

**AEGEAN IN A STATE OF FLUX: A STUDY ON THE MOREOT  
MIGRANTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

by  
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## ABSTRACT

### AEGEAN IN A STATE OF FLUX: A STUDY ON THE MOREOT MIGRANTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

HİLAL CEMİLE TÜMER

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Keywords: : the Morea, Greek War of Independence, Ottoman Empire, migration, the Moreots, the Aegean Sea

In 1821, a series of events that would ultimately lead to the creation of a Greek nation state out of the Ottoman Empire were initiated in the Morea (Peloponnese). Over the course of a decade-long war, thousands of Muslims migrated from the Morea to Western Anatolia. This movement was a unique one in the sense that it started as an internal relocation within the Ottoman domains and evolved into an international one with the emancipation of Greece as a sovereign state in 1830. The experience of the Moreots provides an early example of modern mass movement of a people in the Eurasian space and the changing dynamics of migration in relation to nationalism, communal identifications, and modern institutionalization. The long nineteenth century, especially the second half, witnessed significant changes in the lives of the Moreots in Anatolia. They came to be able to negotiate for an active role in the peripheral politics with the central government thanks to their quick adaptability and making use of their previous networks and skills. While their migration heralded a great rupture in the Aegean, the Moreots also signified links and continuities between the two lands, the Morea and Anatolia. In this thesis, these links are traced, and the agency of the Moreots is emphasized as they evolve from migrants to citizens.

## ÖZET

DEVİNİM HALİNDE EGE: 19.YÜZYILDA MORA'DAN GÖÇ

HİLAL CEMİLE TÜMER

TARİH YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, TEMMUZ 2021 2021

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. AYŞE OZİL

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mora, Yunan Bağımsızlık Savaşı, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, göç, Moralılar, Ege Denizi

1821'de Mora Yarımadası'nda on yıl içerisinde bir Yunan ulus devletinin kurulmasıyla sonuçlanacak olan bir dizi gelişme yaşandı. On yıllık savaş döneminde binlerce Moralı Müslüman Batı Anadolu sahillerine göç etmek zorunda kaldı, bırakıldı. Bu tez Moralı Müslüman göçerlerin hikayesini takip etmektedir. Özellikle on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Batı Anadolu şehirlerinde ve toplumlarında yerleşik duruma geçen Moralılar özellikle sosyal, ekonomik ve politik alanlarda izlerini bırakmışlardır. Moralı Müslümanlar Avrasya'da teknoloji, siyaset ve kurumsallaşma alanlarında meydana gelen gelişmeler bağlamında modern kitle hareketlerinin erken bir örneğini teşkil etmektedir. Bu tez Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun modernleşme deneyiminin bir kısmını Moralı Müslüman göçerler üzerinden incelemektedir. Onların deneyimleri ise ulus, toplumsal kimlik ve modern kurumsallaşma kavramlarına ve süreçlerine dair izlenimler sunmaktadır. Bu izlenimlerin kökleri ise Mora Yarımadası'ndaki ilişkiler, göçün niteliği ve on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısında oluşan Moralı yaşam biçiminde aranmaktadır.

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for you. Thank you for respecting my thoughts and feelings and teaching me to be mindful of those of others. Even though my grandparents are no longer physically with us, I want to acknowledge their presence in the making of this thesis. When I was but a child, my beloved grandfather, Ziya, told me numerous stories about his Moreot ancestors and made me laugh many times with his funny Greek. This thesis is inspired by you, dede.

*To my grandmother, Huriye.*



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## 1. INTRODUCTION

“The context betwixt the Greeks and Turks has employed so many pens, that he who now ventures to write on that hackneyed, and apparently exhausted subject must begin by explaining his reasons for travelling a beaten road. . .”<sup>1</sup>

Such is the way that Thomas Gordon, major-general in the British Army deployed in the Morea during the War of Independence, starts his narrative of the events of the Greek War of Independence. Indeed, much has already been said and written regarding the grueling details of the combat, the ruination of the lands, and the massacres that were committed by both sides of the war. In fact, both the Turkish and the Greek scholarship have long crystallized an official narrative of the events that would appeal to a broader audience, highlighted the exploitation of victims according to their respective ethno-religious affiliation, and diminished or completely reduced the appearance of some groups in compliance with the same classification.

Mobility of large groups of people plays a seminal role in the lives of empires. Displaced people in the nineteenth century are often deemed as victims of emergent nations and burdens to the local and central administrations for they required care, diminished central and local treasuries, and sometimes incited rebellions in the places they were settled in. Moreover, in political histories, which have long dominated scholarship, dislocated people do not receive credit as actors and they are not granted historical agency per se. However, it has been recently shown by several historians in different contexts that people on the move were far from being helpless. In fact, they were able to negotiate with the central and local administrations on many matters that ranged from tax liability to official or communal identifications.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas Gordon, *History of the Greek Revolution, and of the Wars and Campaigns Arising from the Struggles of the Greek Patriots in Emancipating Their Country from the Turkish Yoke*, (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1832), i.

<sup>2</sup>Reşat Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants, and Refugees*, (University of Washington Press, 2009), 10.

This thesis follows the story of one such group, namely the Moreots who migrated from the Morea (Peloponnese) to Western Anatolia and Istanbul at the time of the Greek War of Independence and the following few decades around the mid-nineteenth century. Several of them left their mark on the Ottoman society by becoming landowners, officers, and politicians. However, most importantly with their distinct cultural identification, they carried the Moreot heritage for generations in Western Anatolian towns and elsewhere. Their experience provides us with an early example of modern mass movement of a people in the Eurasian space. Directly embedded in the emergence of a nation-state out of an old land-empire, examining the history of the Moreots provides clues to issues of subjecthood, nation, and identity formation in the modern period.

### 1.1 Who are the Moreots?

Prior to delving into a long narrative on the fate of the Moreots, a clarification of who are specifically referred to as “the Moreots” in this thesis is in order. Moreot is an umbrella term that is used both by contemporaries and modern scholars to describe the ethno-religiously diverse population of the Peloponnesian peninsula. Contemporary historians of the Greek War of Independence such as George Finlay, Thomas Gordon and John Comstock utilized this term as an adjective by placing it before religious or ethnically defining words such as in Moreot Christians or Moreot Turks. Muslim was another identification that was used synonymously with Turk. In the Ottoman archives, in the nineteenth century, these labels took the form of *Moralı reaya* (Moreot non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Sultan) to refer to Moreot Christians and *Moralılar* (Moreots) to refer to Muslim inhabitants of the peninsula.

Official chroniclers of the empire such as Ahmet Cevdet Paşa most often referred to the folk that relocated towards Western Anatolia as the Turks. Although a fascinating topic, the conceptual distinction of the identification of Muslim and Turk within the general denomination “Moreot” must be left out of the scope of this thesis. Therefore, it should suffice to state that in this thesis the term “Moreot” will refer specifically to those who (were) identified as Muslim, were part of the community known as “Turks” in the early nineteenth century, and relocated to Western Anatolia.

Mobility in the Aegean continued throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, even after the war between the Ottomans and the Greeks in the Morea was officially finalized through the London Protocol of 1830. The Moreot Muslims' migration is part of a broader context. What started as an internal relocation within the borders of the Ottoman Empire transformed into an international migration after the establishment of a national Greek state, raising questions about their official status.<sup>3</sup> In the later decades of the nineteenth and even at the beginning of the twentieth century they were still acknowledged as "the Moreots" by themselves, the state and travelers, indicating the formation of a distinct communal identity.

## 1.2 Scholarship on Moreots

Moreots did not attract significant attention in modern Ottoman historiography for several reasons. In most works, the migrations from the Caucasus to Anatolia and other regions of the Empire first as a consequence of the Crimean War in 1856 and later the Russo-Ottoman War of 1878 are presented as the first major mass movements the Ottomans experienced in the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the establishment of nation-states and ethno-religious conflicts in the Balkans led to two wars taking place consecutively which resulted in dramatic forced migrations towards Anatolia. The highlighting of the population displacements between 1856-1913 was due to the state-centered scholarship's emphasis on the causes and circumstances of the dissolution of the Empire<sup>5</sup> Still, these works provide valuable data and insight into the ways in which the forced migration played a role in the making of a Muslim majority in Ottoman society and how this feature came to affect the social, political, administrative, and intellectual outlook in the Ottoman Empire in the long nineteenth century.

The few monographs on the Moreot migration commonly meshed it with long recitations of the political events that took place during the Greek War of Independence,

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<sup>3</sup>The reason behind the utilization of the term evacuation-migration and evacuee-migrant instead of refuge and refugee lies in the fact that refugee status was mostly attributed to those who were subject or naturalized citizens of other states. Therefore, as the Morea was still within the borders of the Ottoman dominion during the war, the term migrant or evacuee is preferred over refugee.

<sup>4</sup>Nedim İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri* (1877-90), (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1994).

<sup>5</sup>Paschalis Kitromilides and Alexis Alexandris, *Ethnic Survival, Nationalism and Forced Migration: The Historical Demography of the Greek Community of Asia Minor at the Close of the Ottoman Era*, (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1984), 10.

from the viewpoint provided principally by the Ottoman archives. They highlight many valuable points of information about the Greek War and its toll on the Ottoman administration as well as the people of the Morea. For instance, an earliest instance of a monograph focusing solely on the migration from the Morea, a finishing dissertation by Vasif Gökpınar, could be dated to 1972. The events are narrated from the Ottoman archival perspective while the socio-cultural analysis of the migrants' life after their settlement in Anatolia is not included.<sup>6</sup>

In comparison, a larger and more recent volume by Ali Fuat Örenç approaches to the matter of migration from the Morea from a broader range of sources, albeit remaining accordant with the statist viewpoint.<sup>7</sup> The book uses an abundance of archival documents and official historiographies and highlights many valuable materials that presents the political atmosphere of the war and expulsion of the Muslims. The narrative concludes with the end of the Greek War of Independence and the border and property transactions made between the two sovereign states. The Moreots are presented mostly as victims and there is little mention of their experiences in Anatolia.

Migration and migrants from the Morea, Attica and Euboea were discussed in Nedim İpek's comprehensive book *İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Göçler*. İpek's work is significant in terms of the categorization and periodization of modern migrations. He regards the Moreot migration as the first great mobility within the Ottoman domains in the nineteenth century. From archival documents to population surveys, he assembles a variety of sources to present the Moreot presence in Western Anatolia. İpek's other publications focus on the Moreots' journey to and life in Anatolia in specific cities such as İzmir and are valuable contributions towards acknowledging of the Moreot migration as part of the Ottoman Empire's nineteenth-century experience. However, they, too, neglect the agency of the Moreots as individuals and groups who were able to negotiate for their places and desires with the state and the community in which they lived.

On the other hand, Evren Dayar contributes to the scholarship by using a local historical approach to examine the lives of the Moreots in Anatolian cities, specifically in Antalya, in the second half of the nineteenth century. In his doctoral dissertation, he examines the relations between the central government and the notables of Antalya which the several Moreot families were a part of. Tracing court and property records, travelogues, and consular reports, Dayar presents a picture of the

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<sup>6</sup>Vasif Gökpınar, "Mora Muhacirleri Meselesi." Unpublished Finishing Dissertation, (İstanbul Üniversitesi Merkez Kütüphânesi, Nr. 6973, 1973.)

<sup>7</sup>Ali Fuat Örenç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri ve Eyaletten Bağımsızlığa Yunanistan*, (İstanbul: Babiali Kültür, 2009.)

socio-economic life of the Moreots in Antalya. In fact, despite not being the central point of the research, the life they built for themselves in Antalya is a well-examined aspect of this work.<sup>8</sup>

However, neither of the abovementioned works bring together a comprehensive account of the Moreots' experiences in the Morea and Anatolia. Despite drawing attention to many singular aspects of their story, the research so far has excluded the agency of the Moreots, treating them as remote and unchanging masses that remained as victims-migrants throughout the nineteenth century. However, the analytical reading of the works cited and the careful examination of the primary sources that are listed in the upcoming sections present a quite different picture that is rich in detail which this thesis attempts to relay.

Overall in the migration and demographic studies in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman domains, the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923 played a principal role. In terms of Greek historiography, the Center for Asia Minor Studies played a great role in the preservation of the refugee culture and memory, as it categorized the sources and thereby constituted a model for migration studies. After the 1980s, collaborations between the Turkish and Greek historians made possible the proliferation and pluralization of the sources possible.<sup>9</sup> Thanks to the diversification in both the source materials and their utilization, the migrant-refugee experience, regardless of ethno-religious divisions, was added to the demographic data and theories of nation-building.<sup>10</sup> The methods employed by the historians of the Greco-Turkish population exchange set a good example to situate the Moreot case into the social-administrative context of the Ottoman Empire which was on the verge of several notable transformations instigated by the Greek War.

Critical studies on Greco-Ottoman relations have been multiplying as the Ottoman archives began to be used by Greek-speaking scholars and vice versa. Especially the political developments and their extensive repercussions concerning the two countries were interpreted through a wider range of sources and analyzed in broader contexts. Roughly two decades before the second centennial anniversary of the

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<sup>8</sup>Evren Dayar, "19. Yüzyıl Antalya'sında Mora Göçmeni Bir Aile: Moraviler", *Toplumsal Tarih*, 292, April 2018; Dayar, "Antalya'da Devlet ve Eşraf İlişkileri (1839-1908)", Unpublished PhD dissertation, (Akdeniz Üniversitesi, 2016).

<sup>9</sup>Especially the cataloguing of the rich archives composing of written and oral sources have been impactful on the diversification of research on the migration from Asia Minor to Greece. See Η Έξοδος, τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλιών της Μικρασίας [I Exodos, tomos A. Martyries apo tis eparchies ton Dytikon tis Mikrasias], (Athens, 2016); For applications of similar approaches see Evangelia Balta, *The Exchange of Populations: Historiography and Refugee Memory*, (Istanbul: Istos Yayınları, 2016); Renee Hirschon (ed), *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003).

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.



Greek War of Independence, the interest in reviewing the war as a multifaceted phenomenon that resulted not only in the birth of a modern Greek state but also that of a modern Turkish state has begun to increase steadily. By historians such as Yusuf Hakan Erdem, Marinos Sariyannis, Sophia Laiou and Şükrü İlcak, the war is now being observed as a mediating agent, as the bearer of radical transformative agendas which would affect the conceptual and practical minds of the Ottoman elite, leading them to create new institutions and terms, and negotiate the transition from subjecthood to citizenship.<sup>11</sup> The conceptual and pragmatic shifts that were caused by the emancipation of Greece as the condition subsequent of the old Ottoman order are now being examined politically, militarily, and intellectually.<sup>12</sup> In fact, according to Erdem, the Greco-Ottoman War could have been the incentive for the Ottomans to style their own empire as Turkey or Türkistan.<sup>13</sup> This hypothesis opens up further fields of inquiry for the historian, especially regarding the understudied topic of Moreot migrants and the concepts of nation, individual and collective identity.

### 1.3 Research Questions

The Greek War of Independence, in the words of Şükrü İlcak, “necessitated a radical rethinking of the [Ottoman] Empire.”<sup>14</sup> Other historians also offer terms like “reinvention of the empire” or “self-reinvention” to describe the change the empire was going through.<sup>15</sup> As a group that was immediately impacted by this “event”, where did the Moreot migration and migrants stand in this process? More broadly, the world was on the threshold of a change at this time. National states were

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<sup>11</sup>Yusuf Hakan Erdem, “Do not think of the Greeks as agricultural labourers’: Ottoman responses to the Greek war of independence”, *Citizenship and The Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, Birtek, Faruk and Dragonas, Thalia (eds.), (London: Routledge, November 2005), 67-84.

