Dominik Gutmeyr, Karl Kaser (eds.)

Europe and the Black Sea Region

A History of Early Knowledge Exchange (1750-1850)

LIT

Dominik Gutmeyr, Karl Kaser (eds.)

Europe and the Black Sea Region

Studies on South East Europe

edited by

Prof. Dr. Karl Kaser

(Graz)

vol. 22

Dominik Gutmeyr, Karl Kaser (eds.)

Europe and the Black Sea Region

A History of Early Knowledge Exchange (1750-1850)

LIT

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: EUROPE AND THE BLACK SEA REGION.
A HISTORY OF EARLY KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE (1750–1850)

Karl Kaser and Dominik Gutmeyr

Abstract: Our contribution pursues two aims: the first is to present the objectives and background of our EU-funded project 'Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in the Humanities: Europe and the Black Sea Region, late 18th–21st Centuries'. The second is to sketch and discuss some theoretical orientations oscillating between diffusion, dissemination, transfer, exchange and the circulation of knowledge elaborated in the past five decades. Consequently, we will argue for a theoretical stance that focuses on knowledge exchange instead of the frequently prioritised position of knowledge transfer. The simple reason for this preference lies in the greater openness of the first. Instead of looking at mono-lineal transfer processes that usually unfold from an advanced 'West' to a barely civilized 'East', the exchange concept encourages us to take an additional look at the frequently neglected circulation of knowledge of ambiguous origin, as well as at East-West transfer.

Circulation and exchange of knowledge have probably taken place since human communities settled down approximately 10,000 years ago. A more specific scientific exchange came into being after modern sciences manifested themselves in Western and Central Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. Simplistic transfer concepts centring on the export of this new kind of knowledge to other parts of the world and its reception in various ways and times have become increasingly questioned. When the scientific study of the Black Sea Region (BSR) began in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, initially commissioned by adjacent powers such as the Habsburg and the Russian empires, this *terra incognita* was not yet considered part of Europe. Larry Wolff's statement with regard to the West's assessments of Eastern Europe may also hold true for the BSR: "The geographical border between Europe and Asia was not unanimously fixed in the 18th century, located sometimes on the Don, sometimes farther east at the Volga, and sometimes, as today, at the Urals. Such uncertainty encouraged the construction of Eastern Europe as a paradox of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion, Europe but not Europe" (Wolff 1994, 7).

Knowledge and scientific exchange between Europe and the BSR intensified in the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries and was interrupted when the eastern BSR (the Caucasus area), as well as the Ukraine after WWI and a significant portion of the Balkan BSR after WWII, were incorporated into the orbit of the Soviet Union. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and its satellite states in

Eastern Europe opened up new perspectives at the end of the 20th century. Access to the Black Sea Region increased, a region that – with the exceptions of Greece and Turkey – had disappeared behind the Iron Curtain and with which only restricted exchange had been possible for the non-socialist world. The past quarter of a century, however, has witnessed pan-European integration, while globalized knowledge and scientific exchange have assumed a new quality.

Not only were ties strengthened between the countries of the BSR itself, increasingly considered as the wider Southeast Europe (Troebst 2000, 2007), but also connections forged between the EU15 of the mid-1990s and the countries surrounding the Black Sea – a process that has contributed to the globalization of knowledge and scientific exchange. Today, former Comecon countries such as Bulgaria and Romania have been fully fledged members of the European Union for more than a decade, while former Soviet republics such as Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine signed association agreements in 2016–17. These developments have also led to the integration of the BSR into the European Research Area (ERA; see European Commission 2017) – a process that has intensified exchange between the continent's western and eastern regions, most notably within the European Union's research and innovation programmes such as Horizon 2020.

Our research and exchange project[1] provides an intriguing opportunity to critically reflect on the historical processes sketched above and to take a look into the future. Moreover, it is based on firm theoretical grounds that we will scrutinize in the following. Thus, we will introduce the reader to the project's aims and background and discuss some of the theoretical orientations that have unfolded between positions elaborated in the past five decades, such as 'diffusion', 'dissemination', 'transfer', 'exchange' and the 'circulation' of knowledge.

Aims and Background

This volume represents the first result of the Horizon 2020 research project 'Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in the Humanities. Europe and the Black Sea Region' and as such is the product of the developments mentioned above. The project's initial aim is to analyse forms of knowledge exchange within the BSR itself as well as between the BSR and European countries spanning the period from the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when the region was 'discov-

---

[1] 'Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in the Humanities: Europe and the Black Sea Region, Late 18th – 21st Centuries' (KEAC-BSR), funded by the European Commission, project number: MSCA-RISE 734645.

ered' by foreign researchers, to the present, when knowledge exchange has become spatially unlimited. Secondly, it aims to investigate academic cultures in the BSR over time and how types of communication impact on the varying forms these cultures have taken. The research objective is to shift the focus from the usual Western European perspective to the 'periphery', as is reflected in the choice of participating countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey, Ukraine). A two-day conference held in September 2017 at the University of Graz gave participants the opportunity to discuss the beginnings of knowledge exchange within the region, as well as between the BSR countries and Western Europe.

The point of departure for our investigation is the asynchronous establishment of academic institutions in Europe and its neighbouring regions. Universities and other academic institutions in the Latin countries look back on a long tradition, having their origins in the eleventh century. In the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, to which the BSR was attached in the course of history, this kind of scientific culture and analogous academic institutions independent of religious and worldly authorities hardly existed until the late phase of Ottoman rule. Scholarly life and institutions remained indissolubly connected to Byzantine Christian doctrine and later, in the Ottoman Empire, to Islamic dogmas. For instance, Islamic authorities were required to approve the establishment of printing houses for the production of books in Arabic letters due to the sacred nature of the Arabic script, for which the reed pen was the only authorized instrument of representation (Mitterauer 2006). In a rare case, the renegade Ibrahim Müteferrika, also called 'the Turkish Gutenberg', received a license to print books in 1726 (Barbarics-Hermanik 2013; Mitterauer 2003, 267–68). As already mentioned, Byzantine Orthodox and Jewish societies/communities did not develop academic institutions independent of supervision by religious authorities. Putting aside the question of whether Ottoman authorities would have permitted the establishment of universities by Orthodox scholars, Orthodoxy simply did not inherit this kind of education from the Byzantine period (Mitterauer 2003, 152–98). Therefore, monasteries remained the most important institutions to regulate the preservation and distribution of knowledge to the Orthodox population. Their capacity for knowledge distribution, however, remained limited. Unlike their Catholic counterparts, Orthodox monasteries did not establish internationally oriented orders such as the Lazarists or the Piarists. The earliest printing houses in the service of the Slavic-Orthodox population were located in Trieste, while in the principalities of Wallachia and Moldova printing presses were in operation only from the late 17th century. In Jewish communities, the Talmud remained the most important point of reference. The Jewish communities of Istanbul and Thessaloniki constituted

the centres of book printing, which almost exclusively served religious purposes. Around 1500, they established the first printing houses in the Ottoman Empire (Ibid., 266–67).

   This unfavourable constellation for the establishment of scientific institutions and communication within and beyond the Empire began to improve only as its peripheral territories in the Balkans and the Caucasus started to crumble. Until the second half of the 18th century, the Black Sea was regarded as a 'Turkish lake' and the BSR was an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. After its defeat in one of the many wars against the Russian Empire, the Peace Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774) stipulated that the waters of the Black Sea as well as the Bosphorus Strait must be opened to international commercial traffic. For the one and a half centuries that followed, the problem of what should become of the Ottoman Empire would be called the 'Eastern Question' (Macfie 2014). Less than a decade after the treaty, in 1783, Russia established domination over the Crimea. Furthermore, the Ottomans increasingly lost control in the Southern Caucasus which was absorbed by the Russian Empire in subsequent decades. In the Balkans, the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire began with the establishment of a formally independent Greek state in 1828. Romania received sovereignty in 1878, Bulgaria in 1908 and Macedonia was divided among Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia in 1913. Independence from the Ottoman Empire constituted the precondition for the establishment of modern academic institutions which began to interact within the BSR and beyond in the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries. More than five decades ago, U.S. historian George Basalla (1967, 613–17) described this kind of academic cultures and forms of knowledge exchange as 'colonial science'.

Some Theoretical Orientations

Among the models attempting to explain the diffusion, transfer, circulation or imposition of modern scientific knowledge on a global scale, George Basalla's diffusionist explanation received a remarkably positive echo but also criticism from various sides. Despite the critical remarks, it is worth discussing his influential article *The Spread of Western Science. A three-stage model describes the introduction of modern science into any non-European nation,* published in 1967 in the journal *Science*.

Basalla's Diffusionist Model

Basalla's three-stage model of the spread of Western science to the rest of the world provides a useful paradigm for our research project, though not without significant adjustments. The home of modern science was a circle of European

nations, in Basalla's simplifying words, "Italy, Germany, Austria, and the Scandinavian countries" (Basalla 1967, 611). Historically, the area in which the Scientific Revolution took place between the 15th and the 18th centuries was part of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and its neighbours. An approximate outline of the area runs from Stockholm to Lisbon, from Lisbon through Spain to Rome and Naples, from there to the Adriatic cities of Venice and Trieste and further east to Buda. Then up to Krakow and northwards to the region of Danzig-Marienburg-Königsberg. Printing houses and universities were concentrated in the described area. Here, caused by a variety of cultural transfers, the process of 'Europeanization' was triggered (Schmale 2012, 24). The term 'Republic of Letters' is often used as a metaphor to describe this core area of exchange of knowledge between scholars in informal, though sometimes formal, communities and societies in the early modern period (van den Heuvel 2015, 96).

According to Basalla, every region beyond the Republic of Letters received modern science through direct contact with a Western country – through military conquest, colonization, imperial influence, commercial and political relations, and missionary activity (Basalla 1967, 611). In stage one, a still non-scientific society or nation served as a source for Western European science. The term *non-scientific* refers to the absence of modern Western science. This stage of transfer was characterized by the European (trained scientist or amateur) who visited the new land, surveyed and collected its flora and fauna, studied its physical features and subsequently took the results of his work back to Europe. This stage is confined to the period beginning in the 16th and terminating in the mid-19th century (Ibid., 611–13).

Stage two, which the author labels 'colonial science', began some time later and achieved a higher level of scientific activity because a broader range of activities was involved. Colonial science meant dependent science. The colonial scientist was either a native or a transplanted European colonist or settler. The sources of his education and his institutional attachments were beyond the borders of the land in which he carried out his scientific work. If formally trained, he had received some or all of his scientific education in a Western European institution. In any case, the colonial scientist relied upon an external scientific tradition (Ibid., 613–17).

In stage three, native scientists struggled to create an independent scientific practice. The colonial scientist was to be replaced by a scientist whose major ties were within the boundaries of the country in which he worked. For the establishment of an independent scientific culture, several tasks were to be completed: for instance, religious resistance had to be overcome and replaced by scientific work, the social role of the scientist had to be acknowledged, science was to receive

financial aid from the state and the teaching of science was to be introduced at all levels of the educational system (Ibid., 617–18).

Today, Basalla's model is seen critically because of its claim to universality, its undifferentiated characterization of the 'colonial scientist' and its neglect of native knowledge. These shortcomings contributed to reinforce an image of Western European sciences as universal and epistemologically supreme. However, scientific dissemination processes, firstly, have been much more complex, and secondly, must be embedded in concrete social and cultural, economic and political contexts (Lipphardt and Ludwig 2011, 18–22). Beyond this, the simplicity of mono-lineal diffusionism in Basalla's model was criticised, as well as its Eurocentrism and inability to appreciate the distinction between the responses of China and Japan to modern science on the one hand, and the response of India on the other hand. In his scheme, the 'East' and the 'Ancient world' appear as an undifferentiated whole (Raina 1999, 501–08).

Nevertheless, we believe that Basalla's model remains of heuristic value. Therefore, it may be applied in the framework of the project but adapted in order to avoid the pitfalls of the shortcomings mentioned above. The project will not look at the unilateral export of Western European sciences to the BSR, in other words from a centre to a periphery, but at the plurality of mutual exchanges between various knowledge systems. From a post-colonial perspective, scientific exchange cannot be conceptualized as isolated from general knowledge exchange because this would exclude indigenous knowledge and eliminate processes of interaction between knowledge systems (Lipphardt and Ludwig 2011, 28). In this vein, the project's perspective is intentionally not Western European but explores the viewpoints of the actors and institutions of the BSR, as is reflected in the composition of the consortium.

Within the framework of the project, Basalla's three stages are roughly reflected in the construction of the first three work packages. We will briefly explain how this is meant. The starting point of the project is the second half of the 18th century, when the Black Sea ceased to constitute an Ottoman *mare nostrum*. The Russian conquerors of the Southern Caucasus were increasingly interested in the region that they were aiming to subjugate. Already Empress Catharine the Great (1762–1796) had hired researchers trained at German universities, such as Johann Anton Güldenstädt (1745–1781), and herewith initiated Basalla's stage one, when a still non-scientific society or nation serves as a source for Western European science. Güldenstädt's expedition to the Empire's southern frontier lasted seven years and resulted in the two-volume travel account *Reisen durch Rußland und im Caucasischen Gebürge* (Travels across Russia and the Caucasus Mountains), posthumously published in 1787/1791 (see Gutmeyr 2017, 138). It

should be emphasized that at first Russia's role had been that of an intermediary since Russia originally did not belong to the European region where modern science originally circulated. However, under Peter the Great (1682–1725), Russia was included in the circulation of modern academic knowledge and began to establish her own knowledge production and knowledge exchange in the newly acquired South Caucasus approximately one century later.

The Balkan portion of the BSR seems to be have remained unknown to Western researchers for even longer, namely until the beginning of the 19th century. Their knowledge about this territory was based on antique authors on the one hand, and on information provided by travellers, diplomats, news distributors and adventurers on the other. The breakthrough in knowledge about the Balkan region was achieved only in the 1830s by a group of researchers sponsored by the Habsburg court under the guidance of the French-Austrian geologist Ami Boué (1794–1881) (Kaser 2002, 21). These researchers revised faulty knowledge in the fields of geology, geography and ethnic composition in a voluminous French publication that appeared in 1840 (Boué 1840) and a German translation published in 1889 (Boué 1889).

The beginning of Basalla's stage two, the stage of 'colonial science', depended on the point in time when the BSR countries achieved a kind of sovereignty and were thus able to institutionalize scientific disciplines at universities, academies and similar institutions. Since the emerging countries did not yet have their own experts in the various academic fields, scholars from foreign countries were called in: predominately Austrians, Czechs, Frenchmen and Germans. To give a few examples, the figure to inspire scientific historiography in Bulgaria was the Czech Konstantin Jireček (1854–1918). He was Bulgaria's minister of education in 1881–82 and became director of the National Library in 1884. His 1876 dissertation, *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (*Dějiny bulharského národa*; History of the Bulgarians), has remained influential until today and marks the beginning of Bulgarian historiography (Kaser 2002, 174–75). Another Czech, the painter Jan/Ivan Mrkvička (1856–1938), worked for four decades in the country and became its most prominent national painter. He founded the Academy of Fine Arts in 1896 and was its first director for a quarter of a century (Baleva 2012, 156–82). In Greece, the Bavarian origin of the country's first king, Otto (1832–1862), meant that Bavarians and other Germans dominated the stage of 'colonial science'. Among the most influential and controversial German historians in Greek historiography was Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790–1861) from the University of Munich (Kaser 2002, 176).

In the Southern Caucasus, the situation differed to a degree because the institutionalization of scientific organizations began within the framework of the Russian Empire. The first institutionalized studies of the Caucasus region on university level were conducted in the framework of teaching 'Oriental' languages. In Moscow, the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages was established as a private school for Armenians with the main language being, naturally, Armenian. Eventually, the Lazarev Institute became the government's main instrument for training officials for service in the Southern Caucasus. Armenian was also the first language of the Caucasus region to gain entrance into the Department of Oriental Studies at the University of Kazan'. By the middle of the 19th century, Tbilisi, too, had become a flourishing centre of Caucasiology (Frye 1972, 40–43; Gutmeyr 2017, 143–44, 149).

Another form of 'colonial science' was the education of a nation's students through scholarships to other countries. Students from the Southern Caucasus gravitated towards Moscow and St. Petersburg (Ibid.); Bulgarian students towards Austro-Hungary, Germany and Russia. Between 1878 and 1910, 451 Bulgarian students who had received state fellowships were trained outside the country (Trgovčević-Mitrović 1998, 368). Thus, Bulgaria's first generation of scientists, military officers and artists was trained abroad – this was not only the case for Bulgaria but for most of the BSR countries.

Stage two usually ceased after the first generation trained abroad returned and started to establish national training facilities: universities and academies, as well as technical and teacher training colleges. The most influential training institution to initiate phase three in the Southern Caucasus was the teacher training college in the Georgian city of Gori, established in 1876 and operating until 1917. It was divided into a Christian and a Muslim branch and had a music department that educated teachers for the whole of the Caucasus. A Georgian and Azerbaijani scientific and art elite emerged due to the work of this college, whereas the Armenians had their own teacher training colleges in Moscow (from 1815) and Tbilisi (from 1824) (Gasimov 2011, 14–17). Although these teacher training institutions provided Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan with national scientific elites, they and the universities established later in the region were not independent from St. Petersburg and later Moscow, except in the few years of independence after WWI. In comparison, the origins of the University of Bucharest go back to 1694 and those of the University of Athens to 1837; the University of Sofia was established in 1888, the University of Tbilisi in 1918 and the universities in Yerevan and Baku were founded in 1919.

In the Ottoman Empire, the reception of Western knowledge, for example in the fields of art and descriptive geometry, intensified from the end of the 18th

century but remained confined to the military sector (Shaw 2011, 31). In 1883, the Academy of Fine Arts was established in Istanbul based on the French system (Ibid., 126–33), and in 1900 the Empire's first university opened its doors.

Concluding this subsection, we would like to underline that Basalla's model of Western knowledge diffusion to the rest of the world was eventually questioned in the 1980s, when new approaches emerged that stressed cultural and knowledge exchange instead of transfer from an alleged centre to its alleged peripheries.

Theoretical and Practical Aspects of the Exchange and Circulation of Knowledge

As mentioned above, the theoretical framework of our project emphasizes the idea that culture and knowledge are mutually exchanged rather than linearly transferred. Two of the most influential predecessors of this approach were the French and German historians Michel Espagne and Michael Werner who published a seminal article in the mid-1980s (Espagne and Werner 1985). It is impossible here to capture the very broad discussion they initiated circulating around the idea that there is no culture that is not inter-cultural or cross-cultural (Schmale 2012, 10). This discussion encompasses the concepts of 'entangled history', 'histoire croisée', 'connected history' and 'shared history' (Schmale 2010, 17; Werner and Zimmermann 2002; Werner and Zimmermann 2006). In his pioneering volume, *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, on the practices of translation as part of cultural history, Peter Burke strikes a blow for the concept of 'culture exchange'. Exchange is effected by the fact that knowledge is permanently moving, travelling and circulating (Ash 2006, 181). The exchange concept does not anticipate an already defined outcome of research but indicates a preference because it opens the door for considerations related to reciprocity and mutuality.

Espagne, Werner and Zimmermann based their theses on French-German cultural relations, while Burke formulated his against the historical background of early modern Europe. This reminds us that processes of scientific and cultural exchange are not neutral and are exposed to change over time. In the following paragraphs, we will list some of the most important factors that affect these processes without claiming to present a complete catalogue. Basically, we must distinguish between the exchange of knowledge and research methods among universities, academies and individual scholars on regional, national, transnational and global levels, as well as between experts, non-experts and emerging experts such as students. Mitchell Ash, the U.S. historian and emeritus at the University of Vienna, distinguishes three forms of scientific exchange, of which the first and

second are the most relevant for our project: (1) the (forced) migration of scientists, (2) exchange mediated by objects, correspondence and texts, as well as (3) transfer through appliances and instruments accompanied by the necessary expertise (Ash 2006).

With regard to the (forced) migration of scientists, waves of brain drain in both directions have taken place during times of oppression. There is, for example, a long list of scientists who fled Nazi Germany and Nazi Austria for Turkey (Akgündüz 1998, 112–14). Similarly, numerous Greek scientists escaped the military junta in the country between 1967 and 1974, and a much longer list of scientists voluntarily or involuntarily left the communist and post-communist states (Vizi 1993), providing the host countries with their expertise.

Analysis of the second form of exchange, mediated by objects, correspondence and texts, tends to overlook the fact that the correspondence of scholars in the early modern period not only consisted of texts but also of paintings and drawings. In the early modern world, letters often contained sketches; in other cases, drawings or diagrams (known as *chartae* or *schedae/schedia*) were added to support their intellectual content (van den Heuvel 2015, 98). The practice among scholars to attach various kinds of information to written correspondence has not changed over time; what has changed is communication technology, and hand in hand, the intensity of exchange.

As already mentioned, exchange processes are exposed to change over time. Another crucial observation in our context is that the intensity of mutuality and reciprocity was sometimes highly variable. For example, the relationship between St. Petersburg and its Black Sea provinces in Tsarist Russia, as well as between Moscow and its orbit in the socialist period, was characterized by knowledge transfer rather than knowledge exchange: this type of transfer implied linearity from a given point of departure, a bridged geographical distance, a reception culture, the transformation of a cultural impetus and eventually its integration (Schmale 2012, 28–29). However, if we consider the relationships between the non-Soviet BSR and Western Europe, we should assume that concepts such as entanglement, liquidity or exchange were more in line with social realities than transfer. It is one of the aims of the project to test this hypothesis and establish empirical evidence for its validity.

Another crucial aspect is linked to the observation that certain social groups, such as scholars of the humanities, and pertinent institutions such as universities and academies, are especially predestined to play a role in the mutuality and reciprocity of knowledge and in cultural exchange processes. Academic cultures are

not universal but framed by political systems, cultural and social values, the position of scholars in a given society, the sex and age of the latter as well as the degree to which they are networking in the international arena. In addition, academic cultures are not static in time but reflect general societal developments. Academic cultures of the early 19th century cannot be equated with those of the early 21st century when comparing, for example, access to tertiary education for men and women and for people of various social backgrounds then and now.

In addition, it is vital to consider the relevance of exchange processes between generations (Lipphardt and Ludwig 2011, 31), also in regard to relations between academic staff and their male and female students. Scientific exchange processes, international as well as local, have altered significantly because of the changing social composition of academia over time. Originally exclusively male, academia has become increasingly female since approximately the middle of the 20th century. This, as well as the emergence of feminist movements in and outside academia, has significantly enlarged the corpus of research questions and theories, e.g. through the development of women's and gender history, as well as of feminist theorizing. The project, therefore, will place special emphasis on gender perspectives in scientific exchange and at the same time on a transnational level without disregarding national and local dimensions.

Among others, three significant elements have affected forms of scientific communication over time. Firstly, exchange technologies and their transformations. From oral to electronic communication, various media – writing, printing, telecommunication and digital forms of exchange – have essentially affected conditions of knowledge production, scholarly exchange and content (Ibid., 33). Secondly, translation represents a further highly relevant communication technique. Without the translation of books and articles into other languages, knowledge exchange would be very limited. Therefore, decisions concerning translation and the paths that lead to the translation of a particular academic work to the neglect of others, must be an integral part of our project. Thirdly, changing political frameworks are of prime importance. Again, it seems appropriate to differentiate between scientific *transfer* in the socialist period and knowledge *exchange* in earlier times, as well as in the post-socialist era. In socialism, the respective party decided about the content of knowledge production and the modes of its transfer, which did not exclude various forms of manipulation. In addition, international communication, especially participation in international conferences attended by Western colleagues, was manipulated, controlled and in many cases complicated by the ruling parties and their institutions.

Having elaborated various factors that have affected cultural and scientific exchange – a concept that gained ground in the 1980s – it seems appropriate to

mention a theoretical concept that has achieved considerable attention in recent years: the idea of circulating scientific knowledge. This theoretical concept does not contradict the exchange model – on the contrary, they reinforce one another. The situatedness and movement of scientific knowledge, especially on a global level, has until quite recently received little scholarly attention. Basalla took for granted that modern science emerged in Western Europe and thus was concerned with the modalities of its spread from there to the rest of the world (Raj 2013, 337–40). But is modern science a pure emanation of Western Europe – the West and the rest?

Accounting for the mobility and spread of the sciences beyond their site of origin has become a major concern in recent studies. They show that scientific propositions and practices disseminate through complex processes of accommodation and negotiation, as well as through the processes involved in their production. Scientific skills, practices and ideas, and their encounter with the skills, practices and ideas of other specialized communities, are seen as long- or short-range – according to the representatives of the circulatory concept. They argue that the resulting interactions are themselves a locus of knowledge construction and reconfiguration. Circulation and the analysis of its consequences are in the focus of this concept. Here, circulation is not understood as dissemination, transmission or the communication of ideas, because these presume the existence of a producer and an end user (Ibid., 341–43), i.e. an original locus of knowledge production and a variety of receivers.

Moreover, circulation is not neutral because it is always related to power and resistance, negotiation and reconfiguration; circulation is transforming. This concept suggests a rather open flow, including the possibility of mutations and reconfigurations returning to the point of origin. Beyond that, the circulatory perspective confers agency on all involved in the interactive process of knowledge production (Ibid., 344).

Finally, not every idea circulates and there can be good reason for some not coming into circulation at all. Specific conditions must exist to enable the flow, in connection with economic relations, certain social and political circumstances, and the absence of censorship. While circulation occurs within bounded spaces, spaces of circulation change through history and across cultures, depending on their nature and the relative power of interacting networks (Ibid., 344–45). The circulatory perspective, according to its proponents, allows the telling of the story of a world far more complex and intertwined than suggested by simple dichotomies such as core and periphery, west and east, or global and local, and constitutes an appropriate methodological framework for the conceptualization of transnational and global histories of science (Ibid., 346–47).

To conclude, it has been our ambition to present and reflect on potential theoretical approaches that are considered essential for the work of our research and exchange project. The previous five decades of theoretical reflection on how to write global histories of science, beginning with the emerging Republic of Letters of early modern Europe up to the 21st century, reveal a considerable shift in research intentions and their theoretical outlines: from one-dimensional concepts of diffusionism and transfer from centres to peripheries to theories that emphasize exchange and circulation and question the idea of an original locus and genius. Our project constitutes an attempt to overcome the dichotomy of a giving centre and a receiving periphery, of a bright 'Occident' and a dark 'Orient', of a progressive 'West' and a backward Black Sea Region.

Reconsidering the history of knowledge exchange with and within the Black Sea Region is, however, not confined to any one particular theoretical paradigm. On the contrary, the following pages will acquaint the reader with a broad variety of understandings of knowledge exchange and approaches to its investigation.

I. Knowledge in Motion

The first part of this volume focuses on knowledge acquired through travel. Strategic interests in the southeast of the European continent, industrialisation starting in Britain as well as the gradual increase in mobility made the world smaller and brought Western Europe and the Black Sea Region closer together. Hence, the BSR was no mere space of Western projection, which travel writers helped to set apart from 'Europe proper' – though research has often looked at it that way (see Bracewell 2009, 1–2) – but an integral part of a wider network of circulating knowledge: knowledge in motion. Michaela Wolf underlines the intrinsic relationship between travelling, translation and knowledge exchange in her contribution on Lady Mary Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1763). The travel experiences of the wife of the British ambassador to Istanbul are a dynamic example of knowledge exchange between 18th century Ottoman and British cultures; an exchange between the 'Orient' and the 'Occident' in the context of travel writing. Wolf emphasizes the trope of "representation of the cultural 'Other' through translation" – a trope that is the result of changing perspectives, of taking up a position 'from within', of distancing, of empathy and perhaps of emotion. Her chapter looks at knowledge in motion being subjected to asymmetry, cultural interferences as well as multiple coding, and whose borders are continuously blurred or blurring.

Zaur Hasanov reminds us that exchange is no exclusive phenomenon of modernity but that knowledge bridged huge distances already in antiquity. By examining decorative clay, stone and bone stamps, so-called 'pintaderas', he shows how archaeological findings in the Carpathian Basin closely resemble those of the Southern Caucasus, while their ornamentation and even function often diverged. Hasanov suggests that the stamps represent a synthesis of the worldview of the Scythians and that of the local populations roaming the vast territory between the Hungarian plains and the Caspian Sea – an indication that ancient knowledge exchange between Central Europe and the Black Sea Region, to which the nomadic Scythians contributed significantly as they crossed on horseback, was bi-directional rather than linear.

In a newer age, newspaper correspondents contributed to the fast exchange of ideas and knowledge. The transmission of information on the Black Sea Region to Central Europe is the theme of Andreas Golob's chapter. He uses selected Habsburg newspapers to highlight the implications of the gaze of foreign correspondents who in their curiosity perpetuated the existing cultural bias. During their travels to Southeastern Europe, the Habsburg correspondents mainly contributed to circulate well-established images rather than to produce empirical knowledge. Heightened interest in the bellicose events in the western Black Sea Region as well as the fact that newspaper coverage of Southeastern Europe attracted a larger readership in comparison to specialist literature, contributed to circulate these images even more widely, concludes Golob.

Vladimir Janev discusses ways and methods of distributing knowledge by taking a look at trade in the Ottoman Balkans. Trade is not only a frame for the exchange of material goods but also for the exchange of ideas, innovation and novelties. Janev's chapter gives a colourful insight into Ottoman society and the history of Ottoman trade, and how Western European and Ottoman subjects continuously exchanged knowledge via trade relations. This exchange had a strong influence on the socio-economic development of Macedonian cities along the trade route between Central Europe and Istanbul. But by the 19th century, Janev argues, the Ottoman Empire had became more and more dependent on Western European capital – a dependence that eventually weakened its position in Southeastern Europe in the course of that century.

The geostrategic position of Macedonia at the crossroads of the interests of the Ottoman, Russian and Habsburg Empires is also central to Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska's analysis of knowledge exchange and education in the western BSR. Drawing on a three-part model of exchange through migration, the transfer of objects as well as technology, she argues that the historical development of the Macedonian education system was closely linked to an intercultural struggle for

influence. New ideas and practices came to Macedonia via academic migration, the introduction of printed books as well as the printing technique *per se* – aspects of knowledge in motion that were locally negotiated and eventually initiated a Macedonian Enlightenment.

II. Materialised Knowledge Exchange

Knowledge in motion leaves materialised traces to posterity. In the second part of this volume, the authors scrutinize the exchange of knowledge that has taken place behind the production and circulation of today's topics of historical research. Photographs and charts, for example, are not the result of unilateral innovation but have been subjected to processes of intercultural negotiation and the circulation of expertise. Dominik Gutmeyr's chapter discusses processes of knowledge circulation and negotiation in the early development of photography. Instead of understanding photography as a product of Western intellectual triumph transferred to the rest of world, Gutmeyr addresses the neglect of non-Western contributions to a dynamic, albeit asymmetric, field of scientific development and suggests that innovation should be considered from a global perspective of circulation in order to overcome binary conceptions of a progressive 'West' and a 'non-West' lagging behind. By proposing to look at early photography as the result of widely circulating innovation in an intercultural zone of asymmetric negotiation, he explores the manifold consequences of an intellectual understanding that disconnected the eastern part of the continent from the narrative that presents modern science as an exclusively Western European achievement.

