (36,56%) asked permission from the Russian headquarters to continue fighting against the Ottomans by the side of the Serbians).

dor in Constantinople, to send the 300 men to Dalmatia, «au colonel Nicole Papas - Oglou, Commandant de nos Chasseurs d'Orient»²⁴.

According to the above mentioned report, the French consul was on the one hand certain for the transfer of 60 men of Ionian origin to Dalmatia and, on the other hand, he was faced with the possibility to send 300 more men to join the corps of volunteers known as «Les Chasseurs d'Orient». The first 60 men, seemed to have required officially their return to the Ionian Islands as French subjects, but I believe that their real purpose, as well as the intention of the French consul in Bucharest, was not for them to return to the Ionian Islands but to go to Dalmatia and fill up the ranks of the corps «Les Chasseurs d'Orient». I came to this conclusion bearing in mind the following: a) why did these men prefer to return to the Ionian Islands having to cross a hostile to France country (the Austrian Empire) instead of returning by sea, which was the usual way? b) why did they ask to be repatriated to the Ionian Islands while some of them, according to the information I have, were formerly established in Russia²⁵? c) how can we explain the fact that some of these men who ended up in Dalmatia, before leaving the Romanian Principalities asked from the Russian headquarter to be repatriated to Southern Russia or to remain in the Romanian Principalities²⁶? d) why did the French consul in

24. Hurmuzaki, vol. XVI, pp. 834-835.

25. There is specific information concerning eight (8) of the 37 men who, finally, left for Dalmatia. According to the information I have, they lived in Southern Russia (one of them, major Karlos Servios, lived there for 20 years), before coming to the Romanian Principalities to join the «Greek Corps» commanded by N. Pangalos. As far as the rest of the 37 men are concerned, I find it difficult to believe that they left the Ionian Islands in order to join the «Greek Corps» in Wallachia, when at the same period of time not only the Ionian Islands were under the protection of Russia, but also a corps of Greek volunteers was operating there fighting against the Ottomans. Consequently, it is more logical to accept that most of the men who were, finally, «repatriated» in Dalmatia as «French subjects», before joining the «Greek Corps» commanded by N. Pangalos, lived either in Southern Russia or in the Romanian Principalities.

26. There is also specific information about some of the men of the «Greek Corps», who asked either to remain in Moldavia or Wallachia or to return to Russia, despite the fact that they were supposed to be leaving «chacun pour sa patrie» (meaning the Ionian islands), as it is mentioned in the report of May 30th, 1808 sent by the French consul of Bucharest, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France (E. Virtosu, *op. cit.*, pp. 574-575). I can mention here the following four cases: a) Major Karlos Servios, who asked permission in April 30th, 1808 in order to return to Crimea (E. Virtosu, *op. cit.*, p. 559), b) Lieutenant Petros Konstantinou,

his official report to the local government of Wallachia asking for the expenses for the departure of these men to Dalmatia note that they «demandent à retourner en Dalmatie»²⁷ and not to the Ionian Islands?

In conclusion, I believe that the 60 men who were supposed to be transferred to Dalmatia, did not really want to be repatriated to the Ionian Islands but, using that as an excuse, hurried to join the corps «Les Chasseurs d'Orient».

In fact, according to the report of May 30, 1808 of the French consul, we know that finally 37 men left Bucharest for Dalmatia (in this report a list of the names and military ranks of these men was appended)²⁸. On the following day, the French consul sent the official report mentioned above to the local government of Wallachia, asking that the 37 men (17 officers and 20 soldiers) should be paid the expenses of their journey from Bucharest to Dalmatia²⁹. Finally, on June 3, 1808 the local government of Wallachia sent an official report to the Russian General Serghie Kushnicoff informing him that the 37 men, volunteers belonging to the dissolved corps of Pangalos, were paid the expenses for their journey to Dalmatia³⁰.