<sup>12</sup>One could cite the *The Greek Revolution of 1821: A European Event*, ed. Petros Pizaniyas, (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2011); *Citizenship and The Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, eds. Faruk Birtek and Thalia Dragonas, (London: Routledge, November 2005); *Ottoman Rule and the Balkans, 1760-1850: Conflict, Transformation, Adaptation: Proceedings of An International Conference Held in Rethymno, Greece, 13-14 December 2003*, eds. Elias Kolovos and Antonis Anastasopoulos, (Rethymno: University of Crete, Department of History and Archaeology 2007); Şükrü İlcak, “A Radical Rethinking of Empire: Ottoman State and Society during the Greek War of Independence (1821-1826),” Unpublished PhD dissertation, (Harvard University, 2011).

<sup>13</sup>Yusuf Hakan Erdem, “The Greek revolt and the end of the old Ottoman order”, *The Greek Revolution of 1821: A European Event*, ed. Petros Pizaniyas, (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2011).

<sup>14</sup>Two main components of the transformation were the disbandment of Janissary Corps and the *Deayanization* Project. Şükrü İlcak, “A Radical Rethinking of Empire: Ottoman State and Society during the Greek War of Independence (1821-1826),” Unpublished PhD dissertation, (Harvard University, 2011), 2.

<sup>15</sup>Mostafa Minawi, *The Ottoman Scramble for Africa: Empire and Diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz*, (Stanford University Press, 2016), xiv, 92, 145.

emerging, modern concepts of administration, bureaucracy and modern institutionalization were becoming issues that affected all industries, and the socio-political, economic and intellectual life of even the civilian population in the Ottoman Empire was moved by this process. As the Greek War would further instigate and pour on the speed of the process of modernization of the Empire, old systems would be reconsidered.

This thesis aims to follow the story of change by focusing on the Moreots as they moved from Greece to Anatolia in the first half of the nineteenth century. Their movement can be situated between the old and new systems of governance. While they were expelled from the lands they were born in due to earliest examples of nationalism in the Ottoman lands, their migration was conducted with traditional modes of organization and transportation. Therefore, the contextualization of the Moreot migration in the broader transformation of the Aegean region is one of the key aspects of this research.

The formation of the Moreot identity is yet another aspect under scrutiny in this thesis. What could be the motivations and elements that led the Moreots to preserve their connection with the peninsula, even if it remained as an epithet only, and how did they negotiate for it with the state? If they were using more regional or local identifications before, how did it evolve into the more general, common denomination of “Moreots”? The distinctive characteristics of the Moreots in the prewar era and their continuation or discontinuation are discussed in the context of identity-making. The economic opportunities that are presented as a result of the aforementioned reform agenda, especially with regards to the *deayanization* project, are taken up by the Moreots in the second half of the nineteenth century. These opportunities and the ways in which the Moreots made themselves available actors to the state service in the places they settled constitutes a major point of discussion in this thesis, as it moves the migrants away from their “victim” status and highlights their active agency.

#### 1.4 Overview of the Chapters

Although violence has been sporadically inflicted upon Muslim folk ever since the news of a revolution attempt in the Danubian Principalities reached Morea in 1821, the Moreot Muslims and Christians were not always on two sides of a war. In fact, in

some parts of the peninsula, they were connected with familial ties. The first chapter examines the demographic spread of the Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Morea and characteristics of the Moreot Muslims such as the language they spoke, their occupations and the nature of their relations with their Christian neighbors in the pre-war era. A town in the southern coast, Methoni, is selected as a case study where the investigation zooms into the inhabitants and life of the town.

The chapter further investigates the causes and possible motivations of the migration are made within the context of the War of Independence. The relocation of Muslims to Anatolia had not been planned initially by them nor by the Ottoman central administration. In fact, the Moreot Muslims' first instinct against the peaking violence was to seek protection in a fortified town.<sup>16</sup> Inland and coastal towns throughout the Morea fell to the hands of the Greeks in the span of almost a decade. The inhabitants of these towns were either slain or expelled from their homes. This thesis specifically focuses on the Moreot Muslims from coastal towns such as Methoni (Ott. Modon), Koroni (Ott. Koron), Monemvasia (Ott. Benefşe) and Nafplio (Ott. Anabolu) who benefited from their towns' geographic position and took the sea route to reach Anatolia.

The second chapter is concerned with the journey and the arrival. The organization and logistics of mobility in the context of migration and technology are assessed. The surviving eyewitness accounts and reports are presented with regards to the journey and its perils, such as disease, piracy, and famine. Next, the organization of settlement is examined. Following their arrival, Moreot migrants were tended to mostly by the local administrators in the southwestern coasts of Anatolia who corresponded with the Ottoman central government. Other actors and processes of the settlement are examined in this chapter alongside the initial reaction of the local and central governments. Finally, practices regarding the inner relocation of the Moreots and forms of control exerted by the central government are presented.

The third chapter focuses on the Moreot settlements in Anatolia. The life they built around themselves is examined through its materialization in the form of neighborhoods, occupations and relations they developed with the Rum and the state. The Moreots who were settled in the town of Antalya are presented as a case study whereby the prior remarks about identity and heritage are scrutinized. Moreover, the persistence of the epithet *Moreot* is investigated within the context of a possible Moreot heritage, a patronymic that was passed from father to son. Lastly, the

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<sup>16</sup>The initial lack of zeal to fight off the enemy (insurgent Greeks) shown by the Muslims of Morea and Thessaly and the indifference of the officers in field as well as at the Capital caused a great distress for Mahmud II. Şükrü Ilıcak, "A Radical Rethinking of Empire: Ottoman State and Society during the Greek War of Independence (1821-1826)," Unpublished PhD dissertation, (Harvard University, 2011).

relations with the state and how several prominent Moreots played a role in the changing dynamics throughout the second half of the nineteenth century in Antalya is observed.

## 1.5 Sources

Ever since the Greek Kingdom rose as a sovereign state by separating itself from the Ottoman Empire, chroniclers and historians both from the Ottoman and Greek sides have been compiling a considerable amount of data regarding the conditions of the war and the positions of the parties. It should be acknowledged that in most of these narratives, whether Ottoman, Turkish, or European, the plight of the Muslims who had been killed, taken prisoner, or forced to evacuate their lands and possessions have been expressed to some extent.<sup>17</sup> On the Greek side, the story proceeded as a European event,<sup>18</sup> and the Muslim experience was mostly excluded from the narratives or presented as a necessary consequence of war.<sup>19</sup>

In terms of primary sources, a variety of archival and non-archival sources were employed in order to present a comprehensive image of the life Moreots maintained on the pre-war peninsula and in post-war Anatolia. Accounts of travelers and historians such as George Finlay, Thomas Gordon, William Martin Leake and William Gell were used intensively in describing the characteristics of the subject group, their relations with the non-Muslim communities on the peninsula and their socio-economic standings.

Eyewitness accounts of the Ottomans, as rare as they are, were found and presented

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<sup>17</sup>The narration of the events, including the evacuations, during the Greek Revolt could be found in Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, *Vak'a-Nüvis Ahmed Lütfi Efendi Tarihi, v.2-3, transcr. ed. M. Münir Aktepe*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1989); Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet* vol.11-12. (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1309); Ahmedpaşazâde Mir Yusuf, *Mora Vak'asına Dair Ba'zı Malumât*, Fatih Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri, TY, nr. 564; Theodoros Kolokotronis, *The Klepht and the Warrior; Sixty Years of Peril and Daring, An Autobiography*, trans. Elizabeth Edmonds, (London: T. Fisher Unwin.); George Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1832); Finlay, *A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time B.C.14 to A.D. 1864*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1877); John L. Comstock, *A History of the Greek Revolution*, (New York: William W. Reed & Co., 1828); Sofia Laiou and Marinos Sariyannis, *Othomanikes Afigiseis Gia Tin Elliniki Epanastasi: Apo ton Giousof Bei ston Achmet Tzevntet Pasa* [Ottoman Narratives of the Greek Revolution from Yusuf Bey to Ahmed Cevdet Paşa], (Αθήνα: Ινστιτούτο Ιστορικών Ερευνών Εθνικο Ιδρυμα Ερευνών, 2019.)

<sup>18</sup>Petros Pizanias, "From Reaya to Greek Citizen, Enlightenment and Revolution, 1750-1832", in *The Greek Revolution of 1821: A European Event*, (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2011), 11-84.

<sup>19</sup>Theodoros Kolokotronis, *The Klepht and the Warrior; Sixty Years of Peril and Daring, An Autobiography*, trans. Elizabeth Edmonds, (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1891), 156-158; George Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

as a direct look into the circumstances of the Moreots during the war in the Morea. Among them Mir Yusuf Bey's narrative of the war and migration was particularly significant in conveying the more personal details of the displacement. In addition, documents from the Ottoman state archives (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri) constituted yet another pillar, especially with regards to the processes of migration and how the settlement of the people was organized. In this context, correspondence of the Ottoman local and central administrations was vital in understanding the scale of the movement and the actors that were concerned with it.

Even though newspapers had just begun to make an appearance in the Ottoman territories, the international press was fairly interested in the events that transpired in the Aegean. In addition to papers such as *Le Moniteur Universel* of France and *London Times* of Britain, local newspapers like *Courrier de Smyrne* by the Levantine lawyer-journalist Alexandre Blacque of İzmir were also immersed in reporting the details of the combat and actions taken by the involved parties. Although the news from Greece often made it to the frontpage, the Moreot migrants found very little space in this large agenda of the press. International journalism gravitated towards highlighting the heroes and were less keen on relaying the migration of the Moreots towards Anatolia. Nevertheless, they were notably helpful in providing an insight into the atmosphere within which the migration took place, as well as some of the actors who were involved in the lives of the Moreot migrants.

Lastly, alongside travelers' impressions and newspapers, the court registers, otherwise known as *sijils*, contain a wealth of information regarding the circumstances of the Moreots after they settled in and took root in the Anatolian cities and towns. The secondary literature that contains the transliterations of these registers in Antalya were useful in detecting the socioeconomic conditions of the Moreots in the second half of the nineteenth century. Stipend requests and travel permits from the Ottoman state archives were helpful in tracing the Moreot presence in Western Anatolia and the way they self-identified and were identified by the state.

## 2. A GENERAL VIEW OF THE MOREA BEFORE THE WAR AND ON THE EVE OF THE EXODUS

With revolution, there came massacres. It was one of the realities of the struggle for the independence of a nation. The outbreak of the revolt in the Morea, or Peloponnese, in early 1821 had major consequences for the entire population of the peninsula. Many townfolk, especially those on the coasts, witnessed the violence of the war and suffered through plunder, death, and relocation. There was not enough space for large non-Greek groups to live in a Hellenic nation-state. The political ideology that was in place when independence was gained from the Ottomans was not permissive in the first place for the celebration of multicultural society and ethno-religious diversity.

In the case of Greece, communities were divided according to affiliation with the Ottomans or Greeks and their allies.<sup>1</sup> Smaller groups such as Jews were caught in between the Muslims and Christians and ultimately subjected to the same persecution as the Muslims in most places.<sup>2</sup> While it is attested by a commander of Greek armies, General Makriyannis,<sup>3</sup> that the klephtic force took its toll on the lay Greeks too, it was not as severe or extensive as that against the Muslims or Jews.<sup>4</sup> In some of the towns, the Muslims and Jews were subjected to mass killings whereas in others, after surrendering the citadels where they had taken refuge, they were released on the condition that they would leave the peninsula.

There are numerous eyewitness accounts that shed light on the ways in which Muslim inhabitants lived in the pre-war era and how they were treated after the fall of the fortresses. The war and its toll on the local people found wide coverage in the newspapers of the era as well. The Moreots and their relocation out of the peninsula

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<sup>1</sup>George Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1832), 177.

<sup>2</sup>Katherine E. Flemming, *Greece: A Jewish History*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 15.

<sup>3</sup>Ioannes Makriyannis, *The Memoirs of General Makriyannis*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 30-57.

<sup>4</sup>John L. Comstock, *History of the Greek Revolution*, 214.

were occasionally mentioned in these short reports. Apart from some of the larger inland towns, such works usually provided information regarding the coastal populations, for reasons ranging from their recognition as hubs of transregional trade to antiquarian tourism.

The abundance of the sources about coastal towns such as Nafplio, Monemvasia, Methoni and Koroni helped specify the inhabiting Moreot Muslims as those who relocated to Anatolia by sea route and it facilitated the process of tracing mobility and settlement. This feature of the towns made their inhabitants the main group of interest for this thesis. The common characteristic of these towns was their direct access to the sea, which proved to be a disadvantage as well as a blessing. On the one hand, the coastal towns were exposed to threats that came from the sea, which was the forte of many Greek islands that participated in the war against the Ottomans such as Hydra (Çamlıca) and Spetzes (Suluca). At the same time, the opening provided the Muslims a way to run from the threat of persecution and even, in certain places, extermination and relocate to Anatolia.

The long-standing effects of the trauma of war, persecution, and migration impacted the narration of the story of Muslim presence on the peninsula, often leading to teleological descriptions as though the Muslims and Greeks were always two opposing forces in Moreot society. However, they were not always in conflict and they were part of a larger regional culture that was separated not by language or daily practices, but mainly religion and political affiliation. Not only data should be presented to gauge the motives of the Moreot Muslim expulsion; instead, the characteristics of the inhabitants and the ways in which they maintained their lives before the war should also hold vital space in presenting a comprehensive view of Moreot life in the post-war period. Therefore, this chapter is principally concerned with issues related to the Muslim Moreot population, examining their occupations, networks, and relations with non-Muslim groups in the places they resided.

## 2.1 Population and Society

Numbers with regard to the demographic spread of the total population and the Muslims in the Morea vary according to each account. In 1805, William Martin Leake, a British diplomat and antiquarian, reckoned the total population of the

Morea to be 320,000, less than a quarter of which was constituted of Muslims.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, historian George Finlay, in his account of the Greek War of Independence, estimates the Muslim inhabitants of the Morea to have been approximately twenty thousand in April 1821.<sup>6</sup> The population was quite dispersed on the peninsula and it is likely that Finlay is referring to the heartland of the Morea, Arcadia, when giving these numbers, for he later states that 15,000 Muslims lived in Laconia alone, which does not add up to the number Leake gives.<sup>7</sup>

In a more systematic research, namely that of Emile Kolodny's *La Population des îles de la Grèce : essai de géographie insulaire en Méditerranée orientale*, the number of inhabitants of Greece appear to be just short of a million in 1821. Seven years later, towards the end of the war, a census took place, registering inhabitants according to their confessions.<sup>8</sup> Here, the population of Greece is registered as 753,000, suggesting of a decimation around two hundred thousand. Although it still remains at a level of estimation, these numbers confirm that the Christians comprised the majority in most of the peninsula. Jews, on the other hand, were a minority of the population in most settlements. They are mentioned less frequently in chronicles or travelogues when compared to the Christians or Muslims of Morea.

While some of the towns were hubs of Muslim settlements, in others there lived less than a dozen families. For instance, in the administrative capital of the eyalet, Tripolitsa (Ott. Tripoliçe/Trapoliçe), approximately two and a half thousand Muslims resided<sup>9</sup>, whereas in smaller, fortified towns such as Monemvasia, the number was less than a thousand.<sup>10</sup> Coastal towns such as Methoni, Koroni, Nafplio and Monemvasia were the origins of most of the Moreots in Western Anatolia. They were small to medium in terms of the size of the territories; however, the fortified section constituted a major part of all of the towns. For instance, Leake estimates the number of Muslims in Methoni to be four hundred in 1805, and apparently they lived in moderate conditions although they were quite active in the slave trade network between North Africa and Europe.<sup>11</sup> In Koroni, the Muslim population was

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<sup>5</sup>William Martin Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, vol.1 (London, 1830), 87.

<sup>6</sup>George Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, vol.1, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1861), 172.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid, 186.

<sup>8</sup>Emile Kolodny, *La Population des îles de la Grèce : essai de géographie insulaire en Méditerranée orientale*, (Aix-en-Provence :Édisud, 1974), v.2, 765-767.

<sup>9</sup>William Martin Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, vol.1, 87.