The 'East' was certainly not overlooked when it came to the geopolitical interests of the Western and Central European powers in the Black Sea Region versus those of the Russian and Ottoman Empires. While knowledge about the continent's 'periphery' was slim at a time when the Western and Central European powers saw potential in stronger involvement in the region, early interest was manifested in tighter networks of exchange, and consequently new knowledge was gathered. By the 1800s, Western European expertise regarding the region had improved, as is reflected in the development of maps used by the French army. Wojciech Sajkowski demonstrates how French cartographical knowledge gained in precision due to French expansionist policy at the cost of the Ottoman Empire in the Napoleonic Era. He argues that the amelioration of knowledge is most evident between 1809 and 1813, i.e. the short period of existence of the Illyrian Provinces that marked the zenith of French involvement in Southeastern Europe.

While the Illyrian Provinces represented a short interlude, Ottoman rule in Southeastern Europe brought continuity for several centuries, thus exerting a strong influence on knowledge production and dissemination. Dragi Gjorgiev highlights two dictionaries in his investigation of knowledge transfer in Ottoman Balkan society. These dictionaries, published in 1827 and 1836 respectively, translate more than one thousand terms and phrases from Ottoman Turkish into the South-Slavic, using the Arabic script. They symbolize the role of books in the transmission of knowledge across the enormous territory of the Ottoman Empire as well as in cross-cultural knowledge exchange among different language communities. Gjorgiev's study gives us an insight into the transmission of ideas across regional and imperial identities.

Printing activities in the Ottoman Empire remained strongly connected to its Islamic principles. Hence, its minority communities developed centres of book printing abroad. Gor Yeranyan's chapter discusses early Armenian book printing between Western Europe and colonial India and argues that the theological struggle between Armenian Catholics and the Armenian Apostolic Church spurred printing activities in Armenian communities. Books printed in Venice and Madras (today's Chennai) show the strong influence of Enlightenment ideas on their Armenian authors. However, Yeranyan argues against the notion of printing as an example of knowledge transfer from Western Europe to Armenia since this technology was embraced by Armenians born in the diaspora and who also shaped inner-Armenian ideological debates about its use.

III. Communities in Exchange

The need for communities to voice and disseminate their concerns has always constituted an important factor in the production and circulation of knowledge. The third section of this volume aims to shed light on the role of knowledge exchange between different communities in the Black Sea Region. Ioannis Grigoriadis focuses on minority debates on the future of the Ottoman Empire by analysing the Greek and Armenian nationalist movements, and explores the influence of diasporic communities disseminating national ideas between Western, Central and Eastern Europe. While Grigoriadis shows that similar positions on secession from the Ottoman Empire ultimately did not lead to parallel developments in the Greek and Armenian movements, the two communities pursued an exchange of ideas and practices in both directions for it promised mutual benefit – a hope that nevertheless failed to transform either community or to alter the existing state of affairs.

The complex history of Armenians between 'East' and 'West' is addressed in Greta Nikoghosyan's chapter on the Mekhitarist Congregation of Venice and their book translations from French to Armenian. Analysing the choice of works to be translated from the French, she examines the impact of these translations on the development of the Armenian language and discusses the Congregation's position towards Enlightenment values. Through these translations, knowledge not only circulated between readers of French and Armenian respectively, but also between the Armenian communities in the Venetian 'West' and the Ottoman 'East'.

The contribution by Yana Volkova shifts our attention to the Odessa region and the role of diasporic communities in its development. It reveals how Odessa's French, German, Italian and Greek communities influenced the cultural, economic and social development of the city. The exchange of ideas within and among these communities of well-educated immigrants played a crucial role in making Odessa one of the Russian Empire's largest cities and one of the region's most important trading centres. Education, trade, culture and architecture – all benefited from the prolific exchange among the many communities that shaped the development of the Black Sea's northwestern coast.

Svetlana Koch's chapter demonstrates how diasporic communities not only have a strong influence on their new environment but also on the societies they originated from and to which they remain closely linked. Analysing the Bulgarian and Greek communities in Bessarabia and their respective influence on the 19th century rebellions against Ottoman rule in Southeastern Europe, Koch underlines diasporic involvement in the exchange of knowledge, ideas and resources with the original homeland and how this fostered nation-building, progress in education and the construction of an economic network.

IV. Institutionalizing Exchange

The century between 1750 and 1850 saw the geopolitical importance of the Russian Empire rise in the Black Sea Region, often at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. The ambition of a political actor to strengthen its strategic position in a newly targeted territory often coincides with its aspiration to gather knowledge about the region in question, eventually leading to an increase in institutionalized knowledge as information is bundled and structured. The topic of institutionalized exchange is under scrutiny in the volume's fourth section. The contribution by Stavris Parastatov and Alla Kondrasheva provides an introduction to the complex establishment of Russian academic studies focused on the Empire's southern borderlands. The history of Russian 'Caucasiology' is the history of the gradual

systematization of scientific research based at St. Petersburg's Imperial Academy of Sciences. Moreover, it is a history of international negotiation as Empress Catherine II entrusted predominantly foreign scholars, most of whom came to Russia from German universities, to lead its scientific expeditions to the Empire's southern frontier.

The era of Catherine II is also under scrutiny by Anastasiya Pashova and Petar Vodenicharov in their analysis of the foundation of the Smol'nyĭ Institute for Noble Maidens, the first educational centre for women in Russia. After all, it was Catherine's orientation towards France that brought Enlightenment thought in the form of educational idealism to St. Petersburg, such as ideas on pedagogy by François Fénelon as well as the model of the Maison Royale de Saint-Louis, a boarding school for girls at Saint-Cyr. Eventually, as Pashova and Vodenicharov underline, this exchange failed due to the more centralized and hierarchical character of the Russian educational system and the fact that Russian social and political life was more conservative than in France. The authors conclude that Russian society was not yet ready for the implementation of Enlightenment thought.

While the Russian Empire confidently pursued the goal of establishing its own centres of scientific research, and discussed and used foreign expertise in building them, the institutionalization of knowledge in 19th century Bulgaria was a complex process that depended on various influences from the outside. Mariyana Piskova argues that the concept of a Bulgarian archive was based on models that had come into existence all over Europe, while Bulgarians considered the Czech National Museum their model of preference. Piskova reveals how the inception of a Bulgarian archive resulted from knowledge transfer, rather than from foreign domination or a policy imposed by another state. Bulgarian emigrants acted as the key agents in a process of knowledge transfer between emigrant communities and the homeland.

Similarly to Russia's ambitions to strengthen its hold on the northern and eastern coasts of the Black Sea, the Habsburg Empire gradually sought to reinforce its position in Southeastern Europe. Harald Heppner analyses the Austrian 'continental approach' by focusing on expert knowledge, on knowledge content and quality, and on aspects of its subsequent exchange. Identifying the initial motivation for stronger Habsburg involvement in the Black Sea Region in the Empire's ambition to participate in maritime trade, Heppner underscores the importance of institutionalized entrepreneurship, embodied, for example, in the foundation of the shipping company 'Lloyd Triestino'. He concludes that these initiatives were driven by a particularly 'Western' interest in the transfer of information and that they were not met by comparable authorities in the region itself, with the exception of Greek, Aromunian, Jewish and Armenian merchant communities.

The key role of the Armenian Church and in particular of the Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople/Istanbul in the organization of a knowledge network is addressed by Gayane Ayvazyan. Education as well as book publishing were bundled at the Patriarchate, thus creating a centre where intellectual processes were structured. Given the wide circulation of books and translations printed by Armenians, also under scrutiny in the contributions by Nikoghosyan and Yeranyan, Istanbul became a hub of exchange between Western Europe and the Ottoman Black Sea Region – exchange that was co-constructed by the Armenian communities living scattered across the BSR and Western Europe.

The eighteen chapters of this volume show a broad range of thematic *foci* and theoretical approaches – the result of the enormous richness of the European macrocosm and the Black Sea Region. The microcosms of the many different case studies under scrutiny, however, demonstrate the historical dimension of exchange between the allegedly opposite poles of 'East' and 'West' and underscore the importance of mutual influences in the development of Europe and the BSR. We hope that this volume will contribute to an understanding of intercultural exchange and dialogue in favour of openness to co-constructive diversity.

Works Cited

Akgündüz, Ahmet. "Migration to and from Turkey, 1783–1960: types, numbers and ethno-religious dimensions." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 24, no. 1, January 1998, pp. 97–120.

Ash, Michael. "Wissens- und Wissenschaftstransfer: Einführende Bemerkungen." *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 29, no. 3, October 2006, pp. 181–89.

Baleva, Martina. *Bulgarien im Bild. Die Erfindung von Nationen auf dem Balkan in der Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Böhlau, 2012.

Barbarics-Hermanik, Zsuzsa. "Medien und Protagonisten im Kulturaustausch zwischen der Habsburgermonarchie und dem Osmanischen Reich." *Das Bild des Feindes. Konstruktion von Antagonismen und Kulturtransfer im Zeitalter der Türkenkriege. Ostmitteleuropa, Italien und Osmanisches Reich,* edited by Pál Fodor et al., Gebr. Mann, 2013, pp. 253–66.

Basalla, George. "The Spread of Western Science. A three-stage model describes the introduction of modern science into any non-European nation." *Science*, vol. 156, no. 3775, May 1967, pp. 611–22.

Bertelsmann Stiftung. *A 2020 Vision for the Black Sea Region. A Report by the Commission on the Black Sea,* 2010, http://www.ctsp.vt.edu/publications/data/a%202020%20vision%20for%20the%20black%20sea.pdf. Accessed 27 November 2017.

Boué, Ami. *La Turquie d'Europe*. In four volumes, Arthus Bertrand, 1840.

--- *Die europäische Türkei*. In two volumes, F. Temsky, 1889.

Bracewell, Wendy. "Balkan Travel Writing: Points of Departure." *Balkan Departures. Travel Writing from Southeastern Europe*, edited by Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis, Berghahn, 2009, pp. 1–24.

Burke, Peter. "Cultures of translation in early modern Europe." *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 7–38.

Espagne, Michel, and Michael Werner, "Deutsch-Französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jh.: Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S." *Francia*, vol. 13, 1985, pp. 502–10.

European Commission (ed.). *European Research Area. Progress Report 2016*, 2017, https://ec.europa.eu/research/era/pdf/era_progress_report2016/era_progress_report_2016_com.pdf. Accessed 27 November 2017.

Frye, Richard N. "Oriental Studies in Russia." *Russia and Asia. Essays on the Influence of Russia on the Asian Peoples*, edited by Wayne S. Vucinich, Hoover Institution Press, 1972, 30–51.

Gasimov, Zaur. "The Caucasus." *European History Online (EGO)*, Institute of European History (IEG), 2011, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/crossroads/grenzregionen/zaur-gasimov-kaukasus. Accessed 27 November 2017.

Gutmeyr, Dominik. *Borderland Orientalism or How the Savage Lost his Nobility. The Russian Perception of the Caucasus between 1817 and 1878.* Lit, 2017. Studies on South East Europe 19.

Kaser, Karl. *Südosteuropäische Geschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft*. Böhlau, 2002.

Lipphardt, Veronika, and David Ludwig. "Knowledge Transfer and Science Transfer." *European History Online (EGO)*, Institute of European History (IEG), 2011, http://www.ieg-ego.eu/lipphardtv-ludwigd-2011-en. Accessed 27 November 2017.

Macfie, Alexander Lyon. *The Eastern Question 1774–1923*. Routledge, 2014.

Manoli, Panagiota. *The Dynamics of Black Sea Subregionalism*. Routledge, 2013.

Mitterauer, Michael. *Warum Europa? Mittelalterliche Grundlagen eines Sonderwegs.* C.H. Beck, 2003.

--- "Schreibrohr und Druckerpresse. Transferprobleme einer Kommunikationstechnologie." University of Vienna, 2006, wirtges.uni-vie.ac.at/Wiso/Mitterauer/MM_Schreibrohr_und_Druckerpresse.pdf. Accessed 13 January 2018.

Özveren, Eyüp Y. "A Framework for the Study of the Black Sea World, 1789–1915." *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, vol. 20, no. 1, Winter 1997, pp. 77–113.

Raina, Dhruv. "From west to non-west? Basalla's three-stage model revisited." *Science as Culture*, vol. 8, no. 4, 1999, pp. 497–516.

Raj, Kapil. "Beyond Postcolonialism … and Postpositivism. Circulation and the Global History of Science." *Isis*, vol. 104, no. 2, June 2013, pp. 337–47.

Schmale, Wolfgang. "A Transcultural History of Europe – Perspectives from the History of Migration." *European History Online (EGO)*, Institute of European History (IEG), 2010, http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2010a-en. Accessed 27 November 2017.

--- "Cultural Transfer." *European History Online (EGO)*, Institute of European History (IEG), 2012, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theorien-und-methoden/kulturtransfer/wolfgang-schmale-kulturtransfer. Accessed 27 November 2017.

Shaw, Wendy M. K. *Ottoman Painting*. *Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*. Tauris, 2011.

Trgovčević-Mitrović, Ljubinka. "Planiranje elite: Pitomci Kraljevine Srbije u inostranstvu 1882–1914." *Susret ili sukob civilizacije na Balkanu. Medjunarodni naučni skup 10–12. decembar 1997*, edited by Jean-Paul Bled et al., Istorijski institut SANU – Beograd; Pravoslavna reč – Novi Sad (Istorijski institut Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti – Zbornik radova, 16), 1998, pp. 365–79.

Troebst, Stefan. "Eine neue Südosteuropa-Konzeption? Der Balkan-Schwarzmeer-Kaukasus-Raum in politikwissenschaftlicher Sicht. Ein unvorgreiflicher Vorschlag zur Diskussion." *Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropas*, vol. 2, 2000, pp. 153–59.

--- "Le Monde méditerranéen – Südosteuropa – Black Sea World. Geschichtsregionen im Süden Europas." *Neue Perspektiven auf eine*

europäische Geschichtsregion, edited by Frithjof B. Schenk, and Martina Winkler, Campus, 2007, pp. 49–73.

Van den Heuvel, Charles. "Mapping Knowledge Exchange in Early Modern Europe: Intellectual and Technological Geographies and Network Representations." *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2015, pp. 95–114.

Vizi, E. Sylvester. "Reversing the brain drain from Eastern European countries: The 'push' and 'pull' factors." *Technology in Society*, vol. 15, no. 1, 1993, pp. 101–09.

Werner, Michael, and Bénédicte Zimmermann. "Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der Histoire croisée und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, vol. 28, no. 4, October 2002, pp. 607–36.

--- "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity." *History and Theory*, vol. 45, no. 1, February 2006, pp. 30–50.

Wolff, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford University Press, 1994

I. KNOWLEDGE IN MOTION

A Voyage into Cultural Translation: Oscillating between East and West in Lady Mary Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1763)

Michaela Wolf

Abstract: Travel writing has often been paralleled with translation, as both involve processes of exploration and various kinds of cross-cultural contact. Lady Mary Wortley Montague (1689–1762), traveller, writer and translator, in her *Turkish Embassy Letters* wrote against the grain of contemporary views of the Orient. This paper will explore the manifold forms of translation adopted by Lady Mary to depict the Orient on the basis of her travel experiences as wife to the British ambassador to the Sublime Porte. It will be shown that the complex translation processes she promoted during her years in Constantinople reflect a dynamic example of knowledge exchange between Ottoman and English culture of the 18th century.

Introduction

Travel writing is, without doubt, an exemplary form of knowledge exchange. Epistemologically, however, a profounder look at the specific practice and reflection of translation in the context of travel writing appears to be a particularly valuable perspective in relation to knowledge exchange. This paper therefore focuses on the association between translation and travel writing.

The connection between travel, travel writing and translation has become an increasingly popular research object in various disciplines in recent years, including postcolonial studies, ethnography, literary and cultural studies, and translation studies. All three practices – travel, travel writing and translation – involve processes of exploring and uncovering, and all these practices involve different kinds of cross-cultural contact. Some form of translation is fundamentally inherent to travel, and many historical instances of travel writing strive to render the uncharted, the new and the unfamiliar. Travel writers are thus often associated with the notion of 'cultural translation' – a term which has gained in importance, especially in the wake of the massive growth in movement of people around the world today.

In order to illustrate the intricate connections between translation, travel and travel writing and the insights we can gain from this linkage on a methodological level, my paper will focus on Lady Mary Montagu's experiences during her travels to Constantinople (1716–1718), an account of which was published in her *Turkish Embassy Letters* in 1763 and became part of a body of publications which

gained in resonance and momentum in the second half of the 18th century. In her *Letters*, she repeatedly stressed that she was wary of perpetuating clichés; she described the Ottoman society – from her personal standpoint – as being characterized by high culture and liberal morals. This approach forms the basis for my claim that, in her *Letters,* Lady Mary challenged the traditional way of representing the 'Other' in travel accounts. Rather, she in fact wrote against the grain of contemporary views of the Orient and undertook to reassess traditional views on oriental cultures, thus operating as a cultural translator between the Ottoman Empire and the so-called 'West'. This claim will be substantiated through the application of a cluster of translation concepts that were presented with reference to the prolific translation activities of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856) in the context of an exhibition praising the work of this famous orientalist. Accordingly, I will explore how Lady Mary, as an English noblewoman, 'translated' the Orient on the basis of her vast range of personal experiences she had during her time in Constantinople; I will delve into which translation strategies she adopted in order to represent the 'other' in the sense of the 'other woman' and the 'other day-to-day life' in her *Turkish Embassy Letters*. It will be shown that the complex translation processes Lady Mary practised and promoted during her years in Constantinople reflect a dynamic example of knowledge exchange between 18th century Ottoman and English culture. To this end, I will first proffer a theoretical analysis of the relation between travel, travel writing and translation. I will then present Lady Mary as a woman traveller and writer, before going on to introduce the various translation procedures characteristic for the transfer between 'Orient' and 'Occident' as depicted in the description of Hammer-Purgstall's manifold cultural activities. The central part of my paper analyses the various translation types adopted by Lady Mary in order to translate her travel experiences for a European public.

Travel, Travel Writing and Translation

Lady Mary's *Turkish Embassy Letters* belong to a genre which, in the course of the 18th century, achieved great popularity, travel having become a widespread social practice in this historical period. As Mirella Agorni stresses in her account on female British travellers and translators, *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century* (Agorni 2002, 98), women did not only begin to travel and write travelogues during that period, but it is then that the phenomenon began to grow to larger dimensions and to attract the interest of a large readership.

Travel and travel writing can be associated with translation in various ways. This is already shown in the etymological link of these activities, exemplified by

the Latin roots: In his *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), Samuel Johnson, one of the century's most renowned travellers, defined the verb "to translate" as "to transport, to move", and "to transfer from one to another; to convey", "to change", and "to interpret in another language" (Martin and Pickford 2012, 1). He traces both terms back to the Latin word *translatio* which implies movement and transportation of people or objects across space. On a practical level, the parallels are obvious: on the one hand, the traveller must translate in order to make sense of the foreign places and people he or she wants to describe and to make familiar to the targeted readership; on the other, the knowledge of a foreign language might make one want to travel in order to put those languages to use in their original settings (Di Biase 2006, 9). The link between travel and translation also encompasses further historical and phenomenological parallels: the need for translators, travellers and travel writers to convey the new through the known, the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar; their potential to deceive and betray and, at the same time, to act as reliable guides and mediators (Polezzi 2006, 171). As far as the protagonists themselves are concerned, the bonds seem even stronger: traveller and translator are both incessantly negotiating between spaces, images and words. During the translation process, translators constantly travel between languages and cultures, whilst travellers never tire of translating between the worlds they want to represent. Or, as Susan Bassnett put it:

> Translation and travel are both about transformations. The translator transforms the text into somewhat other, the traveller enters another space and then returns though, as theorists have often pointed out, the place the traveller returns to can never be the same place from which that traveller set out. (Bassnett 2000, 109)

Furthermore, throughout history, the translator has often been seen as a voyager, a discoverer, and even a smuggler of riches across borders. The translator as traveller, the traveller as translator: both are "ambiguous and deeply suspicious figures, who ask to be trusted in their faithfulness to the reality or the words they interpret, in their reading and rendering of places, people, texts which we can only access through them" (Polezzi 2001, 79).

There are a number of other perspectives through which the nexus between travel and translation can be detected. One central aspect is the production of knowledge, which always bears a translational dimension. Thus, translation can be defined as a cognitive process *in transit*, a journey that connects distinct linguistic and cultural realms. In turn, travel can also be seen as transit, a passage through space producing differential knowledge based upon a translational act.

Beyond this metaphorical level, Nicoletta Pireddu notes that, in practice, translation generates knowledge precisely because the source text and the target text are no longer considered to be connected through synonymy or fidelity. Rather, the relationship between the texts can be better described as a dynamic interaction between independent forms of textual and cultural production, leading to the enactment of plural processes of signification. On the other hand, travel may be reconstructed as a practice of displacement, a condition of decentred mobility driven by the experience of distance and in-between-ness. Motion, transit, carrying across and carrying away are thus defining factors of both travel and translation (Pireddu 2006, 346–47).

These key words bring us to yet another perspective, which allows us to create a connection between travel and translation with reference to the notion of mobility: Loredana Polezzi argues that

> [i]t was only a matter of time before the two concepts of 'translation' and 'travel' also became blurred into each other offering an emblematic (and often metaphorical) representation of the complex patterns of mobility which have become synonymous with the human condition in (post)modern times. (Polezzi 2006, 173)

She mentions Postcolonial studies as one of the spheres which have given particular stimulus to this linkage between translation and travel under the aegis of mobility, where temporary displacement, repeated movement, exile and diaspora are seen as the driving forces for the postcolonial condition. So, when travelling, ideally we strive to translate 'the other' into 'our own'. According to such a view, the incompleteness of the translation process and the intrinsic notion of continuity can be linked with the metaphor of travel. Also, in both cases, cultural constructs are provided for a certain target audience, and both manipulate an 'original' according to prevailing conventions, in order to create something unprecedented.

If translators, interpreters and travellers are seen as suspicious mediators who must constantly prove their reliability, issues like authenticity and veracity come to the fore. They particularly apply to the dimension of representation and reflection in travel writing. With reference to veracity, the traveller claims to have undergone the experiences he/she describes in his/her accounts, and is often at pains to authenticate those experiences through some kind of evidence, usually in the shape of drawings or photographs. Bassnett (2000, 110) reminds us that readers distinguish travel accounts from fiction precisely through their belief in the authenticity of the writer's experience. Similarly, the principle of veracity in translation is of vital importance: if, for instance, it can be claimed that there is no such

thing as an original, the question arises as to whether there can be a translation at all.

Once translation is seen as a constitutive element of the text, which itself is the product of the travelling experience, the strategies adopted in order to represent these experiences become more central. Even a traveller with excellent language skills must perform a re-translation into the code he or she shares with the target readership.[1] At this level, the element of translation implicit in travel writing operates very closely with the notion of translation in more general terms: both are influenced by the norms and expectations operating in the target culture, both, indeed, actually belong to that system (Polezzi 2001, 82). Through the application of these strategies of portrayal, images of the foreign are created which are the result of asymmetrical relationships between the cultures involved. As Edward Said (1978, 306) very clearly, if controversially, outlines in *Orientalism*, there is inevitably an intrinsic power relationship in the very act of writing accounts about other cultures, as the foreign is necessarily 'othered' in the travel narrative. In a similar vein, Mary Louise Pratt has taught us that travel accounts involve polyphony, which results not only from observing the foreign, but also from the interaction with other cultures against the backdrop of one's own lifeworld, implying fluctuating changes of perspectives and processes of reciprocal influence (Pratt 1992, 136). Paula Rubel and Abraham Rosman (2003, 13) have highlighted the limitations that are inherent to any act of representation when they say that "the translator [meant both in its practical and metaphorical variant] not only crosses, but can be said to violate boundaries and the intimacy of the cultural setting within which he or she is working", thus pinpointing one of the pitfalls of translating anything foreign into a native discourse, as is the case in both travel writing and translation.

However, in translation studies, the correlation between travel, travel writing and translation has also been called into question, indeed severely criticised. Mirella Agorni states that in most studies, such as in the work of Homi Bhabha, Mary Louis Pratt or James Clifford,[2] which define travel writing in terms of translation, the notion of translation is being used in an instrumental way, which means that translation has been "deprived of its concrete, material grounds, becoming almost synonymous with generic transfer" (Agorni 2002, 90). Similarly, Michael

---

[1] For more on this problem in the context of ethnographic writing and its parallels with the practice of translation see Sturge 1997 and Wolf 1997.

[2] In translation studies, Clifford's claims in relation to the connection between travel (as an ethnographic practice) and translation have often been subject to particularly critical discourse. See Agorni 2002, 40; Di Biase 2006, 24; Martin and Pickford 2012, 3; Pireddu 2006, 346; Polezzi 2006, 177.

Cronin criticises what he describes as the under-reflected usage of travelling as a metaphor for translation. He argues that ethnographers and anthropologists who adopt the metaphoric variant of translation often seem not to be interested in taking translation as a language phenomenon into serious consideration (Cronin 2000, 103). No matter what kind of translation concept is adopted, the authors of travel accounts cannot represent realities. Rather, they *enact* the 'foreign', which makes travel writing – like translation – "a powerful form of rewriting with a distinctive potential for innovation and change" (Agorni 2002, 89). So, what form does this 'enactment of the foreign' take in the context of Lady Mary Montagu's *Turkish Letters*?

Lady Mary: Woman Traveller and Writer

"A woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction." Virginia Woolf's (1929/1967, 2) seminal sentence rings undoubtedly true in relation to Lady Mary Montagu. In her essay *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf sets out to discuss the problems faced by the woman writer in general terms and brings together historical, social and economic issues to examine their impact on the literary field in the 18th century. The history of female writing reflects the immense influence of ideological shifts in definitions of femininity which were always concomitant with the social and economic changes in many parts of Europe between the 17th and 18th centuries. Thus, as Agorni (2002, 9) states, the gradual establishment of female writing does not merely reflect social change but rather actually enables it. The slow but constant emergence of women's agency is a key element in these gendering processes. For the present context of Lady Mary's endeavours to portray the Orient through Western means of representation, fostered through her strategic application of self-presentation techniques in the *Letters*, the growing literary and documentary evidence of women's active involvement in shaping the cultural space of the 18th century is exposed very effectively in the following explanation of women's agency, where it is defined as

> the attempt […] to construct an identity, a life, a set of relationships, a society within certain limits and with language – conceptual language that at once sets boundaries and contains the possibility for negation, resistance, reinterpretation, the play of metaphoric invention and imagination. (Scott, cited in Agorni 2002, 9)

As will be shown, most of these features can be found in Lady Mary's travel writing.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was a writer, poet and translator in what was then very much a man's world. She was born in 1689 as the daughter of Evelyn

Pierrepont, a politician and prominent figure in the fashionable society of his day, and Lady Mary Fielding. In her youth, Mary engaged in a range of autodidactic studies at her own initiative. In 1712 she married Edward Wortley Montagu, who later on became a Member of Parliament. When Lady Mary joined him in London, her wit and beauty soon made her a prominent figure at court. Early in 1716, Wortley Montagu was appointed ambassador at the Sublime Port at Constantinople, where he and Lady Mary remained until 1718. It was during this absence from her native country that Lady Mary addressed to her sister, the countess of Mar, to Alexander Pope[3], and to some other friends including Lady Rich and Lady Thistlethwaite, the celebrated *Turkish Embassy Letters*, the work upon which her fame primarily rests. In 1739 she went abroad, and although she continued to write to her husband with great affection and respect, they never met again. She first went to several Italian cities and later had a turbulent love affair with the philosopher and author of the famous treatise *Newtonism for Ladies* (1737), Francesco Algarotti. After her husband's death in 1761, her daughter Lady Bute, whose husband was now Prime Minister, begged her to return to England. She came to London, and died in 1762, the year of her return (Desai 2001/1763; Grundy 1999).

During her lifetime, most of Lady Mary's publications – essays, letters, and poems – circulated privately, and some were published anonymously. As an aristocrat, she could not appear in print publicly – in fact, none of the works published during her lifetime bore her name. The *Turkish Embassy Letters* were published posthumously in 1763 and narrate the arduous travel to Constantinople with longer sojourns at Rotterdam, Vienna, Buda, Belgrade and Adrianople, as well as her stay in the Ottoman capital. The *Letters* introduced readers to unfamiliar aspects of the Ottoman Empire and a range of features of daily life such as religion, women's dresses, the customs of women and descriptions of the harems. They were in fact reworked by Lady Mary with a view to the possibility of publication; consequently, she carefully selected what she included in the collection (Raus 2012, 158). A year before her death, she presented a copy of the manuscript to her friend Benjamin Sowden, a church minister in Rotterdam. After her death, her daughter Lady Bute, who apparently expected some salient and potentially controversial contents she did not want to see published, procured the copy from Sowden, but shortly afterwards the letters appeared in *The London Chronicle*. According to Sowden, a pair of young Englishmen had borrowed them for a night and evidently copied them out and smuggled them into a printer's hands. They

---

[3] Alexander Pope (1688–1744) was an English poet (e.g. *The Rape of the Lock*, 1712) and became particularly famous for his translations of Homer's epics.

proved such a success that the publisher, Becket, had to rush out second and third editions. As a matter of fact, they were received with great appreciation not only in England, but also, thanks to some early translations, Lady Mary soon became very well known across Europe (Desai 2001/1763, xxv). The *Letters* have often been credited as being an inspiration not only for subsequent female travelers and female writers, but also for much Orientalist art.[4]

In the following analysis, I will show that Lady Montagu wrote against the grain of contemporary views of the Orient and attempted to look at oriental cultures from a standpoint which was tendentially free of prejudice. The various forms of translation which will be considered in the context of Lady Mary's life in Constantinople will be connected to the manifold translatorial activities of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall: translation between languages; translation of literature; cultural translation; translation of impressions and sentiments; translation between different periods; and translating in intercultural day-to-day life.

