Introduction

Leonidas Moiras and Nikos Christofis

The Greek Revolution, also known as the Greek War of Independence, was one of the first revolutions to follow the pivotal American (1776) and French (1789) revolutions and a major uprising that disrupted the political landscape in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean. The Revolution was the result of the Greek national movement, which was led and guided by a rising Greek merchant class and a smaller group of intellectuals. When the Greek Orthodox subjects of the Sultan revolted against their legitimate sovereign, supposedly on 25 March 1821, when the banner of revolution was raised against the Ottoman government, the insurgents did not possess a unified plan of military action and lacked an established leader. Yet, after a prolonged period of warfare between the Greek rebels and the imperial army and fervent diplomatic negotiations, the Revolution culminated in the formation of an independent Greek state in 1830.

For a long time, the Greek War of Independence has been studied as a unique event, an uprising of Greek Orthodox subjects against the Ottoman Empire, which has found little place in the theoretical framework of comparative studies.[1] About fifty years ago, Professor Richard Clogg argued that "the period of the Tourkokratia [sic] remains the least studied and least understood period of Greek history and is likely to remain so for as long as the Ottoman sources relating to this period remain inaccessible, for linguistic and other reasons, to most historians."[2]

The bicentenary of the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, which coincided with the fading of the "grim image of Turkokratia" among the young generation of Greek scholars, triggered an unprecedented bibliographical production about this major event, leading to the establishment

The Greek War of Independence
Impact, Perceptions, and Transformation Within and Beyond the Empire
Edited by Leonidas Moiras, Nikos Christofis, and Alexandros Lamprou
https://www.berghahnbooks.com/title/ChristofisGreek

of the independent Greek Kingdom in 1830. In addition, the increasing accessibility to the primary Ottoman sources, both archival and literary in the wider sense of the term, the proliferation of the studies of the empires, and the realization that the global–Ottoman entanglement is significantly much more knotted across disciplines that it once was gave the impetus for the re-elaboration of various aspects of the Greek Revolution.

The examination of the new accounts reveals that the relative bibliographical production unfolded in a fourfold way: Based on new questions and synthesizing a sprawling mass of archival material previously unknown, the most significant of the recently published works aspire to offer a general overview of the Greek Revolution, providing new perspectives and highlighting overlooked, underestimated, or even ignored aspects of this pivotal event. A second bibliographical trend has focused on the political, social, economic, cultural, and institutional transformations Greek rebels experienced in the milieu of extraordinary circumstances of the Revolution. Thirdly, many historians of the Ottoman Empire have narrated the Greek Revolution as an Ottoman experience, exploring, through Ottoman primary sources, the state's perceptions of and reactions to the "insurgents," as well as the long-lasting impact of this major event on the imperial political framework and ideology. Last but not least, a fourth bibliographical trend emphasized the transnational and transimperial networks within which the Greek Revolution erupted, analyzing the European and global significance of the establishment of the independent Greek Kingdom during the "Age of Revolutions."

At this point, it is essential to state that the purpose of this introduction is not to present an exhaustive literature review of every aspect of the Greek Revolution. Instead, it outlines the overarching findings of the new and most comprehensive accounts of the Greek War of Independence. In addition, it highlights the deficiencies of the newly produced literature and suggests new topics for research before exemplifying how the present volume contributes to the existing literature and the ongoing debates regarding the outburst, the evolution, the perceptions, and the repercussions of the Revolution within both an Ottoman and a European, but also, a larger historical and historiographical context.

General Histories of the Greek Revolution

One of the most comprehensive narratives of the Greek War of Independence, offering a fresh perspective on this momentous event, is *The Greek Revolution: A Critical Dictionary*, edited by Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Constantinos Tsoukalas.[3] According to the editors,

"the book is intended as a guide to readers wishing to acquaint themselves with the events, the people, and the ideas that make up the drama of the 1820s in European and global history."[4] This collective work comprises several contributions that elaborate on a broad range of topics, from the ideological background of the Revolution to its spatial diffusion, local repercussions, and the emergence of new institutions within the revolutionary milieu. Beyond its diversity, another merit of this book is that it is based on the premise that the Greek Revolution was not an event affecting only Greece or Greeks, but a war challenging the Vienna Order and a global cause for freedom and social liberation. Thus, the book locates the Greek Revolution among other contemporary liberal movements.

Mark Mazower's latest book is another comprehensive general history of the Greek War of Independence.[5] The author provides a "chronicle" of the Revolution from the rise of Philiki Etairia (Society of Friends),[6] the forerunner of the uprising, until the establishment of Ioannis Kapodistrias as the first governor of the newly founded independent state. Mazower analyzes the social structure of the Greek Orthodox communities in the imperial lands and identifies the incentives, ambitions, and visions of the leading figures of the revolt. Additionally, he examines the Greek Revolution within the complex network of relationships in post-Napoleonic Europe, highlighting its underlying transnational dimension. Without diminishing the value of those two volumes, the main criticism that can be made is their limited use of, or lack of, Ottoman sources.