<sup>10</sup>Machiel Kiel, "Benefçe" TDV Islam Ansiklopedisi, vol.5, (Istanbul, 1992), 434-436.

<sup>11</sup>Leake, *Travels*, 431



half of that of Methoni, and most of them resided in the castle and were engaged in agriculture.<sup>12</sup>

Figure 2.1 Map of the Morea



Source: William Martin Leake, *Peloponnesiaca: a Supplement to Travels in the Morea*, (London, J. Rodwell, 1846). Additional labels are mine.

If ever a generalization were to be made regarding the life of the Moreot Muslims in these towns, it would contain two main features: an occupation related largely to agriculture, as well as craftsmanship and trade, and speaking the Greek language as their native tongue. The history of these characteristics goes back to an early date. One of the earliest accounts about the Moreot Muslims belongs to the famous traveler of the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi. In his travelogue of the Morea, dated 1669, he writes about large numbers of Muslim Moreots living mostly in castles where they would have a section that was completely distinct from the neighborhoods of the Christians.<sup>13</sup> According to Çelebi, they were engaged in agricultural production, as well as artisanry and craftsmanship, took Christian wives, and spoke Greek.<sup>14</sup> Often, it is a difficult and, at times, inessential task to abridge centuries of historical data when describing a nineteenth-century community. However, the endurance of some of the features over so many years does shed some light on how

<sup>12</sup>Leake, *Travels*, 436.

<sup>13</sup>Evliya Çelebi, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 8, vol.1, ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman, (Istanbul: YKY, 2017), 261-307.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid, 266.

the Moreot Muslim communities were in the nineteenth century.

While some of the Moreots resided in the town citadels, others, especially the ones that were engaged in agricultural production, lived outside the walls dispersed in throughout the country.<sup>15</sup> Olive oil, mulberry, fig, cotton, corn, and small amounts of silk were among the range of goods cultivated by the Muslim peasantry. In most areas, there existed at least several Muslim landholders whom Finlay claimed had a “virtual monopoly over the market.” Those who resided in the citadels had yeomen who handled and tended to the fields owned by the rich in the country. The tax collectors and landholders of the port towns were in a more advantageous position to raise their prices for small quantities of goods due to the appeal of finding adequate means of transport for the merchants.<sup>16</sup>

Despite all the affluence and prosperity that is often associated with the Muslims who were inherently affiliated with the ruling power, both Leake and Gell remark that they were just as miserable and poor as the Christians in most towns.<sup>17</sup> The *bey*s from each community who resided in their own towers and mansions across the country also support the claim that poverty did not differentiate between religions and was universal on the peninsula.

Leake and Finlay attest that the relations between different ethnic and religious communities were balanced and full of variations. Clearly, the instability of the region prior to the Independence War indicate that several groups aligned with various forces at the time. However, Finlay claims that some facts remained constant throughout the Ottoman domination of the peninsula. All Muslims (Turks or Albanians) were considered affiliates of the ruling (and tax collecting) class. Muslim Albanians were imitating the Turks by dressing up the way they did and also taking on jobs such as collecting the *haraç* (poll tax) from the Greeks.<sup>18</sup> Despite this traditional affiliation and alliance, for Finlay, the Turks were left to fend for themselves when the war broke out since the Muslim Albanians were often prone to form better relationships with their Christian kin, compared to those the Christians had with the Turks.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>George Finlay, *The History of Greece under Othoman and Venetian Domination*, (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1856), 149, 172, 325.

<sup>16</sup>Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, 30

<sup>17</sup>Leake, *Travels*, 430-435; Gell, *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea*, 42-45, 117.

<sup>18</sup>Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, 180.

<sup>19</sup>This left the Albanians in a precarious position before the Sultan and the Ottoman administration during the upcoming years. The shaky relationship between the Muslims and Albanians led Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, the renowned intellectual and court historian, to speak nonchalantly of the murder of Albanians in Tripolitsa, implying that they deserved this reckoning for committing treason against their co-religionists. Of course, Ali Paşa of Janina's influence cannot be disregarded when discussing the relations between

Almost all travelers, from Çelebi to Finlay, talk about the segregated town plans in which each millet inhabited separate neighborhoods. This isolated scenery has been much discussed in the scholarship and found not truly reflective of the way Muslims and Christians lived in reality.<sup>20</sup> The communities were still very much influenced by one another. Leake makes remarks on the use of Turkified family names like Papasoglu and Barboglu by the Greeks, in order to imitate the ruling elites in centers such as Tripolitsa.<sup>21</sup> Interfaith marriage was not forbidden and was practiced especially in the large cities where the Greeks and Turks lived in relative indifference. As a common practice in various parts of the Ottoman Empire and other Islamic societies, the Muslims never gave their daughters to Christian males, though they frequently married Christian females.<sup>22</sup>

Almost all Moreots spoke the same language: Greek. Different claims are made regarding the distinctive features of the resident communities; however, this claim regarding language is attested by almost all sources that concern the populations of the Morea.<sup>23</sup> In fact, at times this particular feature created awkward situations between Turkish-speaking Muslims from Anatolia and Moreots. For instance, Kabudlu Mustafa Vasfi, a *deli* soldier (an irregular horseman) who fought in the Morea as part of Ottoman irregular troops during the Greek War of Independence, gives an account of his encounter with a group of Greek-speaking women in his memoir as follows:

“... bu çiftliğe giderken evler arasında delibaşımın soytarısına rast gelüp bunun ile beraber giderken evler içinde büyük konak var idi. Mezkur arkadaşım bendenize eyitdi, “Ey birader, bu konak büyük bir konaktır. Gel bu konağın içerüsüne bakalım ne vardır,” deyü cevap edüp ve bendeniz münasip görüp atlardan aşağı inüp mezkur konağın kapusını açup

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these two groups. For further information on this topic, see Hakan Erdem, "Perfidious Albanians and Zealous Governors: Ottomans, Albanians and Turks in the Greek War of Independence", *Ottoman Rule and the Balkans, 1760-185: Conflict, Transformation, Adaptation*, eds. Antonis Anastasopoulos and Elias Kolovos, (Rethymno: University of Crete, Department of History and Archaeology, 2007), 213-240.

<sup>20</sup>See for instance, Najwa al-Qattan, "Litigants and Neighbors: The Communal Topography of Ottoman Damascus," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44 (2002), 511-533.

<sup>21</sup>Leake, *Travels*, 87.

<sup>22</sup>Evliya Çelebi, reports from Patras (Ballibadra/Balyabadra) that non-Muslims were prohibited from residing in or even entering some of the sections of the citadel where the Muslims lived. He includes that only women of Christian faith who were married to Muslim men were authorized to settle in these parts and they were large in number. Intermarriage, therefore, was a common phenomenon between the Moreots, regardless of their faith. Finlay also confirms this claim in the nineteenth century, although his primary focus is the Christian Moreots. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 260-267. On marriage of different faiths, see, Madeline Zilfi, *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage: Politics, Society and Economy*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997.)

<sup>23</sup>Ibid, 266; Charles Texier, *Principal Ruins of Asia Minor*, (London, 1865), 11; Koçyiğit, *Tevarih*, 163.

bakdık. Konak içinde bir otuz karı ve on beş kadar siyah cariye. . . Bunları kafir karıları zannedüp bunları alıp taşra çıkdık. Bunlara eyitdik, “Sizler Müslümanlız yoksa kafirli?” deyü sual etdik. Bunlar Türkçe bilmeyüp hemen eyidirler “La ilahe illallah!” deyüp, Rumca deęişir şey derler. Biz bunların dilinden bilmeyüp bunları vilayet içüne götürdük. Bir Rumca bilen adam bulup unlardan haber aldık. Bunlar Müslüman karıları imiş. Erkeklerini kesüp bunları bu konak içüne koyup ateş verüp yandıracaklar imiş. Bizler ol gece ova içüne erişince kafirler bunları bıragup firar etmişler idi. Sonra biz bu karıları bırakub. . .”<sup>24</sup>

The Greek language was a distinctive enough feature of the Moreot Muslims to make it into the memoir of an irregular soldier from Central Anatolia. In Koçyiğit’s transliteration, Kabudlu describes the language spoken by the women as “Rumca deęişir şey” (a type of Greek dialect). The same line was transliterated by Jan Schmidt as “Rumca deñişeriz”, which he then translated to English as “Can’t we change to Greek?”<sup>25</sup> Rather than Schmidt’s implication that the women felt more comfortable speaking Greek, it is more likely that Kabudlu did not understand the language of the women as they did not speak Turkish. Nevertheless, had those women not uttered the universal confirmation of their Islamic faith, in Arabic, Kabudlu Mustafa Vasfi and his friends would fail to decipher their identity and they would most probably be sold as slaves.

It comes as no surprise that only the administrative elite and the intermediaries between them and the townsfolk spoke Turkish. The civilian population of the Morea were considerably distant, in every way, from the next place in which Turkish was the mother tongue to all inhabitants of the region. As languages would play an instrumental role in the formation and reification of national identities, Greek-speaking Muslims from the Morea would contribute to the diversification of the emergent Ottoman identity. This would later play a significant role in the formation of their life and relations in Western Anatolia, where even the Greeks spoke Turkish, following their relocation and settlement.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Ömer Koçyiğit, *Kabudlu Mustafa Efendi: Tevarih (Analysis-Text-Maps-Index-Facsimile)*, (Harvard University: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 2016), 163-164.

<sup>25</sup>Jan Schmidt, *Joys of Philology*, (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2002), 259.

<sup>26</sup>For further comments regarding the distinctions between the Greeks and Turks in terms of language and religion, see Marshall Hodgson, *Venture of Islam*, v.3, (University of Chicago Press, 1974), 249, 262.

### 2.1.1 A Detailed Description: The Muslims of Methoni

Methoni represents one of the well-known towns in the Morea for which there is information regarding the lives of the Muslims from various economic classes in both the pre-war and post-war era. Since the Muslim migrants from Methoni in Western Anatolia will be one of the focal points of the third chapter, their situation on the peninsula and how they fared before the outbreak of the war will be discussed in a more detailed manner here. Many travelers stopped by this fortress-town that was valuable for all powers in the past that wanted to control the peninsula and recorded their impressions. Especially William Martin Leake and William Gell, an English archeologist and illustrator who traveled to the peninsula in the years 1804-1806, wrote detailed descriptions of the town and its inhabitants, following in the footsteps of Pausanias.

Economic standing varied for all populations of the Morea, and there were a few wealthy beys in almost every town throughout the peninsula. According to Gell, in terms of housing, apart from the unnamed bey of the castle who resided in a mansion surrounded with gardens, both the rich and the poor suffered from the same shabbiness. Gell humorously remarks that the houses of the mundane rich are distinguished from those of poor not by the display of large columns or priceless marbles but by cushions and carpets.<sup>27</sup> These few affluent Muslim beys of the area offered coffee in Dresden china and entertained guests in their well-kept flower gardens and orchards. Their sons, even at very young ages at home grounds, bore arms and sabers of splendid quality.

Despite the unfavorable conditions in which most Moreots, both Muslims and Christians, were living, they still had staple household items that were considered relatively fancy by the travelers from Europe. For instance, while describing the poverty of the Muslims in Methoni, Gell remarks on the frequent use of smoking pipes made from cherrywood or jessamine wood with amber mouthpieces. The reason for the use of amber was due to the common belief among the Muslims that it was incapable of carrying and transmitting any disease, particularly the plague.<sup>28</sup> Gell comes to the conclusion that the lack of care for building sturdy housing was due to the climate that was arid and required light constructions that would function not so differently than the shadow of a tree to rest under.

Leake and Gell comment on two significant points regarding the characteristics of the

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<sup>27</sup>William Gell, *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea*, (London, 1823), 45.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid*, 43.

Muslims of Methoni. The Muslims of this town were active in many sectors, ranging from olive oil and silk production to slave traffic. As mentioned earlier, the town was a particularly important point in the trade between Africa, Greece, and Europe. The Muslim traders were conducting business with Tunisia, playing a role in the transfer of African slaves into and throughout Greece and on to Europe.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, some of the *bey*s were able to speak Arabic, a dialect spoken by the Maltese, in addition to Greek, as pointed out by Gell.<sup>30</sup> Despite the profound changes that would take place in a short while in the lives of the Muslim Moreots of Methoni, some of these characteristics and businesses would endure and determine their experiences in their new habitation.

## 2.2 War, Famine and the Threat of Extermination

In less than twenty years after Leake and Gell's visits, the affairs in the Morea came to a point of rupture. By mid-March in 1821, news from Alexander Ypsilantis' campaign in the Danubian Principalities had already traveled down to the peninsula and was responsible of the general apprehension felt by the inhabitants.<sup>31</sup> Both the Christians and the Muslims, making up the non-military lay population, were sensing that a great social upheaval was about to unleash and were avoiding any acts that would hasten the eruption.<sup>32</sup> Finlay remarks that the Greeks and the Muslims, likely referring to the ordinary groups of common folk, were unwarlike and especially the latter was too scattered on the peninsula to organize groups that would constitute a threat.

The end of March marked the beginning of a series of events that would change the geography and population of the Moreot forever. Between the 29 of March and 1 of April, several Muslim Moreot families that lived in the unfortified villages in the countryside packed up their moveable belongings and loaded them into large houses which were thought to be capable of defense.<sup>33</sup> April 2, 1821 marked the dissemination of violence throughout the peninsula. According to Finlay, many Muslim

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<sup>29</sup>Leake, 483.

<sup>30</sup>Gell, 43.

<sup>31</sup>Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, 172.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid, 181.

Moreots were killed that day in various places and the communication between each settlement was cut off permanently. The Muslims of Kalavryta were slain before they could seek refuge in one of the fortresses in the north. The local Muslim *beys* tried to protect the community; however, they failed.<sup>34</sup>

This was the first group of people that were pushed out of their homes with the terror of the “long-talked-insurrection of the Greeks”.<sup>35</sup> Those who survived the first week of the outbreak of the war took refuge in the fortresses on the shores that were renovated by the Ottoman officials when the rumors of a possible sedition began to surface in late 1820.<sup>36</sup> Laconian Muslims fled to Monemvasia and Tripolitsa, whereas those on the north sought protection in Patras. The Arcadian Muslims requested to take refuge in the castle of Tripolitsa as well, which caused a large crowd to be crammed in there with inadequate means of provision. According to Finlay, throughout the year, the Muslim population was under the threat of extermination from the peninsula by means of mass killings, exiles, and the denial of protection and provision to maintain life.<sup>37</sup> Finlay cites the diminutive number of the Muslims as one reason to wipe the (Turco-) Muslim presence from the peninsula, which would go on to serve as the first sovereign territory of the Greek Kingdom.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, the possibility of there being a reinforcement of Muslims sent by the Ottoman central government is conspicuous as a matter of anxiety for the Greeks in the historical narratives.

The town of Tripolitsa and its people hold a crucial place in the story of the Moreots. Although it was the administrative capital of the whole eyalet, its landlocked status caused one of the most serious cases of violence throughout the war to take place there. Towards the end of the year of 1821, in September, the fortress of Tripolitsa, brimful with refugees from nearby towns such as Vardounia, was in dire condition. Lack of drinkable water and food had already become an insupportable issue. Resisting the siege since April, the commanders of the town and citadel had to surrender at the end of September.<sup>39</sup> Afterwards, a three-day-long plunder of the town began. The number of deaths varies according to different records; however,

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid, 172.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid, 149, 187-189.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Cevdet Paşa and his source Yusuf Bey of Nafplio emphasize the betrayal of Albanians in the capture of Tripolitsa by the “infidels”. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, vol.11, (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1309).

the severity of the event is noted even by Theodoros Kolokotronis, the commander of the forces that committed mass killings of Jews and Muslims.<sup>40</sup> Apart from the immediate families of some of the elites and the Paşas who were saved for ransom, no one survived.