Translating the 'Orient'

Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's groundbreaking work can be considered a hallmark in the foundation and gradual establishment of oriental studies. He was born in Graz in 1774 and received his early education primarily in Vienna. Hammer-Purgstall entered the Oriental Academy, a school for interpreters and future diplomats in Vienna, in 1789 and began his diplomatic career in 1796. In 1799 he was appointed to a position at the Internuncio in Constantinople. In this capacity, he took part in an expedition against France led by Admiral William Sidney Smith and General John Hely-Hutchinson. After further diplomatic activities, he spent several months in Paris between 1809 and 1810 in order to obtain the restitution of 500 manuscripts which were stolen from the Vienna Hofbibliothek (Court Library) during the Napoleonic occupation. In 1811 he was appointed Court Interpreter in Vienna and remained in the position for many decades (Höflechner and Wagner 2011, 8, 17, 72; Wentker 2005, 518). Hammer-Purgstall supported the foundation of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna and became its first president (1847–1849). His wide range of studies spanning a period of more than fifty years enabled him to make valuable contributions to the field of Oriental history, whilst his translations exerted a noteworthy influence in European literature. He was a polyglot and knew languages including Arabic, Persian, Turkish, French, Italian, Modern Greek, English, Latin and Ancient Greek (Gołuchowski

---

[4] Painter Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres created the famous oil painting *Le bain turc* (1862) on the basis of Lady Mary's description of a Turkish bath in a letter to "Lady--" from Adrianople dated 1 April 1717 (Aravamudan 1995, 101).

1904, 11). His language skills provided the basis for most of his orientalist works, and especially for the 10-volume *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (History of the Ottoman Empire) (1827–1835). His translation of Hafiz's *Divan* from Persian (1812) was highly influential and provided the basis and inspiration for Goethe's celebrated lyric cycle, the *West-östlicher Divan* (*West-Eastern Divan*).

About ten years ago, an exhibition took place at the Hainfeld castle in South-Eastern Austria, which Hammer-Purgstall had inherited in 1835. The exhibition 'Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall at the borderline of two worlds' played with intricate concepts of translation which all result from the social practice of translation: first, 'translation of language' in a traditional sense as an interlingual activity; then, the activity of 'translation of literature', which claims to open up literary works to the target reader with the potential of stimulating the creation of other literary works. The exhibition also worked with the notion of 'cultural translation': as a researcher, artist or writer, and particularly as a translator, a 'cultural translator' mediates a deep cultural understanding of the cultural and also political landscapes of the source culture. Another aspect is the 'translation of impressions, sentiments and perceptions', which implies that the 'cultural translator' translates his or her (intimate) experiences of life into the target text. Within the frame of 'translation between different periods', the readers of works pertaining to a given period are provided with an understanding of the specificities of another era. Finally, 'translating in intercultural day-to-day life' refers to the fact that translating is performed in the everyday life of our contemporary multi-ethnical urban centres (Galter and Haas 2008).

Lady Mary, Translating between East and West

Translation between languages, the first category of the 'typology' mentioned above, designates translation in a narrow, traditional sense, as an inter-lingual activity. In the context of Lady Mary's experiences at the beginning of the 18th century, it is particularly applicable to the switching between the multitude of languages she learned in the course of her life. In her early years, her father had arranged for her to be taught subjects that were deemed to be suitable for a young lady of her social class, including French and Italian. On her own initiative, she deepened her language skills by delving into her father's extensive library and reading a remarkable number of romances and plays in French, English and Italian. Additionally, with the aid of dictionaries, she taught herself Latin in order to be able to read the Roman poets in the original. When the Elector of Hanover came to London to reign as George I, Lady Mary set about learning German (Halsband 1986, 2–3). When she arrived at Adrianople, she studied Arabic and

read Arabic poetry (Desai 2001/1763, xvii). Finally, during her sojourn in Constantinople, Ottoman Turkish was on the agenda, and she learnt the language within a few months. In the multilingual surroundings of the Ottoman capital, Lady Mary realized the perils of linguistic multiplicity and even expressed anxiety about losing her mother tongue (Aravamudan 1995, 91). In fact, she oscillated constantly between the "monolingual uniformity" of English society and the "astonishingly multilingual and cosmopolitan" atmosphere in the Ottoman capital (Ibid., 92), which ultimately led to her fear of losing her English identity.

Such linguistic translation can be considered to be the basis of a practice of translation which Lady Mary carried out profusely, the translation of literature. Lady Mary practiced literary translation on various levels. When she was young, translating from Latin was a kind of intellectual game: Her decision to learn Latin stemmed from the passion she developed for Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. At the age of 14, she translated several poems from Ovid's collection[5], especially the tales of Latona and of Venus and Adonis (Oakley-Brown 2006, 145). Later, she translated Epictetus's *Enchiridion*, partly with the help of Dr Burnet, the Bishop of Salisbury (Desai 2001/1763, ix). For fun and in order to practise her French, she translated Nicolas Boileau Despreaux's *Satire contre les femmes*. Gradually, her interest in literature extended to drama. Her most startling activity in relation to the genre is her translation, or better adaptation, of Pierre de Marivaux's *Le Jeu de l'amour et du hazard* (1730), which she named *Simplicity*. As Lynne Long (2009, 131) describes it, it seems as if Lady Mary translated the play more as an intellectual exercise than with a view to performance or publication, and in fact it was neither printed nor produced on stage. She transferred the "rococo French spirit into a sturdier English" (Halsband 1986, 5) and introduced her own perspective in the translation with regard to love, gender relationships and the situation of women at the time. Later, having learnt Ottoman Turkish, she translated poems into English which she included in her letters, amongst others in those to Alexander Pope. Her translation process was made up of two stages: after translating a Turkish (love) poem literally, she transposed it freely into a more English (Ibid., 13).

In her *Letters*, Lady Mary depicts her observations and experiences of the Ottoman Empire in a positive light. She tended to resist to perpetuating clichés, rather describing in her writings her encounters and experiences with a tolerant faith and liberal behaviour. As such, she can be seen as a cultural translator. One

---

[5] It might also be the case that her knowledge of these poems could have been acquired second-hand from her brother thus rather "re-telling" than "translating" them (see Grundy 1999, cited in Oakley-Brown 2006, 145).

of Lady Mary's strategies, in contrast with the prevalent ideas in contemporary travel writing, was her apparent concern to proffer a new perspective and a new assessment of the Orient. One of the methods she used to represent the Orient in a positive way was to call into question elements of her own culture: in such instances, the comparisons with the Western, European world are often far from complimentary. In these passages, she emphasizes the easy-going, more sensual life of the Orient and stresses that such a way of life should not be deprecated or condemned as morally reprehensible. On the contrary, her female perspective calls into question the hitherto masculine representation of Ottoman women. From the early 18th century, predominantly male travellers had drawn on the authority of Montesquieu to describe how the Turks were deprived of all forms of (sexual) freedom under a government that was considered the very definition of despotism (Raus 2012, 169). She, on the other hand, seems to have accepted naturally and instinctively the relativity of cultural and moral values, and defends her views by saying: "I rather think it to be a virtue to admire without any mixture of envy or desire" (to Lady Mar, 18 April 1717. Wortley Montague 2001/1763, 90). She was thus inclined – and able – to study an alien culture according to its own values; an indispensable tool for a 'cultural translator'.

Lady Mary's walks through the streets and bazaars of Constantinople in Turkish vestments and a veil further testify to her concern to create her descriptions 'from within' and with a somewhat ethnographic gaze with reference to everyday life. Here, we can identify two different tendencies which give evidence of her role as a 'cultural translator': on the one hand, a dichotomic discourse which aims at stressing the differences between East and West, in most cases favouring the Orient. In so doing, she called into question colonial strategies, rather than reinforcing them (Pireddu 2006, 346). Thus, her *Letters* emphasize the construction of cultural difference between – in this case – England and the Ottoman Empire by juxtaposing the restrained West against the passionate East (Oakley-Brown 2006, 145). On the other, her role as "amateur ethnographer", as Anita Desai describes her in her introduction to the most recent English edition of the *Turkish Embassy Letters* (2001/1763, xxxi), comes to the fore, as the following example from a letter addressed to her sister illustrates:

> I was invited to dine with the Grand Vizier's lady, and it was with a great deal of pleasure I prepared myself for an entertainment which was never given before to any Christian. I thought I should very little satisfy her curiosity, which I did not doubt was a considerable motive to the invitation, by going in a dress she was used to see, and therefore dressed myself in the court habit of Vienna, which is much more magnificent than

ours. However, I chose to go incognito to avoid any disputes about ceremony, and went in a Turkish coach, only attended by my woman that held up my rain and the Greek lady who was my interpretress. (Letter to Lady Mar, Adrianople, 18 April 1718. Wortley Montague 2001/1763, 86–87)

In the close vicinity of 'cultural translation', we find what might be described as the translation of impressions and sentiments. Within this category, the 'cultural translator' translates his or her more or less intimate life experiences into the text. This is evident in a large part of Lady Mary Montagu's letters. Considering the fact that her work is in the form of letters to friends and acquaintances, her writing obviously contains reflexive potential. Although Lady Mary would not have been aware of a concept like 'reflexivity', she recorded her true and personal thoughts and feelings in her first-hand accounts (Swansea University 1993). Actually, while most of her *Letters* demonstrate some of the specialized codes by which women can express their subjectivity, Lady Mary also oscillates between objective realism and subjective impressionism (Aravamudan 1995, 75). A case in point is the much-quoted scene she depicts in the account of her visit to the baths of Adrianople. She was struck by the beauty and grace of the women there, and comments, without further embellishment,

[the women] all being in the state of nature, that is, in plain English, stark naked, without any beauty or defect concealed. […] [A]nd most of their skins [were] shiningly white, only adorned by their beautiful hair divided into many tresses, hanging on their shoulders. (Letter to Lady --, Adrianople, 1 April 1717. Wortley Montague 2001/1763, 59)

Such a realistic and at the same time compassionate description effectively destroys the eroticized mythologies constructed by previous male travellers to the 'Orient'. Her empathetic observation and contemplation allows her to present the women she met as individual human subjects, rather than as sexualized objects (Garber 1992, 312; Martin and Pickford 2012, 16). In a similar way, Lady Mary soaked up the history, culture, and language around her, and busied herself with study and writing, imbuing the depiction of her experiences with emotion and excitement.

Another type of translation is that between different periods, or in other times. This factor of time in relation to Lady Mary's letters can be identified as 'translating into the future'. Actually, she can certainly be said to have been quite ahead of her time. This can be seen in the fact that, at a time when marriage was seen as a firmly consolidated social institution, she was evidently emancipated and able to practice an entirely unusual and liberated discourse: When she was 15,

she wrote a treatise on the incompatibility of love and marriage. A couple of years before she died, she advised her granddaughters against matrimony and suggested that the girls prepare for spinsterhood instead (Desai 2001/1763, xxxiv). Her critical mind led her to radical and provocative statements, which were far beyond any sort of artificial rhetoric, and which, on the contrary, often followed from incontrovertibly valid arguments. In conventional England, she could not find any satisfactory way to fulfil her vivid thoughts and concerns. Voltaire had understood these issues very well when he said: "elle rectifie la plupart de nos idées sur les mœurs turques; elle nous apprend, par exemple, que les femmes de ce pays ont encore plus de libertés que les nôtres"[6] (quoted in Raus 2012, 163). On a more general level, Voltaire not only praises the universal value of the *Letters* as a literary masterpiece, but also as a work "faite pour toutes les nations qui veulent s'instruire"[7] (Voltaire 1764, quoted in Raus 2012, 160). Such pronounced esteem clearly points not only to the influence Lady Mary had during her lifetime, but that such influence was also expected to resonate for future generations.

The final translation type according to the categorization system described at the Hammer-Purgstall Exhibition is, as mentioned above, intercultural translation in day-to-day life. Throughout her travels, Lady Mary immersed herself in the segregated world and everyday culture of Ottoman women. This was actually the first time in Western travel writing about the Orient that exclusively female spaces became subject to the gaze of a European traveller (Konuk 2004, 393). In her *Letters,* she demonstrates an explicit concern to translate to her friends the experiences she gathered in her contact with Ottoman women. Examples abound. Here is one which depicts a scene in a bath in Sophia: All the women are naked, and Lady Mary is nonetheless feeling somewhat delicate about undressing. One of the women, reacting to her hesitation, tries to help her to take her clothes off:

> I excused myself with some difficulty, they being however all so earnest in persuading me. I was at last forced to open my shirt, and show them my stays, which satisfied them very well, for I saw they believed I was locked up in that machine, that it was not in my own power to open it, which contrivance they attributed to my husband. (Letter to Lady --, Adrianople, 1 April 1717. Wortley Montague 2001/1763, 59–60)

---

[6] "she corrects most of our ideas on Turkish mores; she teaches us, for example, that women in that country have more freedom than in ours" (translation by Raus 2012, 163).

[7] "designed for all nations that wish to educate themselves" (translation by Raus 2012, 160).

Her observations and active participation in the life of Ottoman women finally led her to say that "[u]pon the whole, I look upon the Turkish women as the only free people in the empire" (Ibid., 72).[8]

Another regular aspect of Lady Mary's engagement with day-to-day life and her desire to translate between the different worlds she encountered can be found in her description of the multilingual atmosphere she inhabited. This applies particularly to the quarter where she lived in Constantinople: Pera. In those days, Pera was inhabited not only by Venetian and Genoese merchants, but was also home to all the Western embassies and also those of several Dragoman dynasties. Her language skills helped her to communicate easily with many fellow citizens in the quarter and inspired her to the following vivid description of the plurilinguality of the place:

> I live in a place that very well represents the Tower of Babel; in Pera they speak Turkish, Greek, Hebrew, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Russian, Slavonian, Walachian, German, Dutch, French, English, Italian, Hungarian; and, what is worse, there is ten of these languages spoke in my own family. (Letter to Lady --, Pera, 16 March 1718. Wortley Montagu 2001/1763, 122)

The way Lady Mary depicts the polyglot ambience of Pera and of her own home suggests that she enjoyed a certain sense of pleasure and satisfaction in this situation, which gives the reader a clue of her attitude towards the everyday culture of her surroundings. Indeed, people and their way of life interested her more than monuments or history (Desai 2001/1763, xxvii). Furthermore, it is worth taking into consideration the various language registers between which Lady Mary oscillated in her daily routine, communicating with a very broad range of social strata throughout her stay in Constantinople.[9]

Finally, I would like to add one more translation type which is not included in the typology mentioned at the Hammer-Purgstall Exhibition, and that is translation as knowledge exchange in the narrowest sense. Lady Mary can only be interpreted when taking into account her perspective of a learned woman living during the Enlightenment, her love of knowledge leading to her travels and writing. The basis for this attitude can certainly be found in the open-minded education instigated by her father. Her constant striving to augment her knowledge can

---

[8] Lady Mary felt strongly about women's issues, particularly education and marriage, and about the inequality she experienced in the literary world (Long 2009, 134). Actually, as Robert Halsband (1986, 2) notes, Lady Mary "deserves a place in the history of women's emancipation".

[9] For more details on these shifts in register see Murphy 2015, 108 with reference to Francophone travel narratives in the 18th century.

be seen in various quotations that are variations of the following, addressed to the Abbé Conti, an Italian philosopher and poet, a friend from her London days:

> You see that I am very exact in keeping the promise you engaged me to but I know not whether your curiosity will be satisfied with the accounts I shall give you, though I can assure you that the desire I have to oblige you to the utmost of my power has made me very diligent in my enquires and observations. (Letter to Abbé Conti, Adrianople, 16 March 1718. Wortley Montagu 2001/1763, 60)

Her thirst for knowledge and her determination to expand her expert insights are particularly evident in Lady Mary's engagement with medicine. From the Ottoman Empire, she brought back a serum for inoculation against smallpox, which she had discovered in the course of her conversations with Ottoman women and which was virtually unknown in Western Europe. Lady Mary, who had suffered from the disease, had the inoculation given to her infant son in Constantinople, and to her young daughter after she returned to England (Halsband 1986, 1). On her return to London, she enthusiastically promoted the procedure, but became the object of antifeminist public polemics resulting from her sponsorship of the technique (Aravamudan 1995, 89). However, her advocacy certainly popularized the practice of inoculating against smallpox, at least in the higher echelons of British society at the time, and today her name is still mentioned in a number of medical history books in relation to smallpox prevention (Zaimeche et al. 2010).

Concluding Remarks

The voyage which brought us from a 21st century Hammer-Purgstall Exhibition to 18th century Constantinople and to Lady Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters* was intended to illustrate cultural processes in an attempt to represent knowledge transfer between the 'Orient' and the 'Occident' in the context of travel writing. In Lady Mary's multi-layered translation processes, we came across all sorts of ingredients that make up these encounters. As distinctive features of the same kind of activity, the practices outlined here constitutes what could more generally be termed the "representation of the cultural 'Other' through translation". These practices are various forms of translation, sometimes occurring in relationships of exchange that are heavily marked by asymmetry; furthermore, they are marked by multiple coding and manifold cultural interferences, and as such by continuously blurred or blurring borders. This is particularly reflected in Lady Mary's conscious concern to go beyond conventional approaches to interpreting manners and ways of life, with her female gaze on life in Constantinople as a case in point. Also, the underlying concept of culture that can be detected at the basis of Lady

Mary's activities is of a specifically hybrid nature, revealing an opening up of the West towards the East, perhaps unconsciously preceding the 'tulip period' the Ottomans initiated in 1718, after the Treaty of Požarevac. Another characteristic trait could be located in the concept of identity which was not an explicit topic in Lady Mary's letters, but which shone through in various statements that questioned her own Western lifestyle as a constituent of the cultural baggage which she profoundly called into question during – and possibly also after – her stay in the Ottoman Empire.

The trope of "representation of the cultural 'Other' through translation" which, as demonstrated here, includes the issue of 'knowledge exchange', is therefore the result of changing perspectives, of taking up a position 'from within', of distancing, of empathy, and perhaps of emotion. The arguments presented in this paper are of course idiosyncratically only drawn on Lady Mary's oriental experiences, but it seems that they point to a kind of synthesis in her life between oriental and occidental experiences and her endeavours to cope with the challenges she met in the course of her many cultural encounters. This is also reflected in the following quotation from a letter from a young man to his mother after meeting Lady Mary in Rome:

> Lady Mary is one of the most extraordinary shining characters in the world; but she shines like a comet; she is all irregular and always wandering. She is the most wise, most imprudent; loveliest, disagreeablest; best natured, cruellest woman in the world. (cited in Desai 2001/1763, xxxiv)

Could the multiple forms of translation – which characterized her life – perhaps manage to settle these numerous contradictions that she unified in herself?

Works Cited

Agorni, Mirella. *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century. British Women, Translation and Travel Writing (1739–1797)*. St Jerome, 2002.

Aravamudan, Srinivas. "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in the Hammam: Masquerade, Womanliness, and Levantinization." *English Literary History*, vol. 62, no. 1, 1995, pp. 69–104.

Bassnett, Susan. "Authenticity, Travel and Translation." *Translationwissenschaft. Festschrift für Mary Snell-Hornby zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Mira Kadric, et al., Stauffenburg, 2000, pp. 105–14.

Clifford, James. *Routes. Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Harvard University Press, 1997.

Cronin, Michael. *Across the Lines. Travel, Language, Translation*. Cork University Press, 2000.

Desai, Anita. "Introduction." *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, introduced by Anita Desai, text edited and annotated by Malcolm Jack, Virago, 2001/1763, pp. vii–xxxvii.

Di Biase, Carmine G., editor. *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period*. Rodopi, 2006.

Galter, Hannes D., and Siegfried Haas, editors. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall: Grenzgänger zwischen Orient und Okzident. Leykam, 2008.

Garber, Marjorie. Vested Interests. Cross-dressing and Cultural Anxiety. Routledge, 1992.

Gołuchowski von Gołuchowo, Agenor von, editor. *Die k. und k. Konsular-Akademie von 1754 bis 1904. Festschrift zur Feier des hundertfünfzigjährigen Bestandes der Akademie und der Eröffnung ihres neuen Gebäudes*. Verlag des k.u.k. Ministeriums des Kaiserlichen und Königlichen Hauses und des Äußern, 1904.

Grundy, Isobel. *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*. Oxford University Press, 1999.

Halsband, Robert. "Introduction." *The Selected Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, edited by Robert Halsband, Penguin, 1986, pp. 1–13.

Höflechner, Walter, and Alexandra Wagner, editors. *Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. Erinnerungen und Briefe*. Vol. 1. Akademische Druck-und Verlagsanstalt, 2011.

Konuk, Kader. "Ethnomasquerade in Ottoman-European Encounters: Reenacting Lady Mary Wortley Montagu." *Criticism*, vol. 46, no. 3, 2004, pp. 393–414.

Long, Lynne. "Lady Mary Translates Marivaux: A Female Perspective?" *Palimpsestes*, vol. 22, 2009, pp. 129–47.

Martin, Alison E., and Susan Pickford, editors. *Travel Narratives in Translation, 1750–1830. Nationalism, Ideology, Gender*. Routledge, 2012.

Murphy, Emilie. "Russian Noblewomen's Francophone Travel Narratives (1777–1848): The Limits of the Use of French." *French and Russian in Imperial Russia*, edited by Derek Offord, et al., Edinburgh University Press, 2015, pp. 103–19.

Oakley-Brown, Liz. *Ovid and the Cultural Politics of Translation in Early Modern England*. Ashgate, 2006.

Pireddu, Nicoletta. "Scribes of a Transnational Europe." *The Translator*, vol. 12, no. 2, 2006, pp. 345–69.

Polezzi, Loredana. *Translating Travel. Contemporary Italian Writing in English Translation*. Ashgate, 2001.

--- "Translation, Travel, Migration." *The Translator*, vol. 12, no. 2, 2006, pp. 169–88.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Routledge, 1992.

Raus, Rachele. "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Letters* in France. Between Ideological Turn and Women's Writing." *Travel Narratives in Translation, 1750–1830. Nationalism, Ideology, Gender*, edited by Alison A. Martin and Susan Pickford, Routledge, 2012, pp. 157–80.

Rubel, Paula G., and Abraham Rosman, editors. *Translating Cultures. Perspectives on Translation and Anthropology*. Berg, 2003.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. Pantheon, 1978.

Sturge, Kate. "Translation Strategies in Ethnography." *The Translator*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1997, pp. 21–38.

Swansea University. "The Letters." *Lady Mary: An Early Anthropologist?* 1993. http://www.swansea.ac.uk/visualanthropology/projects/004_Montagu/turkishEmbassyLettersTheLetters.htm. Accessed 25 February 2018.

Wentker, Sibylle. "Hammer-Purgstall als Homo Politicus im Spiegel seiner 'Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben'." *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie*, edited by Marlene Kurz, et al., R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2005, pp. 515–23.

Wolf, Michaela. "Translation as a Process of Power: Aspects of Cultural Anthropology in Translation." *Translation as Intercultural Communication*, edited by Mary Snell-Hornby, et al., John Benjamins, 1997, pp. 123–33.

Woolf, Virginia. *A Room of One's Own*. Penguin, 1929/1967.

Wortley Montagu, Lady Mary. *The Turkish Embassy Letters*. Introduced by Anita Desai, text edited and annotated by Malcolm Jack, Virago, 2001/1763.

Zaimeche, Salah, et al. "Lady Montagu and the Introduction of Smallpox Inoculation to England." *Muslim Heritage*. 2010. http://www.muslimheritage.com/article/lady-montagu-and-introduction-smallpox-inoculation-england. Accessed 25 February 2018.

THE PREHISTORY OF KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE CAUCASUS, THE BLACK SEA REGION AND CENTRAL EUROPE: FIRST MILLENNIUM BC

Zaur Hasanov

Abstract: At the end of the eighth and beginning of the seventh centuries BC, the settlements in the North and South Caucasus where pintaderas[1] have been found reveal traces of a Scythian presence in archaeological layers charred by fire. This dating is supported by radiocarbon analysis. After this period, clay pintaderas appear in the settlements of the Black Sea Region and in graves in the Carpathian Basin (mainly of females). Researchers believe that pintaderas migrated there from the Caucasus. The writings of Herodotus on the origin of the Sigynnae tribe and paleoanthropological data support their conclusions. Analysis of the semiotics of pintadera ornamentation suggests that it symbolizes the winged goddess 'Mistress of the animals'. The Scythians played a very important role in knowledge exchange between the regions in which pintaderas were widespread.

Introduction

In the first half of the first millennium BC, a process of intensive knowledge exchange began between the Caucasus and Central Europe. This process actively developed during the Scythian period starting from the end of the eighth century BC. But even in the pre-Scythian (Cimmerian) era, researchers observe that a degree of knowledge exchange took place between these regions (see Bouzek 1971, 89, 91; 2012, 539–40). Most research papers on the subject of the exchange of Scythian-type items between the Caucasus, the Black Sea Region and Central Europe are devoted to the study of weapons and horse bridles. In this contribution, the topic will be investigated in the context of the movement of the female population, and examples of knowledge exchange of religious character will be presented based on analyses of the ornamentation of clay pintaderas and images of a goddess surrounded by animals. Almost all the clay pintaderas of the South and North Caucasus originate from villages. In the settlements of Sarytepe (Azerbaijan), Ciskaraant-Gora (Georgia) and Serzhen-Yurt (Chechnya), there are traces of Scythian presence in charred archaeological layers. Clay pintaderas have also been found in the Northwestern Black Sea region and the Carpathian Basin.

---

[1] A 'pintadera' is a decorative stamp, usually made of clay, originating in the Neolithic era and found in the Eastern Mediterranean. The word 'pintadera' originates from Spanish: an instrument for pressing decorations on bread.

According to researchers, they migrated there from the Caucasus along with the
Scythians. Most of the graves in the Carpathian Basin from which the pintaderas
originate belonged to women.
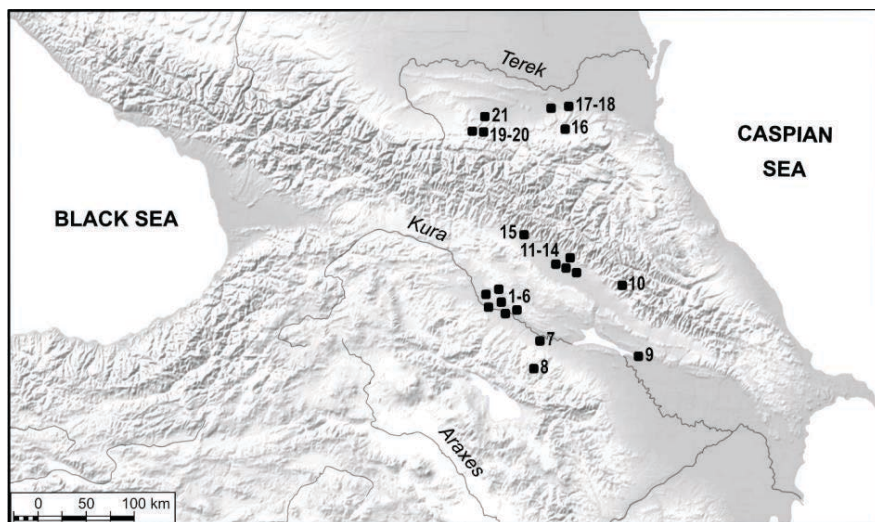
Figure 1: Map of the settlement of the Northern and Southern Caucasus where pintaderas
originate. 1–6: Sarvantepe, Babadervish, Shomutepe, Sarytepe, Töretepe, Durnatepe; 7:
Sary-reme; 8: Leshker Galachasy; 9: Mingechevir; 10: Karabulakh, Gakh district; 11–14:
Ciskaraant-Gora, Noname-Gora sanctuary, Zemo Kedi II, Aerodromis-Gora; 15:
Melaani; 16: Serzhen-Yurt; 17: Dzhalka; 18: Khankala 2; 19: Bamut; 20: Assinsky gorge;
21: Alhastinsk.

Pintaderas from Azerbaijan

Most of the pintaderas in the South Caucasus come from the Gazakh region of
Northwestern Azerbaijan and have also been found on its borders with the neigh-
bouring Agstafa region. Pintaderas have been recorded in the settlements of Sary-
tepe, Babadervish, Sarvantepe (Gazakh district), Shomutepe, Durnatepe, Yasty-
tepe and Toyretepe (Agstafa district). In addition to the abovementioned areas,
pintaderas were also discovered in Mingachevir and the Shamkir and Gakh re-
gions of Azerbaijan (Aşurov 2003; Muradova 1986; Najafov 2013; Narimanov
1957, 141; 1973, 114–15).

Figure 2: 1–14: Sarytepe. 1–8: findings from the settlement; 9, 14: items from the treasure; 10 and 12–13: intrusive grave with an extended supine skeleton, a sickle-shaped knife and three-bladed arrowheads; 11: intrusive grave with an extended supine skeleton and an earring.

Between the 1940s and the late 1960s, 43 clay pintaderas and a single stone one were discovered in Azerbaijan, 36 of them stemming from the settlement of Sarytepe (Narimanov 1973, 114). After the 1960s, only sporadic discoveries followed. Several pintaderas were found in the upper layers of the settlement of Durnatepe in 1985 (Muradova 1986, 6).

After 2002, excavation of the settlements resumed again and three pintaderas were found on the Saryreme hill in the Shamkir district (Aşurov 2003). Later on, in 2009–2013, a further nine samples were found in the Sarvantepe settlement in Gazakh region (Najafov 2013). Since 2012, five clay pintaderas have been found in the settlement of Leshker Galachasy in the Gadabay district (Göyüşova 2013, 7).

The vast majority of pintaderas originating from Azerbaijan during the period under study were made of clay. Only three of them are stone – two from the region of Shamkir and one from the Mingachevir region. All the clay pintaderas found in Azerbaijan originate from settlements.

Most of the pintaderas found in Azerbaijan stem from the settlement of Sarytepe. Two types of clay pintaderas were found in Sarytepe: round and quadrangular. Researchers note that the settlement was abandoned by its residents as the result of a violent fire, traces of which have been preserved and can be detected in the stratigraphy of the hill (Narimanov 1959, 31–41). Jabbar Khalilov (1960, 75) considers the outbreak of the fire to have resulted from an enemy attack. A total two layers were uncovered at the Sarytepe settlement. The first layer shows traces of destruction and fire. The second layer extends straight on top of the first, and researchers believe that it was connected with the same local community. They arrived at this conclusion based on the analysis of ceramics discovered at the site (Narimanov and Khalilov 1962, 29–32, 35, 45). Ideal H. Narimanov notes that on the basis of the settlement's inventory, the Sarytepe hill may be considered a monument of the Khojaly-Gadabay culture of Azerbaijan (Narimanov 1957, 141).