Against this background, four collective volumes, published in both English and Greek, aim to fill this lacuna in the scholarship. In particular, these accounts begin with the relatively earlier *I Elliniki Epanastasi tou 1821: Ena evropaiko gegonos* [*The Greek Revolution of 1821: A European Event*], edited by Petros Pizanias, and end with the most recent publication that was edited by Yianni Cartledge and Andrekos Varnava, focusing on new perspectives on the Greek War of Independence.[7]

The contributors to these volumes examine various aspects of the military, political, social, and economic events of the 1821 Revolution, situating the Greek War of Independence within the broader Greek and European contexts. Additionally, some of the contributors introduce fresh approaches to the Ottoman responses against the rebellion, examining the Sublime Porte's reactions, the measures taken for the restoration of order in the war-torn imperial domains and the migrations and resettlement of Muslims during the Revolution and after the establishment of the Greek Kingdom.

Revolution's Transformative Impact on the Greeks

The second bibliographical trend examines the political, social, economic, cultural, and institutional transformations that have occurred within the "Greek national framework." Aristides Hatzis, in his work *O endoxoteros agonas: I Elliniki Epanastasi tou 1821* [*The Noblest Cause: The Greek Revolution of 1821*],[8] gives prominence to the important role of the "pencil-pushers" in the eruption of the Revolution, underscoring the importance of the diffusion of liberal ideas among certain revolutionary Greek individuals, and perceives the Revolution as a complete rupture from the past, not only militarily but also spiritually, politically, and ideologically.

However, the author resorts to a selective reading of the available sources to enhance his arguments. He overlooks crucial factors, such as the difficulties concerning the familiarization of the Empire's Greek Orthodox subjects with the concept of nationalism and the diffusion of the modernist ideas among the Orthodox strata, given the illiteracy of the majority of the population. Consequently, treating liberalism as a panacea to explain the bolstering of new identities and the rupture from the past is not a sufficient explanatory tool on its own. With these considerations in mind, researchers have to provide a more accurate overview of these issues based on concrete theoretical approaches and conceptual frameworks.[9]

Simos Bozikis, in his pioneering work *Elliniki Epanastasi kai dimosia oikonomia: H sygrotisi tou ellinikou ethnikou kratous* [*The Greek Revolution and Public Finances: The Greek State-Building*], reshapes our understanding of the economy of the Revolution, analyzing the fiscal institutions, practices, and functions in the public economic sphere during wartime. The author convincingly concludes that the formation and function of modern state institutions started from the inception of the Revolution and then intensified during the years of the Kapodistrian government (1828–1831).

Thanasis Barlagiannis focuses on the health consequences of the Revolution and the relative sufferings of the populations, explains the evolution of military medicine and its function as an instrument for disciplining the fighting Greek rebels, and examines the mechanisms of medical care for impoverished populations.[10] Thus, he lays the groundwork for the establishment of Greek public health during wartime.

Vaso Seirinidou examines the landscape of interpersonal violence and crime as it intersected with the emergence of police and criminal justice institutions in revolutionary Greece. Seirinidou argues that the general insecurity after the eruption of the Revolution created not only a new environment of crime but also an enhanced demand for safety

among the local Greek population, leading to the formation of the judicial institutions of the emerging state.[11]

Olga Katsiardi-Hering and Dimitrios Kontogeorgis examine the role of the Austrian naval force during the Greek War of Independence. The outburst of the Greek Revolution and the clashes it led to at sea threatened the Austrian maritime trade, which had been flourishing since the late eighteenth century, especially after the decline and fall of the Venetian Republic (1797). The authors highlight the frequently overlooked maritime and diplomatic factors that impacted Austria's interests in the Eastern Mediterranean and analyze the operations of an Austrian naval flotilla in the Levant, focusing on safeguarding shipping interests and preserving neutrality amid the increasing activities of the Greek naval forces. To achieve this, the authors conducted meticulous research on vast archive material in various locations, which is an extraordinary feat.[12] Other authors contributed to the renewal of the historiography on the Greek Revolution, discussing subjects such as the role of women in the Greek War of Independence,[13] the formation, members, and activities of Philiki Etairia,[14] and other lesser-known aspects of this event.

The Greek Revolution was a perplexing historical process, which contained a concrete ideological background, transnational and transimperial interactions, pre-organized actions, and national aspirations accompanied by the dynamics of contrasting tendencies, including parameters not anticipated, the accidental and the subjective. All the above-mentioned path-breaking accounts shed light on the evolution from the *Rum* identity to that of the Greek subject/citizen, explain the arduous transition from empire to nation-state, and enhance our understanding about the nation- and state-building processes, and the institutional formation of the emerging Greek state.

Despite the unquestionable progress in our understanding of the Greek Revolution, academic research must focus on and illuminate hitherto unexplored or little-known aspects of the Greek War of Independence. The displacement of populations in present-day southern Greece resulting from a prolonged war period, the settlement policies, the dismantling of the communities and their transformation from an imperial ethno-religious community to a minority inside the territory of a nation state, the formation of duly constituted authorities for the election of delegates who experimented with new forms of constitutional governments, and the re-examination of the state-building process in the Kingdom of Greece after its establishment in 1832 through the lens of Cameralism[15] are just some of the aspects that require further investigation.