In 1822, all the fortresses around the Morea were besieged. The rumors of an impending Greek rebellion had been confirmed and those who had acted early and left for the protection of fortified towns were still alive, albeit in dire conditions. The provisions had been diminishing rapidly and even a quick glance at the Ottoman archival documents in 1821-1822 will reveal that the matter of feeding people and the army was one of the most urgent issues facing the Ottoman government.<sup>41</sup> Koroni, Patras, Nafplio, Navarin, and Methoni were the fortresses that were still held by the Muslims.<sup>42</sup> They were occasionally able to obtain provisions from foreign merchants due to their positions by the sea. Monemvasia had already been surrendered to the Greeks in August, due to the unsolvable problem of famine and disease among the besieged people.

Nafplio had been under the siege of the Greek-aligned forces since April 1821 too. The Greeks maintained possession of the small forts nearby Nafplio, while the Ottoman army seized Argos, a large town nearby. AhmedPaşazade Mir Yusuf Bey, a native of Nafplio and son of the former governor general of the Morea, Ahmed Paşa of the Morea recorded the events of the siege in a chronicle which he named *History of the Morea*.<sup>43</sup> Yusuf Bey was a member of the elite class and the receiver of the honorary title of the chief musketeer (*silahşor-i hassa*), who in practice acted as a tax collector. Up until the surrender in December 1822, he was confined in the Castle of Nafplio, and one of those who negotiated the surrender with the Greek forces. His eyewitness status makes him one of the immediate sources from which official chroniclers such as Esad Efendi and Ahmed Cevdet Paşa derived their information on the Greek War.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Theodoros Kolokotronis, *The Klepht and the Warrior; Sixty Years of Peril and Daring, An Autobiography*, trans. Elizabeth Edmonds, (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1891), 311.

<sup>41</sup>See for example AhmedPaşazade Yusuf Bey's (identified as Yusuf Ağa in the document) testament after he arrives in Anatolia states that castles such as Monemvasia, Navarino and Tripolitsa fell due to lack of edible food and drinkable water. BOA, C..HR., 19-926.

<sup>42</sup>Finlay, *History of Greek Revolution*, 204.

<sup>43</sup>Ahmet Aydın, "Mir Yusuf Tarihi: Metin ve Tahlil", Unpublished MA Thesis, (Istanbul, Marmara University, 2002), 3-21.

<sup>44</sup>John Alexander, "Yusuf Bey al-Moravi on the Siege and Capture of Tripolitsa in 1821" in *Mneme Penelopes Stathe: Meletes historias kai philologias* [Memory of Penelope Stathe: Studies of History and Philology], eds. Kostas Lappas, Antonis Anastasopoulos, Elias Kolovos, (Research Center for Medieval and Modern Hellenism of the Academy of Athens & Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Crete University Press, 2010), 142.



The lack of provisions and drinkable water in the castle had been putting pressure on the inhabitants and the refugees in the castle since June 1821, which was when the earliest negotiations with the Greek insurgents were initiated. According to Thomas Gordon, the siege of the castles and forcing the Ottomans to yield through famine was the only choice.<sup>45</sup> Developments such as the troops under the command of Dramali Mahmud Paşa approaching Nafplio had raised some hope for the besieged population, leading the talks to cease.<sup>46</sup> However, the Greeks and their allies had been able to blockade the fortress's outlet to the sea, thereby thwarting the central Ottoman government's attempts to send provisions.

A similar story had occurred in Monemvasia, although the castle surrendered in August 1821, months before Tripolitsa. According to a report issued in 1828, there resided approximately six hundred Muslim Moreot families in Monemvasia in early 1821 in the southeastern part of Laconia that opens up to the Aegean Sea, which is referred to as "the guardian of the entrance to the western Aegean".<sup>47</sup> While half of the officers lived within the town fortifications, some of them were also in the garrison. In fact, it was here in Monemvasia that the first memos regarding the impending insurgence and mass murders by Greeks were received and immediately relayed to the officers deployed in Tripolitsa.<sup>48</sup> When the refugees from other towns in Laconia such as Vardounia were taken in, seven hundred Muslims became confined in the castle along with a few Greek families.<sup>49</sup> After months of siege, Muslim Moreots surrendered the castle due to the lack of food and water. Some of the Muslim notables in the fortress were on good terms with the commander of the Greek army who held the siege.<sup>50</sup> An agreement took place, and the Muslims were allowed to board the ships from the island of Spetzes (Suluca) that would carry them to Kuşadası (Scala Nuova).<sup>51</sup>

Two remarks made by Finlay contradict each other at this point. In the beginning

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<sup>45</sup>Gordon, *History of the Greek Revolution*, 382.

<sup>46</sup>Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, 354.

<sup>47</sup>Haris Kalligas, *Monemvasia: A Byzantine City State*, (Routledge, 2010), 94.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid, 95.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>For Kalligas, leaving the fortress, and the lands they lived upon for years, was the choice of the Muslims. Therefore, the mobility ensued was an example of migration, a right granted by the victors, rather than that of expulsion, for, there were those who opted to remain in their spots in the castle. Ambrosios Frantzis claims that the small number of Muslims resuming their lives in the castle confirms the good relations of Muslims and Christians in specific regions. See, Ambrosios Frantzis, *Επιτομή της ιστορίας της αναγεννηθείσης Ελλάδος* [History of the Greek Rebirth], (Athens, 1976), p. 418-429; Kalligas, *Monemvasia*, 95.

<sup>51</sup>Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, v.2, 261.

of his account of the populations of the Morea in the pre-war era, both Muslim and Christian populations were described to be un-warlike. However, when the narrative proceeded into recounting a full-fledged war between the Ottoman state and the Greek insurgents, the majority of the inhabitants of the fortresses, all of which were situated at the waterfront, were claimed to be accustomed to bear arms.<sup>52</sup> Armament of some of parts of the Muslim communities must have taken place during the period of great tension on the eve of the outbreak of the war. If the population had started to bear arms, then it does make sense that rather than a deficit in the military power, it was famine and disease that brought them to the end and forced the surrender of many of the castles, as the report of Yusuf Bey and others confirm. On the other hand, the situation in Methoni differed from the others. The central Ottoman government was successful in replenishing the provisions of the town occasionally. In fact, the town never fell to the Greeks until the French captured it from Ibrahim Paşa, son of Mehmed Ali Paşa of Egypt and the commander of the Egyptian navy, in 1828. Despite the capitulation of the castle in the later stages of the war, Muslims started to evacuate in 1823-1824 and the mobility continued until 1828.<sup>53</sup>

### 2.3 Conclusion

The Muslims and Greeks of the Morea were not always on two opposing sides of a conflict. In the centuries preceding the war that resulted in the death and expulsion of many Muslims from 1822 onwards, the Moreot communities had come to possess similar features. The intermarriages and common language, Greek, presented a symbiotic relationship between the communities on the peninsula. The situation of the Muslims living in the inland or in coastal fortresses at the outbreak of the war shaped their experience of the war and migration. Although most castles fell due to the lack of provisions, the folks in the castles that had direct access to the sea were successful in securing their passage to the western shores of Anatolia.

Tripolitsa witnessed massacre due to its status as the base of the Ottoman administration on the peninsula, and that it was at a far enough distance from the sea that a passage out of the warzone could not be arranged. On the other hand, the coastal

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid, 173.

<sup>53</sup>Nedim İpek, *İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Göçler*, (Ankara: Serander Yayınları, 2016), 20; 94.

towns did not witness massacre, for they were less significant in the eyes of the Greek fighters. As a consequence, it can be presumed that the ordeal of the Moreots of the war changed according to the significance and place of the castles they took refuge in, which culminated in the generation of multiple different experiences of migration.

### 3. ACROSS THE AEGEAN: THE JOURNEY OF THE MOREOTS AND SETTLEMENT IN ANATOLIA

“[Mehmed Örfi Efendi and others] have requested me to pen down the insurgence, that sad event that took place in the Morea. However, the scorching pain of losing the ones that were so dear to the heart was still so fresh, the grief that they left behind lingered, reminding fate’s cruel deception. Thus, I begged pardon and requested to be spared until the aforementioned [Mehmed Örfi] told me: ‘This booklet that you write shall become an object lesson from which the next generations draw examples. These trials should not remain only between me and you. Others should know the truth about the expulsion and estrangement. If you do not write, the truth will remain forever hidden. . .’ Upon his insistence, I dedicated myself to committing everything that transpired to paper. . .”<sup>1</sup>

It is with these thoughts and this motivation that Ahmedpaşazade Yusuf Bey begins his narrative on the history of the Morea during the Greek War and the expulsion of the Moreot Muslims from the peninsula.<sup>2</sup> Much of what is known about the journey of the Moreots comes either from his account or from George Finlay’s *History of the Greek Revolution*.<sup>3</sup> There is a scarcity of Ottoman eyewitness accounts of the incidents in the Morea, and certainly none from the perspective of a Muslim Moreot who migrated to the Ottoman lands. It was from Yusuf Bey’s narrative, in the following years, that Cevdet Paşa and Lütfi Efendi benefited highly, taking entire chapters or large portions and setting them within their own narratives, mingling them with their own comments. Yusuf Bey’s narrative is rich in recounting the

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmet Aydın, “Mir Yusuf Tarihi: Metin ve Tahlil”, 24. The translation is mine.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid; Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, v.2.

details of the war and the siege of Nafplio and nearby fortresses; however, he does not elaborate and provide the same amount of detail regarding the journey across the Aegean despite being a migrant himself. Nonetheless, Yusuf Bey's *History of Morea* remains unique in conveying the sentiments of an official whose hometown was lost to the Greeks.

Drawing on these works, this chapter examines the movement of the Moreots across the Aegean and their arrival and initial settlement in the Ottoman lands. Three main aspects of the Moreot migration are examined: modes of transportation, accommodation, and institutional coordination between the central and the local administrations at the time the Moreots arrived in Western Anatolia. The actors who were involved in the management of the migrant influx are discussed in reference to the Ottoman state documentation that emerged out of the conversations between the local and central governments and the Moreot migrants.

Reiteration of the fact that even an estimation of the number of Moreot Muslims who left the peninsula is difficult to give is necessary due to the insubstantial value of statistics and surveillance in the era when the Moreot migration took place. Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, the successor of Cevdet Paşa as the official chronicler of the Ottoman Empire in 1866, comments on the unattainability of accurate information about the details of the fate of the Moreots during the Greek War of Independence. According to him, the traditional-official setting of the office of the chroniclers at the time of the Greek War of Independence required only information regarding the damages inflicted on the infidels and their casualties to be given.<sup>4</sup> The Ottoman government aimed to keep the condition of the Moreot Muslims confidential in order to prevent the emergence of an atmosphere of terror and possible outrage in the capital city and in the provinces.

Recording only the damages and casualties of the Greek side might have been an appropriate custom in the past; however, at the time Lütfi Efendi penned this chronicle, the international political conjuncture was becoming keen on accuracy and precision as well as the value of human life.<sup>5</sup> This was true especially after the Crimean War when the Ottoman Empire was admitted into the “European Concert” and “subjected to the provisions of international law as applied to ‘civilized nations.’”<sup>6</sup> Therefore, for Lütfi, the Ottoman central government should have been upfront about the losses of the Muslims in the first place to avoid criticism in the fol-

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<sup>4</sup>Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, *Tarih-i Lütfi*, vol.1, 38-39.

<sup>5</sup>Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*, (Princeton, 1963), 79, 414.

<sup>6</sup>Kemal Karpat, “The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 3, Issue 3, July 1972, 243-281.

lowing decades. Still, the attitude of the Ottoman government is not inconceivable. When word spread about the plight of the Muslims before the Moreots themselves made it to Anatolia, it caused unrest within the Muslim society who lived in the capital and Western Anatolia and resulted in the massacres of the Greeks in various locations.<sup>7</sup> While Moreot Muslims were suffering persecution and expulsion, the Greeks in certain parts of the Ottoman domains were being subjected to the same treatment. Word of massacres in İstanbul, İzmir and Chios, in contrast to those in the Morea, were reaching wide audiences and causing an international, that is, European, outrage towards the Ottoman government. While these particular violent attacks towards the Greeks were motivated by causes that did not specifically stem from the misery of the Moreot migrants, in small places like Kuşadası, the Muslims were enraged by the sight of the Moreots once they debarked from the ships. Although the scale of murders and attacks was not as severe as those that took place in İstanbul, İzmir, and Chios, the impact of the Moreot migrants over the tense situation in the small towns is noteworthy.

### 3.1 Crossing the Aegean: Organization of the Movement, Means of

#### Transportation and the Perils of the Sea

On December 24, 1822, an agreement was reached between the besieging Greek forces led by Theodoros Kolokotronis and the group of officers and notables from the castle of Nafplio.<sup>8</sup> The contract envisaged the evacuation of the Muslims in the castle to the remaining Ottoman lands. Despite the conflicts between the Greeks and Muslims regarding multiple issues, with the help of the British naval officer Captain Gawen William Hamilton as an intermediary, negotiations were completed.<sup>9</sup> On the 5 of January, the frigate was ready to sail from Nafplio to İzmir. Philip James Green, the British consul in Zante at the time, reported that the inhabitants of the castle, which he estimated to be two thousand and five hundred, were divided

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<sup>7</sup>MacFarlane, *Travels*, 41; John Koliopoulos and Thanos Veremis, *Modern Greece: A History Since 1821*, (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 21; Nedim İpek, *İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Göçler*, (Serander Yayınları, 2016), 82-85.

<sup>8</sup>Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, v.2, 370; Philip James Green, *Sketches of the War in Greece*, (London: Hurst and Co., 1827) 133.

<sup>9</sup>Finlay; *History of the Greek Revolution*, v.2, 369.

into groups and embarked on either the Cambrian or the chartering ships from Hydra (Çamlıca) and Spetzes (Suluca) arranged by Hamilton. According to Finlay's account, nine hundred people boarded Greek ships from the Saronic Islands and the English captain, who gave away his own lodge for the Moreots, took in five hundred of them.<sup>10</sup> Reports from imperial guards (muhafız) situated in Kuşadası and Chios confirm that ten ships took off from Nafplio towards Western Anatolia.<sup>11</sup> Moreot Muslims who could no longer endure famine, disease, and drought were leaving their castles around the peninsula and boarding ships of various origins.<sup>12</sup>

Yusuf Bey recounts that the Muslims wanted to negotiate for the retainment of their moveable properties. In fact, it was recorded as one of the deal-breakers on the list of terms, along with the request to have Muslim women searched by female Greeks when leaving the castle.<sup>13</sup> However, it was difficult to negotiate for a population that was nearly broken with war, famine, and disease. In the end, the Muslims were allowed to retain a "single suit of clothes, a quilt for bedding, and a carpet for prayer."<sup>14</sup> They were required to pay in cash before the journey. People from Monemvasia, on the other hand, were allowed to retain moveable property, and they were required to pay for their passage as well.<sup>15</sup> In contrast to Hamilton's protective presence, there was no one to save Monemvasiot Moreots from getting harassed and even murdered when embarking on the ships.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, on the way to the Western Anatolian shores, they would be stopped on islands such as Samos and Hydra, where the Greeks would often rob the Moreots and keep them as hostages until the Ottoman administrator of the nearest town paid the sum for their release.<sup>17</sup>

Finlay sometimes uses the term evacuation when giving details about the departure of the Moreots.<sup>18</sup> The modern implication of the verb is affiliated with the presence of a higher authority such as the state; however, one may easily question the place

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid, 367.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid, 363-369.

<sup>13</sup>One of the conditions of the Greeks was to search the Moreots, although it has not been clarified whether their intent was to ensure that no harmful item left the castle or that of a valuable one. Ahmet Aydın, "Mir Yusuf Tarihi", 21-96.

<sup>14</sup>Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, v.2, 369.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid, 261.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>BOA, HAT, 843-37892.

<sup>18</sup>Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, 172, 188; Ahmet Aydın, "Mir Yusuf Tarihi", 21-96.

of the Ottoman government in this event. Was the Ottoman state available only in the field of combat and not in the negotiation or transfer of its subjects?<sup>19</sup> A probable answer would be both affirmative and negative. Before 1860, no specific institution existed to tend to the affairs of the migrants. These conducts were achieved mostly by the formation of temporary organizations or committees, often created by a specific order issued from the center.