An intrusive treasure with decorations dating back to between the seventh and sixth centuries BC also stems from the Sarytepe settlement. Three bronze bracelets were discovered among this treasure. One of the bracelets has an animal head on each end (Buniatov and Guseĭnov 1957, 191, fig. 4; Khalilov 1971, 185; Narimanov 1957, 141, fig. 55) (see fig. 2: 14). Two three-blade socketed arrowheads of the Scythian type were found in the settlement, 3.8cm and 2.8cm long (Mehnert 2008, 164, tab. 97: 9–10). They stem from a grave containing an extended supine skeleton and a sickle-shaped knife (Narimanov 1959, 36, 43, tab. V: 6 and 7) (see fig. 2: 10 and 12–13). In addition, yet another grave with an extended supine skeleton was found in room no. 1 in Sarytepe. A bronze earring was found to the left of the skull, in the shape of an unlatched ring with a hole at one end. Three beads were found in the neck area (Narimanov 1963, 92–93, fig. 3) (see fig. 2: 11). Earrings in the shape of unlatched rings with a hole at one end originate from Scythian Mingachevir burial mounds that date back to the seventh

century BC and the Scythian Mingachevir earth-pit graves of the seventh to fourth centuries BC (see Hasanov 2012; Hasanov 2013).

Figure 3: 1–7 and 12: Babadervish; 8–11: Vámosmikola-Istvánmajor, Piliny, Buj, Tápiószele grave 379, Hungary.

Another important settlement where clay pintaderas were found is Baba-dervish. Two types of clay pintaderas were found here: round and quadrangular.

Quadrangular pintaderas were mainly found in the hearth complexes of the settlement (Aliev 1971, 226; 1976, 108, 121, tab. IV: 3). Aliev notes that the settlement investigated in Babadervish is considered characteristic of the Khojaly-Gadabay culture of Azerbaijan and dates back to the twelfth to eighth centuries BC. He believes that life in the Babadervish settlement ceased to exist as the result of unexpected enemy attacks, and also fire (Aliev 1971, 231). One discovery from the settlement of Babadervish is worthy of particular attention: a bronze earring-like object with a bulb-like finish at both ends (Aliev 1971, 230, fig. 6: 1) (see fig. 3: 12). Closely analogous earrings are widespread in Scythian archaeology in Hungary where there are specimens with conic, bulbous or zoomorphic tops at the ends (see Chochorowski 1985, 61–66, fig. 13; Kemenczei 2009, tab. 172–74) (see fig. 3: 8–11).

Pintaderas from the North Caucasus

Clay pintaderas are also common in the North Caucasus – in Chechnya and Ingushetia. Their appearance dates back to the pre-Scythian period and their disappearance can be traced to the seventh century BC. Pintaderas were found in the base layer of the Serzhen-Yurt settlement in Chechnya, which dates from the ninth to seventh centuries BC. Spindle whorls were also discovered at the same location (Kozenkova 1965, 71, fig. 24: 12; Kozenkova and Krupnov 1966, 85, fig. 37: 5; Krupnov 1965, 192–96) (see fig. 4: 5–6). In the same settlement, two-bladed socketed arrowheads with an elongated rhombic blade were found (see fig. 4: 1–4). These arrowheads belong to the most archaic types of Scythian arrowheads. In research literature they are often identified as so-called 'Zhabotin-type' arrowheads. Valentina I. Kozenkova and Evgeniĭ I. Krupnov (1966, 87) note that all the arrowheads of this type were found at the northern edge of the Serzhen-Yurt hill settlement and particularly at the village's entrance site. At the same time, bronze stemmed arrows of the local type were found throughout the whole area of the settlement. Kozenkova and Krupnov (Ibid.) also draw attention to the fact that there are traces of fire and destruction in the settlement. Based on all these observations, they come to the conclusion that life in the settlement ceased to exist in the seventh century BC as the result of the storming of the hill by the Scythians during their first campaign in the Middle East.

Several pintaderas were found at one time in the Assin gorge in Ingushetia (Krupnov 1941, 157–98). Two more pintaderas come from the right bank of the Sunzha River in Chechnya (Vinogradov and Dudarev 1979, 162–63, 168, fig. 1:

1–2) (see fig. 4: 7–8). Pintaderas also stem from the Alhasty settlements in Ingushetia (Krupnov 1960, 157, fig. 19) and the settlement of Bamut in Chechya (Magomedov 1972, 119–20, fig. 5: 1–5) (see fig. 4: 10–12).
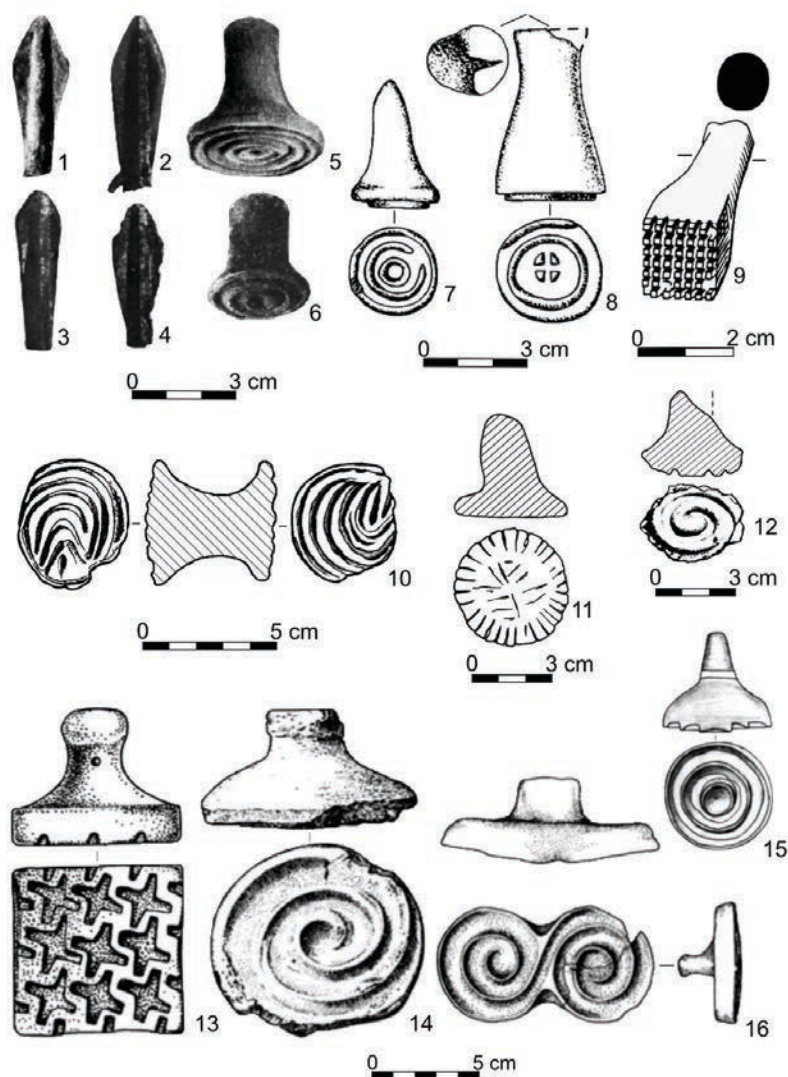
Figure 4: 1–6: Serzhen-Yurt; 7: Khankala, second settlement; 8: from the outskirts of the Dzhalka station; 9: Kelermes, mound no. 1; 10–12: Bamut settlement; 13: Nikonion; 14: Hansca; 15: Kartal; 16: Bernadea. (1–8 and 10–12: Chechnya and Ingushetia; 9: Adygea; 13–16: Northwestern Black Sea region).

Another pintadera originates from the Kelermes barrow no. 1. It is made of bone, is 4 cm in length and 1.7 cm x 1.7 cm at the base. There are six rows of carved square teeth on the work surface. As noted by Liudmila K. Galanina (1997, 54, 233, tab. 34: 106), it is the only finding of its kind in the river basin of the Kuban (see fig. 4: 9). The famous mirror with an image of the Scythian 'Mistress of the animals', identified with the Babylonian goddess Ishtar, comes from the Kelermes barrow no. 4 (Bessonova 1983, 81–83) (see fig. 9: 2).

Pintaderas from Georgia

The clay pintadera with a round worktop comes from Murakebi in the Kakheti region, in the Ioro-Alazani valley (see fig. 5: 8). The settlement dates back to the Late Bronze to Early Iron Ages (Mehnert 2008, 162, tab. 98: 1). Fragmented pintaderas were found in the Aerodromis-Gora and Zemo Kedi II settlements in Kakheti, which date back to the eighth to seventh centuries BC (Ibid., 99, 164, tab. 113: 1) (see fig. 5: 10). Narimanov (1973, 122) records that in Melaani, in a burial site dating back to the seventh century BC, two small round clay stamps with a swastika motif were discovered. A few more pintaderas of rectangular form were found in Georgia during excavations in the Iori and Alazani river basins. In accordance with Narimanov, they are perfectly analogous with similar objects from Azerbaijan (see Pitskhelauri 1965, tab. VII).

A round pintadera was discovered in Noname-Gora, located in Kakheti, ten km north-east of Ciskaraant-Gora. 17 socketed arrowheads were found in Noname-Gora. 16 of them are two-bladed with rhomb-shaped arrowheads and one is a three-bladed arrowhead (Mehnert 2008, 95, 163, tab. 107: 1–17) (see fig. 5: 1–7).

Of greatest interest to our study is the Ciskaraant-Gora settlement in Kakheti. Excavations have been carried out there by a joint German-Georgian team since 1996. The settlement was located on an artificial hill, some 200 m x 150 m in dimension. The houses and outbuildings excavated on the hill are dated by Gundula Mehnert (2008, 95, 159) to the Late Bronze Age up to the Early Iron Age. The settlement was destroyed by fire. The results of radiocarbon analysis indicate that its destruction took place between the end of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh centuries BC (Furtwängler et al. 1998, 352–53). As outlined by Mehnert, typical objects for this period (E) were found on the site: grey clay burnt pottery, clay models of wheels, a clay object in the form of a horn (see fig. 5: 21) and a clay pintadera with a quadrangular work surface (see fig. 5: 11). It was found in building no. 2 (Mehnert 2008, 95, 160, tab. 102: 2, 4–11; 103: 3). Traces of destruction were established all over the excavation area. Charred wooden

beams that made up the roof structure and burnt pieces of clay on the floor were discovered in building no. 2. According to Mehnert (2008, 95), this strongly suggests that the building was destroyed. Partially shattered ceramic vessels were found in the debris of the demolished building.
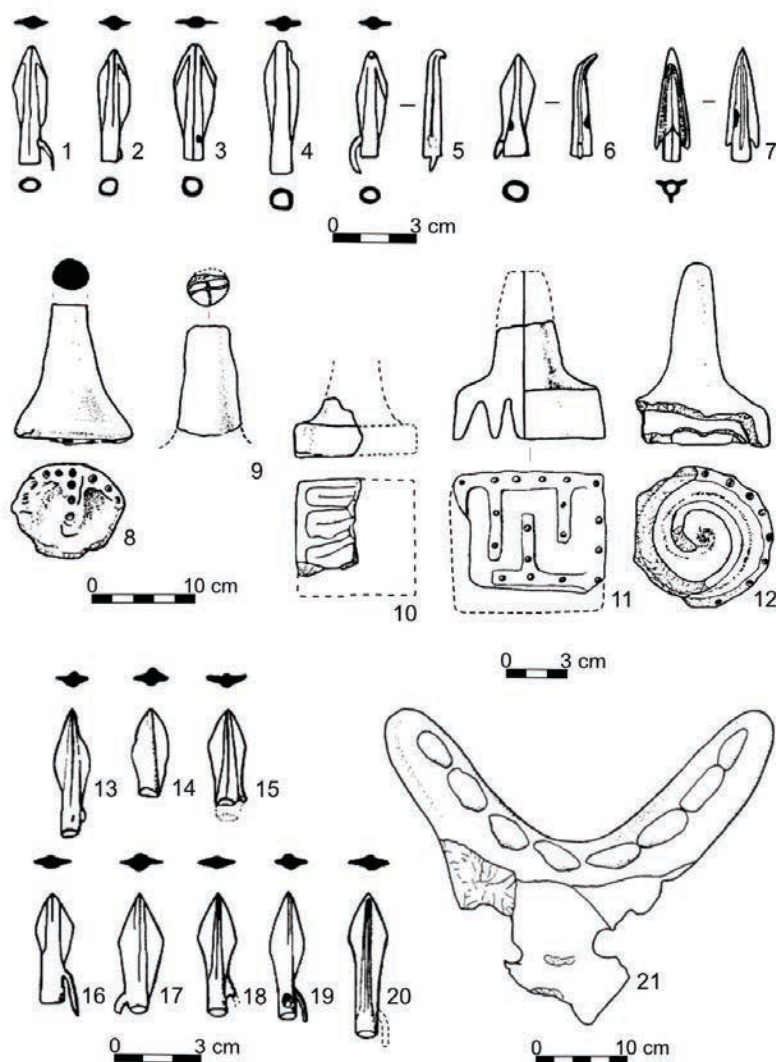
Figure 5: 1–7 and 12: Noname-Gora sanctuary; 8: Murakebi; 9: Aerodromis-Gora; 10: Zemo Kedi II; 11 and 13–21: Ciskaraant-Gora.

Nine two-bladed socketed arrowheads were found in the settlement of Ciskaraant-Gora, each with rhomb-shaped asymmetric blades. Most of them have a spike on the socket (Mehnert 2008, 96) (see fig. 5: 13–20). One of the arrowheads was found in the burned layer to the south of wall M12 (Mehnert 2008, tab. 104: 1) (see fig. 5: 15). Another arrowhead was found in the burnt layer to the south of construction no. 2 and south-west of wall M19. It has a damaged head and broken spike (Mehnert, tab. 104: 2) (see fig. 5: 13). In pit 4, to the north of building no. 1, a two-bladed socketed arrowhead was found next to the skeleton of a child (Mehnert 2008, tab. 104: 5) (see fig. 5: 16). Mehnert (Ibid., 97) notes that all the arrowheads found in the Ciskaraant-Gora settlement can be related to the early Scythian type of arrowheads of the Zhabotin type that date from the end of the eighth until the middle of the seventh centuries BC. In the case of the Ciskaraant-Gora site, we clearly see that as in the Serzhen-Yurt settlement, pintaderas and the settlements where they were used existed until the arrival of the Scythians in the region. After the destruction of these settlements, pintaderas existed in other settlements of the region.

Pintaderas from the Carpathian Basin
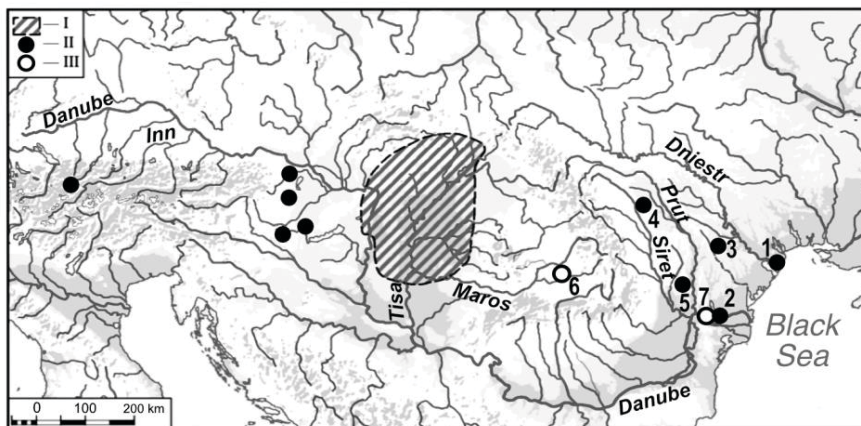
Figure 6: Map of pintadera findings in the Northwestern Black Sea region and the Carpathian Basin. I: the main area of findings from the early Iron Age (Alföld); II: locations dating back to the sixth to fourth centuries BC (1: Nikonion; 2: Novaya Nekrasovka; 3: Hansca; 4: Stynchesht; 5: Poiana); III: locations with findings from the eighth to seventh centuries BC (6: Bernadea; 7: Kartal).

Clay pintaderas were also widespread on the Great Hungarian Plain (Alföld). They appeared there in the seventh to sixth centuries BC and were in existence until the fourth century BC in the Vekerzug culture which is associated with rich

Scythian finds. This material was investigated by Jan Chochorowski who systematized these items and divided them into twelve groups according to their form and ornamentation. According to his research data, the highest percentage of pintaderas belongs to groups one (25.7 percent) and three (20 percent) (see fig. 7: 1, 3), followed by groups eleven (10 percent) and twelve (11.4 percent) respectively (see fig. 7: 11, 12) (Chochorowski 1985, 81–83, fig. 23; 1998, 484–86, fig. 5).

Figure 7: 1–12: Pintaderas from the Great Hungarian Plain.

By 1995, 137 clay pintaderas had been found in the Carpathian Basin (Kisfaludi 1997, 76). Pintaderas found after 1995 are described in the works of Gabor Ilon (1999) and Tibor Kemenczei (2009, 410). Among the other pintaderas discovered in the Carpathian Basin, five display zoomorphic images (see fig. 8: 1–5). All the rest have geometric ornamentation (Ilon 1999, fig. 1; Kisfaludi 1997, 76, fig. 2). Mihály Párducz (1965, 279) believes that during the Scythian period pintaderas were associated with female burials. Chochorowski (1985, 83) notes that pintaderas are often found in the same complex together with spindle whorls, stone dishes (tiles) and ochre, also indicating that they were part of female inventory. Out of 137 pintaderas found on the Great Hungarian Plain, 79 stem from 53 burial sites. In 19 of them the skeleton is preserved – ten skeletons belong to women, three to children, one to a male, whilst the remaining skeletons were not identified. In a further 18 graves, the bodies had been cremated. Bronze hair rings were found in 13 of the previously mentioned graves, as well as 15 spindle whorls. Based on these findings, Julia Kisfaludi (1997, 79) came to the conclusion that most of the burials accompanied by cremation were of females. Thus the majority of clay pintaderas in the Great Hungarian Plain originate from female graves.

Chochorowski (1998, 484–86; 2014, 27) concluded that the clay pintaderas in the Vekerzug culture of Hungary were not of local origin. He notes that pintaderas were widespread in the North and South Caucasus, especially in Azerbaijan. Chochorowski also draws attention to the fact that artefacts of the Scythian type widespread in the Vekerzug culture have parallels in the archaeology of the Caucasus. Based on this, he came to the conclusion that these objects were brought to the Carpathian Basin by migrants from the Caucasus (Chochorowski 1987, 206; 1998, 484–86). Objects of Caucasian origin spread throughout the Carpathian Basin include bronze and bimetallic products, primarily items of weaponry and horse bridles (Chochorowski 2013, 143–44).

The appearance of these items in the Carpathian-Pontic region is associated with the migration of the Sigynnae tribe to this area, information about which is provided by Herodotus. According to his writings, a people called Sigynnae lived beyond Istros. They dressed in Median clothing and considered themselves the descendants of Median immigrants (Herodotus 1921, V, 9). Jan Chochorowski (1987, 161–218) investigated the migration of the Sigynnae people to the Great Hungarian Plain on the basis of a comparison of written sources and archaeological findings. He identified the Sigynnae people with the Vekerzug culture of the Great Hungarian Plain. Chochorowski notes that the archaeological data indicates that the Sigynnae were formed when newcomers mixed with the Mezochat cul-

ture of the Carpathian Basin, which in turn is associated with the steppe population of the Chernogorovsk and Novocherkassk types. The archaeologist associates the Sigynnae's area of origin with the North Caucasus.

Chochorowski notes that the writing of Herodotus on the origin and ethnography of the Sigynnae indicates that they were members of nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes of this period and strangers to the Central European environment (Chochorowski 1998, 486). He compares the Sigynnae horses described by Herodotus with tarpans (or horses originating from them) (Chochorowski 2013, 143). Information in the written sources, argues Chochorowski, gives reason to conclude that the migration of the Sigynnae was related to the historical process which he proposes to call the 'Cimmerian-Scythian conflict' that extended across the Caucasus, Media and the Carpathian Basin. He believes that some Caucasian population groups were also involved in the process of migration in the eighth to seventh centuries BC (Chochorowski 1987, 206; 2013, 143–44).

Chochorowski's conclusion, most importantly for this context, is that the clay pintaderas, which belong to the most characteristic items of the Szentes-Vekerzug types of findings, are an "indication of the place of origin or initial placement" of the Sigynnae on the Great Hungarian Plain (Chochorowski 2013, 144). Zbigniew Bukowski (1988, 59) writes that clay pintaderas with similar patterns were common in the Balkans during the Neolithic period. However, there is a chronological gap between these pintaderas and the pintaderas of the early Iron Age – consequently, there cannot be a link between them. He also believes that the pintaderas from the Carpathian Basin originated in the Caucasus.

Pintaderas of the Northwest Black Sea Region

In the Northern Black Sea region, clay pintaderas are known only in the northwestern part, in the area of the Dniester and Danube rivers, and of the Siret River in Moldova, Romania and Ukraine. In his work, Igor V. Bruyako gathered all the existing findings from the region. These findings are from the six locations marked in figure 6. Five of these relate to the period between the fifth and fourth centuries BC. One of the objects was found in the ancient Greek city of Nikonion and dates from the fifth century BC (Bruyako 1993, fig. 4: 3) (see fig. 4: 13). The remaining pintaderas come from the Getian settlements. In one of them, Stânceşti, two pintaderas were found simultaneously (Bruyako 2014, 40–41, tab. 1, fig. 1).

According to Bruyako, these pintaderas appeared in the Northwestern Black Sea area in the fifth century BC as a result of the disintegration of the compact cultural area of the Vekerzug culture on the Great Hungarian Plain (Alföld) in this period (Bruyako 2014, 46). The two pintaderas that draw particular attention

are from the settlement of Kartal on the lower Danube and from the settlement of
Bernadea in Transylvania (Bruyako 2014, fig. 1: 6–7) (see fig. 4: 15–16). They
were found in the layers associated with the culture of Besarabi. These findings
are the most ancient in the region under study. Bruyako dates them back to the
eighth to seventh centuries BC (Bruyako 2014, 43). Based on the abovemen-
tioned information, it becomes clear that the findings from the settlements at
Kartal and Bernadea have no connection with the process of disintegration of the
Vekerzug culture in the fifth century BC. On the contrary, it can be concluded
that they are the earliest evidence of the migration of pintaderas from the Cauca-
sus to the Northwestern Black Sea Region in the eighth to seventh centuries BC.
This period corresponds to the time when Scythians destroyed the settlements in
the North and South Caucasus where pintaderas were excavated. Bruyako also
believes that pintaderas penetrated the Carpathian-Pontic region from the Cauca-
sus (Bruyako 2014, 45).

Semiotics of the Pintadera Ornament

A comparison of the patterns on the work surfaces of the round and rectangular
pintaderas in Azerbaijan demonstrates the presence of different types of orna-
mental composition. Among them, the 'complex swastika' (see fig. 2: 5, 7; 3: 1)
and S-shaped pattern are of interest (see fig. 2: 1, 3, 6; 3: 4–6).

   'Complex swastika': The most common ornaments on round and rectangular
pintaderas from Azerbaijan are variations of the swastika, starting with the most
elementary swastika and ending with very complicated patterns that we call the
'complex swastika'. Saleh M. Gazyev (1962) investigated the patterns on rectan-
gular Azerbaijan pintaderas and determined that all variations were produced us-
ing the same technology. The hollow is filled with strokes and characters in the
form of a capital letter T. Gazyev divided this pattern into its component parts.
He also provided a sketch clearly depicting the structure of the ornament. Gazyev
emphasizes that the foreman who produced this design did not intend to create a
pattern similar to the swastika (Ibid., 158, fig. 20) (see fig. 9: 1). Ornaments in
the form of a 'complex swastika' from Azerbaijan are very similar to the orna-
ments from the North Caucasus and Hungary from the end of the second and
beginning of the first millennium BC studied by Ariel Golan. He calls them the
'complex swastika with ramified ends'. Golan also includes objects originating
from northern Mesopotamia of the third millennium BC into the category of
'swastika with ramified ends in the form of polygonal lines', as well as artefacts
from the South Caucasus and Italy at the beginning of the first millennium BC
(Golan 1993, fig. 231–32). He concludes that all these swastika-like compositions

consist of four characters constituting a stylized image of vegetal forms. Golan also includes the 'feathered swastika' in this category, which in his view is a 'quad mark in the form of a comb / rain' representing the 'heavenly goddess' sending moisture to vegetation to earth (Golan, 14, 121). The swastika with ramified ends in the form of polygonal lines is also found among the pintaderas from the Vekerzug culture in Hungary (Chochorowski 1985, tab. 23: 5, 11) (see fig. 7: 5, 11).

S-shaped pattern: Golan (1993, 72–74) concludes that the S-shaped ornament had different meanings in different periods. In the Neolithic period, it signified a snake and during the Bronze Age it began to denote the bird that Golan identifies with the goddess of the sky.

One should also highlight the following pintadera ornaments found in the Carpathian Basin:

Triangles inscribed inside one another, sometimes with a dot in the centre (Chochorowski 1985, tab. 23: 8–9) (see fig. 7: 8–9). The semiotics of this ornament have also been analysed by Golan who concluded that the symbol of the goddess of the sky was often drawn as a double triangle –'two triangles inscribed into each other'. Golan believes that the sign of the cloud in the form of a triangle became a symbol for the 'queen of heaven' because she was regarded as a giver of rain. Next, Golan (1993, 16) suggests that the circles or dots inside the rain cloud represent a seed that must be watered. According to Golan, the circles denoting the seed are sometimes adjacent to dashes symbolizing rain. He also notes that in Neolithic pottery, triangles on the female figures are surrounded by circles, dots and applied decorations (Ibid., fig. 14: 1–4; 146: 1–6). Golan comes to the conclusion that these circles represent the seed, as during the Neolithic period grains were often pressed onto the surface of vessels to create an ornament (Ibid., fig. 16). Thus, the ornament on pintaderas from the Vekerzug culture in Hungary in the form of a triangle with a smaller inscribed triangle and sometimes a dot inside represents the celestial goddess who provides rain to moisturize the seeds.

A rhombus with a dot inside: Some pintaderas from the Vekerzug culture in Hungary have ornaments in the form of a rhombus with a dot inside (Chochorowski 1985, 23, tab. 4, 12) (see fig. 7: 4). Golan believes that this ornament symbolizes grain in the field, i.e. land and crops (Golan 1993, fig. 86, 154).

The study of various ornaments among the pintaderas of Azerbaijan and Hungary has shown that they represent the exact same concept of the heavenly winged goddess showering rain on seeds growing in the ground (sown in the fields). Today, several pintaderas with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images are known. Some pintaderas with zoomorphic images come from Hungary. One of

them discovered during excavations in Sé near Szombathely (Vas County) depicts a deer with branched antlers and a curled tail (see fig. 8: 1). According to Gábor Ilon (1999: 48, note 2, fig. 1), this pintadera is connected with the appearance of the Scythians in the region. Among all the pintaderas discovered in the Carpathian Basin, only five specimens have zoomorphic images (Ilon 1999, fig. 1; Kisfaludi 1997, 76, fig. 2) (see fig. 8: 1–5).

Figure 8: 1–5: Hungary – 1: Sé; 2: Velemszentvid; 3: Presel'any nad Ipl'om, grave 4; 4: Kecel; 5: Gyula; 6: Ilurat; 7: Panticapaeum; 8–9: Mingechevir.

The second finding is from Mingachevir in Azerbaijan and has both zoomor-
phic and anthropomorphic images. It is made of fine-grained sandstone from the
Mingachevir deposit and has a round shape (see fig. 8: 9). It depicts an anthropo-
morphic figure with a pointed hat. Its hands are raised to the sky (adoration pose).
Below, the ends of the figure's long clothes diverge, forming a long robe. On
each side, two deer with antlers are depicted (Azerbaijan Milli, AF 27042) (see
fig. 8: 8; 9: 7). Aslanov, Vaidov and Ione believe that this article resembles the
clay pintaderas of Azerbaijan in its function (Aslanov et al. 1959, 90 tab.
XXXVII: 2). The images on the Mingachevir pintadera closely resemble the de-
pictions of the Scythian 'Mistress of the animals' on the mirror from Kelermes,
mound no. 4, and on the plaque with grooved ornaments from the Alexandropol'
barrow (Bessonova 1983, 81–83, 87) (see fig. 9: 2, 6). In terms of its iconography,
it also mirrors the image of the goddess on the Babylonian terracotta plaque
known as the 'Burney Relief' kept in the British Museum (see fig. 9: 6). The stone
pintadera from Mingachevir apparently dates from the final phase of the existence
of clay pintaderas in Azerbaijan, primarily because it reflects the presence of an-
thropomorphic and zoomorphic images that are not typical of pintaderas from this
region. Secondly, it parallels the image of the goddess in Scythian art, as will be
discussed below. The stone object from Mingachevir under consideration here is
ascribed to the period after the Scythians' campaign to the Middle East. This is
suggested by the combination of the images of goddess and deer, not typical of
Middle Eastern art. Hence, we here observe a synthesis of Scythian and Middle
Eastern art.

The third pintadera comes from Ukraine. It was discovered during excavations
at Panticapaeum in a building dating back to the first century. This object has a
comma shape. A tree, a deer, a bird and a vessel are clearly visible. However,
there are no anthropomorphic images (OAK 1901, 15–16, fig. 11) (fig. 8: 7).
Chronologically, the finding from Panticapaeum is not connected with the Early
Iron Age, but rather belongs to the later period.

The fourth pintadera also comes from Ukraine. It was excavated in room no.
29 at Ilurat in Crimea. This pintadera is made of clay and dates back to between
the second and third centuries. According to Viktor F. Gaĭdukevich (1958, 79,
fig. 76), this object was used for "imprinting relief images on cult flatbread".
Gaĭdukevich gives the following description of the composition presented on this
object:

> There is, standing in the centre, a goddess with arms outstretched hori-
> zontally depicted on the stamp (…) the left hand ends as a branch and
> on the right hand is a cross-shaped mark that may symbolize the bird.
> On the head of the goddess, the radiate headdress is shown. To the right

and to the left of her feet there are winged animals. The animals appear
to have birds' heads [perhaps griffins?]; the goddess wears a long dress,
expanding downwards (Ibid., 79, 81) (see fig. 8: 6).

Gaĭdukevich notes that the image of the goddess has nothing to do with Greek
plastic arts, but rather is a syncretic one demonstrating the interaction of Greek
and local Scythian-Sarmatian culture. He believes that this goddess is icono-
graphically reminiscent of 'an image of the Mistress of the Animals familiar in
the ancient world' (Ibid., 79, 81). Chronologically, the pintadera from Ilurat be-
longs to the later period. The aim of demonstration of this ornament is to show
that in the later periods the image of the 'heavenly goddess' was semiotically
connected with the ornamentation of pintaderas.

The connection between the pintaderas and the image of the Scythian winged
goddess can be traced to the Early Iron Age. In the Kelermes barrow no. 4, a
mirror was found with a depiction of the winged goddess, 'Mistress of the ani-
mals', and in barrow no. 1, a pintadera made of bone (Bessonova 1983, 81–83;
Galanina 1997, 54, 233, tab. 1, 34). The discovery of these two objects in the
same tumuli group may indicate their being connected.