The Ottoman Context

The renewed interest in the Greek War of Independence prompted many historians of the Ottoman Empire, primarily Turkish and Greek historians, to examine the Greek Revolution within its imperial context, beyond the framework of national historiographies. Against this backdrop, two monumental studies emerged to provide access to the language of Ottoman documents concerning Ottoman responses to the Greek Revolution. Şükrü Ilıcak provides the transliteration and English translation of hundreds of selected documents related to the quelling of the revolt.[16] In the same vein, Elias Kolovos, Şükrü Ilıcak, and Mohammad Shariat Panahi published in Greek translation numerous imperial decrees issued by Mahmud II. In addition, they provided an extended introduction to the content of this archival material, comparing it to the Greek sources.[17] The importance of these studies lies, among other things, in the fact that they introduce the greater public to an archival source that will serve as a source of inspiration for further research and new findings by scholars who have no access to Ottoman primary sources. The documents compiled during the turbulent years of the Greek Revolution reflect the imperial responses to the insurgency of their subjects, the vocabularies adopted to make sense of the rebellion, and the military mobilization to suppress the aspirations of the Greeks.

Several scholars investigated the Ottoman attempts to interpret the reasons that triggered the "sedition" or the "mischievous treachery" (*fesad*) of their subjects. They examined the terminology used in contemporary accounts by the Porte's chroniclers and archival material produced during the 1820s to explore how Sultan Mahmud II, the central state elite, and the imperial intelligentsia interpreted the Greek rebellion.[18] The fact that the Ottomans emphasized the religious dimension of the "sedition"[19] of their Greek Orthodox subjects, and the suggestion that they were unable to understand the national aspirations and motives that were seen in the declarations and the other confiscated documents of the leaders of the Greek Revolution, generated among scholars a debate concerning the intellectual boundaries and the acquaintance of the Ottomans with the modernist ideas of the French Revolution.[20]

The expansion of research over a longer period will provide more accurate conclusions in this aspect. For example, from the sixteenth century onwards, the Ottoman bureaucracy had generated a discursive strategy, by employing the terms "*fesad*" (mischievous treachery, corruption, decay, decomposition) and "*müfsid*" (evildoer/villain) to describe the insurgents and/or individuals who had committed common crimes. The imperial elites kept on employing this terminology against

individuals who threatened the integrity of the state until the collapse of the Empire. İlkay Yılmaz argues that during the Hamidian era anarchism, and especially propaganda by deed, occupied a central stage in imperial politics. The response of the Ottoman state was to increase the surveillance of the population and cooperate with the similarly distressed states of the West in "saving humanity from the menace."[21] Despite the fact that the Ottomans were aware of the ideology of anarchism, they defined this ideological current as "*fesad*." During the same period the imperial bureaucracy expanded this pejorative generalization against Armenian and Bulgarian nationalists. This was a deliberate choice aimed at the otherization and the depoliticization of actions that were perceived as a threat for the Ottoman state.[22]

Back in the 1820s, the examination of contemporary sources reveals that the central state elite labeled the Greek rebels as "brigands and bandits" (*izbândit and eşkıyâ*) and their rebellion as *fesâd*, "provocation" (*fitne*), "betrayal" (*ihânet*), and "sedition" (*ısyân*).[23] The investigation of these terms in *longue durée* could lead us to more sustainable explanations about the Ottoman perceptions of the Greek War of Independence, the unwillingness of the imperial authorities to recognize the rebels as legitimate belligerents or independent, and the changing Ottoman perception of sovereignty.[24]

Recent scholarship has also shown the efforts of Mahmud II and the high-ranking bureaucrats to quell the rebellion and restore order. The authors of these works explore the Ottoman responses to Greek insurgency, emphasizing the military mobilization of the imperial army and the array of measures for the surveillance of non-Muslim subjects. From the late eighteenth century onwards, security concerns led Sultan Selim III to introduce strict measures in order to safeguard the security of the imperial capital against potentially dangerous groups. These measures included the investigation of inns, the confiscation of arms, and the imposition of travel bans.[25] The Greek Revolution inevitably intensified such concerns because the Greek Orthodox populations were numerous in the core areas of the empire. In light of this understanding, the Ottoman authorities adopted new measures to secure the safety of Istanbul, including the introduction of an internal passport and a census, to render the empire's entire population more legible and controllable.[26] Scholars from various disciplines should examine whether and to what extent the introduction of these measures affected the state-building process during the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire.

The policing measures were accompanied by executions and exiles of the most influential figures of the *Rum milleti,* that is, the members of the Phanariot households and the high-ranking clergymen. According

to the Ottoman perceptions, these dignitaries were the real culprits of the sedition, who seduced the "naïve" *reayas*. The adoption of this narrative mirrors the perceptions of imperial elites about themselves and the "common folk": the commoners were likened to children, incapable of making sound decisions and easily deceived (*iğfal*) by various crooks. Ignorance was being equated with sedition. Thus, the elites had not only to offer their "internal" guidance but also to eliminate the "evildoers who seduced the ignorant people."[27] Christine Philliou narrates the subsequent "unraveling" of the Phanariot system during the 1820s and explains the incentives that led to the execution of Gregory V, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the elimination of numerous prelates.[28]

When these measures proved to be insufficient to put down the rebellion, the imperial authorities called for Islamic communal solidarity and aimed at arousing Islamic zeal against the "infidels." Şükrü Ilıcak has demonstrated that Mahmud II employed a religious language influenced by the Ibn Khaldunian cyclical theory on the rise and fall of sovereigns, in order to mobilize Muslim civilians.[29] However, Ejder Okumuş argues that the application of Ibn Khaldun's ideas was not confined to the turbulent years of the Greek Revolution. On the contrary, it was a popular maneuver of the Ottoman elites to mobilize the masses whenever the state and the dynasty (*din ü devlet*) were in danger.[30]