In Nafplio during the Greek War, the presence of Ottoman officials and notables, who were to an extent successful in corresponding with the center, helped organize an assembly who took on the role of arranging for the passage to Anatolia in December 1822. Therefore, a surrogate state was formed, taking both the lead and responsibility of the Moreots in the castle. The terms of the agreement were recorded, and they survived in the chronicle of Yusuf Bey until this day, representing a rare piece of information regarding the exodus of the Moreots.<sup>20</sup>

The situation in Monemvasia constitutes another example. No mention of the officials is made in the primary accounts of the siege of the southern town and notables led the approximately seven hundred people who were besieged in the castle to. Thanks to their amicable former relations with the Greek *beys*, they were allowed passage to Anatolia, albeit in unsafe conditions.<sup>21</sup> No state official was present to witness the mistreatment of the Moreots or to assist them to assemble their moveable properties.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, each Moreot migration took place in a different setting, with various types of leadership and under special agreements.

Hamilton's offer to board five hundred of the townsfolk in his admirable warship, *Cambrian*, was among the many qualities of the admiral that were celebrated in newspapers and approved by various writers of the history of the Greek Revolution.<sup>23</sup> Despite Yusuf Bey's meticulous writing vis-à-vis the details of the siege and the agreements, he remains quite tight-lipped in regard to the journey from Nafplio

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<sup>19</sup>Only after the St. Petersburg Protocol of 1826, where the discontinuity of the Muslim presence in Morea was brought to the table, that state-affiliated powers such as Ibrahim Paşa, the son of Mehmed Ali of Egypt, were able to properly evacuate Muslims from the peninsula, especially the Muslims of Navarino. Still, even at the end of the nineteenth century, in places that are historically considered as part of the Morea, such as Euboea, the Muslim presence was tangible.

<sup>20</sup>Ahmet Aydın, "Mir Yusuf Tarihi", 21-96.

<sup>21</sup>In fact, there are claims that some of the prominent Muslim *beys* remained in Monemvasia after the evacuation of the castle. Haris Kalligas, *Monemvasia: A Byzantine City State*, (London: Routledge, 2010), 94.

<sup>22</sup>The question of properties was addressed first in the St. Petersburg Protocol in 1826 and in the Treaty of London in 1827, with the Ottoman Government fully present in the decision-making process. Moreot Muslims' properties became a highly intricate issue and continued to be a thorn in the sides of both the Ottoman Empire and Greece in the upcoming decades, due to wars that lasted throughout the nineteenth century. Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, v.2, 172; Gabriel Narodounghian, *Recueil d'Actes Internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, v.2, (Paris, 1897), 114-116.

<sup>23</sup>John L. Comstock, *A History of the Greek Revolution*, (New York: William W. Reed & Co., 1828), 338.



to İzmir, where Captain Hamilton debarked the surviving Moreots. For instance, so far, it has proved to be impossible to encounter a mention of the duration of the passage in his account. Although the date of the finalization of the evacuation arrangement in Nafplio and the date of the Ottoman administrators' report upon the arrival of the Moreots is known, there is no certainty about how long it took the *Cambrian* to deliver the passengers to Western Anatolia. Merely an estimation can be taken thanks to the well-known and recorded features of the *Cambrian* and based on the travelogues of the post-war era when the Aegean became relatively safer and more stable.<sup>24</sup>

Normally, a ship of the *Cambrian's* standards would arrive in İzmir in a week or slightly longer than that. Moreover, the epidemics that Yusuf Bey and Finlay mention, albeit briefly, must have created difficulties for the passengers onboard. According to Finlay's account, sixty-seven Muslim Moreot passengers died before reaching İzmir due to typhus and complications of malnourishment.<sup>25</sup> Neither Finlay nor Yusuf Bey provide details regarding this issue. Yusuf Bey only mentions his losses at the beginning of his narrative, expressing earnestly that the pain was too fresh to revisit the events that severed the Morea from the Ottoman Empire.<sup>26</sup>

### 3.2 Between Old and New: The Logistics of the Moreot Migration

The ship with which the Moreots proceeded to İzmir from Nafplio helps to elucidate a number of characteristics of the movement and the era in which it took place. Hamilton's ship, the *Cambrian*, was a traditional frigate of the late eighteenth century, a preeminent vessel in the navy before the arrival of the steamships. It was still present in the war, carrying ambassadors from Europe to the Ottoman lands, escorting ships loaded with merchandise and provisions, and transporting Moreots from one coast to the other in the Aegean. In tandem with the flux in the Aegean, starting in 1821, the Aegean shores were introduced to the steam-powered ships.<sup>27</sup> For instance, the steamer *Karteria*, known also as *Perseverance*, was among the

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<sup>24</sup>Rif Winfield, *British Warships in the Age of Sail 1793–1817: Design, Construction, Careers and Fates*, (London: Seaforth, 2007), 127

<sup>25</sup>Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, v.2, 369.

<sup>26</sup>Ahmet Aydın, *Mir Yusuf Tarihi*, 21-96.

<sup>27</sup>Alexis Heraclides and Ada Dialla, "Intervention in the Greek War of Independence, 1821–32" in *Humanitarian Intervention in the Long Nineteenth Century*, (Manchester University Press, 2015), 115.

most celebrated and up-to-date steam-powered warships of the British Navy. She patrolled the sea, escorted the merchant ships, and engaged in combat with the pirates and even the Ottoman and Egyptian navies.<sup>28</sup> In fact, she was the first steamer that ever sailed in the Ottoman territorial waters. However, *Karteria* never carried any Moreot Muslim passengers.

The significance of the juxtaposition of the two ships in the Aegean may be indicative of one of the paradigms of not only the modernization, but also the history of migration in the Ottoman Empire. In almost every work that is concerned with the mobility of Muslim groups in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, the Crimean Tatars' migration holds a pioneering place as the first modern migration. Although a discussion over the details of the migration from Crimea is well out of the scope of this thesis, the details regarding the vehicles of transportation may assist in connecting the Moreot and Crimean movements against the broader background of nineteenth-century mobility. The modes of transportation had turned in favor of the steamers, which into the 1850s had become the mainstream vehicle for sea journeys. Tatars, leaving the post-war Crimea, were able to relocate to the Ottoman domains in the steam-powered vessels. Therefore, with modern means of transportation, the migration of the Tatars earned its place as the marker of the migrations in the nineteenth century. The early stages of this technological change may well be seen in the Moreot migration.

As Nile Green and James Gelvin point out, looking at the long nineteenth century, or the broader paradigm of modernity, through the glass of these technologies, which would become tools of empires, may lead one to detect diverse patterns and alter traditional chronologies.<sup>29</sup> The vehicles may have been premodern in the sense that no steam or iron was put to use in the relocation of the Muslims of the Morea to Western Anatolia. However, from then on, the Ottoman seas and migrants who would travel by sea had become acquainted with the steam-powered ships. The Muslims who were either expelled or would voluntarily leave their homes and sail towards the Ottoman lands would travel faster and safer. Moreover, options would be augmented and opportunities to travel, migrate, and immigrate would amplify.

This perspective may help in contextualizing the Moreot migration within the nineteenth century, situating it in the middle of all these categories. The Moreot migrants were actors in a national movement that was novel to the Eastern Mediterranean in that it signaled for the end of old regimes and conventional systems. At the same time, however, they constituted perhaps one of the last links of displacement with

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid; Thomas Gordon, *History of the Greek Revolution*, 325, 378-384.

<sup>29</sup>James L. Gelvin and Nile Green, "Introduction", *Global Muslims*, 1-6.

traditional “means” in the Ottoman Empire.

### 3.3 Migrant Management: Actors, Places and Institutions

In January 1823, Yusuf Paşa, the imperial guard of Chios at the time, presented to the Porte his preliminary evaluations of the status of the Moreot Muslims who arrived on the island. According to his report, out of the ten ships that sailed from Nafplio, two were permitted to drop anchor in Chios while the remaining eight were to continue towards Kuşadası. Yusuf assured the Porte that the administration present in the island would do their best to accommodate the Moreots<sup>30</sup>, and it is known that the situation in Chios had been dire since the earlier days of the outbreak of the war in the Morea.<sup>31</sup> One particular concern of the guard was the families that had been separated when boarding the ships. He cited the names of several Moreots and informed the Porte that the properties and personal belongings of these people would need to be retrieved and the families reunited.

Similarly, in February of the same year, Reşid Paşa, the imperial guard of Kuşadası, had reported that the first few groups that had been stopped in Samos by the Hydriots and Spetziots were saved thanks to the intervention of the Russian merchants and the British Consul of Kuşadası. The Paşa mentions with a subdued dismay that the insurgent crew of the ship demanded an additional cost in order to let go of the Moreot Muslims. He noted that the passengers had been robbed by the islanders while en route to their destination. It was the dead of the winter, and this season is particularly famous for its cold, wet, and windy days in Western Anatolia. In one of his early correspondences, the imperial guard of Kuşadası reported that he first brought in the Moreot Muslims to his quarters.<sup>32</sup> According to his account, the Moreots were in need of serious care. Many of them were sick with the typhus, severely malnourished, or in need of proper clothing. The list of items that were delivered to the Moreot Muslims and a total sum of stipends distributed to the families from the local treasury are presented in the same document, separately.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>BOA, HAT, 904-39693

<sup>31</sup>George Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, v.2, 313-315.

<sup>32</sup>BOA, HAT, 843-37892

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

As the Moreot influx became an issue with the arrival of several more ships, Reşid Paşa notified the central government that the sum they received from the center would fall short in covering the expenses of the Moreots and therefore, they would have to be assisted financially by the local notables. Accordingly, these notables would provide provisions to the Moreots who were hosted in coffeehouses, accommodation they rented, and in the houses of the Greek fugitives who left to fight for the Greek cause in the Morea.<sup>34</sup> As the ships continued to bring more Moreots onto the island, Reşid Paşa found himself in a challenging situation. Neither were there adequate accommodations to settle, nor sufficient provisions to feed the Moreots in the Imperial Treasury. In another report, he informed the Porte that the Moreots were too large a group for this small town and they would have to be dispersed into other nearby sanjaks such as Saruhan and Aydın. Apparently, the administration in Kuşadası could no longer bear the burden of hundreds of migrants and had to send groups away to other towns.<sup>35</sup> It is not exactly clear what kind of a process followed this decision, nor is there any information regarding the logistics of the subsequent relocation of the Moreots towards neighboring towns. However, they all took place within the decade of the arrival of the migrants.

The situation in İzmir and Antalya was similar. The incoming ships bringing Muslims were the focal point of many reports sent to the Sublime Porte from these Western Anatolian towns in the years between 1821 and 1831 when the war ended. The local governments were receiving information regarding the origin and number of the Moreot passengers before they arrived and writing to Istanbul, requesting confirmation of their relocation to inner regions such as Hüdavendigâr (Bursa) and Kütahya.<sup>36</sup> Many other were transferred to the seaside towns of Urla and Sığacık.<sup>37</sup> So far, no elimination process or systematized settlement policy was detected in the management of the Moreots by the local governments. However, a report written by Ömer Lütfi Efendi, the head of the constabulary offices (ihtisab nezareti) in İzmir, is indicative of the ways in which migrants were administered.

In a letter to the Sublime Porte in 1828, Ömer Lütfi Efendi informed them that the migrants from the Morea continued to arrive in the port of İzmir.<sup>38</sup> The Moreots were mostly from Methoni and Patras but along with them, there were others from Euboea and Athens that were affected by the war. The migrants were being tended

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<sup>34</sup>BOA, HAT, 913-39905.

<sup>35</sup>BOA, HAT, 850-38091.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>BOA, HAT, 849-38070

<sup>38</sup>BOA, HAT, 489-23988.

to by the town municipality (şehremaneti) and with the aid of the local notables.<sup>39</sup> According to the report, before they were sorted into groups and settled in the houses of those who could afford additional expenses brought by the Moreots, a preliminary elimination was conducted among the migrants. The families and men of profession were spared and settled whereas the ‘vagabonds’ and single males were taken to a side and boarded on a ship to Cyprus. Ömer Lütfi Efendi expressed that, in time, the Moreots would actually be able to look after themselves with the assistance of the offices in terms of living costs, in addition to the stipends they received from the central government.

Moreots who were able to be moved to Istanbul constitute a good example regarding the variations in migrant management between the center and the periphery. They were hosted in houses around one of the most well known neighborhoods of Istanbul, Eyüp Sultan. They paid no rent and were the recipients of an annual or bimonthly stipend that came directly from the Sultan’s own treasury (sadaka-i padişahi)<sup>40</sup>. Records containing information on rent relief and stipend reservation for Moreots can be encountered in various courts in Istanbul, thereby indicating that the qadis were among the actors who played a role in the supervision of the migrants.<sup>41</sup>

As the port towns became crowded with incoming migrants, demands from Moreots who wanted to move from the places they were settled to relocate to Istanbul were increasing. The government hastened the efforts to stop the movement within the borders of the country, a phenomenon that had the potential to become a constant nuisance in the eyes of the state in the upcoming decades. As it coincided with several radical events that would change the course of the Empire in the nineteenth century, Moreot migration also became affected from the regulations and measures that were put into use by the Sublime Porte. Therefore, when the İhtisab Nizamnamesi (Constabulary Regulations) were introduced in 1826, an old practice was revised: the mürur tezkiresi (travel permit). Although this document can be roughly translated as a permit for mobility, historians such as Nalan Turna and Christoph Herzog have termed it as a preliminary form of an internal passport.<sup>42</sup> The primary aim of this regulation was to control the mobility towards and out of

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<sup>39</sup>Ali Fuat Öreñç, *Balkanlarda İlk Dram: Unuttuğumuz Mora Türkleri ve Eyaletten Bağımsızlığa Yunanistan*, (Istanbul: BKY, 2007), 254.

<sup>40</sup>Nedim İpek, *İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Göçler*, (Serander Yayınları, 2016), 85.

<sup>41</sup>BOA, C..DH., 157-7818.

<sup>42</sup>Nalan Turna, *19.yy’dan ve 20.yy’a Osmanlı Topraklarında Seyahat Göç ve Asayiş Belgeleri: Mürür Tezkireleri*, (Istanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2013); Christoph Herzog, “Migration and the state: On Ottoman regulations concerning migration since the age of Mahmud II” in *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*, Ulrike Freitag, Malte Fuhrmann, Nora Lafi and Florian Riedler (eds.), (London: SOAS/Routledge, 2011), 119-120.

Istanbul, and with the abolishment of Janissary Corps in 1826 in addition to the events in the Morea, it became a necessary action to be taken by the center.<sup>43</sup> In the following years, Moreots, even if they were part of a family or literate males, were subjected to this particular practice and thus, they slowly began to settle in the places they arrived or were relocated to places other than Istanbul. It is suggested by both Herzog and Turna that the Ottoman state's formalization of prescriptions and definitions of migrants and how to manage them was indicative of a new state perception regarding the surveillance of communities and their control by the Ottoman government.<sup>44</sup>

The Porte was in close contact with the local governors regarding the fate of the lands and the Moreots, however, not so much as to be able to act as an imposing figure during the exodus itself. Most of the documents about this were issued by the administrators of Western Anatolian towns and cities. The reports contain information regarding the number, places of departure, and general situation of the Moreots, following with a list of provisions and services that were provided to them. Sultan Mahmud II was interested in the situation of the Moreot Muslims, extending his assurance that their homeland would be reclaimed, and most of the documents concerning this in the archive comprise of his orders and answers to the reports and requests by the local governors.