The iconography of the images of a female goddess on the pintaderas from
Mingachevir and Ilurat closely resemble the iconographic style of the 'Mistress
of the animals' seen on numerous Scythian objects (Bessonova 1983, 81–83; see
fig. 9: 2, 4, 6). According to Svetlana S. Bessonova, the Scythian goddess Ar-
gimpasa on the mirror from the Kelermes mound no. 4 is represented as the 'Mis-
tress of the animals'. The winged goddess (in the centre) is depicted holding the
forelegs of a panther to each side of her (Ibid.; see fig. 9: 2). This image can be
compared with the abovementioned Babylonian terracotta plaque (the Burney
Relief) showing the image of a goddess with bird's feet and a pair of wings. Ac-
cording to some researchers, she is the Babylonian goddess Ishtar (see fig. 9: 3).
Bessonova sees another image of the 'Mistress of the animals' on the plate with
grooved ornaments and on a bronze pommel from the Alexandropol' barrow
(Ibid., 87–88, see fig. 12: 1–2). On both objects, we see the winged goddess. On
the openwork plate, the winged goddess is displayed with a deer to each side of
her (see fig. 9: 6). This image is virtually identical to the image discovered in
Mingachevir – the goddess in the centre with four deer by her side.
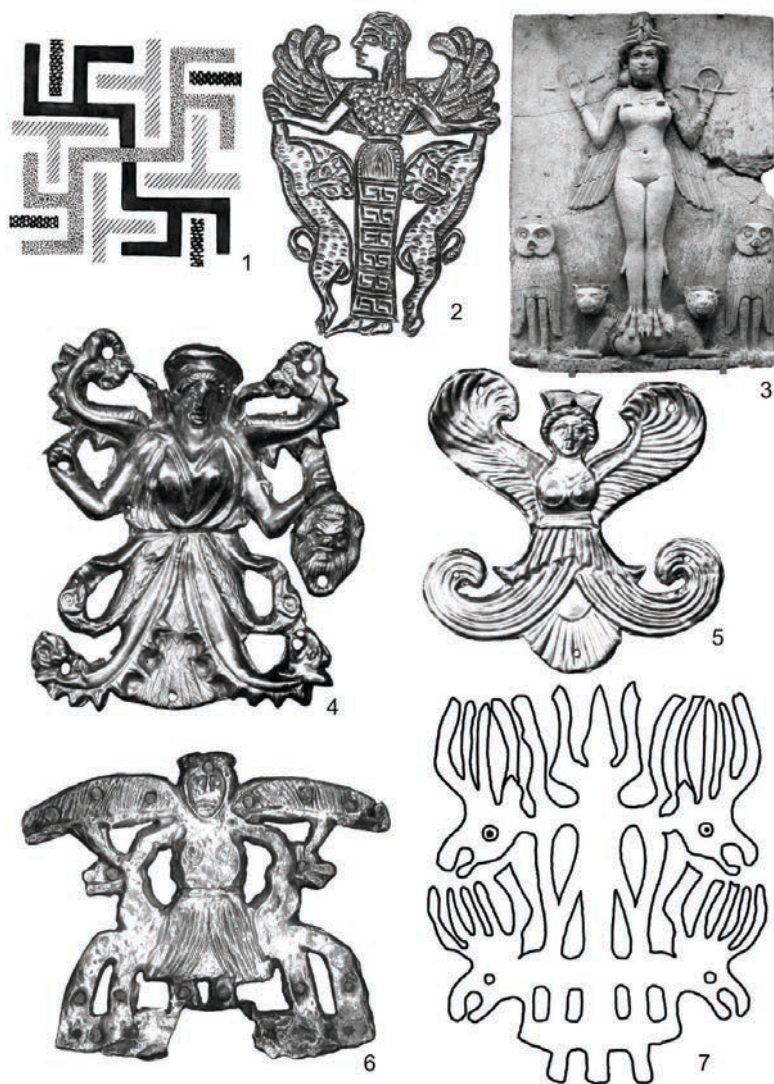
Figure 9: 1: Sketch of the structure of the 'complex swastika' ornament by T. Gazyev; 2: Silver mirror, Kelermes, mound no. 4; 3: Burney Relief; 4: Kul-Oba; 5: Bolshaya Bliznitsa; 6: Alexandropol' barrow; 7: Mingechevir.

There is a story described by Herodotus of the seduction of the Scythian Heracles by a half-woman and half-snake in a cave (Herodotus 1921, IV, 8–10). This image is comparable with depictions of a serpentine-limbed goddess in Scythian art. Bessonova comes to the conclusion that through the serpentine-limbed images of the Scythians, we can trace how designs representing a woman, the tree of life and the 'Mistress of the animals' were merged into one image (Bessonova

1983, 93, 96). Depictions of the serpentine-limbed goddess of the Scythians are often identified with the Scythian goddess Argimpasa (Khazanov 1975, 177) who has similar characteristics to the Babylonian Ishtar.

Origin of the Sigynnae and Paleoanthropological Data

Most researchers believe that the clay pintaderas associated with the Sigynnae penetrated the Carpathian Basin from the Caucasus during the Early Iron Age (cf. Chochorowski 1987). The question yet to be answered is: what part of the Caucasus did the Sigynnae come from – the north or the south? A number of factors allow us to conclude that the Sigynnae might have originated in the South Caucasus.

The Sigynnae tribe is mentioned in several ancient sources. Apollonius of Rhodes (2005, IV, 309–28) mentions the tribe as living on the Laurium plain bordering on the Danube. Strabo (1928, XI, 8) locates the Sigynnae in the Caucasus near Derbikes, Tapyroi and Caspians. Based on the fact that Strabo mentions the Sigynnae near Derbikes, J. R. Gardiner-Garden (1986, 39) concluded that by his 'geography' the Sigynnae were located in the South Caucasus. According to Herodotus, the Sigynnae lived beyond the Istros (Danube), to the north (relative to Thrace) of the river. He notes that they wore Median clothes. Furthermore, Herodotus (1921, V, 9) describes their horses as short in height, having a dense coat, and that they were harnessed to carts. Herodotus notes that the Sigynnae considered themselves the descendants of migrants from Media. Media, as we know, was located on the territory of Azerbaijan as well as to the south of it. Researchers do not localize Media as being in the North Caucasus. Likewise, ancient Greek sources never identify the peoples living to the north of the Caucasus mountains with Media.

Secondly, analysis of the images on pintaderas from Azerbaijan and Hungary shows that they derive their semiotic origin from the Middle East. Accordingly, the migration movement of these ornamental motifs should be from the south to the north and not vice versa. In other words, these ornaments have their roots in the cultures of the Middle East, from where they penetrated into Azerbaijan and only afterwards into the North Caucasus. Sergei L. Dudarev (1999, 23) believes that artefacts such as pintaderas, Assyrian and Urartian helmets and bronze belts, migrated to the North Caucasus from the South Caucasus and Western Asia.

Paleoanthropological data allow us to approve the arguments outlined earlier. Taking into account that in accordance with Kisfaludi (1997, 79) the vast majority of pintaderas originating from the Carpathian Basin were found in female graves, Igor V. Bruyako (2014, 45) concludes that some of the women buried in Scythian

graves were of Caucasian origin. I support this conclusion, which is confirmed by the following paleoanthropological data. Dmitrii A. Kirichenko (2016, 194–95) acquainted me with the results of his examination of skulls from the earth-pit graves of Mingachevir with Scythian-type inventory. These burials date back to between the seventh and the fourth centuries BC. In an article published in 2016, he outlined the following findings:

1) The male craniological series from the Scythian graves of Mingachevir "exhibits the highest similarity with the steppe Scythian groups of Ukraine and the Scythian 'nobility 2' distinguished by Svetlana I. Kruts (2005). Although there are differences, this applies in particular to the nasal and ocular orbit areas. Perhaps the influence of the local population of Azerbaijan on the Scythians played its role here."

2) In the female cranial series from the Scythian graves of Mingachevir, "the greatest similarity is with the craniological series of Scythians in Hungary." Following this, the greatest similarity is with a group of Scythians from the Danube-Dniester region (Ibid., tab. 1–2).

The craniological series of Scythians in Hungary was detailed by Kirichenko on the basis of anthropological data stemming from the Scythian period and presented in two research papers (Dezső; Fothi, Bernert and Évinger). Data on the anthropology of the Danube-Dniester region is based on information from the Scythian necropolis near the village of Nikolaevka in the Odessa region (Velikanova 1975).

Kirichenko believes that there can be two explanations for the resemblance between the female Scythians series from Azerbaijan and the series from Hungary. The first is a resemblance "of the local components which participated in the ethnogenesis of the Scythian groups" (Kirichenko 2016, 194–95). Furthermore, he points out that "a direct identification cannot be excluded with regard to the fact that the Hungarian materials are synchronous with the materials from Azerbaijan" (Ibid.).

The study by Kirichenko allows us to confirm the conclusions made by Bruyako, i.e. that some of the women who migrated together with the Sigynnae to the Great Hungarian Plain and took part in the formation of the Vekerzug culture were of Caucasian origin. However, in contrast to the opinion of most researchers they did not originate from the North Caucasus, but came from the South Caucasus. Accordingly, the Sigynnae tribe described by Herodotus also came from the South Caucasus, although it cannot be ruled out that the original home territory of the Sigynnae was much wider and also included the North Caucasus. Further genetics research may help to clarify this issue.

Conclusions

The majority of the investigated settlements in the North and South Caucasus were destroyed and burned. In many of them, traces of the Scythians invasion and presence were found, for example in Serzhen-Yurt in Chechnya, in Ciskaraant-Gora and Noname-Gora in Georgia, as well as in Sarytepe and Babadervish in Azerbaijan. In two of these settlements, Serzhen-Yurt and Ciskaraant-Gora, traces of an enemy invasion in the form of early Scythian-type socketed arrow-heads have been preserved. In Ciskaraant-Gora, the early Scythian-type two-bladed socketed arrowheads were found on site in the charred layer of the de-stroyed settlement and dating to between the end of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh centuries BC (Furtwängler et al. 1998, 352–53).

All the clay pintaderas known to us from Azerbaijan, Georgia, Chechnya and Ingushetia come from the settlements. The earliest findings of pintaderas in the Northwestern Black Sea region dating back to between the eighth and seventh centuries BC also stem from settlements (Bruyako 2014, 43). In contrast, the ma-jority of pintaderas (57 percent) of the Vekerzug culture on the Great Hungarian Plain originate from graves (Kisfaludi 1997, 79). The Azerbaijan pintaderas from the studied period do not have any openings. Some of the small pintaderas from the Great Hungarian Plain display holes/openings (Chochorowski 1985, 81–83, fig. 23: 1, 6) (see fig. 7: 1, 6), which most likely served to enable their suspension. These two details indicate that after migration into the Carpathian region, new rites appeared among the Sigynnae. Some forms of pintadera may have begun to lose their primarily economic function and to assume the function of sacred am-ulets with no economic purpose. For this reason, they start to appear in graves.

Although the pintaderas of the Carpathian Basin closely resemble those of the South Caucasus, their ornamentation and even function very often diverged. The South Caucasus also saw some new developments, such as the evolution of pin-tadera-style items with depictions of deer. Based on these findings, we can ob-serve a synthesis of the worldview of the Scythians and of local populations in the regions stretching from the Carpathian Basin to the South Caucasus. Knowledge exchange between Central Europe, the Black Sea region and the South Caucasus was not linear. It was bi-directional, and Scythians played a very important role in this exchange.

Works Cited

Aliev, Veli. = Əliyev, Vəlı. "Arkheologicheskie raskopki v urochishche Babadervish." *Sovetskaia arkheologiia*, no. 2, 1971, pp. 223–31.

--- "Babadərviş son tunc və ilk dəmir dövrü yaşayış yerləri." *Azərbaycan Maddi Mədəniyyəti*, vol. VIII, edited by Rahim M. Vahidov et al., 1976, pp. 104–30.

Apollonius of Rhodes = Apolloniy Rodosskiy. "Pokhod argonavtov." *Velikaia step' v antichnykh i vizantiĭskikh istochnikakh*, edited by Aleksandr N. Garkavets, Baur, 2005, pp. 141–44.

Aslanov, Gardashkhan M., et al. *Drevniĭ Mingechaur*. Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, 1959.

Aşurov, Safar H. "Azərbaycanın qərb bölgəsində yeni aşkar olunmuş arxeoloji abidələr haqqında." *Arxeologiya və etnografiya İnstitutunun 10 illiyinə həsr olunmuş elmi konfransın materialları*, edited by Arif A. Abbasov, Nafta-Press, 2003, pp. 38–39.

Bessonova, Svetlana S. *Religioznye predstavleniia skifov*. Naukova dumka, 1983.

Bouzek, Jan. "Caucasus, Luristan and Greek Geometric Bronzes." *Annales Archeologiques Arabes Syriennes*, vol. XXI, 1–2, 1971, pp. 89–94.

--- "Central Europe and Caucasus in the Early Iron Age." *Peregrinationes archaeologicae in Asia et Europa: Joanni Chochorowski dedicatae*, edited by Wojciech Blajer, Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Profil-Archeo, 2012, pp. 537–47.

Bruyako, Igor V. "Severo-Zapadnoe Prichernomor'e V VII–V vv. do n.ė. Nachalo kolonizatsii Nizhnego Podnestrov'ia." *Antichnyĭ mir i arkheologiia*, vol. 9, edited by Vladimir G. Borukhovich et al., 1993, pp. 60–79.

--- "Pintadery rannego zheleznogo veka mezhdu Karpatami i Pontom." *Stratum Plus,* no. 3, 2014, pp. 39–49.

Bukowski, Zbigniew. "Pintadery gliniane z osady otwartej kultury Łużyckiej w Grzybianach, woj. Legnickie." *Studia nad etnogenezaa Słowian*, vol. 1, edited by Gerald Labuda and Stanislaw Tabaczyński, Ossolineum, 1988, pp. 53–64.

Buniatov, Teĭmur A., and Mammadali M. Guseĭnov. = Bünyadov, Teymur A., and Məmmədəli M. Huseynov. "Rezul'taty arkheologicheskikh poezdok v Akstafinskiĭ i Kazakhskiĭ raĭony v 1955 g." *Materialy po istorii Azerbaĭdzhana. Trudy Muzeia istorii Azerbaĭdzhana*, vol. II, 1957, pp. 183–98.

Burney Relief / Queen of the Night. *The British Museum*. http://www.britishmu-seum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?object Id=1355376&partId=1. Accessed 6 June 2016.

Chochorowski, Jan. *Die Vekerzug-Kultur: Charakteristik der Funde*. PWN/Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1985.

--- "Rola Sigynnów Herodota w środowisku kulturowym wczesnej epoki żelaza na Nizinie Węgierskiej." *Przeglad Archeologiczny*, vol. 34, 1987, pp. 161–218.

--- "Die Vekerzug-Kultur und ihre östlichen Beziehungen." *Das Karpatenbecken und die Osteuroäische Steppe: Nomadenbewegungen und Kulturaustausch in den vorchristlichen Metallzeiten (4000–500 v.Chr.)*, edited by Bernhard Hänsel and Jan Machnik, Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft und Leidorf, 1998, pp. 473–91.

--- = Chochorowskiĭ, Jan. "Kavkaz i Karpatskaia kotlovina v rannem zheleznom veke (problema proiskhozhdeniia siginnov)." *Azərbaycan arxeologiya və etnoqrafiya elmləri müstəgillik inllərində*, Beynəlxalq konfrans materialları, International conference, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, 10–14 November 2013, pp. 143–44.

--- "Scytowie a Europa Środkowa – historyczna interpretacja archeologicznej rzeczywistości." *Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego*, vol. XXXV, 2014, pp. 9–58.

Dezső, Gyula. "A Population of the Scythian Period between the Danube and the Tisza". *Anthropológia Hungarica*, vol. VII, no. 1–2, 1966, pp. 35–83.

Dudarev, Sergei L. *Vzaimootnosheniia plemen Severnogo Kavkaza s kochevnikami iugo-vostochnoy Evropy v predskifskuiu ėpokhu (IX – pervaia polovina VII v. do n.ė.)*. Armavir, 1999.

Fothi, Erzsébet, Zsolt Bernert, and Sándor Évinger. "A Tápiószelei szkíta kori temető embertani vizsgálata." *Az aranyszarvas nyomában. A Blaskovich fivérek és a magyar régészet kapcsolata*, edited by Gócsáné Móró Csilla, Kecskemét, 2000, pp. 65–93.

Furtwängler, Andreas E. et al. "Archäologische Expedition in Kachetien 1997. Ausgrabungen in Siraki. 4. Vorbericht." *Eurasia Antiqua*, no. 4, 1998, pp. 309–64.

Gaĭdukevich, Viktor F. "Ilurat. Itogi arkheologicheskikh issledovaniĭ 1948–1953 gg." *Bosporskie goroda II*, edited by Viktor F. Gaĭdukevich and Tat'iana N.

Knipovich. Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii SSSR, no. 85, 1958, pp. 9–148.

Galanina, Liudmila K. *Kelermesskie kurgany: tsarskie pogrebeniia ranneskifskoĭ ėpokhi*, T. I. Paleograf, 1997.

Gardiner-Garden, John R. *Ancient Conceptions of Eastern Scythian Ethnography from the seventh to the second century BC*. 1986. Australian National University, PhD thesis.

Gazyev, Saleh M. = Qazıyev, Saleh M. "Qazax və Ağstafa rayonlarındakı arxeoloji və tarixi abidələr haqqında (1957-ci il)." *Azərbaycan Maddi Mədəniyyəti,* vol. IV, edited by Rahim M. Vahidov et al., 1962, pp. 140–70.

Golan, Ariel. *Mif i Simvol*. Ruslit, 1993.

Hasanov, Zaur H. = Gasanov, Zaur G. "Pogrebal'nyĭ obryad kak osnova vyyavleniya sobstvenno skifskikh kurganov Azerbaĭdzhana." *Peregrinationes archaeologicae in Asia et Europa: Joanni Chochorowski dedicatae*, edited by W. Blajer, Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Profil-Archeo, 2012, pp. 519–27.

--- "Treugol'nye ser'gi skifskikh pogrebeniĭ Mingechaura i ikh svyazi s konusovidnymi ser'gami kurgana Arzhan 2." *Azərbaycan arxeologiya və etnoqrafiya elmləri müstəgillik inllərində,* International conference, Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, 10–14 November 2013, p. 147.

Herodotus. *The Persian Wars. Books III–IV*. Translated by Alfred D. Goodley. Harvard University Press, 1921.

Ilon, Gabor. "A Scythian Pintadera from Sé." *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae*, edited by Fodor István, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1999, pp. 47–48.

Kemenczei, Tibor. *Studien zu den Denkmälern skythisch geprägter Alföld Gruppe.* Magyar Nemzeti Muzeum, 2009.

Khalilov, Jabbar A. "Poselenie na kholme Sary-tepe." *Sovetskaia arkheologiia*, no. 4, 1960, pp. 68–75.

--- "Arkheologicheskie nakhodki 'skifskogo' oblika i vopros o 'skifskom tsarstve' na territorii Azerbaĭdzhana." *Problemy skifskoĭ arkheologii*, edited by Pëtr D. Liberov and Valeriĭ I. Guliaev, Nauka, 1971, pp. 183–87.

Khazanov, Anatolii M. *Sotsial'naia istoriia skifov*. Nauka, 1975.

Kirichenko, Dmitrii A. "Kraniologiia skifov Azerbaĭdzhana (sravnitel'nyĭ analiz)." *Anthropology and Ethnology of Caucasus,* Proceedings of International Conference Dedicated to the 90-th Anniversary of Academician Malkaz Abdushelishvili, edited by Liana Bitadze et al., Tbilisi State University, Institute of History and Ethnology of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences, 2016, pp. 194–98.

Kisfaludi, Julia. "Tonstempel und Knochenzylinder aus der Mittleren Eisenzeit im Karpatenbecken." *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae*, edited by Fodor István, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1997, pp. 75–107.

Kozenkova, Valentina I. "Issledovaniia Sezhen'-Yurtovskogo poseleniia v 1963 g." *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta arkheologii*, no. 103, 1965, pp. 67–74.

Kozenkova, Valentina I., and Evgenii I. Krupnov. "Issledovaniia Sezhen'-Yurtovskogo poseleniia. Po raskopkam 1964 g." *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta arkheologii*, no. 106, 1966, pp. 81–87.

Krupnov, Evgeniĭ I. "Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki Assinskogo ushchel'ia." *Trudy gosudarstvennogo istoricheskogo muzeia*, vol. XII, 1941, pp. 157–98.

--- *Drevniaia istoriia Severnogo Kavkaza*. Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1960.

--- "Novye 'pintadery' iz s. Serzhen'-Yurt." *Novoe v sovetskoĭ arkheologii*, Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii SSSR, no. 130, edited by Evgeniĭ I. Krupnov, Nauka, 1965, pp. 192–96.

Kruts, Svetlana I. "Novye antropologicheskie materialy iz kurganov skifskoĭ znati Severnogo Prichernomor'ia." *Kurgany skifskogo Gerrosa IV v. do n.ė. (Babina, Vodiana i Soboleva Mogily)*, edited by Boris N. Mozolevskiĭ and Sergeĭ V. Polin, Stilos, 2005, pp. 459–501.

Magomedov, A. R. "Bamutskoe poselenie – novyĭ pamiatnik kobanskoĭ kul'tury." *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia*, no. 2, 1972, pp. 110–26.

Mehnert, Gundula. *Skythika in Transkaukasien: Reiternomadische Sachkultur im archäologischen Fundkontext*. Reichert, 2008.

Muradova, Firuza M. "Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia v Kazakhskom raĭone v 1985 g." *Arkheologicheskie i ėtnograficheskie izyskaniia v Azerbaĭdzhane (1985 g.)*, Book of Abstracts, Baku, 28–30 May, 1986, pp. 5–7.

Najafov, Shamil N. = Nəcəfov, Şamil N. "Qazax arxeoloji ekspedisiyasının Sarvantəpə yaşayış yerində apardığı qazıntılar (Qazax rayonu)." *Azərbaycanda arxeoloji tədqiqatlar: 2012*, edited by Maisa N. Rahimova, Hazar University, 2013, pp. 169–75.

Narimanov, Ideal H. = Narimanov, I. G. "Nekotorye dannye o drevnem poselenii v okrestnostiakh g. Kazakha." *Kratkie soobsheniia Instituta Istorii Materialnoi Kultury*, vol. 70, 1957, pp. 138–42.

--- "Sarıtəpə yaşayış yerində arxeoloji qazıntılar (1956–1957)." *Azerbaycan Elmlər Akademiyası Xəbərləri*, *İçtimai elmlər seriyası*, no. 3, 1959, pp. 31–41.

--- "1960-cı ildə Sarıtəpədə arxeoloji qazıntılar." *Tarix İnstitutunun Əsərləri*, Vol. XVI, edited by Zulfeli I. Ibrahimov et al., 1963, pp. 81–98.

--- "Glinianye shtampy iz zapadnogo Azerbaĭdzhana." *Azərbaycan Maddi Mədəniyyəti*, Vol. VII, edited by Rahim M. Vahidov et al., 1973, pp. 114–30.

Narimanov, Ideal H., and Jabbar A. Khalilov, = Nərimanov, İdeal H., and Cabbar Ə. Xəlilov, "Sarıtəpə arxeoloji qazıntıları (1956-ci il)." *Azərbaycan Maddi Mədəniyyəti,* Vol. IV, edited by Rahim M. Vahidov et al. 1962, pp. 5–67.

OAK = *Otchet Imperatorskoĭ Arkheologicheskoĭ komissii za 1898 g*. (Report of the Imperial Archaeological Commission), *Tavricheskaya guberniya, raskopki na Pantikapee*, Tipografiia glavnogo upravleniia. Udelov, 1901.

Párducz, Mihály. "Western Relations of the Scythian Age Culture of the Great Hungarian Plain." *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. XIII, 1–2, 1965, pp. 273–99.

Pitskhelauri, Kiazo. Ior-alaznis auzis teritoriaze mtskhovrebi tomebis dzveli kultura. Metsniereba, 1965.

Strabo. *Geography. Books X-XII*. Translated by Horace L. Jones. Harvard University Press, 1928.

Velikanova, Marina S. *Paleoantropologiia Pruto-Dnestrovskogo mezhdurechia*, Nauka, 1975.

Vinogradov, Vitaliĭ B., and Sergei L. Dudarev. "Materialy predskifskogo vremeni iz Checheno-Ingushetii." *Sovetskaia arkheologiia*, no. 1, 1979, pp. 161–70.

Documents from archaeological funds and archives

Azerbaijan Milli Elmlər Akademiyası Milli Azərbaycan Tarixi Muzeyi Arxeologiya fondu (Archaeological Fund of the Azerbaijan National Museum of History). 2009, *Arxeologiya fondunun materialı*: AF no. 27042, 13 February 2009.

Göyüşova, T. N. *2012-ci ildə Gədəbəydə aparılmış arxeoloji tədqiqatların geniş elmi Hesabatı*. Bakı: Azerbaijan Milli Elmlər Akademiyası Arxeologiya və Etnoqrafiya İnstitutunun elmi arxivi (In Azerbaijani language. Report of archaeological excavations in Gadabay in 2012, Baku: Archive of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of ANAS). 2013, Inv. no. – 769.

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of the settlement of the Northern and Southern Caucasus where pintaderas originate. 1–6: Sarvantepe, Babadervish, Shomutepe, Sarytepe, Töretepe, Durnatepe; 7: Sary-reme; 8: Leshker Galachasy; 9: Mingechevir; 10: Karabulakh, Gakh district; 11–14: Ciskaraant-Gora, Noname-Gora sanctuary, Zemo Kedi II, Aerodromis-Gora; 15: Melaani; 16: Serzhen-Yurt; 17: Dzhalka; 18: Khankala 2; 19: Bamut; 20: Assinsky gorge; 21: Alhastinsk.

Figure 2: 1–14: Sarytepe. 1–8: findings from the settlement; 9–14: items from the treasure; 10 and 12–13: intrusive grave with an extended supine skeleton, a sickle-shaped knife and three-bladed arrowheads; 11: intrusive grave with an extended supine skeleton and an earring (1–4 and 6: Narimanov 1973, tab. I, II, IV; 5: Narimanov 1959, tab. IV: 3; 7: Gazyev 1962, fig. 19; 8: Narimanov 1963, tab. 3: 4; 9–10 and 12–13: Narimanov 1959, 36, tab. V: 2, 6–7; 11: Narimanov 1963, fig. 3; 14: Narimanov 1957, fig. 55).

Figure 3: 1–7 and 12: Babadervish; 8–11: Vámosmikola-Istvánmajor, Piliny, Buj, Tápiószele grave 379, Hungary (1–7, 12: Aliev 1971, fig. 3: 1–2, 4, 6–7; 6: 1, 13; 8–11: Chochorowski 1985, fig. 23: 2, 5, 8, 12).

Figure 4: 1–6: Serzhen-Yurt; 7: Khankala, second settlement; 8: from the outskirts of the Dzhalka station; 9: Kelermes, mound no. 1; 10–12: Bamut settlement; 13: Nikonion; 14: Hansca; 15: Kartal; 16: Bernadea. (1–8 and 10–12: Chechnya and Ingushetia; 9: Adygea; 13–16: Northwestern Black Sea region). (1 and 5: Kozenkova 1965: fig. 24: 6, 12; 2–4 and 6: Kozenkova and Krupnov 1966, fig. 36: 1–3; 37: 5; 7–8: Vinogradov and Dudarev 1979, fig. 1: 1–2; 9: Galanina 1997, tab. 34: 106; 10–12: Magomedov, fig. 5: 1–5; 13–16: Bruyako 2014, fig. 1: 1–2, 6–7).

Figure 5: 1–7 and 12: Noname-Gora sanctuary; 8: Murakebi; 9: Aerodromis-Gora; 10: Zemo Kedi II; 11 and 13–21: Ciskaraant-Gora (1–21: Mehnert 2008, tab. 107: 2–4, 8–9, 12, 14; tab. 98: 1; tab. 108: 6; tab. 113: 1; tab. 103: 3; tab. 106: 4; tab. 104: 1–8; tab. 103: 5).

Figure 6: Map of pintadera findings in the Northwestern Black Sea region and the Carpathian Basin. I: the main area of findings from the early Iron Age

(Alföld); II: locations dating back to the sixth to fourth centuries BC (1: Ni-konion; 2: Novaya Nekrasovka; 3: Hansca; 4: Stynchesht; 5: Poiana); III: locations with findings from the eighth to seventh centuries BC (6: Ber-nadea; 7: Kartal). (Bruyako 2014, fig. 1).

Figure 7: 1–12: Pintaderas from the Great Hungarian Plain (Chochorowski 1985, fig. 23).

Figure 8: 1–5: Hungary – 1: Sé; 2: Velemszentvid; 3: Presel'any nad Ipl'om grave 4; 4: Kecel; 5: Gyula; 6: Ilurat; 7: Panticapaeum; 8–9: Mingechevir (1: Ilon 1999, fig. 1; 2–5: Kisfaludi 1997, 76, fig. 2; 6: Gaĭdukevich 1958, fig. 76; 7: OAK 1901, fig. 11; 8: Exposition of the National Museum of the History of Azerbaijan; 9 – Aslanov et al. 1959, tab. XXXVII: 2).

Figure 9: 1: Sketch of the structure of the 'complex swastika' ornament by T. Gazyev; 2: Silver mirror, Kelermes, mound no. 4; 3: Burney Relief; 4: Kul-Oba; 5: Bolshaya Bliznitsa; 6: Alexandropol' barrow; 7: Mingechevir (1: Gazyev, fig. 20; 2: Galanina, tab. 1; 3: Burney Relief; 4: Firsov, Žuravlev, fig. 7; 5: Artamonov, fig. 11; 6: Bessonova, fig. 12: 2; 7: Exposition of the National Museum of the History of Azerbaijan).

Itinerant Informants and Circulating Information: Insights into the Black Sea Region in Central-European Media[1]

Andreas Golob

Abstract: The article deals with information on the Black Sea Region which came to Central Europe during the Russo-Ottoman War (1787–1792) and the Habsburg-Ottoman War (1788–1791) via newspapers. *Wiener Zeitung*, *Grätzer Zeitung*, *Grazer Bauernzeitung* and *Preßburger Zeitung* are used as sources. On this basis news content as well as communicators in and from the region of interest are represented. The analysis also evaluates how newspaper editors assessed the accuracy of information. In addition, publishers' advertisements are thematised. Finally, the outline discusses more encompassing educational articles in newspapers. Regarding the spread within the Black Sea Region Wallachia and Moldavia were documented best, but the northern and southern coasts of the Black Sea had their limited share, too.