Additionally, recent accounts have shown that the imperial authorities interchangeably used coercive violence and the application of the *istimalet* policy for the restoration of order. This strategy consisted of granting privileges and incentives to Muslims and non-Muslims or even to state officials. The aim was to keep state officials satisfied, encouraging the zeal of the military and providing incentives for the loyalty of the *reayas* to the Exalted State. During the Greek Revolution *istimalet* included pardons, amnesty, and tax exemptions for those who would abstain from acts of disobedience and accept the Sultan as their legitimate sovereign.[31] Nonetheless, *istimalet* was not a "carrot and stick policy" of concessions and economic benefits because this approach implies that the Ottoman rulers, in utilizing this policy, consciously tried to deceive their subjects. Thus, we have to re-evaluate *istimalet* as a policy of reconciliation, which demands a mutual agreement between the ruler and its subjects.[32]

The examination of the Greek War of Independence encompasses the impact of the establishment of the independent Greek Kingdom on the imperial framework, the Ottoman efforts to consolidate the social and political foundations of the state and secure its territorial integrity, and the rapprochement with the Christian subjects of the Sultan.[33]

Yet, we must note that the majority of scholars have focused their research on the reactions of the Sultan, the central state elite, and the

provincial governors of the regions granted to the independent Greek state—overlooking the consequences of the war in the "Ottoman periphery."

However, in the central Ottoman archives there are vast numbers of documents on the Greek Revolution. Hakan Erdem claims that only 10 percent of the over 50,000 catalog entries in one classification, that is, the *hatt-ı humayun* (imperial decrees), are related to the Greek War of Independence. The examination of this material in conjunction with the study of sources in other languages will broaden our understanding about the Ottoman view of the Greek Revolution and the impact not only in the imperial capital but also in other "remoted" Ottoman provinces.

The Transnational Dimension of the Greek Revolution

The study of the empires is flourishing. According to Krishan Kumar, manifold reasons have triggered this. The great European empires collapsed during the 1960s, and these political entities are now sufficiently distant in time to be the subject of relatively dispassionate research. It may also be an indication that many people are no longer convinced that the nation state is the best or only political form to confront contemporary and future challenges. Global conflicts appear to necessitate global solutions, which can be achieved through nations acting in concert. Additionally, economic, cultural, and technological globalization, as well as the emergence of multicultural societies resulting from global migration trends, calls for cross-national cooperation, thinking, and regulation. Empires are not, of course, seen as the solution, but their study may reveal something of the mechanisms for managing difference and diversity over large areas.[34]

In light of these developments, in recent decades innovative studies have breathed new life into the field of imperial history. One of the contemporary scholars who attempted to revisit the dominance of the traditional framework among historians is Jürgen Osterhammel. As he pointed out, the nineteenth century was not the age of nation states but the age of empires and nationalism. He described three different types of formation of nation states in the nineteenth century, arguing that nation states came into being through: (a) revolutionary independence, (b) hegemonic unification, and (c) evolution toward autonomy.[35] Osterhammel characterizes Greece "as the only new state with origins in an empire," and he observes that Greece achieved independence through revolution, after the uprising of indigenous forces, assisted by European philhellenic movements and by a naval intervention on the part of Britain, Russia, and France.[36]

Similarly, several scholars have focused on the projects of building nations in the imperial metropolis, aiming to preserve and extend, rather than dissolve, empires or transform entire empires into nation states.[37] This process facilitated the entry of Ottoman history into the discourse of comparative history, thereby allowing communication across ethnic, national, civilizational, and continental divides. Even though present-day historiography of the Ottoman Empire continues to highlight the particularism and oddities of the Ottoman realm, this process has enabled communication across these divides.[38]

A further result of the renewed interest concerning the study of imperial history has been the emergence of various accounts of Austro–Russian–Ottoman politics, which offer new frameworks for understanding the relations between and among these states. Similarly, Ottoman–Safavid/Sunni–Shiite contestations and borderlands have also been receiving their long-deserved attention, while the European–Ottoman entanglement is significantly more complex and multifaceted across disciplines than it once was.[39]

Research has also been focusing on the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Great Powers following the Greek Revolution. Based on hitherto unpublished Ottoman archival material, scholars have examined the Sublime Porte's attempts in the 1820s to prevent the Great Power intervention—allegedly for humanitarian reasons—and restore the reputation and image of the Empire, which the European imagination depicted as a realm of "barbarism," "backwardness," and "despotism" based on the massacres of Christians, especially those on Chios Island.[40]

The booming of imperial history has also prompted the turn to the study of transnational and transimperial history. One of the reasons behind this trend is that the history of empires has, for the most part, remained nationalized. According to Daniel Hedinger and Nadin Heé, "Since transnational history, global history, postcolonial studies and new imperial history all offer an abundance of tools to tear down imperial borders and deconstruct nationalized narratives, the moment seems to have come for a shift, namely for what we call a transimperial approach to imperial history."[41] Thus, the inclusion of "marginalized" empires offers a way to overcome the west-centrism of the study of empires.