Therefore, on June 3 or 4, 1808 the 37 men of the 60, who had asked on March 1808 to be repatriated to the Ionian Islands, left Bucharest. Their purpose was to go to Dalmatia and join the Greek corps of volunteers «Les Chasseurs d'Orient», which operated by the side of the French army.

Referring to the proposition made by Nicolaos Pangalos to the French consul of Bucharest for the transferring of the 300 men to Dalmatia, I believe that it was never brought into being. Nicolaos Pangalos, on May 16, 1808, was led, by the order of the Russian head-quarter, to the Austrian border and passed to Transilvania³¹. We have no information about him thereafter³². As far as his men who remained

who asked on the same day to be repatriated in Russia «with major K. Servios» (*ibidem*, p. 560), c) Captain Vasilios Karavias, who asked on May 13th, 1808 permission to settle in Tirgoviște, a small town in Wallachia (*ibidem*, p. 567) and d) Second lieutenant Christos Dimitriou, who asked permission, on May 13th too, to settle in Jassy in Moldavia (*ibidem*, p. 567).

27. E. Virtosu, *op. cit.*, p. 575 (the report of May 31st., 1808).

28. *Ibidem*, pp. 574-575.

29. *Ibidem*, p. 575.

30. *Ibidem*, pp. 575-580.

31. D. B. Oekonomidis, *op. cit.*, p. 81; E. Virtosu, *op. cit.*, p. 542.

32. Theodoros Kolokotronis, the well known general of the Greek War for

in Wallachia are concerned, according to the information I dispose, based on their reports addressed to the Russian headquarter (April - May, 1808) they must have been sent to Southern Russia or Serbia or they must have remained in the Romanian Principalities.

Referring once more to the transfer of the 37 volunteers of Pangalos' corps to Dalmatia, I would like to regretfully underline the fact that until now I was not able to make the necessary researches in the French archives and, consequently, proceed to my studies to find out the activity of the 37 volunteers as members of the Greek corps «Les Chasseurs d'Orient». I think, however, that it is necessary to mention here that during the period 1808-1809 the corps continued to operate in Dalmatia, but in 1810 it was transferred to Corfu³³, because it faced problems of recruitment and also because the situation in the East had changed for the French. In Corfu the corps was temporarily attached to another Greek corps of volunteers known as «le régiment albanais»³⁴. This proves that in 1810 the corps «Les Chasseurs d'Orient» was not capable to fight as an independent unit of the French army, because it did not possess the necessary number of soldiers. Therefore, a little later, the corps was transferred to Angona in Italy, where it continued to fight by the side of the French till 1814, when it was again transferred to Marseilles and dissolved by the new French government³⁵.

Independence, gives us in his memoirs an information which, probably, refers to N. Pangalos. Kolokotronis mentions specifically: «I was informed about the existence of Philiki Hetairia by Pangalos» (Th. Kolokotronis, *Memoirs*, p. 96). Bearing in mind that Kolokotronis was initiated in the Greek secret revolutionary organization in December 1818 (see, I. A. Meletopoulos, «Η Φιλική Εταιρεία. Αρχείον Παναγιώτου Δημ. Σέκερη», in *ΔΙΕΕΕ*, vol. XVIII (1961) 304) and supposing that the «Pangalos» mentioned in Kolokotronis' memoirs is major Nikolaos Pangalos, we can accept, with some reserves, that the former commander of the «Greek Corps» established himself, after the dissolution of the corps, in the Ionian Islands, where he lived till 1818.

33. In the archives of the Greek Historical and Ethnological Society I have found an unpublished document which confirms the transferring of the corps from Dalmatia to Corfu. This document (registration number 7369), dated on June 21, 1810 and issued in Corfu, is an official certificate signed by the commander of «Les Chasseurs d'Orient» Nicole Papazoglou who certifies that Michael Pangalos served in the corps as an officer (It could be interesting to find out whether Michael Pangalos was a relative of the former commander of the «Greek Corps»).

34. K. Rados, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

35. *Ibidem*, pp. 224-225 and 231-232.