Introduction

By the late 18th century a dense network of newspapers had developed in the Habsburg Monarchy (Golob 2016). The so-called 'extended freedom of the press' provided the basis for the establishment of newspapers outside the sphere of the official system (see Olechowski 2004). In this environment eminent events also materialised as media events. This was totally true of the war between the allied Russian and Habsburg armies on the one hand and the Ottoman Empire on the other (Ammerer 1997; Feichtinger and Heiss 2009; Parvev 2012). Authentic news from the war theatre, accompanied by background information, meant an advantage in a competition brought about by new newspaper foundations.

A pragmatic selection of newspapers may highlight structures of this competitive relationship. At the centre, the official court newspaper *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna News) excelled with 'pure' news, acquired thanks to its privileged access to the court and to the army command. In Graz, where the probably most competitive newspaper landscape of the Josephinist era had developed (see Golob 2006),

two of the three newspapers contested in the struggle for original content in particular. Despite its official function as a provincial newspaper, *Grätzer Zeitung* (Graz News) had to supply more than official news to stay competitive. Its challenger, *Grazer Bauernzeitung* (Graz Peasant News), disposed of a considerable network of correspondents who furnished news and background information. Moreover its supra-regional spread led to confrontations with other newspapers, most notably with ambitious *Preßburger Zeitung* (Bratislava News). This selection is of course a limited sample and it would have been sensible to include further influential examples if more resources had been available. *Wiener Zeitung* itself, for instance, relied on *Lemberger Zeitung* (Lviv News) (e.g. Wien 1788c) or on the *Hermannstädter Kriegsbote* (Sibiu War Herald) (e.g. Wien 1788d) to name the most conspicuous examples which were published in the immediate vicinity of the war theatre, and also recognised the foundation of *Courier de Moldavie* in early 1790 as a curiosity (Jassy 1790). Nevertheless it will be perfectly possible to sketch a differentiated overview on this basis.

This sample will be used to briefly look into relevant contents of official war reports firstly. Secondly, the outline must ask what can be learnt about and from the various human resources exploited. In this respect the survey will concentrate on more informal communicators and their use for newspaper content. Referential literature which was easily available for the publishers will be considered as a corrective. Thirdly, publishers' advertisements will be thematised, and finally, educational articles in the newspapers will be discussed as a contribution to popular knowledge. Regarding the region of interest the analysed articles did not only feature Wallachia with Bucharest as the most prominent and most remote Habsburg-occupied outpost, but also Moldavia, Bessarabia, Bulgaria, Crimea, Russia, Ukraine, Istanbul and its surroundings as well as parts of the Caucasus. In addition, it must be pointed out that these regions were certainly lesser represented than the war theatre on the Balkans which is also treated more prominently in Central-European historiography (see the secondary literature on the war given above, and in general: Kopčan 1983, 81; Teply 1983, 48; Zimmermann 2017, esp. 433–34; 440; see also Serban 1983, 118).

Of Them and Us: Rudimentary Insights into the Human and Topographical Character of the War Theatre in Official War Reports

The official war reports originated in *Wiener Zeitung* and trickled down to all other newspapers. They were at the core of the newspapers, and readers expected them in the first place. These reports also constituted the 'Habsburg truth' or the 'Russian truth' on the war respectively, and *Wiener Zeitung* as well as *Grätzer*

Zeitung warned their audiences that everything else had to be more or less regarded as false rumour (Wien 1788a, 343; Wien 1788b, 2–3). Against this background the publisher of *Grätzer Zeitung* explicitly accused his colleagues in Ljubljana and Trieste of spreading incorrect news (Leykam 1788). It is certainly true that this official information concentrated almost exclusively on momentary military manoeuvres. But read between the lines, additional details of interest surface. Namely, neither the Ottoman army nor the population of the Ottoman Empire constituted an amorphous mass. In Anapa, Catherine's army which also enlisted Cossacks, as *Ofner Zeitung* (Buda News) had disclosed (see Russisch-türkisches Kriegstheater 1791a, 1), fought against 10,000 "Turks" and 15,000 Tartars as well as Circassians and other allies (Rußland 1791b). After conquering Izmail, the Russians were also confronted with 4,285 Christians, 2,400 Armenians and 135 Jews who were resettled in the town after fighting had ceased. Moreover 3,000 wives and children of the 'nonbelievers' became Russian prisoners (Rußland 1791a, 744). The protective role of the Russian Empire in favour of Christians became perfectly clear even in these marginal details. Topographically, for instance, newspaper readers learnt about the marshy surroundings of the fortress (Hermannstadt 1791, 6).

Observations on the Spot: The War Theatre in the Eyes of Strangers and According to Recorded Local Voices

More informal news with more local colour and atmosphere also arrived from members of the army or its baggage train, respectively. The predominantly forced mobility inflicted on soldiers enlarged the pool of available amateur correspondents in rather remote border regions, where a lack of informants had existed before. Moreover, merchants served as sources as well. The crews of Venetian vessels, which docked in Trieste, not only unloaded goods, but also valuable information (Trieste 1790). As an exception to the rule of male and professional perspectives, an article informed readers about Elizabeth Craven's journey of 1785 and 1786, leading her into the region of immediate interest (Reisebeschreibung 1789).

Local intermediaries can also be identified explicitly. For instance the Orthodox Church, epitomised by metropolitan Philaret, maintained close links to the Russian army (Bukarest 1791a). Jewish refugees from Braïliv offered information about the situation behind enemy lines (Russisch-türkisches Kriegstheater 1791b, 4). The editor of *Preßburger Zeitung* let a boyar express his complaints against the Ottoman regime in the war theatre (Buckarest 1790, 635–36). This

point of view may also stand paradigmatically for the angle that was usually adopted.

Information generally remained on a superficial and biased level as far as news content was concerned. In particular, military officers wrote about their experience on the spot and simply described what they saw when they entered conquered countries or taken cities. While they devoted most attention to the details of warfare, additional information remained modest. At the end of the military winter break of 1788, a correspondent of *Grätzer Zeitung* almost literarily described the mountain chains, giddy pathways and torrential rivers, which separated the Habsburg provinces from Ottoman Wallachia and Moldavia (Türkey 1788b, 6). Like other reporters this informant also propagandistically heralded how happily the inhabitants of these provinces welcomed the occupants, hoping that arbitrary administration and despotic Ottoman rule would come to a lasting end (Ibid., 6–7). These circumstances would also explain the people's inactivity and the desolation of an actually fertile area. In a sardonic portrait of the "tyrant" Nikolaos Mavroyeni sad colours dominated, consequently (Lobrede 1788; see Philliou 2011, 44–49). The impact of war played a conspicuous role, as well. In particular, Moldavia was unanimously depicted as a country deeply scarred by war (e.g. Hermannstadt 1789b). An account in *Wiener Zeitung* illustrated the recovery of Focșani in late 1789, though. Moldavian peasants, Jewish merchants and German craftsmen would join forces to make the location thrive again (Moldau 1789, 2364). A correspondent shared his experience enjoying the abundance of coffee and rice shortly after Iași had been taken (Jassy 1788). When the Habsburg troops finally entered Bucharest, correspondents observed that Wallachia was less afflicted by war and wealthier than Moldavia (e.g. Bukarest 1789, 6), via *Brünner Zeitung* (Brno News). The 'amateur journalists' were impressed by the multitude of churches in the capital city (Oritscheni 1790, 36; Wallachey 1789, 3127 – both reports definitely from military officers; Wallachey 1790, 295). This fact once again elucidates that the Ottoman Empire could not be conceived as a homogenous cultural space. Economically and socially, merchants from Bohemia, Saxony, Poland and Hamburg made the ordinary marketplace in Bucharest resemble a veritable fair (Oritscheni 1790, 36). In a rather filthy comment, a correspondent compared Wallachian women quite favourably to Styrian ones (Ibid.). When the Habsburg expedition force said good-bye to "our [their] former" Bucharest, they kept Wallachia in mind as a fertile country which would only flourish if the Ottoman yoke was lifted (Bukarest 1791b). They had participated in Ottoman customs, had consumed tobacco, and had drunken tea and coffee which they appreciated a lot (N. S. 1791). Whereas Habsburg combatants could only describe the enemy from outside, a well-paid Swabian mercenary who

had joined the rank of the "Turkish" officers like Frenchmen, Germans and Poles had done, described the "Turks" as an insider. According to his extraordinary and balanced testimony his comrades seemed "serious, eager to learn, plain, firm", but hampered by their incompetent political, administrative and military leaders (Türkey 1788a). In sum, even in ephemeral news from the relevant regions, readers became familiar with what could be termed physical and human geography in the widest sense.

Encounters in Central Europe

The newspapers also recorded mobility from the Black Sea Region to Central Europe. When the ambassador of the High Porte travelled to Vienna in 1792 he became a must-see in each place that he passed (e.g. Aus dem ungarischen Reiche 1792, 85 (in Sibiu); see in general Minaoglou 2012). Contrary to most accounts about his compatriots he was portrayed as a cultivated representative of his country who visited social venues as well as cultural sites and came into contact with the 'Western elite' in person. When he visited Pest University Library he was especially interested in the collection of coins and amended it gracefully with some pieces from the Ottoman Empire (Aus dem ungarischen Reiche 1792, 85). This way material evidence from the Ottoman Empire migrated as well. Similar effects with even more impact in broader circles of society certainly occurred when Terzy Regiment paraded in Graz at the end of February 1791 and publicly displayed all trophies they had conquered from the Ottomans (Innerösterreich 1791). Finally the editor of *Grazer Bauernzeitung* described a remarkable personal encounter (Ambros 1791). In February 1791 a Greek traveller who introduced himself as a former secretary to the executed Wallachian ruler Mavroyeni, passed through Graz on his way from Trieste to Vienna. The foreigner's command of Italian and French allowed a conversation, and so the ambitious journalist eagerly "interviewed" his guest. As a result *Grazer Bauernzeitung* painted the only balanced portrait of Mavroyeni which markedly differed from the standard image as a tyrant. With compassion the former servant told his avid listener that his master had only accomplished his duties for the Ottoman Empire, and in the end had fallen victim to an intrigue of the grand vizier.

Processing Data in the Editors' Offices between Confidence and Doubt

Since this immediate encounter was a rare exception from the rule, editors had to rely on their correspondents, but obviously also checked information and consulted secondary literature to critically review information. The editor of *Grätzer*

Zeitung considered it impossible that a correspondent could have heard the shooting of cannons in front of Chotyn from his position in Iaşi (Jassy 1788). He also revised a correspondent's estimation of the population number of Focşani and corrected the distance between this town and Bucharest (Kindermann 1789). In another comment on a letter from Sibiu, Anton Friedrich Büsching's *Erdbeschreibung* (Geography) was used to situate Bendery, deemed to become the first strike of the Russian army in 1789 (Hermannstadt 1789a). More precisely than the standard work, in particular in its most up-to-date Viennese extract, the editor located the town in Bessarabia (see Büsching 1788, 560). The estimated population of 80,000 seemed far too high in the editor's opinion. He also commented that a successful attack on Bendery would not entail the total defeat of the Ottoman forces left of the Danube, because the important Ottoman garrisons of Kilija and Ismajil remained to be conquered. The editor of *Preßburger Zeitung* lastly referred to a popular map and informed his readers that a location which was mentioned in a war report bore a different name in this often-used aid (Siebenbürgen 1788; Kineen = Arxavia in Wallachia on Schrämbl's map, see below). These few remarks already show that both authentic correspondence and available explanatory tools were subjected to enlightened criticism.

Persisting and Revised Popular Knowledge Fresh from the Printing Press: Advertisements for Books, Maps and (Other) Copperplate Prints

Relevant products of the book trade were highly visible in the advertising supplements of newspapers. These important and often underestimated parts of the periodical press offered insights into the most up-to-date attempts of the printing press to make money with background information on the war theatre. Advertisements almost cluttered Graz newspapers, as the probably largest collection of prospects for books, maps and other copper engravings, preserved on former Habsburg territory, can be found there. As the selection in this section will show, a multi-media image of the war theatre emerged.

The publishers responded extremely quickly, and consequently, market-driven titles mushroomed as soon as war was declared in 1787 and complemented information in newspapers in general. Artaria and Company, the leading firm for maps, music printing and art prints, already advertised relevant maps when the declaration of war became publicly known in Vienna (Artaria 1787). Not much later, Franz Anton Schrämbl presented a map for a politically interested audience, helping them to set the scene and to understand the progress of the war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire (see Kohlmaier 2001; Schrämbl 1787 a–c). The impressive map was based on Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville's efforts, as

the publisher indicated himself. Obviously, as research showed, he combined two maps which were first published in 1751 and 1760, respectively (D'Anville 1751 and 1760). The Viennese printer also promised to update the "geographical nomenclature" and the political changes which had occurred since then, boasting with these improvements, given in differing colours. The sources for these adaptations were not cited, though. The reasonable price amounted to one and a half or two Gulden, respectively, according to the quality of the paper. The map depicted the whole region around the Black Sea and stretched to Armenia and Syria in the East and South-East, as well as to the Hungarian hereditary countries in the West. It also included large parts of the Balkans and the Mediterranean, highlighting the war theatre of a then still speculative confrontation between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire. Finally it even extended to Prussia in the North-West. In the same advertisement Schrämbl offered a map of Crimea as part of an atlas project. Later, a special atlas of the war theatre, composed by the prestigious Abbé Maximilian Schimek and commissioned by Schrämbl, followed (Miller 1788d). When he had to concede delays the publisher justified this problem with the quality of print and the accuracy of innovative information. At the same time he accused his competitors of releasing cheap reprints which left the geographically interested public disappointed (Schrämbl 1788). In mid-1788 the Sibiu Company Pürkher announced a sophisticated map which concentrated on Wallachia (Bürkher 1788; Pürkher 1788a&b). It should even meet the demand of the military, and especially officers at the front would profit from its details. The format was also modelled for the use in the military. Information came from Transylvania where Ferdinand Joseph Ruhedorf, the compiler of the map, had compared the cartographical sources of the region, available at the Transylvanian military command. Official consent of the emperor and the generality had been assured for the print. Apart from geographical details, Ruhedorf also considered streets, bridges, even single houses and small footways.

A historiographical account featuring the Russo-Ottoman War from 1768 to 1774 published in Vienna early in 1788 and drawn from an English original, did not only intend to entertain a general readership either (Geschichte des Krieges 1788; Miller 1788a). The foreword indeed emphasised that it would prepare the Austrian officers for their forthcoming duties and that there would be enough time to internalise the provided knowledge in winter time when the weapons were silent still. Military leaders should become familiar with geographical details and with the tactics of the Ottoman army this way.

Just before the Habsburg Monarchy lastly entered the war, Johann Thomas von Trattnern, the imperial warrant holder among the book printers, started a series of affordable maps, plans and rudimentary prospects, following the path of

the armies (Trattner 1788). In the first announcement he stressed that authentic reports provided the source for this project. Growing over time, this endeavour finally offered more or less elaborated relevant cartographical material, including operation plans on Kinburn Peninsula (No. 1), the Kuban River (No. 2), Ochakiv (No. 14), Brajiliw (No. 16), Focșani (Nos. 9 and 18), Adjud (No. 9) or Galați (No. 16), as well as views of Bucharest (No. 22), Iași (No. 7), Bendery (No. 15), and Chotyn (No. 8) (Trötscher 1789, 2–3).

By mid-1788, a media-ensemble had developed, as the example of a Graz publisher, bookseller and bookbinder may demonstrate. Periodicals like Bourscheid's quarterly letters on the war closely followed the progress of the armies, but in his first volume, the former cavalry captain also gave a general overview on the Russian and Ottoman Empires (Miller 1788b). The paratext of the third issue advertised not only maps, but also a specialised reference-book for newspaper readers, books containing historical and political information as well as visualisations of the war (Miller 1788c). At the end of this year, even mainstream calendars contained maps of the war theatre. The popular *Wiener-Taschenkalender* (Viennese Pocket Calendar) included a map of Austria, Russia and the Ottoman Empire, which would help to decide 'disputes' on the war effort, occurring among the interested public (Taschenkalender 1788, esp. 3154). Women were entertained by a "Fashion Almanac" where illustrations of fashionable "Turban[s] à la Turque" or an outfit "à la Ypsilandy" hinted at popular appropriations of the contemporary war theatre (Hartl 1788, 3059).

The advertisement for Johann Matthias Korabinsky's historical, geographical and economic lexicon on Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Galicia, Bukovina, Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia finally stood out as the most ambitious and probably near-scholarly project which, however, was not realised in the end (Oehler 1789; Wurzbach 1864b, 447). As an audience the advertisement expected newspaper readers, interested in background information on the sites mentioned in war reports, tradesmen, travellers, soldiers and even scholars as well as scientists. In his announcement the publisher left no room for doubt that the book would please geographical insiders, especially given the current importance of the regions and the limited knowledge available on these areas. Geographical, administrative, cultural, historical and economic information were said to merge into a thorough picture. Historiographical notes finally paid attention to recent military events. Military officers could recall their own experience while reading the data. The remarks also served to engage into discussions with eye witnesses of the campaigns. This way, an early memorisation of the events occurred while the war was still in progress.

Knowledge in Circulation and Dispute: Educational Articles in Newspapers

Finally it is noteworthy that except for *Wiener Zeitung* most newspapers also included articles, providing background knowledge. A selection of the most prominent contributions in terms of length and depth is used to sketch the multifaceted scope of the contents. *Preßburger Zeitung* delivered a short delineation of Chotyn on the occasion of the siege of the Ottoman garrison (Chotym 1788). The text briefly described the location and the fortifications. This information was interwoven with episodes of the siege featuring heroic Habsburg soldiers but also a young brave Ottoman soldier. The same newspaper also contained rather detailed topographical and historical notes on Istanbul in late 1790, probably based on a travel account (V. H. v. W. 1790). After a focus on the history of the metropolis, the ground plan and its dimensions were indicated in the course of narrating the Ottoman attack in 1453. Thereafter the current state of Istanbul was described geographically, meteorologically, militarily as well as in means of architecture. The reporter particularly criticised the infrastructure with narrow lanes. At this point he also mentioned that he had visited the city himself and had been told how vulnerable the town would be in the case of fire. The mosques were also of interest, their vaulting being depicted in detail. The author especially admired the "audacious" minarets as a special sight non-existent in the occident. Extraordinary attention was paid to the Hagia Sophia, also recording Muslim changes. Marginal information on Christian churches concluded this section, which was followed by an observation of Istanbul harbour. From the other sights, the seraglio, the hippodrome, and Yedikule Fortress were selected, and marketplaces as well as caravansaries were also mentioned. Finally, the informant wrote about the suburbs. Personally he preferred Galata where the Jewish and Christian population was noticed. In conclusion, the surroundings of the city were characterised as fertile.

Grazer Bauernzeitung dedicated a column to a sketch of the congress town Svištov in geographical, economic and cultural terms (Szistow 1791). Claiming that only his information would be authentic and correct, the editor firstly established the dimensions of the town and its precise geographical position. Leather and wool were claimed to be the principal commercial commodities traded in this regional centre. Orthodox as well as Catholic Christians and Muslims obviously lived calm peaceful lives and profited from the agreeable rural surroundings where grain and wine were cultivated. In addition, the climate was said to be favourable, in particular decidedly better than in Wallachia. Even the detail that pigeons nested in most of the roofs was mentioned. The newspaper also contained a contribution on Muslim charity which praised Muslim customs (Türke 1791). The impression of noble savages especially emerged in this article. On the other

hand, the editor also included a correspondent's account of Cherkessia which simply purveyed stereotypes (Cirkassien 1792). After the location of the region had been circumscribed, and following some notes on religion as well as the precarious state between two empires, the author writing from Syrmian Zemun, concentrated on the delicate nature of Circassian women and their success in marrying up to the top of Ottoman social and political hierarchy.

It was *Grätzer Zeitung*, however, that offered background information on a regular basis (Leykam 1787). This endeavour can be certainly explained with the commitment of the editor Joseph Carl Kindermann (Wurzbach 1864a, 267–69). Prior to editing the newspaper the German-speaking Hungarian by birth had led an adventurous life as a collaborator of the Dutch East India Company and had gained preliminary experience in drafting maps; these skills would culminate in an outstanding atlas of Inner Austria in the early 1790s and further elaborate projects around 1800. The most encompassing relevant contribution that he selected for his newspaper dwelled on the state of the Ottoman army (Kriegsverfassung 1788). The anonymous author who introduced his subject from a first-person perspective and claimed that his compilation was based on "trustworthy pieces of information", emphasised the troops' anachronistic tactics and provided insights into each branch of the armed forces spanning from the infantry over the cavalry and the artillery to the navy, also including auxiliary troops from Albania, the Balkans, Asia, Greece, the Caucasus as well as Africa, and especially featuring the Janissaries. The "military mind" ("Kriegsgeist") of parts of the army would markedly differ according to the "national" origin of the troops. The article also informed about procedures of declaring war, about military ranks, uniforms and weaponry. The supply chain, disciplinary issues, exercises, camps and the marching bands were also highlighted. Interestingly, the author even favoured the career chances in the Ottoman armed forces and uttered criticism against Christian armies where birth counted more than merit. Finally the impact of these ferocious soldiers on well-trained European armies and options of counter strikes were discussed, relying on the anonymous tract *Remarques sur la manière de faire la guerre aux Turcs* (Remarks on the manner to wage war on the Turks). Demetrius Kantemir's (dated) advice was prominently quoted as well.

As a first special 'present' to the readership, the newspaper offered a description of Wallachia. It combined an informative text with a map (Walachey 1789). As the paratext stressed, this "hostile province" was to be the area where the next military strikes would happen. According to these introductory remarks the country was portrayed as being without major fortresses, and the armies were deemed to conquer the country quickly. The schematic map, produced by the local cop-

perplate engraver Michael Kauperz and probably based on Joseph Carl Kindermann's draft, should help readers to localise the places where the expected minor battles would take place.

Figure 1: Kauperz, Michael. *Karte von der Walachey*. 1789.

The actual, rather plain text contained geographical, economic, historical as well as cultural information. First of all, the overview sketched the geographical extension, especially featuring rivers and mountain passes. Regarding the agrarian products the outline mentioned grain, wine, fruits and in particular melons. The inhabitants' Roman lineage was emphasised and linguistic proofs were cited. Culturally, the Orthodox Church dominated, and Bucharest, but also the monasteries, were singled out as cultural centres. Christianisation was also linked to the origins of administrative structures. On the contrary, only a short sentence hinted at the contemporary presence of Muslims. Profane culture was described with the orientation towards the Venetian university in Padova and a preference for Italian as a foreign language. Ottoman threats and eventually Ottoman rule, which followed the Hungarian menace, were said to have overshadowed Wallachian political history. As a counterweight, Russian and Habsburg protection as well as occupation provided reliefs for the country, severely scarred by war and epidemics. After blazoning the coat of arms and passing by the less relevant administrative divisions, Bucharest was geographically situated and described as a large and

peopled city with 90,000 [sic!] inhabitants and as a religious and educational cen-
tre. Three further cities, Târgoviște, Buzău and Craiova, were only briefly men-
tioned, and the market towns were merely listed alphabetically. This list would
be disputable, because geographers, and also inhabitants themselves were in
doubt, particularly when it came to dwellings around monasteries. The Ottoman
infrastructure was said to be limited to the military border along the Danube.
Apart from Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli and Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville,
himself relying on an Austrian military officer named Hingelhärd, who were
quoted in a column which was sacrificed to exclusively describe ancient Roman
remains, no references were given. Details and the structure of the text, however,
clearly hint at Büsching's authoritative *Erdbeschreibung* (Geography) which ob-
viously served as a source for the text that can finally be characterised as an ab-
breviated extract from the relevant chapter of the book in its Moravian-Silesian
edition (see Büsching 1785, 505–23).

Figure 2: N.N. Die Schiffahrt auf der Donau von der Spitze Syrmiens bis in das Schwarze
Meer. Viertes Blatt. Von der grossen Insel unter Hirsova bis zum Ausflus ins Schwarze
Meer. 1790.

Schematic maps of the Danube and accompanying texts constituted the 'mas-
terpieces' and displayed more practical information. From the second instalment,

showing the section from Vidin to Giurgiu, the series becomes interesting for the Black Sea Region (Donau 1789a). The simple text focused on physical geography on the one hand, including the width of the Danube, conditions of the shores as well as small islands. Moreover it gave more practical details on inns and ferries or even on impeding fishing devices. It also enumerated the names of the settlements along the river, and marginal remarks dealt with commerce. The second part displayed comparable features (Donau 1789b). Practical information dominated once again, in this case concerning a channel between Silistra and Hârşova and ship mills. The final section described the Danube estuary with an emphasis on the commodities which were traded in the most important cities of Brăila and Galaţi (Donau 1790). As comparisons reveal, visual as well as written information for this series came from an extraordinarily accurate Viennese map, mastered by two military officers in 1789 (Lauterer and Tauferer 1789).

Deliberations on the Danube trade until 1788 and its future finally show how newspapers also provided a forum for disputes. *Grazer Bauernzeitung* provided the first step in late 1791. The merchant and traveller Franz von Jenné (who later on related high society gossip from his new basis in the gated community of Pera) discussed the route from Syrmia via the Banat to the Black Sea and shipping towards Cherson as well as Istanbul and towards coastal regions of Wallachia as well as Moldavia. The experienced trader particularly dwelled on the difficulties merchants had to face. The terrain, meteorological and climatic phenomena, the dangers of the river itself as well as inexperienced Wallachians who would be of no great help impeded the endeavours. Jenné also bemoaned that Wallachian territory had to be returned to the Ottoman Empire and that therefore no infrastructure could be developed (Jenné 1791a). His anonymous opponent in *Preßburger Zeitung* did not deem this area to be important. According to his pamphlet, the Wallachians were not inexperienced but ordered by the Ottomans to hamper Habsburg trade. The adversary also mitigated the dangers of the Danube. Patriotically he finally stood up for the Hungarian Danube trade and damned the Sea route from Trieste which Jenné had favoured due to economic reasons (A** G** 1791). To bolster his more or less repeated argument in his final reply in the heated and rude debate, Jenné mentioned his stays in Galaţi as well as a passage from Istanbul to Marseille with a vessel carrying grain from Cherson (Jenné 1791b). In a way, his first-hand experience had the final say.

Conclusion

Belligerent events triggered public interest in regions, which before had only attained minor significance from a Central-European perspective. It was certainly

not the Black Sea Region as a whole and as a more or less clearly defined entity which came into view, but selected parts of this vast region which attracted more or less ephemeral interest. After news from the Ottoman border had "gone to sleep", as *Grätzer Zeitung* poetically put it in mid-December 1791 (Aus den Ungarischen Erbländern 1791, 1036), attention drifted away once again. In 1792 news from the French war theatre and correlating background information stepped in.

Newspapers cared for this temporal public interest by communicating military events first and foremost. The current state of the campaigns was central for sure. In order to situate them in space and time, in political, social, economic and cultural terms, media provided explanatory texts as 'by-products' so to speak. Atmospheric reports from correspondents may have served as an additional appeal for readers. Legions of advertisements heralded the efforts of the book trade to support enlightened popular education, making money at the same time.

To gather information editors could rely on sources on the spot. While only few indigenous insiders came to the fore, most of the amateur correspondents saw the regions they reported from through the curious and biased eyes of strangers. Although these informal accounts can quite clearly be distinguished from the agenda of official propagandistic war reports, their tendency reveals how deeply rooted reporters were in their own cultural environment which served as a basis to observe the 'enemy country' and to search for the self in the other, exemplified for instance by the interest in Christian culture and a shared disdain of the 'Ottoman yoke'.

Actual amendments and adaptations from the side of the newspaper editors remained marginal and were confined to comments and footnotes drawn from standard works published over the preceding decades. Most bits of information in the useful and seemingly brand-new output of the printing press which accompanied the course of contemporary campaigns were not new either, but compiled, updated and specified with details. Therefore circulation rather than generation of knowledge can be observed by looking at the texts in the newspaper supplements and the paratexts in the book advertisements. Through this popular circulation a wider public received access to information, which before had been stored in more or less original and expert works.

Works Cited

A** G**. "Auch ein paar Worte! Uiber die in der Gratzer Bauernzeitung Nro 80 und 81 eingerückte Genealogie des österreichischen Kommerzes auf der Donau nach dem schwarzen Meer, bis zum Ausbruch des Kriegs 1788." *Preßburger Zeitung*, 26 October 1791, pp. 897–902.

Ambros, Michael Hermann. "Graz den 9. Februar." *Grazer Bauernzeitung*, 10 February 1791, pp. 6–7.

Ammerer, Gerhard. "Der letzte österreichische Türkenkrieg (1788–1791) und die öffentliche Meinung in Wien." *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 45, 1997, pp. 59–86.

Artaria & Comp. "Landkarten." *Wiener Zeitung*, 15 September 1787, supplement, p. 2247.

Bürkher [sic!] & Comp. "Ankündigung." *Wiener Zeitung*, 10 December 1788, supplement, pp. 3034–35.

Büsching, A[nton] F[riedrich]. *Große Erdbeschreibung.* Vol. 5. Joseph Georg Traßler, 1785.

--- *Auszug aus seiner Erdbeschreibung, welcher Europa und den nördlichen Theil von Asia enthält.* Vol. 2. Johann Thomas Edler von Trattnern, 1788.

D'Anville, Jean Baptiste Bourguignon. *Prémière Partie de la Carte d'Asie Contenant la Turquie, l'Arabie, la Perse, l'Inde en deça du Gange et de la Tartarie*. D'Anville, 1751.

--- *Troisième Partie de la Carte d'Europe contenant le midi de la Russie, la Pologne et la Hongrie, la Turquie*. D'Anville, 1760.

Feichtinger, Johannes, and Johann Heiss. "Bilder von der Front. Berichterstattung vom letzten österreichischen Türkenkrieg." *Hieronymus Löschenkohl. Sensationen aus dem Alten Wien*, edited by Monika Sommer, Christian Brandstätter Verlag, 2009, pp. 138–55.

Golob, Andreas. "Dynamisierung und Erstarrung in der Steiermärkischen Presselandschaft." *Wandel einer Landschaft. Das "lange" 18. Jahrhundert und die Steiermark*, edited by Harald Heppner and Nikolaus Reisinger, Böhlau, 2006, pp. 411–31.

--- "Frühes Korrespondenzwesen. Michael Hermann Ambros und sein Grazer Zeitungsunternehmen." *Österreichische Mediengeschichte. Vol. 1: Von den frühen Drucken zur Ausdifferenzierung des Mediensystems (1500 bis 1918)*, edited by Matthias Karmasin and Christian Oggolder, Springer VS, 2016, pp. 113–38.

Hartl, Sebastian. "Kalender auf das Jahr 1789." *Wiener Zeitung*, 13 December 1788, pp. 3059–60.