Against this backdrop, the economic, political, social, judicial, and cultural history of the Ottoman state is re-examined through the lens of transnational and transimperial history, that is, the investigation of a set of comparisons, connections, and contiguities between different imperial constituencies. Innovative approaches have sought to situate the Greek War of Independence within the historiographical concept of the "Age of Revolutions," alongside the diffusion of liberal ideas and

democracy in the Mediterranean and the globe as a by-product of these revolutions.[42]

In this connection, the collective volume *Valkanikes Anagnoseis tou 1821* [*The Balkan Dimensions of the Revolution of 1821*], edited by Andreas Lymberatos,[43] explores the contemporary Balkan-wide dimensions of the Greek Revolution in the literature of the Balkan nation states. The volume investigates the ideological use of the 1821 Revolution in the historiography of the Balkan states and underscores their importance for the construction of images of the Other(s) in the political conjecture of the *longue durée* of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Another two noteworthy pieces of research are Ada Dialla's exploration of the entangled presence of the Russian Empire in the Mediterranean and its place in the transimperial and transnational history,[44] and Antonis Hadjikyriacou's investigation of local politics and economy in Cyprus within a changing Mediterranean milieu in the Age of Revolutions.[45]

These pioneering studies offer an indisputable contribution to our understanding of imperial history. Yet the examination of the Greek Revolution in its Ottoman and global contexts requires the study of topics that are rarely addressed in the relevant literature, such as issues of imperial cooperation and competition, transimperial conflicts, intra-imperial and local collaboration and/or rivalries, anti-revolutionary policing, humanitarian interventions, international and maritime law, the establishment of international institutions, and, obviously, the Ottoman political context. These necessitate the ability to access sources produced in various Ottoman languages, including Ottoman Turkish, Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian, Arabic, and others. This last prerequisite has rendered the majority of the relative accounts only partly successful due to their "deficient" approach to the Ottoman "peculiarity" and the inability of their authors to access major Ottoman sources. This disadvantage led the "transimperial history scholars" who base their research in non-Ottoman sources on conceptual misunderstandings and interpretation of the Ottoman "realities"—terms, notions, ideas, and political and social frameworks—according to Western standards.[46]

The present edited volume seeks to shed light on understudied aspects of the Greek Revolution. It also aspires to place the Greek Revolution within both an Ottoman and a European context, as well as a larger historical and historiographical context, in order to contribute to the discussion of how the Greek War of Independence and its various narrations affected the emergence of a putatively new world. Furthermore, one of the goals of the book is to pinpoint the impact it had on diverse spaces in the Balkans, Europe, and Asia, since the repercussions of the secessionist Revolutions were perceived in various ways in and beyond the imperial

territories. Finally, while the collection of essays moves beyond an ethnocentric understanding of the Greek Revolution, we aim at providing a balanced account between "non-exceptionalism" and emphasizing the particularities of the Greek Revolution. We hope that this collective endeavor, despite its limitations, will fuel interest to further explore more overlooked aspects of the Greek Revolution and its implications in the Ottoman world and beyond.

Structure of the Book

The book is structured into three main parts: (a) Historiographical Approaches of the Greek Revolution, (b) The Greek Revolution in the Ottoman Context, and (c) The Global Impact of the Greek Revolution.

The first section comprises four chapters that explore the historiographical traditions, interpretations, and evolving narratives surrounding the Greek Revolution. The first chapter, authored by Leonidas Moiras and Alexandros Lamprou, examines the perceptions and responses to the 1821 Greek Revolution in Ottoman and Turkish historiography, particularly in relation to the emergence of Greek irredentism during the nineteenth century. Drawing upon a wide array of sources—from chronicles of the Porte to archival material produced during the War of Independence—the authors analyze the Ottoman efforts to interpret the causes of what they termed "sedition," as well as their attempts to suppress the uprising and restore imperial order. Following the establishment of the independent Greek Kingdom in 1830, the Ottoman ruling class initiated a broad reform program aimed at reintegrating Christian subjects into the imperial system, curbing the spread of nationalism, and promoting loyalty among non-Muslim populations to the Ottoman state. Against this backdrop, the authors contextualize the formation of the Greek nation and the development of irredentist ideologies throughout the *longue durée* of the nineteenth century. In their examination of the Republican era, Moiras and Lamprou highlight the marginal role the Greek Revolution occupies within Turkish nationalist historiography. Original scholarly inquiry into the Revolution emerged only in the 1990s, with earlier narratives relying heavily on Ottoman chroniclers. Although recent decades have witnessed increased engagement with primary sources, the dominant historiographical approach in Turkey remains state-centric and top-down, often framed within the dichotomy of a national "we" versus "them." A minority of internationally trained Turkish scholars, however, have begun to reframe the Revolution as an Ottoman event, challenging the constraints of traditional nation-state historiography.

In the second chapter, Nikos Christofis turns to the Ottoman periphery, focusing on Cyprus. He investigates two pivotal events: the July 1821 executions of high-ranking Christian clergy and dignitaries, and the participation of Cypriots in the Greek Revolution. Christofis reconstructs the historiographical traditions that developed around these events and analyzes how successive generations of historians shaped dominant historical narratives in Cyprus. He further demonstrates how these narratives were mobilized by political forces within the Greek Cypriot community from the nineteenth century to the present.