At least two conjectures can be drawn from these examples. First of all, there were no specific institutions for migrants and their management at the time of the exodus of the Moreots. An official institution specifically designed to manage migrant groups would only be created in 1857, the Muhacirin Komisyonu (The Commission of the Muhajirs), with the advent of large groups of migrants and refugees from Crimea to the Ottoman lands.<sup>45</sup> Up until that point, all of the superintendence of the personal, administrative, and economic issues related to migrants was conducted by local administrators who were in relatively close contact with the central government and the Sultan himself. Even in Istanbul, just as in Chios, Kuşadası, İzmir, and Antalya, it was mostly the local constabulary offices, imperial guards, and official tax collectors who supervised the influx of the Moreots. Although they usually requested and received funds from Istanbul, sometimes they were aided by the local notables too.

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<sup>43</sup>Nalan Turna, "Pandemonium and Order: Suretyship, Surveillance and Taxation in Early Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 39 (2008), s. 167-189.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid; Herzog, "Migration and the state", 119-120.

<sup>45</sup>Isa Blumi, *Ottoman Refugees, 1878-1939: Migration in a Post-Imperial World*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 45; Brian Glyn Williams, "Hijra and Forced Migration from Nineteenth Century Russia to the Ottoman Empire: A Critical Analysis of the Great Tatar Emigration of 1860-1861", *Cahiers du monde russe*, 41/1, (2000).

Secondly, the Moreot exodus emerges as one among a series of events that reshaped the Ottoman administrative thought.<sup>46</sup> One of the visible consequences of this turmoil was the reinterpretation of old regulations such as the *mürur tezkiresi*, in order to halt mobility within the domains of the Empire. The traditionally makeshift organization of the internal and external mobility would also be subject to a serious reconsideration and would take on a new shape after the Crimean War. In that regard, Moreot migration stood in the middle of a threshold between the old and new. Surveillance of the entries and exits and statistics of the presents would gain importance.

Following their settlement, the Moreots started to correspond actively with the central and local administrators. There is an abundance of petitions for stipends, tax waivers, employment, and even assistance for performing the *hajj*.<sup>47</sup> The state had been absent during their expulsion from the Morea; however, in the span of a few years, it had become a tangible figure in their lives whom they turn to in times of need. Most of these requests were signed with specific denominations that established a connection with the particular places the Moreots migrated from, such as “Anadolu muhacirlerinden”, “Modon muhacirlerinden” or “Badra muhacirlerinden”. However, in time, the majority of these regional denominations disappeared and left one common epithet in their place: “Moralı” or “Mora muhacirlerinden”, signaling the modification of local identifications to a more common identification that belonged to a larger group. These titles were still in use to describe a person or his or her lineage decades after the war came to an end and the Morea became part of the national Hellenic state. The next chapter observes the process in which the epithet itself would become an inseparable part of the Moreot identity and inheritance.

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<sup>46</sup>Şükrü İlcak counts the abolition of janissary courts in 1826 and the *deayanization* process that stretches over several decades in the nineteenth century as key events that were the consequences of a “radical rethinking” of the empire. He claims that the Greek War was the catalyst that necessitated this transformation. Şükrü İlcak, “A Radical Rethinking of Empire: Ottoman State and Society during the Greek War of Independence 1821–1826”, Unpublished PhD Thesis, (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2016)

<sup>47</sup>Some of the examples are: BOA, A.MKT.,34-236; A.MKT.UM.,90-338; A.MKT.NZD., 45-50; A.MKT.UM.,50-107.

### 3.4 Conclusion

The organization of the migration changed from one town to the other, depending on its size, administrative significance, and situation during the war. While the British naval officers were effective in the negotiations in some of the larger towns, local notables took the lead in the smaller ones. Each Moreot migration took place in a different setting and in independent conditions. Regardless of the types of assemblies that conducted negotiations, the central Ottoman government was absent in the totality of the process, which was related to the lack of an institution specifically dedicated to the affairs of migrants and migration.

The Moreot migration reflected new motives for displacement such as nationalism, and yet was conducted via traditional modes of transportation and without the assistance of institutions. The local administrators bore the responsibility of rescuing stranded migrants from the insurgents, uniting them with their families, arranging accommodation, providing food and clothing and, perhaps most importantly, dispersing them into the southern and inner regions of Anatolia so as not to cause a migrant inflation in one center. In accordance with this, it was yet again the local administrators who subjected the Moreots to an elimination process, whereby those who had the potential to disrupt the public order in the town would be sent away. In addition to the means of the local treasury, they were at times aided by the local notables as well. In the end, it was the apposition of these conditions that situated the movement in between the old and new in the context of Ottoman modernization in the nineteenth century.



#### 4. MOREOT LIFE IN ANATOLIA: SOCIETY, STATE AND HERITAGE

In all the places they settled, the Moreots left impressions. Several groups stayed put and took up residences in the port towns such as İzmir, Kuşadası and Antalya, where the majority of the Anatolia-bound ships from the Morea debarked. When the number of the incoming Moreots exceeded the available space and provisions in these towns and cities, the local administrators adhered to the orders of the center and began to relocate the migrants, who moved either voluntarily or by coercion, towards the northern and eastern parts of Western Anatolia. In addition to those who were dispersed into *vilayets* such as Menteşe (Muğla) and Hüdavendigâr (Bursa), the permission to relocate to Istanbul was granted to selected groups. Despite the lack of adequate documentation of the internal relocation, some information can be gathered regarding the presence of Moreots in these places from documents in the state archives and court records.

In the span of a few decades, the Moreots as a distinct community in each of the aforementioned places became more prominent. By building neighborhoods from scratch, continuing old professions in new areas, establishing networks with the state and making strategic moves to create strong bonds between themselves and the prominent families of the cities they settled in, Moreots negotiated the formation of an identity and heritage. Naturally, some of the Moreot communities were more visible, due to factors such as the number of migrants, their contribution to the town life and relations with the state in the form of central and local governments.

Since they were dispersed in a broad geography and were already comprising of diverse groups from various towns in the Morea, they demonstrated a different appearance in each place. In some of them, such as Antalya, the Moreot life could be traced with considerable ease, due to the large number of inhabitants and the influence they gained in the administrative, economic and social affairs of the city. However, in the north of İzmir, their presence was less documented and barely

survived, for which the reasons remain unclear.<sup>1</sup>

Starting with the general features of the Moreot life in the Western Anatolia with occasional instances from the Moreots who settled in Istanbul, the primary focus of this chapter is the aftermath of their arrival in terms of the formation of settlements, communities and identities. Largely based on evidence from the second half of the nineteenth century, the main aim is to examine the features that brought the Moreot community together and allowed them to create conglomerations in the forms of a neighborhood or collective identity. What makes a Moreot a Moreot? Firstly, the effect of the linguistic differences and abilities is discussed here, for the role the Greek language played a major role in bringing the Moreots together.<sup>2</sup>

Into the second half of the nineteenth century, the Moreots started to increase their direct attempts to establish relations with the state. They introduced and therefore identified themselves in order to receive stipend, secure travel permits or be assigned to various jobs and administrative posts. With the increase of documents regarding the Moreots, the questions of visibility and identity became more observable, which are examined in this chapter. Why would the future generations of the Moreots, who never experienced the war, expulsion, and the journey, would take on such a label? Is it possible to speak of a Moreot identity and heritage? The petitions for the obtainment of stipends (*maaş*) from the central government and requests for their transfer to the non-migrant Moreot descendants –who still identified as Moreot migrants, are studied as instances of encounters between the state and the individual.

Thirdly and lastly, the chapter concludes by concentrating on the Moreot community in Antalya as a case study to examine particularly their social and economic relations in particular. In this case study, there is also reference to Moreot presence in local administrative bodies. Thanks to the well-documented and researched status of several individual figures in Antalya, the case study should offer a perspective into fields such as entrepreneurship, accumulation of wealth and power and the relationship between the state and the select Moreot community members in the second half of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup>For some of the few examples see, BOA, HAT, 849-38070, 850-38091.

<sup>2</sup>Linguistic differences made them distinguishable and identifiable as Moreots by the foreign travelers in the places they settled. For some of the examples see: Victor Bérard, *La Turquie et l'Hellénisme Contemporain*, (Paris, 1897), 238-239; Leon Alishan, *Sissouan, ou L'Arméno-Cilicie: Description Géographique et Historique, avec Cartes et Illustrations*, (Venice, 1899), 359.

## 4.1 Language and Communal Relations

When the French historian and traveler Charles Texier visited the *vilayet* of Aydın in the early 1830s, he described Sığacık as a town of three thousand inhabitants where “. . . almost every inhabitant possesses a field or garden in the vicinity of the town; so that, on the whole, the people are in a thriving condition. As many of them are Turks who were expelled from the Morea, they commonly speak Greek, and associate with the ghiaour to a greater extent than is generally the case in the Turkish provinces.”<sup>3</sup>

Sığacık is a small town in the north of the *vilayet*. As shown in the previous chapter, several groups of Moreots were relocated either voluntarily or by coercion to the northern and eastern sections of Aydın.<sup>4</sup> The Moreot inhabitants of Sığacık must have, then, first landed in either the port of İzmir or Kuşadası, and then transferred towards the north, close to the westernmost point of İzmir. Although the place of origin of the inhabitants of Sığacık is difficult to determine, the description of Texier confirms the claim of this thesis regarding the characteristics of the Moreot community that endured through time and space, particularly in terms of language and livelihood. Moreover, yet another insight is gained regarding their social relations. It appears that the Moreots did not present negative relations with the Rum of their town, contrary to the strong sentiments and disastrous events that took place in Western Anatolia between the Muslims and the Rums during the war, as seen in the second chapter.

Historians with a primary interest in the social history of Antalya have made similar remarks regarding the amicable relations between the Rums and the Moreots. The massacre of the Rums at Chios and Ayvalık are among the well-acknowledged examples of the violence between Muslims and Rums in this period, albeit not the only ones. Vehement outbreaks between these two communities continued as the locals of Kuşadası and İzmir witnessed the conditions of the Moreots when they disembarked the ships.<sup>5</sup> In some cases, the Moreots were settled in the houses of the Rum fugitives, who had left for the Morea to fight for the Greek cause.<sup>6</sup> It might be possible that the Moreots and the Rums were aware that they were not the ones

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<sup>3</sup>Charles Texier, *Principal Ruins of the Asia Minor*, (London, 1865), 11.

<sup>4</sup>Nedim İpek, *İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Göçler*, 83.

<sup>5</sup>Charles MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828: A Residence of Sixteen Months in the Turkish Capital and Provinces*, v.1, (London: Saunders and Otley, 1829), 28-34.

<sup>6</sup>Nedim İpek, *İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Göçler*, 83-86.

who committed to the respective murders of Muslims and Christians in the Morea or Anatolia. Hostility between the Moreot and Rum communities in Anatolia might only be a figment of the foreign travelers' expectation and imagination as well.

The hostility or cordiality between the two communities in the Morea was a point of discussion for the foreign travelers before the War of Independence too. For example, in his account of the social make-up of the Morea in 1804, Sir William Gell, a British archeologist, offers an interesting outlook towards the relations between the Muslims and Christians of the peninsula. Commenting principally on the views of the Muslims towards Christians, he remarks that the nature of the communications between the two communities notably differed in the city and countryside. Gell states that all Moreot Muslims regarded the Greeks as a faithless folk, mostly in cities, where the sentiments were kept extant by the religious figures such as the dervishes and mullahs. His words show that he regarded the Muslim Moreots who resided in such places as easily provoked, in contrast to those living in the rural areas.

The Muslims who lived in the remote corners of the peninsula, away from the influence of the aforementioned group, were less interested in "adding more principles to their faith" and thus "unacquainted with all the motives of religious persecution" that found place in the larger urban settlements. In fact, Gell described the Muslims of the countryside as "deists," most likely pointing out at the lack of daily clashes with non-Muslim communities under the name of jihad.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, rather than making a statement regarding the faith of the rural Muslims, Gell's claim can be clarified as "indifferent" towards the Christian faith and lacking a reaction toward the preaches supposedly delivered in the city. Gell does not specifically point to a location; however, Patras and Tripolitsa were the cities that were considered large urban settlements by the travelers. Therefore, these claims should apply to them, rather than the small fortress-towns such as Monemvasia, Methoni or Koroni.

Recorded shortly before the outbreak of the war in the Morea, Gell's impressions were reiterated by Finlay. Considering that most of the migrants were from small coastal towns, Gell and Finlay's remarks may present a view on the probable causes of the mild relations between the Rums and the Moreots in the Western Anatolian towns and villages in the post-war era. Nevertheless, descriptions of the pre-war associations do not suffice in explaining the amicability that ensued after the trauma of the war and relocation. Unknown events at the time of the Moreots' arrival or in the period that precedes Texier's observation might have led to the development of relations between the Moreots and Rums as well. Regardless of the matter, the

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<sup>7</sup>Sir William Gell, *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea*, (London, 1823), 117.

Moreots were in a different location and might have established similar or dissimilar relations with their Christian neighbors to the past.

It can be gathered from the previous chapters that language had an important place in describing the Moreots and it continued to be a significant component in their life in Western Anatolia throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. The Moreots of the other cities had been known for speaking Greek several decades after the relocation as well. Dimitri Danieloglou, a local from Antalya who belonged to the Rum community, narrates an encounter he had with a young Turkish man who understood Greek perfectly in his travelogue of the broader region of Pamphylia and its ancient heritage. The young man, who assisted Danieloglou and his fellows in their journey to some of the remote parts of the region, could speak and understand Turkish, Greek and Arabic so well that the author quickly guessed that he must be a Moreot.<sup>8</sup> Although the young man's answer to his inquiry was negative, Danieloglou's prediction after consideration of the man's linguistic and religious attributes confirms that the combination of a Muslim and Greek speaking identity principally made the members of the Moreot community in Western Anatolia distinct.

The majority of the travelogues or memoirs that speak of the presence of a Moreot community in various parts of Western Anatolia describe them as a Greek-speaking group, even at the end of the century. For instance, in the 1890s, Victor Berard, the French Hellenist and diplomat, took on an expedition to Antalya and he, mildly surprised, comments on the Greek-speaking Muslims from Methoni who resided in the outer parts of the city, that is, the castle of Antalya.<sup>9</sup> It has been acknowledged before that the Muslims spoke almost exclusively Greek in the pre-war Morea. Indeed, the remarks of Ernest Lloyd Harris, the US consul in İzmir who traveled through Western Anatolian shores in the 1910s, regarding the distinctive linguistic features of the Moreots confirms that the language continued to be one of the enduring characteristics of this group even into the twentieth century.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Dimitri Danieloğlu, *1850 Yılında Yapılan Bir Pamfilya Seyahati*, trans. Ayşe Ozil, (Antalya: AKMED, 2010), 18. Regarding Arabic, William Gell mentions that there were Muslims in Methoni who understood the bad Arabic that was spoken by the Maltese, to the author's surprise. Therefore, Arabic may be added to the list of languages that is spoken or at least comprehended by the Moreots, at least those from Methoni. Sir William Gell, *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea*, (London, 1823), 43.

<sup>9</sup>Notably, the Greek language and Muslim identity continued to define the Moreots as a separate group in Western Anatolian societies throughout the nineteenth and even into the twentieth century. For some of the examples at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, see: Berard, *La Turquie et l'Hellénisme Contemporain*, 238.

<sup>10</sup>Ernest Lloyd Harris, "Historic Islands and Shores of the Aegean Sea", *The National Geographic Magazine*, 28, (1915), 260. Harris interestingly describes the group as a Turkified tribe that had migrated from Greece due to the war. A comparative reading of the travelogues of the era suggests strongly that they were actually the Muslim Moreots in Antalya who had migrated from Methoni and Koroni.

## 4.2 Heritage, Identity and Relations with the State

The Moreot affiliation preserved its importance into the second half of the nineteenth century which can be observed with the abundance of documents that are created in their name. The archives are rich with petitions for stipends or residency permits by people identifying themselves as Moreots –for example, Moreot Fatma or Moreot Mehmet. In the majority of these, the subjects are not direct witnesses of the exodus, but their descendants, especially in the few decades into the second half of the nineteenth century. The second, third and even fourth generations continued to attach the label Moreot to their names. There might be a number of possible causes behind the persistence of the name and practice.