Jenné, Franz von. "Genealogie des österreichischen Kommerzes auf der Donau nach dem schwarzen Meer, bis zu Ausbruch des Kriegs 1788." *Grazer Bauernzeitung*, 6 October 1791, pp. 7–8, 10 October 1791, supplement, pp. 4–6.

--- "Berichtigung der Paar Worte in Nro. 86 der Presburger Zeitung." *Grazer Bauernzeitung*, 17 November 1791, pp. 6–8, supplement, pp. 7–8, 21 November 1791, supplement, pp. 7–8, 24 November 1791, supplement, pp. 7–8.

Kindermann, Joseph Carl. [Comment.] *Grätzer Zeitung*, 29 August 1789, p. 4.

Kohlmaier, Ursula. *Der Verlag Franz Anton Schrämbl*. 2001. University of Vienna, PhD thesis.

Kopčan, Vojtech. "Die tschechoslowakische Literatur zu den Türkenkriegen." *Die Türkenkriege in der historischen Forschung*, edited by Zygmunt Abrahamowicz et al., Franz Deuticke, 1983. Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte 13, pp. 79–97.

Lauterer, Ignaz von, and Siegfried von Tauferer. *Navigations Karte der Donau von Semlin an bis zu ihrem Ausfluss ins Schwarze Meer*. Joseph von Kurzböck, 1789.

Leykam, Andreas. "An die Herren Pränumeranten der Grätzer Zeitung." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 22 December 1787, p. 8.

--- [No title given], *Grätzer Zeitung*, 4 March 1788, p. 8.

Miller, Franz Xaver. "Ankündigung." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 12 February 1788, separate sheet.

--- "Uiber die österreichisch-russisch-türkischen Kriegsbegebenheiten des Jahrs 1788. Von J. W. von Bourscheid. Erster Brief." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 10 May 1788, separate sheet.

--- "Uiber die österreichisch-russisch-türkische Kriegsbegebenheiten des Jahrs 1788. Von J. W. von Bourscheid. Dritter Brief." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 26 July 1788, separate sheet.

--- [Advertisement]. *Grätzer Zeitung*, 16 September 1788, separate sheet.

Minaoglou, Charalampos. "Harassing the Enemy's Diplomats. The Embassy of Azmi Effendi Travelling through the Austrian-Occupied Balkans and Habsburg Lands during the Austro-Ottoman War (1787–1791)." *Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich*, 26, 2012, pp. 15–26.

Oehler, Joseph Georg. "Nachricht." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 19 September 1789, separate sheets.

Olechowski, Thomas. *Die Entwicklung des Preßrechts in Österreich bis 1918. Ein Beitrag zur österreichischen Medienrechtsgeschichte*. Manz, 2004.

Parvev, Ivan. "Joy and Glory. Die Eroberungen Belgrads 1717 und 1789 als Medienereignis im Alten Reich." *Encounters in Europe's southeast. The Habsburg Empire and the orthodox world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, edited by Harald Heppner and Maria Baramova, Verlag Dr. Dieter Winkler, 2012, pp. 93–108.

Philliou, Christine M. *Biography of an Empire. Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution*. University of California Press, 2011.

Pürkher & Compagnie. "Ankündigung einer Specialkarte der Wallachey." *Preßburger Zeitung*, 19 July 1788, p. 8.

--- "Ankündigung einer Specialkarte der Wallachey." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 22 July 1788, separate sheet.

Schrämbl, Fr[anz] Ant[on]. "Nachricht an das Publikum." *Wiener Zeitung*, 26 September 1787, supplement, p. 2342.

--- "An das Publikum." *Preßburger Zeitung*, 26 September 1787, pp. 7–8.

--- "Nachricht an das Publikum." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 6 October 1787, separate sheet.

--- "Nachricht." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 28 June 1788, separate sheet.

Serban, Constantin. "Die rumänische Geschichtsliteratur über die Kriege gegen die Osmanen und deren internationale Auswirkungen im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert." *Die Türkenkriege in der historischen Forschung*, edited by Zygmunt Abrahamowicz et al., Franz Deuticke, 1983. Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte 13, pp. 99–118.

Teply, Karl. "Das österreichische Türkenkriegszeitalter." *Die Türkenkriege in der historischen Forschung*, edited by Zygmunt Abrahamowicz et al., Franz Deuticke, 1983. Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte 13, pp. 5–51.

Trattner, Johann Thomas. [Advertisement]. *Grätzer Zeitung*, 26 January 1788, separate sheet.

Trötscher, Friedrich Christian. *Grätzer Zeitung*, 22 December 1789, separate sheets.

V. H. v. W. "Beschreibung von Konstantinopel." *Preßburger Zeitung*, 18 September 1790, supplement, pp. 871–72, 25 September 1790, supplement, pp.

891–92, 2 October 1790, supplement, pp. 911–12, 9 October 1790, supplement, pp. 931–32, 23 October 1790, supplement, pp. 977–78, 6 November 1790, supplement, pp. 1013–15, 17 November 1790, supplement, pp. 1041–43.

Wurzbach, Constant von. *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich, enthaltend die Lebensskizzen der denkwürdigen Personen, welche seit 1750 in den österreichischen Kronländern geboren wurden oder darin gelebt und gewirkt haben*. Vol. 11. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1864a.

--- *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich, enthaltend die Lebensskizzen der denkwürdigen Personen, welche seit 1750 in den österreichischen Kronländern geboren wurden oder darin gelebt und gewirkt haben*. Vol. 12. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1864b.

Zimmermann, Katharina. "Die späten Türkenkriege – eine Auswahlbibliographie." *Die Türkenkriege des 18. Jahrhunderts. Wahrnehmen – Wissen – Erinnern*, edited by Wolfgang Zimmermann and Joseph Wolf. Verlag Schnell & Steiner, 2017, pp. 433–44.

Anonymous Newspaper Articles

(Aus dem ungarischen Reiche 1792). N.N. "Aus dem ungarischen Reiche." *Grazer Bauernzeitung*, 6 February 1792, pp. 83–86.

(Aus den Ungarischen Erbländern 1791). N.N. "Aus den Ungarischen Erbländern." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 17 December 1791, pp. 1036–37.

(Buckarest 1790). N.N. "Schreiben aus Buckarest vom 20. July." *Preßburger Zeitung*, 10 August 1791, pp. 634–36.

(Bukarest 1789). N.N. "[V]on Bukarest vom 15. Novemb." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 12 December 1789, pp. 5–6.

(Bukarest 1791a). N.N. "Bukarest." *Grazer Bauernzeitung*, 9 June 1791, p. 5.

(Bukarest 1791b). N.N., "Aus unserm – ehemaligen Bukurest den 22. August." *Grazer Bauernzeitung*, 19 September 1791, p. 6.

(Chotym 1788). N.N. "Beschreibung der Festung Chotym, und der darin befindlichen Garnison." *Preßburger Zeitung*, 17 September 1788, p. 8; 24 September 1788, p. 8.

(Cirkassien 1792). N.N. "Cirkassien." *Grazer Bauernzeitung*, 24 May 1792, pp. 124–25.

(Donau 1789a). N.N. "Beschreibung des Laufes der Donau von Widin bis Giergevo." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 22 September 1789, supplement.

(Donau 1789b). N.N. "Beschreibung des Laufes der Donau von Giergevo bis zur grossen Insel unter Hirsova." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 12 December 1789, supplement.

(Donau 1790). N.N., "Beschreibung des Laufes der Donau von der grossen Insel unter Hirsova bis zu ihrem Einfluß in das schwarze Meer." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 24 April 1790, supplement, pp. 317–18.

(Geschichte des Krieges 1788). N.N. *Geschichte des Krieges zwischen Rußland und der Pforte, von 1768 bis 1774*. Joseph Stahel, 1788.

(Hermannstadt 1789a). N.N. "Hermannstadt den 20. Febr." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 7 March 1789, p. 5.

(Hermannstadt 1789b). N.N. "Hermannstadt den 10ten Julius." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 25 July 1789, pp. 4–5.

(Hermannstadt 1791). N.N. "Hermannstadt […] vom 27. Dezember." *Grazer Bauernzeitung*, 10 January 1791, pp. 6–7.

(Innerösterreich 1791). N.N. "Innerösterreich." *Grazer Bauernzeitung*, 28 February 1791, p. 6–7.

(Jassy 1788). N.N. "Aus einem Briefe aus Jassy vom 12 May." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 7 June 1788, p. 5–6.

(Jassy 1790). N.N. "Aus Jassy […] vom 27. Jänner." *Wiener Zeitung*, 3 March 1790, p. 537.

(Kriegsverfassung 1788). N.N. "Uiber die Kriegsverfassung der Türken." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 14 June 1788, supplement, 21 June 1788, supplement, 28 June 1788, supplement, 5 July 1788, supplement, 12 July 1788, supplement [lost].

(Lobrede 1788). N.N. "Lobrede auf Mavrojeni." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 10 May 1788, p. 8.

(Moldau 1789). N.N. "Moldau." *Wiener Zeitung*, 16 September 1789, p. 2363.

(N. S. 1791). N.N. "N. S." [i. e. Nachschrift, post scriptum] vom 6. [September]." *Grazer Bauernzeitung*, 26 September 1791, p. 7.

(Oritscheni 1790). N.N. "[V]on Oritscheni […] den 18. Decemb." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 12 January 1790, pp. 35–36.

(Reisebeschreibung 1789). N.N. "Sehr merkwürdige Reisebeschreibung." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 29 August 1789, pp. 7–8.

(Russisch-türkisches Kriegstheater 1791a). N.N. "Russisch-türkisches Kriegstheater." *Grazer Bauernzeitung*, 20 January 1791, pp. 1–3.

(Russisch-türkisches Kriegstheater 1791b). N.N. "Russisch-türkisches Kriegstheater." *Grazer Bauernzeitung*, 10 March 1791, pp. 4–5.

(Rußland 1791a). N.N. "Rußland." *Wiener Zeitung*, 23. March 1791, pp. 742–44.

(Rußland 1791b). N.N. "Rußland." *Wiener Zeitung*, 10 August 1791, p. 2076.

(Siebenbürgen 1788). N.N. "Siebenbürgen, vom 21 Febr." *Preßburger Zeitung*, 5 March 1788, p. 5.

(Szistow 1791). N.N. "Der Kongreßort Szistow in Bulgarien." *Grazer Bauernzeitung*, 17 January 1791, supplement, p. 5.

(Taschenkalender 1788). N.N. "Nachricht. Wiener Taschen-Kalender auf das Jahr 1789." *Wiener Zeitung*, 24 December 1788, pp. 3152–54.

(Trieste 1790). N.N. "Trieste." *Wiener Zeitung*, 5 June 1790, p. 1480.

(Türke 1791). N.N. "Der Türke." *Grazer Bauernzeitung*, 28 April 1791, supplement, pp. 2–3.

(Türkey 1788a). N.N. "Aus der Türkey." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 5 January 1788, p. 8.

(Türkey 1788b). N.N. "Aus der Türkey." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 1 April 1788, pp. 6–7.

(Walachey 1789). N.N. "Beschreibung der Walachey." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 20 January 1789, separate sheets.

(Wallachey 1789). N.N. "Wallachey." *Wiener Zeitung*, 9 December 1789, pp. 3127–28.

(Wallachey 1790). N.N. "Aus der Wallachey." *Wiener Zeitung*, 6 February 1790, pp. 294–95.

(Wien 1788a). N.N. "Wien." *Wiener Zeitung*, 13 February 1788, pp. 341–45.

(Wien 1788b). N.N. "Wien." *Grätzer Zeitung*, 16 February 1788, pp. 1–3.

(Wien 1788c). N.N. "Wien." *Wiener Zeitung*, 29 March 1788, p. 759.

(Wien 1788d). N.N. "Wien." *Wiener Zeitung*, 26 April 1788, p. 1015.

List of Figures

Figure 1: Kauperz, Michael. *Karte von der Walachey*. Leykam, 1789. Steiermärkische Landesbibliothek.

Figure 2: N.N. *Die Schiffahrt auf der Donau von der Spitze Syrmiens bis in das Schwarze Meer. Viertes Blatt. Von der grossen Insel unter Hirsova bis zum Ausflus ins Schwarze Meer*. Leykam, 1790. Universitätsbibliothek Graz, Sondersammlung.

THE ROLE OF TRADE IN MACEDONIAN TOWNS UP TO 1850: MODES AND METHODS FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE

Vladimir Janev

Abstract: Merchants of different nationalities developed business relations and personal friendships which over time became professional cooperation, and mutual trade, leading to the opening of branch offices in different countries. These trade relations between peoples were accompanied by exchanges of technical, technological, metallurgical, financial, economic, artisanal and guild knowledge and experience. It furthermore encompassed the regulation of interests concerning the prices and quality of goods, control over the exchange rate fluctuations for different types of coins, and the state of cultural, artistic and scientific development in certain countries and regions.

Trade, as one of the most important economic activities in the history of humankind, which initially served for the exchange of goods between peoples, in time affected the exchange of traditional and practical knowledge, new inventions and methods of living. Subsequently, the implementation and exchange of cultural, religious and general civilizing values followed. In these historical currents and events from the middle of the 18th to the 19th century, the Black Sea and Aegean Sea regions, the Ottoman Empire, Western Europe, and the Balkans, including the territory of Macedonia, were all affected and actively involved in trade.[1]

In the latter half of the 18th century, the development of trade among the Macedonian cities was still conducted at a low economic intensity. Somewhat later,

---

[1] In geostrategic terms, Macedonia is located in the centre of the Balkans. During Ottoman rule all vital communication routes intersected in its territory. The leading traffic node was Salonika, which was directly connected to the trade conducted in the Black and Aegean Sea regions, the Balkans and Western Europe. Ottoman rule lasted until "30 May 1913, when, according to the Treaty of London, the Ottoman Empire renounced its territories west of the Enos-Medea line, Macedonia had been under Ottoman rule for 541 years, 8 months and 4 days" (Matkovski 1988, 37–38). The geographic borders of Macedonia before the Balkan Wars (1912/13) were as follows: "in the north there are the mountains Šar Planina, Skopska Crna Gora, Kozjak, Osogovo and Rila, while in the east there are the Rhodopes, Dopat Mountain, and the valley of the River Mesta, which separates Macedonia from Thrace. The western border lies along the mountains Korab, Jablanica and Mokra, all the way to the Thessalian part of Olympus and Pindus. From there, the southern border lies on the course of the River Bistrica to Salonika Bay and to the delta of the River Mesta, where it flows into the Aegean Sea, encompassing the Chalkidiki and the basins around Lake Lago, Lake Volvi and Kruša Mountain." According to the most recent assessments, the territory of Macedonia "was 67,741.2 square kilometres. Especially after the Berlin Congress (1878), the territory of Macedonia was a vital part of the territory of European Turkey (168,563 km^2)" (Zografski 1967, 17–18).

in the latter half of the 19th century, merchants from France, Great Britain, Austria, Russia, the Italian cities (Venice, Naples, Genoa and Livorno), the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and the Balkan states, Greece and Serbia participated in the trade being conducted in Macedonia. This trade mainly proceeded through Salonika, where France was the most prominent partner because of its good relationships with the state since the reign of Sultan Süleymān I (known as the Magnificent and the Lawgiver) (1520–1566), who granted "Capitulations" (trade privileges) in 1535 and, specifically, the renewed and amended capitulations in 1740 (Masson 1911, 260). A key factor in the development of trade in Macedonia was the establishment of the consulates, and besides France, the following Western European states also participated in this endeavour: Great Britain in 1722, Venice in 1729, the Netherlands in 1732, the Kingdom of Naples in 1742, the Dubrovnik Republic in 1743, Denmark and Sweden in 1759, Austria in 1768 and Russia in 1785 (Zografski 1962, 56–57). The Ottoman Empire's neighbours, the great powers of the Austrian and Russian Empires, also played an active role in the trade conducted with the Ottomans.

Concerning the development of goods trade between Macedonia, as an integral part of the Ottoman Empire on one hand, and the German-speaking countries, especially Austria, on the other, the establishment of the *Orientalische Handelskompagnie* (Oriental Trading Company) in Vienna as early as 1667 was noteworthy, as it represented a rather important trade milestone. During his visit to some of the cities in the Ottoman Empire, its founder, Lellio de Luka, opened sales outlets and mainly studied the conditions for placing European goods on the markets in these areas. Immediately after the collapse of the first Oriental Trading Company, a new privileged concern with the same name was formed to engage in trade with the Ottoman Empire. In fact, Austria and the other German-speaking countries, in line with the development of their socio-economic and industrial circumstances, supplied their manufacturers and production facilities with raw materials from the Macedonian bazaars (Ibid.). A large portion of the imported goods in Austria passed through the Oriental Trading Company since, according to the monopoly granted to this company by the state, all merchants, especially Ottoman subjects, were obliged to sell their imported goods only to it, while the other Austrian merchants were forbidden from importing goods from the Ottoman provinces. In particular, under the provisions of the peace treaty concluded with Austria in Požarevac in 1718, freedom of movement for different kinds of products and goods was secured (i.e. standardization and regulation of business cooperation and the activities of the merchants from both countries) (Ibid.).

The following goods were predominantly imported to the Austrian market: tallow, wax, honey, oil, almonds, raisins, cotton, silk, wool, and coffee. For its

part, Austria exported cloth, glass, iron and steel to the Ottoman Empire. As an illustration of the intensity of this trade, from 1829 to 1831, arrived 76 Austrian ships in Salonika alone, carrying various goods worth of 305,322 guilders, and whence goods worth of 410,018 guilders were imported, because Austria held the leading position based on the value of goods imported and exported to and from Macedonia (Urošević 1937, 872). Moreover, in the period between 1837 and 1841, 211 Austrian ships arrived in Salonika, carrying goods worth of 332,621 guilders, while during the 1830s, 54 Austrian ships docked in the port of Kavala alone (Paskaleva 1978, 241–48).

The incorporation of Macedonia into the sphere of Mediterranean and European trade was also connected to Russia. With the signing of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca between the Ottoman Empire and Russia in 1774, the free navigation of the Russian fleet across the Black Sea and through the Dardanelles was assured to a great extent. During the 1780s, Russia was ranked third in the importation of goods to Macedonia (after France and the German-speaking countries) and fourth in importation from Macedonia (after the German-speaking countries, France and the Italian countries).

When taking into consideration the raw materials imported from Macedonia, each of the Great Powers imported different types of raw materials based on their industrial needs. For instance, Great Britain imported primarily cotton, cloth, tin, lead, iron and metalware, imitation jewellery, organic dye, spices, and medicaments. France imported different types of cloth and silk, fezzes, metalware, paper, coffee, sugar, indigo, cochineal, pepper, glassware, and jewellery. Italy imported taffeta, silk, hides, mirrors, glassware, and incrusted weapons. The Netherlands imported cloth, colonial spices, sugar and coffee and in the case of Austria it imported linen fabric, gold- and ironware, steel products, glassware, porcelain and different kinds of fabric, while Russia imported mainly luxury hides (Zografski 1962, 59).

It is worthwhile noting that the products from Macedonia in highest demand included cotton, locally grown tobacco and hides. The rapid expansion of facilities for cotton and wool weaving in Great Britain, France and the Netherlands as early as the beginning of the 18th century largely led to even greater demand for these raw materials, especially cotton from Macedonia. The demand for Macedonian cotton was spurred by merchants from France, Venice, Livorno, Genoa, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Ancona, Malta, and others. (Svoronos 1956, 249). In the Ser area in Macedonia in the mid-18th century, the available data show that 20,000 bales of cotton were produced annually (Lascaris 1939, 53). A fairly large quantity of Macedonian cotton was transported by land via Serbia and Bosnia to Western European states. According to the statistics provided by the Venetian

Consul Demetrios Choidas from 1751, the export of Macedonian cotton (which reached 13,000 bales or approximately 1.690,000 okas), involved the participation of merchants from the following states (see Svoronos 1956):

Merchants from:	Export of Macedonian cotton: (in bales)
France	7,000
Venice	4,000
Livorno	600
Genoa	400
Great Britain	300
The Netherlands	300
Ancona	300
Malta	100

Table 1: The export of Macedonian cotton in 1751.

When discussing particular periods, the year 1796 is notable, as cotton exports reached an amount of 10.890,000 okas, of which the French transported 5.500,000 okas to London, 3.300,000 okas to the German states, 1.320,000 okas to Livorno and 165,000 okas to Genoa (Zografski 1962, 58). Tobacco was also one of the Macedonian market's most important export products in the 18th century. The best varieties of tobacco were grown in Petrič, Enidže Vardar and Drama. Out of the total quantity of tobacco produced in Macedonia in 1797, at least 10,000 bales were sent to the Italian cities of Venice, Ancona, Messina, Naples, Livorno, Genoa and Milan alone (Ibid.). Besides tobacco, hides were also an important export product from Macedonia. Apart from Salonika, other prominent leather manufacturing centres were Ohrid, Veles, Skopje, Bitola, Prilep, and Kostur (Kastoria).

Trade involving Macedonian goods, especially cotton, wool and hides, in the European industrial states peaked in the 1770s and 1780s, particularly during the War of Independence of the United States. Transportation of American raw materials was hindered at the time, and the demand for Macedonian cotton increased. Concurrently, on the European side, the Austrian authorities, through the Nako family, brought Macedonian cotton seed, and attempted to grow it in Banat. There were cotton plantations around Pančevo, Vršac and Timişoara, but the climate

was not optimal, so when trade normalized, cotton growing proved unprofitable (Zdraveva 2002, 76).

During the 1780s, the German states were ranked second in the importing of cotton from Macedonia, and first in exporting to Macedonia. In Chemnitz in 1788, one of the largest cotton processing centres, the cotton trade was mainly in the hands of the Macedonian merchants, and a significant share of the profits went to Vienna (Ibid.). During the French Revolution and the Continental Blockade, Austria took the lead from France in trade with the Ottoman Empire. During this time, Salonika became a 'warehouse' for the Austrian-Macedonian import and export trade (Gandev 1944, 16). After the Continental Blockade and the flooding of the European market with high quality American cotton, demand for Macedonian cotton decreased even though its price was much lower. As a result, cotton production in Macedonia also decreased (Zdraveva 2002, 77).

The development of foreign trade in Macedonia during the 18th and 19th centuries proceeded, to a considerable extent, in the major cities. The cities had trade quarters, fairs or specialized markets, bazaars and bedestans, where, besides local merchants, foreign merchants could also sell their products. Among the most important Macedonian cities during the 18th and 19th centuries were Salonika, Bitola, Skopje, Nevrokop, Ser (Serres), Kavala, Drama, Prilep and Ohrid.

The most notable merchants from Macedonia included the Alatini brothers, the Modijano brothers, the Sayas brothers, J. Rogoti, Samoil Mizraki, Hadži Radenovi, Mihailo Teodorov and others. Other more prominent merchants included Aleksa Hadži-Nikolov from Bansko; the Robevi brothers were active from Razlog to Buda; and the Dumba family, ethnic Vlachs, operated from Ohrid and Bitola to Vienna, where they opened a cotton factory (Paskaleva 1958, 90; Zografski 1962, 69). The trading house of the Alatini brothers was renowned for its wealth and prestige. The influence that this trading house had on diplomatic circles in Salonika is reflected in the report of French Consul Jean-Baptiste de Sainte-Marie (1843–1899) about economic conditions in Macedonia in the latter half of the 19th century. This report, as part of the bulletin of the French consuls, was published in a limited number of copies for the needs of the diplomatic service. It was sent to interested foreign ambassadors, consuls, trade attachés, and specific firms, and it also served the purpose of mutual exchange of economic and political information with similar bulletins published in other countries (Matkovski and Angelakova 1972a, 201). Furthermore, it is also very important to note the successful economic activity of Jewish merchants, who played a leading role, especially in the Jewish community in Salonika. They were protected by the Ottoman sultans and foreign consuls (especially those from France, Great Britain, Austria, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands) and they maintained close trade

and business links with merchants of different nationalities. The Jewish merchants played a vital role as trade brokers and cultural mediators between the peoples from Western Europe, the Ottoman Empire, as well as the Black Sea and Aegean Sea regions.

In the Macedonian export-import trade, which was conducted as an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, major international transactions in the 18th and 19th century were also made at the numerous fairs. The best known fairs were those held in Ser, Nevrokop and Prilep where, apart from domestic goods, English, French, Austrian, Belgian and Swiss goods were also offered (Katardžiev 1961, 89). The Prilep fair was held from 1–15 August, and then continued its work during the whole month. This fair was visited by merchants from all over Macedonia (for instance from Veles, Bitola, Ohrid or Debar.) as well as merchants from Albania, Bulgaria, Southern Serbia, Bosnia, the northern parts of Greece (Ioannina), and even Asia Minor. It was a common practice that every year, in May and June, merchants from Prilep travelled to Vienna, Leipzig, Munich and Istanbul, in order to buy goods and earn large profits by reselling them. These domestic merchants brought colonial goods, hardware and manufactured goods by camel from Salonika; manufactured goods by railroad and horse-drawn wagons from Vienna; precious eastern textile products from Istanbul; processed hides from Leipzig, Ohrid and Kostur; fabric, abaya, and cord from Bulgaria and rope from Serbia.

The Serres fair was also among the most popular, with its trade in tobacco, cotton, rice and other industrial goods. According to the French consul in Salonika, Esprit-Marie Cousinéry (1747–1833), people from far afield brought only samples of their cotton, made their deals and arranged a date with buyers when the negotiated amount of cotton could be collected from a particular village. When the arranged date approached, the buyer brought sacks and they stacked the load onto horses, which then headed in different directions (Cousinéry 1831, 164). Until 1850, the Nevrokop fair was one of the largest in Macedonia. In terms of the scale of its trade, this fair could only be compared to the Uzundzhovo and Ser fairs. This particular Nevrokop fair was held during the autumn months and lasted for 15 days. Some of the goods available at the fair included: cloth products from Ser, bells and saffiano from Nevrokop, tobacco from Drama, livestock from Razlog and Pirin Mountain, fabric and cords from Thrace, and other goods. The biannual fair in Struga was particularly interesting to Balkan merchants, who came from East Bosnia, Albania, and Epirus, but also Italy. The aforementioned data can be used to form a clear and objective picture of the significance of fairs in Macedonia as a means to exchange the capital which was directly linked to

trade and markets in Western Europe, the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire and the Black and Aegean Sea region.

With regard to the fairs in Macedonia, mainly export trade was conducted. The goods consisted of agricultural products, especially monocultures (cotton, rice, tobacco and poppy seed), livestock products (live animals, wool) or processed products (raw and tanned hides, rugs), and handicraft products (iron and wooden agricultural tools, copper dishes, pottery). However, the high-quality industrial goods which continuously appeared at fairs, markets and trade centres in Macedonia came from Western European states.

 In the report from 28 December 1835 filed by the British consul in Salonika, Charles Blunt (1800–1864), he mentioned the review of trade in the city of Salonika and its environs in 1835 (Andonov-Poljanski 1968, 216). Due to its relevance to the state of Macedonian trade at that time, the report will be considered in greater detail below. Although in the cover letter to this report, Blunt refused to report on trade in Ser, Kavala, Larisa and Volo, where, at the time, there were not any consuls, he did provide a review of trade in other Macedonian areas. Moreover, he did not restrict himself solely to 1835, but also addressed the preceding period in trade development, especially as of 1829 (Ibid.). The focus of this report is on the British export-import trade in Salonika. In this regard, there are a number of details about direct British exports and imports, the modes of the export-import trade and the characteristics of individual products. Trade relations between the port of Salonika and France and Austria are also explained. Furthermore, there is a brief overview of transportation in Salonika and maritime trade. Special annexes to the report include tables of fairs, the prices of British manufactures and colonials, the prices for exporting Salonika products and lists of the tonnage of the British, French, Russian, Austrian, Greek, Sardinian, Ionian and American ships which arrived in the Salonika port during the 1829–1835 period (Ibid.). Furthermore, a table covers the fairs which were were visited by merchants from Salonika and Serres. The table contains information on the date (all-year, from February to December) and duration (10 to 22 days) of each fair, the fee paid by merchants (20 Egyptian pounds (E. p. or *piastri*) or 4 shillings (sh.) at arrival and 10 E. p. or 2 sh. at departure) and the instalment for transportation to and from the fair (Ibid., 227).

The tables below contain lists of foreign ships with their tonnage which arrived at the port of Salonika from 1 January 1829 to 30 November 1835 (Ibid., 232–33).

Year	Number of ships	Tonnage
1829	1	110
1830	1	124
1831	5	600
1832	5	635
1833	5	612
1834	3	546
1835 (to 30 Nov.)	7	1,168

Table 2: British ships at the port of Salonika.

Year	Number of ships	Tonnage
1829	30	2,532
1830	23	1,449
1831	22	1,566
1832	2	375
1833	8	1,174
1834	2	185
1835 (to 30 Nov.)	5	252

Table 3: Ionian ships at the port of Salonika.

Year	Number of ships	Tonnage
1831	2	234
1832	10	1,548
1833	18	2,612
1834	14	1,471
1835 (to 30 Nov.)	6	761

Table 4: French ships at the port of Salonika.

Year	Number of ships	Tonnage
1830	5	1,110
1831	17	4,400
1832	6	1,400
1833	15	3,100
1834	14	4,100
1835 (to 30 Nov.)	6	1,600

Table 5: Russian ships at the port of Salonika.

Year	Number of ships	Tonnage
1829	25	4,586
1830	19	3,563
1831	28	5,803
1832	18	3,624
1833	30	6,588
1834	34	7,779
1835 (to 30 Nov.)	20	4,643

Table 6: Austrian ships at the port of Salonika.

Year	Number of ships	Tonnage
1829	5	728
1830	7	1,235
1831	5	651
1832	3	642
1833	6	1,220
1834	7	1,130
1835 (to 30 Nov.)	4	585

Table 7: Sardinian ships at the port of Salonika.

Year	Number of ships	Tonnage
1834	1	210

Table 8: American ships at the port of Salonika.

Founding date of the consulate	Number of ships	Tonnage
4 February 1835	292	16,583

Table 9: Greek ships at the port of Salonika.

The report of Blunt about trade in the city of Salonika and its environs, in which other areas of Macedonia in 1835 are encompassed as well, provides interesting data about the Macedonian economy in the first decades of the 19th century. The report, on the one hand, registers the enhanced growth of the Macedonian economy during that period, and, on the other, the penetration of foreign capital into the Macedonian economy (Ibid., 216).