In the third chapter, Elias Skoulidas addresses the construction of the Greek identity within the Albanian diaspora, both inside and beyond the Ottoman Empire. He explores prevalent stereotypes in Albanian narratives and examines how the representation of Greeks—whether positive, negative, or neutral—contributed to processes of "social engineering" and identity formation.

The final chapter in this section, by Dimitris Stamatopoulos, interrogates the role of elites in the historiography of the Greek Revolution. He argues that understanding internal elite conflicts—particularly those with strong political or ideological dimensions—requires examining how partial or factional interests were transformed into instruments of political hegemony.

The second section repositions the Greek Revolution within the broader framework of the Ottoman Empire. With that in mind, Erik-Jan Zürcher opens the section by interpreting the 1821 Revolution as the first nationalist uprising within the Ottoman Empire, compelling the state to confront fundamental issues regarding its relationship with its subjects. Employing the framework of defensive modernization, Zürcher assesses how the Revolution—and subsequent uprisings—prompted reforms, especially within the Ottoman military. Unlike European conscript armies, which often served as "schools of the nation," the Ottoman army remained exclusively Muslim, with Christians, including Greeks, excluded and subjected to exemption taxes. As such, the Ottoman military could not serve as a vehicle for national integration akin to its European counterparts.

Panos Kourgiotis follows with an analysis of the Greek Revolution through the geopolitical aspirations of the nascent Egyptian state. He reinterprets Ibrahim Pasha's campaign in the Morea (1824–1828) not as merely an effort to quell the Greek rebellion but as part of Muhammad Ali's broader nation-building project in Egypt. This chapter argues that the Egyptian expedition marked the transformation of an Ottoman *wilāya* into a quasi-autonomous entity, driven by reformist ambitions modeled on European statecraft.

Hilal Cemile Tümer contributes the final chapter of this section, focusing on migration patterns in the Aegean region and the Moreot diaspora. She explores how the establishment of the Greek nation state transformed patterns of population movement. Initially a case of internal displacement within the Ottoman Empire, the Moreot exodus evolved into a form of international migration. Tumer presents this phenomenon as an early example of modern mass migration, shaped by emerging concepts of nationalism, community identity, and institutional reform.

The final section examines the global reverberations of the Greek Revolution across a diverse range of geopolitical contexts. It opens with Elmira Vassileva analyzing the role of American Protestant missions during the Revolution. American missionaries viewed the conflict as both a religious and ideological opportunity, aligning it with their own revolutionary heritage and interpreting it as part of a broader struggle between Christianity and Islam. Their efforts included the establishment of educational institutions and the dissemination of religious literature. However, the missionaries underestimated both Greek nationalism and the entrenched authority of the Orthodox Church, which ultimately redirected their efforts away from religious reform toward other areas.

Ada Dialla's chapter traces the influence of the Greek Revolution on Russian liberalism, particularly the Decembrist movement. Drawing on the post-Napoleonic intellectual climate, she highlights how Russian elites engaged with the Revolution as part of a broader South European liberal current. These Russian liberals adopted internationalist perspectives, embraced revolutionary ideals, and positioned the Greek struggle within the wider European and Ottoman political context.

Christos Aliprantis employs a rich collection of primary sources from Austria, Italy, the Czech lands, and Greece to examine the surveillance practices of the Habsburg state toward the Greek population. He traces the origins of Austrian policing efforts from the late 1790s through the late 1820s, situating them within a broader European concern with revolutionary movements. Aliprantis argues that Austrian oversight of the Greek diaspora offers valuable insight into continental security mechanisms during the Age of Revolutions.

Mohammed Shariat-Panahi shifts the focus to the Ottoman–Iranian frontier, exploring the outbreak of the 1821 Ottoman–Iranian war. Despite calls for Islamic unity in the face of Russian encroachment, cooperation between the Ottoman and Iranian empires proved elusive. Instead, the conflict diverted Ottoman military resources eastward at a critical juncture, indirectly facilitating the success of the Greek Revolution by limiting the Empire's capacity to respond effectively in the Balkans.

The final chapter, by Egas Bender de Moniz Bandeira, examines the reception of the Greek Revolution in China. He illustrates how Chinese intellectuals drew parallels between Ottoman rule in Greece and Manchu rule in Qing China. In this view, the Greek struggle served as both an inspiration for revolutionary action and a cautionary tale about national fragmentation. Translations of works such as Lord Byron's The Isles of Greece reflect these dual interpretations. While early Chinese reformers saw the Greek example as a model for liberation, later thinkers, amid fears of territorial disintegration, came to view it as a negative precedent to be avoided.

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Notes

1. For such studies, see Christopher M. Woodhouse, *The Greek War of Independence: Its Historical Setting* (London: Hutchinson, 1952); Douglas Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence, 1821–1833* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Dionisios Kokkinos, *I Elliniki Epanastasis*, vol. 1–6 (Athens: Melissa, 1973); Dimitris Fotiadis, *I Epanastasi tou 21*, vol. 1–4 (Athens: Zacharopoulos, 1977).
2. Richard Clogg, "Aspects of the Movement for Greek Independence," in *The Struggle for Greek Independence: Essays to Mark the 150th Anniversary of the Greek War of Independence*, ed. Richard Clogg (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1973), 1.

3. Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Constantinos Tsoukalas (eds.), *The Greek Revolution: A Critical Dictionary* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2021), 2.
4. Ibid., xi.
5. Mark Mazower, *The Greek Revolution: 1821 and the Making of Modern Europe* (London: Allen Lane, 2021).
6. A clandestine organization founded in 1814 in Odessa, whose purpose was to organize the Revolution against the Ottoman regime and to establish an independent Greek state.
7. Petros Pizanias, *I Elliniki Epanastasi tou 1821: Ena evropaiko gegonos* (Athens: Kedros, 2009). The book was translated and published in English: Petros Pizanias (ed.), *The Greek Revolution of 1821: A European Event* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2011); Dimitris Dimitropoulos, Christos Loukos and Petros Michailaris (eds.), *Opseis tis Ellinikis Epanastasis tou 1821: Praktika Synedriou, Athina 12–13 Iouniou 2015* (Athens: Mnemon, 2018); Despoina Vlami et al. (eds.), *Mesaionika kai Nea Ellinika: Afieroma sti 200h epeteio tis Ellinikis Epanastasis tou 1821*, vol. 14 (2021); Yanni Cartledge and Andreko Varnava (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Greek War of Independence: Myths, Realities, Legacies and Reflections* (London: Palgrave, 2022).
8. Aristides Hatzis, *O endoxoteros agonas: I Elliniki Epanastasi tou* (Athens: Papadopoulos, 2021).
9. For the evolution of liberal ideas in the independent Greek Kingdom and their contribution to institutionalization and state-building process in Greece, see Michalis Sotiropoulos, *Liberalism after the Revolution: The Intellectual Foundations of the Greek State, c. 1830–1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).
10. Thanasis Barlagiannis, *Iatriki Istoria tis Epanastasis tou 1821: Oi aparches tis sygkrotisis tis ellinikis dimosias ygeias, 1790–1831* (Athens: Hellenic Open University Press, 2022).
11. Seirinidou is the principal investigator of the H.F.R.I. (Hellenic Foundation for Research and Innovation) funded research programme "Institutions and society in revolutionary Greece: The testimonies of the police and court archives (1822–1827)." Parts of the research findings have been published in different articles; for example, see Vaso Seirinidou, "Via, egklima kai poiniki dikaiosyni stin epanastatimeni Ellada," in *Katanoontas ton Polemo tis Anexartisias*, ed. Kostas Kostis and Elias Kolovos (Athens: Patakis, 2022), 203–27.
12. Olga Katsiardi-Hering and Dimitrios M. Kontogeorgis, *I austriaki armada kata tin Elliniki Epanastaai: Diplomatia kai Polemos* (Athens: The Hellenic Parliament Foundation for Parliamentarism and Democracy, 2023).
13. Vasiliki Lazou, *Gynaikes kai Epanastasi 1821: Apo ton othomaniko kosmo sto elefthero elliniki kratos* (Athens: Dioptra, 2021).
14. Nikos Rotzokos, *Organonontas tin Epanastasi tou 1821: H Filiki Eteria, o Cristophoros Perraivos kai ta aftokratorika synomotika diktya stin Anatoliki Mesogeio* (Athens: Hellenic Open University Press, 2021); Dimitris Dimitropoulos, *Treis filikoi eparhoi stin Andro: Apo to epanastaiko shedio stin kratiki dioikisi, 1822–1825* (Athens: Institute of Historical Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2020).
15. For more details about Cameralism, see Marten Seppel and Keith Tribe (eds.), *Cameralism in Practice: State Administration and Economy in Early Modern Europe* (Martlesham: Boydell and Brewer, 2017); Michael W. Spicer, "Cameralist Thought and Public Administration," *Journal of Management History* 4(3) (1998): 149–59; Klaus Epstein, *The Genesis of the German Conservatism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966).
16. Hüseyin Şükrü Ilıcak (ed.), *"Those Infidel Greeks:" The Greek War of Independence through Ottoman Archival Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).
17. Elias Kolovos, Hüseyin Şükrü Ilıcak and Mohammad Shariat Panahi, *I orgi tou soultanou: Aftographa diatagmata tou Mahmut II to 1821* (Athens: Hellenic Open University Press, 2021).