Sultan Mahmud II paid close attention to the Moreot migrants, providing them aid in the form of bestowing stipends, employment and easy terms of rent payment on them.<sup>11</sup> In the beginning, the mere condition to receive a stipend was to be a Moreot and registered as alive.<sup>12</sup> However, for decades, the right to receive a stipend from the state passed on from one generation to the other. It is likely that the aid from the state provided one more point of motivation in addition to the shared origin, for the title Moreot to become a fixed attachment to the migrants and their descendants' names, almost like a prefix, even if they were not the ones who migrated from the peninsula themselves.<sup>13</sup>

Numerous examples of such petitions in the state archives and Muslim court records are indicative of the financial aspect of the Moreot inheritance. For instance, in a petition from 1852, the stipend of a certain Şerif Efendi, who had passed away recently, is the topic of discussion among the interested administrative parties and the family of the deceased.<sup>14</sup> His wife and son requested the continuation of the stipend and its fair division between the two. Even though Şerif Efendi's place of origin on the peninsula or when he migrated to Anatolia were not indicated on the document, several Moreots continued to receive financial aid from the Imperial Treasury.<sup>15</sup> In the end, the wife and son were allowed to retain a large portion of

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<sup>11</sup>Ali Fuat Örenç, 179.

<sup>12</sup>BOA, C..ML., 216-8928.

<sup>13</sup>It should be reminded here that both in the archival and court records, the Moreots appeared as Mora muhacirleri (Moreot muhajirs). Therefore, they could be easily distinguished from others who were born in the Morea but not migrants.

<sup>14</sup>BOA, İ..DH., 259-16061.

<sup>15</sup>After the 1840s, various documents indicate that the stipends were no longer sent out from the Imperial

Şerif Efendi's stipend, and the rest was confiscated. Similar petitions and responses of grants of Moreot stipends can be found in the archives, dating back mainly to the second half of the nineteenth century.

At the same time, the Moreots congregated together, especially in Western Anatolian cities, leading to the formation of distinct communities. There is not enough evidence to suggest that the Moreots corresponded with each other and relocated to other towns voluntarily to be with their kin once they made it to Anatolia, apart from the letter of Yusuf Paşa of Chios. However, their conglomerations became neighborhoods and even large villages that bore the name of the Moreots.

In Aydın, for instance, the village of Moralı still continues its existence. For the purpose of this research, I was able to visit the village, which, today, is located within the borders of the town of Germencik. Several people from the vicinities confirm that the name of the village came from the Moreot migrants who had settled there sometime in the nineteenth century, although it would be impossible for them to provide a specific date. Despite the perseverance of the village's name, the evidence to support the claim regarding its founders has so far eluded. It is, therefore, in this blurriness that Antalya stood out as an example that is rich in records and has visible patterns that reflect the pre-migration characteristics and their interaction with new opportunities that the changing dynamics in the nineteenth century brought forth.

Apart from the practical explanations for the creation and preservation of a Moreot identity and heritage, the theoretical framework of the concept of citizenship in the late nineteenth century gives another idea regarding why and how such persistence took place. It has been argued by Ebru Akcasu that, especially after the procession of the *Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesi* (Ottoman Nationality Law) in 1869, an inner expansionist policy was followed with regard to the identity of subject-citizens. In the process of creating an all-encompassing Ottoman identity, the diversity of the Empire's population was taken into consideration. The state created and altered a system in which the constants of an Ottoman identity were deliberated. According to Ebru Akcasu, this system operated in two realms: territorial and extraterritorial. Significantly, the migrants stood in the middle of the two realms; as in the words of Herzog, they were neither foreign nor totally homegrown. The first generation of the Moreots might be an early example to be situated in this framework that would reach its pinnacle in the second half of the nineteenth century, as seen in the next subheading.

Even though it became certain that the Morea was forever lost to the Ottomans

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Treasury but distributed from the revenues of several institutions. See: BOA, C..ML., 351-14445, 382-15684.

in the second half of the nineteenth century, the complex affiliation of the Moreots connected them to what was now Greece and as well as to the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, they had a connection with the “nation” as well as with one of its recently emancipated territories. Whether these claims of descent are fictitious or truthful, the Moreot migration’s position as one of the first consequences of the age of nationalism allowed them room to create, claim and alter their identity.

The benevolence of the Sultan that is materialized in the form of stipends, rent reduction and positions within the reconfiguration of the Ottoman system can be seen as a precursive development in the state’s administrative mind with regard to the creation of an Ottoman identity. The Moreots were claimed as belonging to the Ottoman state, just as once the peninsula did. The state’s permissive approach to the local community identifications like “The Moreots” culminated in the formulation of a “collective” Ottoman identity, rather than an imposed “tempered atomization of identity schemes.”<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid.



### 4.3 A Case Study of Social and Economic Relations: the Moreots of

#### Antalya

The information regarding the lives of the Moreots is rather scattered and hazy. Indeed, one can easily encounter the denomination Moreot in the Ottoman archives after the Greek War ended; however, these mentions are sporadic and too isolated to make generalizations regarding the Moreot life in the broader Western Anatolia. On the other hand, there are specific towns and *sanjaks* in which the Moreot presence became prominent enough to observe without interruption, one of which would be the *sanjak* of Teke, specifically the town of Antalya on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea in southern Anatolia. Several factors played a role in the making of the Moreots' visibility in the local history, earning the town the potential to be a convenient case study for this specific part of the research. In this section, therefore, the spotlight is on the Moreots of Antalya, shedding light on their communal characteristics and the ways in which they created a habitat.

Continuing their past habits and attempting to maintain a similar lifestyle to that of in the Morea would not be implausible for the Moreots or any other migrant group. However, the changing dynamics of the Ottoman Empire and its impacts on the peripheries allowed room for the Moreots to take on new roles in the society. Moreover, they had become much more active in their communications with the state and could be considered as alternative agents of the state in Antalya, in opposition to the old *ayan* families (notable beys).

Although most sources describe a rough start for the Moreots, it seems possible to claim that some of them fared quite well in the years following their settlement in Antalya. Looking at these documents, it can be observed that the Moreots were active members of the Antalya society, establishing relations with other migrant groups and advancing their connections with the state by using the opportunities that emerged as a result of the changing dynamics in the economic and social policies of the Ottoman Empire in the era following the Tanzimat Edict. In addition to income and taxation registers (*temettüat defterleri*), several examples drawn from the court records from the years 1860-1865 are presented as a general view of the Moreot aspect of life in Antalya in the mid-nineteenth century.

The Moreots had arrived in Antalya in the years 1822-1823 and were mainly from Methoni. According to Dimitri Danieloglu, the Moreots constituted a community of

four hundred hanes (households) as of the year 1850.<sup>17</sup> Initially, the migrant influx into the town forced the local administrators to settle the Moreots in coffeehouses and other public spaces.<sup>18</sup> After a while, some of the districts were to become hubs for the Moreots before they built their own neighborhoods. Dayar, in his comprehensive analysis of the relations between the notables of Antalya, compiles a large body of data in which he draws a map of the neighborhoods that were inhabited by the Moreots. One of these neighborhoods, called Şarampol (literally stockade or ditch) constituted the heart of the town for the poorest of the Greek-speaking migrants in the mid-nineteenth century. Dayar points out that this part of the town was the first stop for most of the migrants and that the Moreots lived here in houses with thatched roofs, suggesting at their meager standards of life.<sup>19</sup> In the early records, there are a number of hanes where the family did not own any other property other than the one house in which they were residing.<sup>20</sup> However, not every migrant was subject to the same dire circumstances and as the time passed, the scenery changed for several Moreots.

In the decades following their arrival, the Moreots were able to build a neighborhood on their own, called Kızılsaray. Displaying similar standards to that of Şarampol, Kızılsaray was one of the most densely inhabited districts of the town. Despite being the largest and founding group in the neighborhood, the population of Kızılsaray did not comprise homogenously of the Moreots. In fact, the characteristics of the mid-nineteenth century neighborhoods were visible here as well. The religious segregation had left its place to economic standards. Alongside the Moreots, manumitted slaves and Jews resided in this part of the town.

The richer and more prominent Moreots, among them many notable merchants, preferred to live in another quarter that they contributed to founding nearby in the north, and also inside the Citadel. From the look of it, the Moreots became divided into groups based on economic value and dispersed into the city accordingly. Despite being valuable in understanding the Moreot character of the urban fabric, this information does not imply that the rich were detached from the poor completely. For instance, when the *tereke*s (property registers of the deceased) are examined, it is seen that many Moreots either owed or lent an amount of money to one another, suggesting at the possible kinships that can be better confirmed with more direct

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<sup>17</sup>Dimitri Danieloğlu, *1850 Yılında Yapılan Bir Pamfilya Seyahati*, 141.

<sup>18</sup>Dayar, “Antalya’da Devlet ve Eşraf İlişkileri”, 452.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Babacan, “Temettüat Kayıtları”, 203.

cases.<sup>21</sup>

#### 4.3.1 Rivalry and Privilege: Formation of a Moreot Dynasty?

In the previous sections, we have seen that the Moreots were owners of agricultural fields and orchards around the castles they lived in and that they engaged in the cultivation of many crops before they relocated to Anatolia.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, some of the port towns that were situated at the southern-most corner of the peninsula were engaged in African slave trade. William Martin Leake, right before the outbreak of the war, had described the town of Methoni as a hub of trade, holding a pivotal space in the exchange of black slaves from mainly North Africa as well as agricultural products from the same region and their transportation to European countries and Anatolia.<sup>23</sup> Thus, it was likely and yet interesting to come across records about the Moreot slave traders in Antalya who apparently continued their previous line of work.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Moreot merchants and slave traders in Antalya came to occupy increasingly significant positions in the society. They were the primary mediating actors between the transfer of black slaves initially from Alexandria in Egypt to Anatolia, and then to various European countries. Thanks to the court records, there is a significant body of research regarding the merchants and slave traders specifically in Antalya.

In the court records, the names of these Moreots appear frequently.<sup>24</sup> Among them, it is possible to encounter the names of the Moreot slave traders Süleyman Aga, Ahmed Aga, Mustafa Aga, Kara Ahmed and İbrahim Aga as trusted witnesses in the records of the cases seen in the court. According to Dayar, the Moreots played a key role in the transfer of the slaves that were dealt by the Arabic traders to the Morea and, from there, to Europe. Moreover, the Moreots were personally involved in purchasing the black slaves in Egypt, their transfer to Central Anatolian towns, as well as their sale. Holding a chief place in the trade network between Egypt

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<sup>21</sup>See Ruken Tanrıseven, “12 No’lu Antalya Şer’iyye Sicili Defterine Göre 1862-1864 Yılları Arasında Antalya Şehrinin İdarî ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu”, Unpublished MA Thesis, (Antalya: Akdeniz University, 2007), 690-91, 704, 710, 711.

<sup>22</sup>Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, 11, 221.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid, 431.

<sup>24</sup>Dayar, “Antalya’da Devlet ve Eşraf İlişkileri”, 48.

and Anatolia and as influential members of the Antalya society, the Moreots came to establish economic and familial connections with other chief groups such as the Arabs of Antalya who had migrated from Alexandria.

The Moreots of Methoni in the pre-war period were put under scrutiny in the first chapter. It was observed that the town was a hub for slave dealers and merchants who conducted business with Malta and North African towns, especially in Tunisia. In fact, due to this network, some of the notables were known to speak Arabic. Perhaps this feature, the language, may give clues regarding the establishment of good relations with the Arabs and continuance of the old economic networks, which were altered accordingly. While the Methonian Muslims were trading primarily with Tunisia, once in Antalya, their interest shifted to Alexandria in accordance with the origins and networks of the Arab merchants in the town.<sup>25</sup> Thanks to the alliance between the two migrant groups, the Moreot and Arab merchants in Antalya, the town was an important intermediary point in the trade of black slaves who were brought from Alexandria.<sup>26</sup>

According to a survey in the year 1860, the Moreots and the Arabs established two of the most crowded neighborhoods in Antalya and Kızılsaray was one of them, as inhabited by Moreots.<sup>27</sup> In these neighborhoods, despite non-existent religious segregation, a community distinction was visible. The Arabs did not reside in Kızılsaray, and the Moreots did not reside in the former's neighborhoods. However, the richer segment of the Antalya society, namely the abovementioned Arab and Moreot slave traders and merchants, resided in the same neighborhood, that is, Kaleiçi (the Citadel).

Surveying the deceased Moreots' *tereke*s, it is possible to come across debt certificates that belong to the Arabs and other Moreots. Such strong economic links between the two migrant communities should lead to the establishment of social relations as well. The members of the elite sections of the Moreot and Arab communities were conducting arranged marriages that brought these two groups together as families. For instance, the two of the most influential families, that of Moreot İbrahim Aga and Arab Suleyman, became connected through marriage when İbrahim's daughter, Zeyneb, married Suleyman.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid, 48.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid, 121.

<sup>27</sup>Hasan Babacan, "Temettuat Kayıtlarına Göre Antalya'daki Mora Göçmenleri", *Geçmişten Günümüze Göç Bildiri Kitabı*, vol.1 (Samsun, 2017), 197-205.

<sup>28</sup>Dayar, "Antalya'da Devlet ve Eşraf İlişkileri", 121.

The alliance between the Moreots and the Arabs became even stronger with the help of a common rival: the Tekelioğulları, a local, non-migrant and powerful family of Antalya. Once the Moreot merchants, along with Arabs, became even more prominent in the trade of cereals from Egypt to Anatolia, the rivalry between the migrants and the locals became heated.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, the position of the state in this competition would affect the lives of the Moreots for the upcoming decades of the nineteenth century. For instance, their active role in the *deayanization* project is indicative of this.

*Deayanization* was a process of breaking the social, political, economic and military monopoly of power several families held in different parts of the Ottoman domain in the early nineteenth century. It was one of the radical thoughts that were in the agenda of the bureaucratic elite in the center. Tekelioğulları was one such family in Antalya, which the central government was not happy with. Therefore, the Moreots were supported as a rising group to be put against the actors of the Ottoman ancien régime in the changing scenery of the Ottoman modernization.<sup>30</sup> In order to break the economic and political monopoly of the Tekelioğulları in Antalya, as part of the *deayanization* process, the center bestowed the Moreot and Arab merchants with the special status of *tüccar-ı hayriyye*<sup>31</sup>, a privileged class of merchants that were protected by the state.<sup>32</sup>

With this title, the Moreot merchants, along with the Arabs, gained an exalted status as merchants, had the opportunity to benefit from the same opportunities and privileges as the European merchants that were under the protection of the Ottoman Sultan and became even more influential in the peripheral politics. For instance, a slave trader mentioned above, Moreot Ibrahim Aga, was one of those bequeathed with the title of *tüccar-ı hayriyye*. In addition to this grant, he was appointed as the şebbender vekili (the representative of the British Consul) in Antalya.<sup>33</sup> Increasing his influence on the trade of multiple goods and slaves, Moreot Ibrahim Aga came to possess a substantial wealth that rivaled the total fortune of the Tekelioğulları. Ibrahim only possessed more than one million guruş at the time of his death in

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid, 47-48.

<sup>30</sup>See Şükrü Ilıcak, “A Radical Rethinking of Empire: Ottoman State and Society during the Greek War of Independence (1821-1826),” Unpublished PhD dissertation, (Harvard University, 2011).

<sup>31</sup>Literally means “auspicious merchants”. They were also sometimes referred to as *tüccar-ı muhacir* (migrant merchants); Dayar, “Antalya’da Devlet ve Eşraf İlişkileri”, 121.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid, 48; Ilıcak, “The Radical Rethinking”; Musa Çadırcı, “II. Mahmut Döneminde (1808-1839) Avrupa ve Hayriye Tüccarları”, *Türkiye’nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920)*, (Ankara, 1980), 237-241.