18. For example, see Hakan Erdem, "Do Not Think of the Greeks as Agricultural Labourers: Ottoman Responses to the Greek War of Independence," in *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, ed. Faruk Birtek and Thaleia Dragonas (London: Routledge, 2005), 67–84; Sophia Laiou and Marinos Sariyannis, *Othomanikes afigiseis gia tin Elliniki Epanastasi: Apo ton Yusuf Bey ston Cevdet Pasha* (Athens: Institute of Historical Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2019); Yusuf Z. Karabıçak, "Ottoman Attempts to Define the Rebels during the Greek War of Independence," *Studia Islamica* 115 (2020): 68–106; Leonidas Moiras, *I Elliniki Epanastasi mesa apo ta matia ton Othomanon* (Athens: Topos, 2020).
19. Throughout the Revolution, the Ottoman authorities insisted on interpreting the Greek independence movement as a simple sedition (*fesad* or *fitne* in Ottoman Turkish). Another explanation for the selection of this term lies in the fact that the Sultan and the Porte were reluctant to recognise their rebelled subjects as belligerents.
20. For more details, see Erdem, "Do Not Think of the Greeks," 74–84; Moiras, *I Elliniki Epanastasi*, 85–99.
21. İlkay Yılmaz, *Serseri, Anarşist ve Fesadın Peşinde. II: Abdülhamid Dönemi Güvenlik Politikaları Ekseinde Mürur Tezkereleri, Paşaportlar ve Otel Kayıtları* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2014), 99–158.
22. Ibid., 102–58.
23. See for example, Turkish Presidency State Ottoman Archives of the Republic of Turkey (former Prime Minister Ottoman Archives, hereafter BOA), Hatt-ı Hümayun Collection (hereafter HAT), *BOA, HAT* 1222-47772, n.d., *BOA, HAT* 1019-42598, 29 Zilhicce 1244 (2 July 1829), *BOA, HAT*, 1294-50254, n.d.
24. Will Smiley, "Rebellion, Sovereignty, and Islamic Law in the Ottoman Age of Revolutions," *Law and History Review* 40(2) (2022): 229–59.
25. Betül Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).
26. Masayuki Ueno, "Purifying Istanbul: The Greek Revolution, Population Surveillance, and Non-Muslim Religious Authorities in the Early Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 67(2) (2025): 281–302.
27. For example, Es'ad Efendi, *Vak'a-nüvîs Es'ad Efendi Târîhi (Bâhir Efendi'nin Zeyl ve İlâveleriyle), 1237–1241 / 1821–1826*, Ziya Yılmazer ed., (İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2000), 642–43.
28. Christine Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 65–81. For the execution of Gregory V and the decline of several Metropolitans and Archbishops, see Yusuf Ziya Karabıçak, "Making Sense of an Execution: Patriarch Gregory V between the Sublime Porte and the Patriarchate," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 47(1) (2022): 85–102; Kolovos, Ilıcak and Panahi, *I orgi tou soultanou*, 158–65.
29. Hüseyin Ş. Ilıcak, "A Radical Rethinking of Empire: Ottoman State and Society during the Greek War of Independence (1821–1826)," Ph.D. dissertation (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2011), 103–20.
30. Ejder Okumuş, "Ibn Haldûn'un Osmanlı Düşüncesine Etkisi," *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi* 15 (2006): 141–85.
31. Elias Kolovos, "İstimalet: What Do We Actually Know About It?," in *Political Thought and Practice in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Marinos Sariyannis (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2019), 59–70.
32. Nil Tekgül, *Emotions in the Ottoman Empire: Politics, Society and Family in the Early Modern Era* (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), 62–63.
33. Darin Stephanov, "Sultan Mahmud II and the First Shift in Modern Ruler Visibility in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 1(2) (2014):

129–48; Ilıcak, *A Radical Rethinking*, 278–304; Erdem, "Do Not Think of the Greeks," 80–83.

34. Khrisan Kumar, *Visions of Empire: How Five Imperial Regimes Shaped the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 1–20.
35. Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Patrick Camiller (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 407–14.
36. Ibid., 408.
37. For example, see Stefan Berger and Alexei Miller (eds.), *Nationalizing Empires* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015).
38. Rifa'at Ali Abou-el-Haj, *The Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 1–11.
39. For a detailed presentation of these accounts, see Virginia H. Aksan, "What's Up in Ottoman Studies?," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 1(1–2) (2014): 3–21.
40. See also Ozan Özavcı, *Dangerous Gifts: Imperialism, Security, and Civil Wars in the Levant, 1798–1864* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 117–31; Leonidas Moiras, "Othomanikes Theoriseis apenanti sto philelliniko kinima," in *Ethnika Kinimata kai Philellinismos: Praktika Synedriou, Athina 4–6 Febrouariou 2021*, ed. Sophia Mattheou et al. (Athens: Institute of Historical Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2022), 113–27; Alexis Heraclides and Ada Dialla, *Humanitarian Intervention in the Long Nineteenth Century: Setting the Precedent* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); Davide Rodogno, *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).
41. For an analysis, see Daniel Hedinger and Nadin Heé, "Transimperial History: Connectivity, Cooperation and Competition," *Journal of European Studies* 16(14) (2018): 429–58.
42. For example, see David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c. 1760–1840* (London: Red Globe Press, 2009); Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Joanna Innes and Mark Philp (eds.), *Re-imagining Democracy in the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Konstantina Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800–1850: Stammering the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *The Greek Revolution in the Age of Revolutions (1776–1848): Reappraisals and Comparison* (London: Routledge, 2021); Maurizio Isabella, *Southern Europe in the Age of Revolutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023).
43. Andreas Lymberatos (ed.), *Valkanikes Anagnoseis tou 1821* (Athens: Melissa, 2021).
44. Ada Dialla, *I Rosiki Autokratoria kai o ellinikos kosmos: Topikes, europaikes kai pagkosmies istories stin epohi ton epanastaseon* (Athens: Alexandreia, 2023).
45. Antonis Hadjiyriacou, *Hersaio Nisi: I Mesogeios kai I Kyrpos stin othomaniki epohi ton epanastaseon* (Thessaloniki: Psifides, 2023).
46. Of course, there are some exceptions. The most serious attempt concerning the study of Ottoman history globally is Özavcı's account, *Dangerous Gifts*.

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