<sup>33</sup>Dayar, “Antalya’da Devlet ve Eşraf İlişkileri”, 47

1855, which accounted to half of what the Tekelioğulları owned.<sup>34</sup> The events that followed the death of Ibrahim Aga are even more significant in terms of the issues of inheritance and heritage that these wealthy Moreots created.

Due to the affluence and privileged status that was acquired by several Moreot merchants, the creation of an *time-honored dynasty* (*hanedan-ı kadim*)<sup>35</sup> took place in Antalya in the following decades. Ibrahim's son Ahmed Pertev became a member of the city council, demonstrating that the Moreots were benefiting from the opportunities of the changing dynamics in the nineteenth century yet again. Ali Muhlis Ağa, another wealthy merchant that was involved in the trade of cereals was also one of the Moreot members of the council. All these people contributed to the formation of the so-called dynasty that was also de facto acknowledged by the center, although never officially recognized.<sup>36</sup> Appearing strong in the Council of Commerce, the Moreots were established firmly as the notables in Antalya. After Ibrahim Aga, Moralı Süleyman Efendi was appointed to the position of deputy consul in the region.<sup>37</sup> Although temporally it is beyond the scope of this thesis, it should be mentioned that, at the end of the nineteenth century, as part of the Ottoman administration the Moreots played a role in the management of other migrant groups as well.

After the significant Ottoman territorial losses in the Caucasus in the second half of the nineteenth century, many Circassians migrated to the south, towards the lands controlled by the Ottomans. At this point in time, the Ottomans had become experienced in migration and migrant management, assembling functioning committees solely for the needs of migrants and refugees much more rapidly than the way they did during the Moreot migration. A significant number of the Circassians were settled in Antalya and one of the notables, none other than Moralı Cemal Bey, the son of Ali Muhlis Ağa, an exceptionally wealthy merchant of cereals that had acquired his wealth as a *tüccar-ı hayriyye*, was the chair of the Committee of Migrants (*Muhacirin Komisyonu*) in the broader Teke *sanjak*.<sup>38</sup> Although it is impossible to discern whether the central government considered a migrant past or heritage as an advantage in bestowing Cemal Bey with this prominent position, for this research, the links between the concept of migrant and experience of migration

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Also known as *eşraf-ı hanedan* (notable dynasty) in the city. Dayar, "Antalya'da Devlet ve Eşraf İlişkileri", 119.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid, 46-47, 116.

<sup>37</sup>BOA, A.İMKT.NZD., 30-285; BOA, DH.MKT.,1933-12.

<sup>38</sup>Dayar, "Antalya'da Devlet ve Eşraf İlişkileri", 245.

are non-negligible.

Cemal Bey, just as the other prominent members of the so-called dynasty did four decades ago, established commercial links between his family and the new migrant communities, that is, the Circassians, thereby extending his and the Moreots' sphere of influence in addition to strengthening the Moreot presence by campaigning for the appointment of his relatives to the local administrative offices.<sup>39</sup> Cemal Bey was initially bestowed with rewards for his efforts in the settlements of the migrants in this region.<sup>40</sup> However, when the complaints regarding his exploits (namely his corrupt morals and greed to rule over the communities of Antalya), he defended himself as a member of the exalted Moreot migrant dynasty, who had worked for decades for the prosperity of Antalya and the broader Teke region. According to him, it was unacceptable to think that the respectable Moreot migrant merchants could ever be considered in the same position as the ordinary merchants of timber in Antalya.<sup>41</sup>

Cemal Bey was clearly referring to a past heritage that must have a degree of credibility in the eyes of the central government. The Moreot identity that formed in the post-war era had taken down roots and had actually become a name that was esteemed enough to support the integrity of an associated person. It would also appear that, within the larger Moreot identity in Antalya, there existed fractions sorted according to economic affluence, whereof some of the more prominent families described themselves as a notable dynasty, separating from ordinary Moreots. It is equally interesting that the officials permitted the negotiation of the formation of such an identity.

The wealth and authority the Moreots accumulated in the second half of the nineteenth century, and their recognition as a large group of notables definitely created the notion that they were able to observe and use opportunities to their advantage, taking roots in the area firmly and deepening the Moreot heritage even further until the beginning twentieth century. The Greek language definitely played a role in the discernibility of this community among the many other migrant or local groups, allowing the Moreot heritage to survive until the end of the Ottoman Empire in travelogues and photographs as well as official documents.

The Moreots were able to put the past professional experience they accumulated in the Morea, specifically in Methoni, into use in the places they settled, namely

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid, 236, 248.

<sup>40</sup>BOA, DH.MKT.,12-1933.

<sup>41</sup>Dayar, "Antalya'da Devlet ve Eşraf İlişkileri", 253.

Antalya. Their experience in trading valuable goods and black slaves between Africa and the European sphere allowed them to seize the opportunities that showed up as part of the dynamics of the nineteenth-century modernization and the aspiration of the state to find new agents in the periphery that would break the influence of the old notable families. Forming alliances with other migrant groups throughout the nineteenth century, the Moreots increased their notability in the peripheral politics and in the eyes of the central government, leading to their appointment and selection to newly established reforming institutions such as the Committee of Migrants, the City Council and Council of Commerce in Antalya. Despite the outstanding affluence of a number of certain Moreot families, the debt certificates found in the *tereke*s of the wealthier ones suggest that relations were still existent between the richer and poorer sections who lived in separate neighborhoods.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

The Moreots left marks on the places they inhabited. These traces were materialized in the form of the neighborhoods they built, the previous professional networks they maintained and the alliances they formed with the state and other migrant groups in the area. In this context, their communal characteristics, namely the epithet “the Moreot” and the Greek language, made them distinct in the Ottoman society. Their active contribution to the socio-economic life evolved as they seized opportunities that were created by new developments in the administrative agenda, altered and advanced their positions and thereby identity and heritage in the Ottoman society. The commercial links they previously had with the populations of North Africa helped them come together with the Arab migrants in some of the port cities of Anatolia. As a consequence of their increasing influence as active agents of the bureaucratic elite’s *deayanization* program, the Moreots established themselves as a serious rival group to the existing holders of the power. Gradually, with the power and recognition, the Moreot identity evolved from a local to common identification that was taken up by the descendants of the migrants in the later parts of the nineteenth century. As a result, these negotiations and developments culminated in the survival of this particular group and its identity until the twentieth century.



## 5. CONCLUSION

“Later in the day I rambled through the town and explored a fine old Turkish garden, with fountains and orange-trees, and a magnificent mulberry, which had often shaded from the heat of the noontide sun its former master. I often experience a melancholy sensation in gazing on the beautiful though crumbling works of a race of men who, recently lords of the soil, have now no more a breathing space through the whole land, and who have lost their sunny and delicious homes without any compensation. Such generally is the case with the Moreote Turks. They were judged by the stern law which their fathers had established, that conquest gives to the conqueror a right to the lands of the conquered, indefeasible save by the sword again. Before the revolution, the Argolid was covered with stately cypresses, which gave it the appearance of a continuous garden. These have vanished, and the scene would be destitute of beauty, were it not for the unchanging sea and the imperishable mountains.”<sup>1</sup>

Henry Herbert, the Third Earl of Carnarvon, noted with melancholy how the lands vacated by the Moreot Muslims looked destitute in 1839. The scenery had changed dramatically, the gardens of the Muslims were no longer adorning the continuous fields and their houses were taken and resided in by the Greeks. The earl found peace in gazing at the Aegean Sea, which he deemed to be the one unchanging entity despite the war. He was shortsighted in his assessment. The Aegean Sea was in flux with migrants, frigates and steamers as never before. Two sovereign states, the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Greece were now responsible for the constant movement of individuals, groups or entire populations.

Despite the primary cause of this flux in the region, the primordial antagonism

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<sup>1</sup>Henry John George Herbert Carnarvon, *Reminiscences of Athens and the Morea: Extracts from a Journal of Travels in Greece in 1839*, (London: J. Murray, 1869), 78-79.

between the rulers and rebels, the Muslims and Christians were not always at war against one another. In fact, they were family, neighbors and commercial partners who lived and worked together. They were not separated by language or quotidian customs but by religion and thus, political affiliation. Nonetheless, aspects of the culture they formed in the Morea endured the war and were adapted to the life and community in Anatolia by the Moreot migrants. In fact, these characteristics, such as speaking the Greek language as mother tongue, played a major role in the formation of a distinct group identity in the places they settled, implied, for instance, by the special attention the foreign travelers paid to the Moreots whenever they came across.

The Moreot migration, in terms of logistics and settlement, represented one of the last instances of old systems of mobility management. Contrary to what the secondary literature often suggests, the Ottoman state was not always present during the transfer of the Muslims from the Morea to Anatolia. There were no institutions that facilitated the departure, the journey or the settlement of the forced migrants. As a result of this, the organization of the movement was conducted by the migrants themselves. As every negotiation committee composed of different types of members, the migration experience varied accordingly. Moreover, while in some towns, some of the Muslim *beys* remained after they negotiated others' transfer, and in others, the Muslim population was expelled completely.

Apart from the capital city, in almost all of the towns they arrived, the migrants were tended to by the local administrators such as imperial guards or constabulary officers as there was no specific institution dedicated to migrant management at the time of the exodus. Only after the Crimean War and the mass migration of the Tatars to Ottoman lands in the second half of the nineteenth century, an organization formed solely for the affairs of the migrants. Still, the Moreot migration brought forward the anxiety of a constant mobility within and out of the Ottoman borders. Therefore, in tandem with the Moreots' internal relocation we see significant developments in the law enforcement and travel regulations imposed by the state, for which the *mürur tezkiresi* is one example.

The most important point this thesis argues is that the Moreots were not a remote and unchanging group and they did not always remain in a helpless and subordinate condition. We have seen that in some of the towns, they were particularly an active community who built neighborhoods, established trade links with different regions and made alliances with other migrant groups against common rivals. In time, the Moreots became agents of the change and structural reformation in Ottoman administration in these places.

Furthermore, the ways in which they negotiated their group identity offered valuable perspective into the broader nineteenth-century experience of the Ottoman Empire. After the resettlement in Anatolia, the local, regional identities of the Moreots transitioned into a more common one. At points of encounter with the state and the migrants, which increased incrementally in the decades following the movement, the Moreots chose to define themselves as part of a larger group that was acknowledged by the state. As a result, this particular group identification and heritage survived until the later parts of the nineteenth century in various ways. In this research Antalya was chosen to reflect this process and the Moreots' role in it. For further research agendas, other *vilayets* and towns could be studied in a similar manner which may open up space for broader generalizations regarding the Moreot culture in Anatolia.

Although in this thesis the main focus was on the Muslim Moreots who migrated to Anatolia, there are many implications that there were other groups who journeyed from the Morea to various parts of the Eastern Mediterranean. This brought forward some questions that were not answered in this thesis but promises exciting new research points. Why did the aforementioned *beys* choose to remain and live under Christian rule while the majority of their community left? What happened to the Muslim communities that remained in the Morea after the Greek state was established? During my research, I have come across some important leads that could shed light on these questions. I believe the story of a larger and more diverse Moreot migrant community can be unearthed in future works. In fact, not only the travel of people but also material culture from the Morea to Anatolia is an issue that can open up new paths in the history of migration and even local microhistories.

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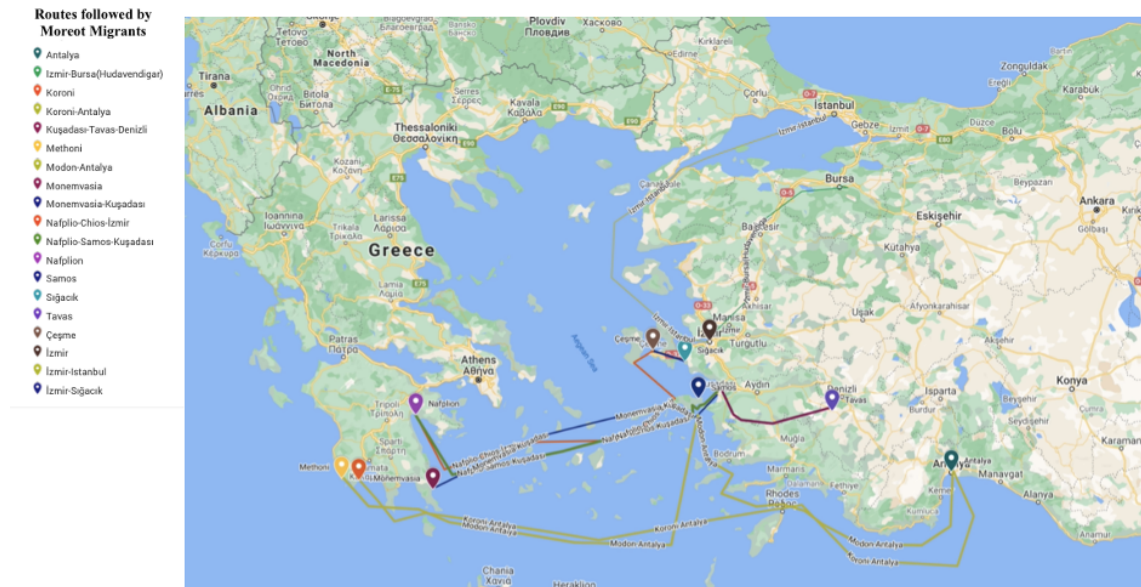
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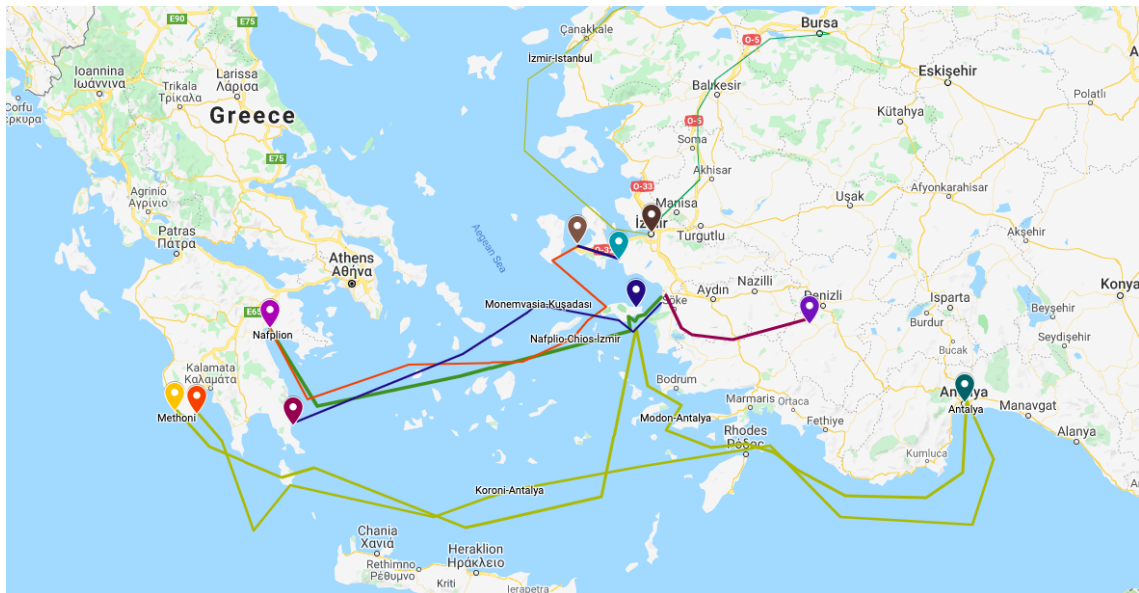
## APPENDIX A

Figure A.1 Map showing the points of departure and arrival.



The routes are estimated by me based on the accounts of historians and travelers.

Figure A.2 Close section of map showing the points of departure and arrival.





## APPENDIX B

Figure B.1 Photograph showing Moreot women and children in Antalya in 1915.



This photograph was taken by Ernest Lloyd Harris, the American Consul of Smyrna during his journey through the Asia Minor. © National Geographic Society