The strengthening of Macedonian foreign trade as a consequence of its involvement in Mediterranean and European trade had a stimulating effect on guild production (Zografski 1962, 59). Considering the scope of the historical and socio-economic aspects of guild organization in Macedonia during the Ottoman period, it can be concluded that the socio-economic necessities in the work and lives of the guilds were also formed by the need to provide mutual help and protection to their members, and the maintenance of their lawful and customary responsibilities, rights and privileges granted by the Ottoman state authorities or by particular city and municipal ordinances and documents. When analysing the designation of specific aspects of guild organization, we must also take into account the influence on and interference in the work of the guilds by the Ottoman authorities which, through the police and tax systems pressured the everyday operation of the guilds in various ways. The Ottoman authorities forced the guilds to perform tasks such as obligatory production, granting loans without coverage and taking products and food items at low prices, doing forced labour or forced construction of towers, bridges and roads (Janev 2001, 234).

Through international trade and business activities, Macedonian merchants also transmitted European knowledge and ideas on the development of the economic relations to Macedonia. They began to actively foster the process of cultural influence on and transformation of their peoples, especially during the reformation in the 19th century. As a result of the incorporation of Macedonia into the

sphere of international trade and financial exchange with Western European countries, different kinds of luxury goods appeared on the Macedonian market, which were imported to meet the demand of the Macedonian bourgeoisie. The Macedonian bourgeoisie was a new stratum that was the driver of the national idea for the liberation of Macedonia from the Ottoman Empire.

Over time, the development of trade between the Black and Aegean Sea regions, the Ottoman Empire, the Balkans and Western Europe, thus including Macedonia as well, was accompanied by the parallel development of interest in certain aspects of the lifestyles of peoples from different regions. In particular, Europeans were interested in the rights of women among the Muslims, life in the harems, and their customs and manners. Furthermore, they were interested in finding out about the use of different spices, the clothing and fashion among the ruling and other classes, the kinds of apparel and accessories available and the bearing of arms as a component of religious beliefs and rituals. Needless to say, the socio-economic status of citizens from towns and villages, the social status of slaves and their origins as well as the slave trade on markets were also areas of interest to them.

Merchants of different nationalities were able to establish business relations and personal friendships, which in time led to professional cooperation, mutual trade transactions and the opening of branch offices in different countries. This trade between peoples also saw exchanges of technical, technological, metallurgical, financial, economic, artisanal and guild knowledge and experience, as well as regulations governing interest rates on prices and the quality of the goods. These trade relations additionally allowed for control over exchange rate fluctuations of different types of coins, and interest in the progress of cultural, artistic and scientific development in certain countries and regions. Merchants from different regions (Western Europe, Russia, Ottoman Empire, the Black Sea basin, the Middle East), constantly on the road travelling and dependent on market demand, were also interested in political and economic developments in the various countries, and in the development of religious rights and freedoms and the privileges granted to the Christian (Catholic and Orthodox) and Jewish populations in Islamic states.

Based on the previous findings and assessments, the following historical fact can be ascertained: the influence of trade on the process of knowledge exchanges among peoples was a form of socio-economic and technical and technological progress with the proportionate exchange of scientific, cultural, artistic and religious knowledge of different peoples in their civilizations (i.e. the Ottoman Empire). In particular, the Macedonian cities received new inventions from Western European states, which aided them in the establishment of intensive trade and

exchange. Such knowledge was directly connected to the modes and manner of conducting trade. With regard to the financial operations associated with trade, the historical evidence shows that the use of bills of exchange, calculation of interest rates and payments orders were widespread practices by commercial and legal institutions (Panova 1970, 50).

The use of the above-mentioned forms of credit and monetary transactions with different kinds of coins (besides those from the Ottoman Empire and those originally from Western Europe) which were in circulation in Macedonia and within the borders of the Ottoman Empire had great economic importance for Jewish, Greek, Turkish and Armenian merchants alike. Furthermore, the handling of such credit and monetary transactions with different kinds of currencies sustained and enhanced the financial and military power of the entire state. Above all, the manner of regulating the face value of bills and policies in the course of administering transactions by trade representative offices and companies was a sound guaranty for the relatively safe transportation of money. Given the insecurity and the anarchy that prevailed in the Ottoman Empire for a longer period (negatively impacting the Balkans and Europe), as well as the lack of fast and secure transportation and postal service, the role and the significance of bills and policies can be objectively and positively assessed. Also noteworthy is that their practical use was very significant due to the possibility for transporting money over long distances, which was also enhanced.

On the contrary, merchants and financiers (Jews, Greeks, Armenians and Vlachs) from Macedonia facilitated the circulation of money and credit servicing through a set number of bank deposits and credit deals. The use of discounting (purchasing of debts which are close to their payment deadline) was one of the most widespread and practical forms of bank credit deals. With the help of these financial instruments, the leading merchants and financiers, as representatives of the new Ottoman bourgeoisie, managed to earn maximum profit from available credit within the Ottoman Empire, all the while securing higher earnings for themselves (Ibid.).

One of the most common financial activities of Jewish merchants during the Ottoman period was the extension of credit. Unlike the Western European countries, where the Church prohibited any kind of interest on transactions, there was no prohibition of loans in the Ottoman Empire. In fact, there was widespread cooperation between the authorities and users when funds had to be collected from bankrupt debtors (Ibid.). In connection thereto, it should be noted that Jewish merchants and financiers circulated money and serviced loans with the help of the bank deposits and credit transactions.

As a result of previous historical developments and socio-economic conditions, there was a transformation of the cultural and religious influences which came from Macedonia into the Western European states. An example of cultural transfer in the 18th century from Macedonia into the Austrian Empire might well be the construction of a church dedicated to St. Naum in the city of Miskolc in northern Hungary. This church was built by Macedonian emigrants, a particular colony of merchants, who were originally from the Ohrid diocese. The renowned Macedonian icon painter Hristofor Žefarovič was engaged during the construction of the church. Žefarovič, together with the Viennese master Toma Mesmer, created a copperplate engraving of St. Naum, with scenes from his life. This agreement was negotiated with the Monastery of St. Naum represented by the monk Konstantin, while the expenses were covered by Mihail Gotini, an emigrant in Miskolc. The copperplate engraving was printed and kept in the Church of St. Naum in Miskolc; however, copies of it were delivered to the Monastery of St. Naum in Ohrid (Davidov 1980, 101; Zdraveva 2002, 72).

In time, the new necessities of Macedonian urban life spurred a number of social phenomena. In the first decades of the 19th century, the core of the new, urban bourgeoisie was formed. Macedonian small merchants began to drift away from Greek trade branch offices and firms, and gradually channelled their activity toward centres such as Vienna, Budapest, Bucharest and other major Western European cities. The struggle to develop a political and spiritual culture began precisely along these lines (Sidorovska-Čupovska 2009, 20). Such centres started to finance and print revival literature. For example, in Vienna in 1792, the book *Prvoe učenie* or *Bukvar* (First Lesson, or Primer) was printed for children to teach them Old Church Slavonic. This book was published with financial assistance from the wealthy merchant Marko Teodorovič from Razlog. Encouraged by Macedonian merchants, in the period between 1814 and 1819 Ĭoakim Kŭrčovski published several of his books. His books *Povest radi strašnago i vtorago prišestvija Hristova* (A narration about the terrifying and second advent of Christ; 1814) and *Različna poučitelna nastavlenija* (Various edifying teachings; 1819) as 'teaching aids' contain lists of the names of merchants from the Štip, Kratovo and Debar regions and other Macedonian cities. In the first half of the 19th century, the creation of the Macedonian intelligentsia began, which, although small in number and comprised of priests and teachers, played a crucial role in the formation and development of cultural life in Macedonia (Ibid.).

In to the course of the historical and socio-economic events connected to trade relations and conditions in Western Europe, the Balkans (including Macedonia), the Ottoman Empire, the Mediterranean and the Black Sea region, one of the key

aspects was the significance and role of foreign travel writers. The numerous trad-ers, diplomatic and state representatives, scientists (e.g. surveyors and military experts), religious missionaries and cultural activists positively enhanced the cul-tural revival period. Their knowledge of foreign languages, high education and culture, along with their official reports, printed records, diaries and notes, served as enormous and priceless contributions to the historical process of cooperation and cohesion between the cultural and artistic values among peoples from differ-ent regions, religions and civilizations, who in certain periods resided and moved throughout these regions. The activities of Ottoman merchants (most often Jews, Greeks, Armenians and Vlachs), among whom there was a small number of ethnic Slav merchants from the Balkans (Bulgarians, Serbians and Macedonians), were also very important. A significant contribution also came from official Ottoman diplomatic representatives and officials who resided in the Western European states. All of the knowledge and cultural and artistic impressions initially gath-ered there were imported to their countries (especially the different kinds of tech-nical and luxury goods, European patterns for male and female clothing and mass consumption goods).

Travel writers from different countries, particularly in the relevant period (from the latter half of the 18th century to the mid-19th century), apart from visiting European Turkey, also came to Macedonia. They usually travelled by land from Germany, Austria and Russia through the Balkan countries. It was a common practice to take the central route: Belgrade-Niš-Sofia-Pazardzhik-Plovdiv-Edirne-Istanbul. In addition to that, there was also a maritime route from Great Britain, France, Italy and the Netherlands, through Salonika and the Aegean Sea to Istanbul, and from there to the countries in the Black Sea region and the Middle East.

From the Austrian travelogues, the most prominent is *Descriptio itineris legatorum Caroli VI Imperatoris a. 1740 ad Mahmud Turcarum imperatorem missorum* (Description of the travel of legates of the Emperor Karl VI to the Turkish Sultan Mahmud in 1740) of Johann Andreas Kempelen (1716–1752) from 1740. Kempelen travelled through Serbia and Bulgaria and was part of the mission between Vienna and Istanbul as "secretary and historiographer", imme-diately after the Belgrade Peace Treaty of 1739 between the Ottoman Empire and Austria. He provided data about trade and the activities of several kinds of crafts and guilds, and about the life of different peoples – Serbians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians, Turks, Roma, etc. – and about the socio-economic conditions of the populace and the status of women (Ǐonov 1986). Furthermore, in Captain Shad's travelogue *Récit et observations de Mons. Schad, Capitan dans Geisruck, sur le Voyage qu'il a fait au Levant à la Suite de l'Ambassade Impériale* (Description

and observations of Mr. Schad, the Captain in Geisruck, about the journey to Levant which he has completed with the personel of the Imperial Embassy), covering the period from 1740 to 1741, there are data about his service in the imperial army, where he enclosed an extended description of several socio-economic problems pertaining in the Ottoman Empire, as well as an outline of the sizes of populations of different nationalities in the cities and their socio-economic life (Ibid., 336–401).

The travelogue of the German (Prussian) field marshal, Helmuth von Moltke (1800–1891), which outlines the events and the state of the Ottoman population from 1835 to 1839, is also notable. Moltke was sent to Istanbul in order to assist with the reformation of the Ottoman army after the liquidation of the Janissary corps in 1826, in the period when the timar and spahi system of rule was collapsing. He provided a description of marriages and the rights of women of different nationalities, where his objective assessments about the socio-economic status of slaves of both sexes, originally from the Balkans, Europe and the Black Sea region (Matkovski 1992a, 413–18) are especially interesting. Yet another account is that of Carl Nathanael Pischon from 1858, who was a German priest and preacher with the Prussian royal mission in Istanbul, who stayed at Mount Athos. He provided interesting data, a beautiful description and individual overview of all the monasteries in *Die Mönchsrepublik des Berges Athos* (The Monastic Republic of Mount Athos), published in *Historisches Taschenbuch* (Historical pocketbook) in 1860 (Matkovski 1992b, 216–56). Finally, worth mentioning is the 1858 travelogue by the Austrian diplomat and albanologist Johann Georg von Hahn (1811–1869), entitled *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik* (A journey from Belgrade to Salonika). This travelogue provides extensive data about the history of Macedonia and the way of life in various cities such as: Kumanovo, Skopje, Veles, Prilep, Bitola, and also about the journey from Voden (Edessa) to Salonika. Hahn, together with František Alexander Zach, a Czech from Moravia, drafted a project to construct a railroad from Belgrade to Salonika, as well as another along the sea coast to Athens (Ibid., 257–309).

It is undoubtedly important to also mention the French travel writers who – from the mid-18th century to 1850 – made a significant contribution to the formation and development of trade and cultural relations and influences, the transfer and exchange of technical knowledge, religious tolerance and the modes of socio-economic life among the peoples from the Black Sea region, the Ottoman Empire, the Balkans and Western Europe. This assessment is based on the fact that there were European colonies in Istanbul, Edirne, Salonika and the other trade centres called 'frenki', in which most of the people were merchants from France. Moreover, a significant number of travel writers visited countries in the

Middle East, among them the French baron and general, Françoise Baron De Tott (1733–1793) (Cvetkova 1975, 316–25). In his report submitted to the Parisian Academy on 30 June 1772, and later published in *Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et belles lettres, Observations sur l'histoire et sur les monuments de la ville de Thessalonique*, Augustin Belley (1697–1771) stated that the city of

> Salonika is now one of the biggest, most populous cities in European Turkey, with the most active trade […] It has 65,000–70,000 citizens, of whom 30,000–35,000 are Turks (among them there are 6,000 Janissaries, 1,000 in the Sultan's garrison) […] There are 8,000 Christian Greeks who have one metropolitan, 26,000–27,000 Jews and 100 foreigners called 'frangs', among them the consuls of France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Venice and Dubrovnik. The Greeks were merchants or farmers, and the Jews were bankers and merchants. The Jews engaged in different trades and were gathered in 32 synagogues (cited in Matkovski 1991a, 840).

In addition to the aforementioned travel writers, the following travelogues are also important: the travelogue of Félix de Beaujour (1765 – 1836), who described the travel networks and socio-economic conditions of the populations in the major cities in Macedonia, some events from Classical Antiquity and the monasteries on Chalkidiki. Beaujour paid special attention to the city of Salonika, which was the main trade centre of Greece. It was the

> [h]ome of the Pasha and was one of the biggest trade cities in the Ottoman Empire. Its main trade was conducted with Livorno, Trieste and Marseille, to which the city exports cotton, wool and silk, while imports consisted of fabric, sugar, coffee and other colonial goods. With its geographic position, this city, located at the end of Salonika Bay, may be considered the most important place in European Turkey after Constantinople (cited in Matkovski 1991b, 71).

In their travelogues from the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, the French travel writers also reported about the trade, economic and socioeconomic circumstances of the time while they visited the Ottoman Empire, Persia and the countries of the Middle East. Among the most prominent was Guillaume-Antoine Olivier (1756–1814), who documented the lives of women and slaves. He was an entomologist (a scientist who studied insects), a doctor of medicine and a renowned travel writer (Cvetkova 1975, 458–502; Matkovski 1992c, 307–59). Moreover, Salonika's French consul Cousinéry also contributed his descriptive account of the cities of Salonika and Serres (Matkovski and Angelakova 1972b, 251–79), and François Pouqueville (1770–1838), who travelled around

the Ottoman Empire, provided rich descriptions of Macedonia (Matkovski 1991b, 643–730).

Among the French travel writers from the mid-19th century, the most famous was the renowned Ami Boué (1794–1881) and his 1840 work *La Turquie d'Europe* (European Turkey; covering the period from 1836 to 1838), replete with data on geology, mineralogy, geography, orthography, botany, economics, history, religion, linguistics and the spiritual and social life of the population from the Balkan Peninsula. He was also interested in studying the ethnography, topography, toponymy, folklore and overall culture of the peoples in the Ottoman Empire (Cvetkova 1981, 235–443; Matkovski 1992a, 211–348). Another French travel writer was Raoul de Malherbe, who visited Mount Athos and later published a book, *L'orient, 1718 – 1845, histoire, politique, religion, mœurs, etc.* (The Orient, 1718 – 1845, history, politics, religion, mores, etc.), in two volumes about the Middle East (Matkovski 1992b, 41–59), followed by Théophile Gautier (1811–1872), the famous French writer who published articles in the papers *Revues*, *Presse* and *Moniteur*. In his travelogue, he wrote about the socio-economic status of women in the Muslim world (Gautier 1857, 235–39).

The travelogues of English travel writers are also substantial. Among the earliest was James Porter (1768), the minister plenipotentiary of Great Britain in Istanbul, with his work *Observations on the Religion, Law, Government, and Manners of the Turks*. In his second and expanded edition he wrote about the "state of Turkish trade from the beginning until today" (Matkovski 1991a, 215–36). John Jackson (1797), a wine merchant who often travelled to countries in the Middle East and India, wrote a description of a journey from Constantinople to Budapest (Todorova 1987, 371–85). Another travel writer was Philip Hunt (April 1801), who wrote the marvellous *Mount Athos. An account of the monastic institutions and the libraries on the holy mountain*, included in Robert Walpole's *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey* (see also Matkovski 1991b, 309–38). William Martin Leake (1777–1860), a British artillery officer, was well-versed in geography, political history and the classical sciences. He was also a military expert, archaeologist, philologist, and explorer of the Balkans. Leake published several books, among which *Travels in Northern Greece* (1835) contains his account of several historical events in the Macedonian cities with a description of the socio-economic conditions and customs of the mixed population (Ibid., 376–496).

There is rather interesting data in the travelogue *Voyages and Travels, in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811; Containing Statistical, Commercial, and Miscellaneous Observations on Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Sergio, and Turkey* of

the Scottish author John Galt (1779–1839), including statistics and various information from his journeys in Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, the Saray, and, especially, the Ottoman Empire. He states that "Salonika, after Athens, has the highest quality legacy from the antic period"; and he also wrote about the activities of the British, German and French trade in grain, cotton, silk, tobacco (with a description of their use in the Orient), and an analytical overview of the conditions in Ottoman society, the status of women and other topics (Ibid. 515–19; Todorova 1987). Furthermore, Adolphus Slade (1804–1877), in 1833 published notes about his journey to Greece and Turkey (*Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece, & c. and of a Cruise in the Black Sea with the Capitan Pasha in the years 1829, 1830, and 1831*), and he entered the court of Sultan Mahmud, described his personality and the destruction of the Janissary corps. He was also an advisor to the Ottoman army in its war against Russia. Slade commented on the Sultan's reforms of trade in the Ottoman Empire, on the monopoly over all export articles, such as opium and silk, which "brought enormous incomes to the farmers when they sold these products to the Western European merchants" (Slade 1833, 478–79).

Edmond Spencer was famous for his travelogue from 1850. He travelled across the entire coast of the Black Sea, went to Georgia, the Caucasus, Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thrace, Albania, Epirus, Greece, the Ionian Islands and through Slavonia and Hungary and returned to Great Britain, where he published several books about his travels. In these books he described the religious and socio-economic conditions of the population, including accounts of several cities in Macedonia (Matkovski 1992b, 7–40). Finally, there is the travelogue *The People of Turkey: Twenty Years' Residence among Bulgarians, Greeks, Albanians, Turks and Armenians* of Fanny Janet Blunt (1839–1926), the daughter of a British consul in the Ottoman Empire, and later the wife of another British consul in the same state. In her work, she described lifestyles, religious customs, socio-economic conditions, and she had the opportunity to circulate among the highest circles of the Ottoman ruling class. She was also able to enter the Sultan's court, and the harems of the most famous Ottoman people (Matkovski 2001, 213–317).

Among the Italian travel writers, the Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1658–1730) published his *Stato militare dell' Imperio Ottomano* (The military state of the Ottoman Empire) (1732). He had gathered considerable archival materials and assembled a large collection of archaeological, historical, ethnographic, geographic, military and economic maps of the Balkan Peninsula and the Ottoman Empire. He wrote about military formations and provided descriptions of weapons, the use of different kinds of coins, weight measures, etc. (Matkovski 1992c,

175–214). Another Italian travel writer was the priest Domenico Sestini (1750–1832), with his travelogue from 1778. He travelled from Venice, via Izmir, to Istanbul, whence he sent 21 letters to his Italian friends. He registered the different events connected to the international policies of the day, the customs of the Christians, Jews and Muslims and wrote brief assessments of the "various derogative nicknames which the Turks used in relation to the different peoples" (Ibid. 245–57). Another important travelogue is *The Hekim Bashi or the adventures of Giuseppe Antonelli, a doctor in the Turkish service* by Humphry Sandwith (1822–1881). Antonelli was a physician in the service of the Ottoman army in Salonika and Istanbul, who very often travelled through European Turkey and left notes about the medicine, the methods for treating diseases and the medical conditions in the towns (Matkovski 1992b, 151–71).

There were also two relevant American travel writers. The first was Walter Colton (1797–1851), who visited Izmir, Athens and then Istanbul, and described the population and the cities, the customs, the public baths, the slave markets and the Janissaries (Colton 1831, 73–181). The second was Mark Twain (1835–1910), who travelled to many places, including Turkey and the Middle East. With his journalistic overviews in the newspapers *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, *New York Tribune* and *New York Herald* and his travelogue from August 1867, he wrote an interesting description of Istanbul with regard to the ethics of Ottoman Muslims and Christians, noting the regular visits to churches and mosques on "the appointed Sabbaths, and in breaking the ten commandments all the balance of the week. It comes natural to them to lie and cheat in the first place, and then they go on and improve on nature until they arrive at perfection" (Twain 1958, 123). In addition, he also did a report on the female slave market, on the parties of the population and the usage of tobacco, and especially on the trade ethics of the various nationalities (Greeks, Turks, and Armenians; however, there is no such account of the Jews).

In addition to the above-mentioned travelogues, there is the Turkish travelogue by Hamdi-beg from 1873. Hamdi-beg was commissioner of the universal exhibition in Vienna, and with the help of Maria De Loney, a member of the Sultan's commission and a member of the international jury of the World Exhibition in Vienna, he published an album of traditional folk costumes from Turkey, among which seven were from Macedonia. Some of them included a hodja from Salonika, a hahambashya (Jewish chief priest) from Salonika, a citizen from Bitola, a Muslim woman from Salonika, a Jewish woman from Salonika, a Macedonian woman from Prilep and a dervish in the order of the Bektashi (Matkovski 2000, 298–307).

Among the Russian travel writers who travelled between Western Europe, the
Balkans, the Ottoman Empire and the Black Sea region, the best known were:
Vasiliĭ Grigorovich-Barski (1701–1747), who visited and described Salonika and
Mount Athos, paying special attention to the monasteries and the way of life of
the monks (Matkovski 1991a, 734–60); the monk Serapion, who wrote a brief
overview of events and monasteries (Ibid. 618–20); and N.A. Blagoveshtanski
(1837–1889), who wrote the most beautiful descriptions of Mount Athos. He was
knowledgeable about religion, especially Orthodox Christianity, and he system-
atically studied all of the monasteries, sketes and cells. His travelogue about
Athos is "an interesting literary work with lavish descriptions of nature, the per-
sonalities of the people, internal relations between the monastic brothers […] he
critically dissected the various miracles, legends and relics recounted and shown
by the monks" (Matkovski 1992b, 310–438). Another interesting example is the
Athos-travelogue of Porfiriĭ Uspenski (1804–1885), Athonite archimandrite and
bishop, who travelled from St. Petersburg to Istanbul, then went to Mount Athos,
where he stayed for several years and published his interesting historical notes
about activities in the monasteries and the work of the religious orders. He also
separately described the ecclesiastical books in the libraries of the monasteries
(Ibid., 455–512).

Parteniĭ from Moldova, who spent half of his life in Mount Athos, published
a travelogue from 1818 to 1846, in which he gave a detailed account of the history
of the Orthodox saints and the lifestyle and religious rituals of the monks (Mat-
kovski 1992a, 592–623). The travelogue *Călătorii la Românii din Macedonia şi
muntele Athos sau Santa Agora* (The travels of Romanians in Macedonia and on
Mount Athos) of Dimitrie Bolintineanu (1819–1872) from 1854, a renowned Ro-
manian poet, publicist, social and state activist, who was a Vlach from Macedo-
nia, is also important to note. He travelled across the Danube into Bulgaria, Mac-
edonia, Asia Minor and Egypt. Through his journeys he described the socio-eco-
nomic life of the population in the following cities: Salonika, Voden, Ostrovo,
Lerin (Florina), Bitola, Kruševo and Kostur. He also wrote about the life of the
Vlach ranchers and their wives, and about the monasteries on Mount Athos (Mat-
kovski 1992b, 75–121).

There are some Armenian travel writers as well, such as Ovanes Tovmadzijan
(1749–1781), who travelled into Europe, Asia, India, Africa, and Ethiopia. He
also visited the countries in the Balkans and went to Vienna and Bucharest,
through Bulgaria to Istanbul, and wrote an account of different events, customs
and lifestyle of the population (Ormendzhiian 1984, 43–59). Another Armenian
was Mkhitar Sebastatsi (1676–1749), a Catholic monk and a member of the Ar-

menian Mekhitarist congregation in Venice, who travelled as a missionary to Belgrade, Vienna, Buda, Salonika, Mount Athos and Istanbul. In his letters and reports, he made important assessments of the economic, political and military condition of the regions (Matkovski 1991a, 843–48).

In the joint travelogue by the Armenians Gukas Indzhedzhian (1758–1833) and Stepannos Kuver Agonc (1739–1824), Indzedzijan is particularly prominent, for he was a geographer, historian and philologist, and he travelled several times from Venice through Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldova, the Crimea, Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia, Albania, Thrace and Mount Athos to Istanbul. He was "one of the most prominent representatives of Armenian culture outside of the country's borders near the end of 18th and beginning of the 19th century." Together with Agonc, they wrote the historic *Geografiia chetyrëkh storon sveta* (A geography of the four parts of the world) in twelve volumes, in which they wrote accounts of various events in many cities, and the religion and customs of the population (Stepanian 2012, 19). The last Armenian travel writer was Minas Padzashjan (1777–1851), who very often travelled through Bulgaria, Eastern Thrace, Wallachia, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Moldova, Galicia, Hungary, Serbia, and Poland and wrote descriptions of the socio-economic conditions and the religious condition of the population in the cities, as well as a description of the Black Sea and the settlements on its shores (Ormendzhiian 1984, 164–217).

With regard to the role and significance of Armenians in the exchange of mercantile, cultural, scientific and overall civilizational values among the peoples of Western Europe, the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire, the Aegean and Black Sea regions, it is necessary to point out to the enormous contribution in conveying Western European architectural knowledge to Istanbul by the many Armenian craftsmen and engineers who served the Ottoman Sultans. They were most prominent during the reign of the following Sultans: Mahmud II (1808–1839) and his sons Abdülmecid (1839–1861) and Abdülaziz (1861–1876). Mention should be made of the Armenian craftsman and engineer Nikogos Palian (1826–1858), who was educated in Italy and France and under whose leadership many renowned buildings in Istanbul were built (Stepanian 2012, 416). The second is Sargis Palian (1835–1889), who studied in Paris, and together with his younger brother was the court architect of Sultan Abdulaziz, as they supervised several buildings in Istanbul and in other cities in the Ottoman Empire (Ibid.). Furthermore, also noteworthy is the great contribution made by Armenian physicians, who were in largely educated in Western European countries, especially in France, in the medical school in Paris, and in Pisa and Padua in Italy, in Vienna, in Germany, Switzerland, and also, with the mediation of Protestant missionaries, in North America (Ibid.).

The primary objective of the analysis of these topics from the mid-18th and the first half of the 19th century was to explain the historical processes which triggered the development of trade relations and exchanges of scientific and cultural values between peoples from different regions, but also the economic dependence of the Ottoman Empire and its submission to European capital. After the modernization of production and the technical and technological development of the Western European countries, it was perceived as the main source of raw materials for the industrial needs of European markets. Economic dependence undermined the military and political stability of the Ottoman Empire, which was becoming dependent on foreign capital, and its semi-colonial status only accelerated the main reason for its own disappearance from the historical stage in the Balkans.

Works Cited

Andonov-Poljanski, Hristo. "Eden izveštaj za trgovijata vo Solun i Solunsko vo 1835 godina." *Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna istorija*, vol. 12, no. 2, 1968, pp. 215–33.

Colton, Walter. *Visit to Constantinople and Athens*. Leavitt, Lord & Co, 1836.

Cousinéry, Esprit-Marie. *Voyage Dans la Macedoine, Contenant des Recherches sur l'Histoire, la Geographie et les Antiquites de ce Pays*. Imprimerie royale, 1831.

Cvetkova, Bistra. *Frenski pŭtepisi za Balkanite 15–18 v*. Nauka i izkustvo, 1975.

--- *Frenski pŭtepisi za Balkanite 19 v*. Nauka i izkustvo, 1981.

Davidov, Dinko. "Kult svetog Nauma u Budimskoj eparhiji." *Balcanica*, vol. XI, 1980, pp. 98–101.

Gandev, Hristo, "*Tŭrgovskata obmiena na Evropa s″ bŭlgarskitie zemi prez″ 18 i nachaloto na 19 viek″*." *Godishnik na Universiteta Sv. Kliment″ Ohridski*, vol. 40, 1943/44, pp. 1–38.

Gautier, Théophile. *Constantinople*. Michel Lévy Frères, 1857.

Hahn, Johann Georg von. *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik. Nebst vier Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte des Morawagebietes*. Tendler & Comp, 1868.

Hunt, Philip. "Mount Athos. An account of the monastic institutions and the libraries on the holy mountain." *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, edited by Robert Walpole, Longman, 1817, pp. 198–232.

Ĭonov, Mihail P. *Nemski i avstriĭski pŭtepisi za Balkanite 17 – sredata na 18 v*. Nauka i izkustvo, 1986.

Janev, Jovan. *Istoriskite i socijalno-ekonomskite aspekti na esnafskata organizacija vo Makedonija vo vremeto na turskoto vladeenje*. Institut za nacionalna istorija, Institut za nacionalna istorija, 2001.

Katardžiev, Ivan. *Serskata oblast (1780–1879), ekonomski, politički i kulturen pregled*. Institut za nacionalna istorija, 1961.

Lascaris, Michael. *Salonique a la Fin du XVIII-e Siècle d'apres les Rapportes Consulaires Français*. Flamma, 1939.

Masson, Paul. *Histoire du Commerce Français dans le Levant au 18-e Siècle*. Librairie Hachette, 1911.

Matkovski Aleksandar, and Poliksena Angelakova. "Izveštaj na francuskiot konzul od Solun za ekonomskata sostojba vo Makedonija (1883–1885)." *Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna istorija*, vol. 16, no. 2, 1972a, pp. 201–42.

--- "Dva francuski patopisi od 19 vek." *Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna istorija*, vol. 16, no. 3, 1972b, pp. 251–79.

Matkovski, Aleksandar. *Specifičnosti i karakteristiki na turskiot feudalizam vo Makedonija i na Balkanot*, Pristapni predavanja, prilozi i bibliografija na novite členovi na Makedonskata akademija na naukite i umetnostite, MANU, no. IX, 1988, pp. 29–38.

--- *Makedonija vo delata na stranskite patopisci (1371–1777)*. Misla, 1991a.

--- *Makedonija vo delata na stranskite patopisci (1778–1826)*. Misla, 1991b.

--- *Makedonija vo delata na stranskite patopisci (1827–1849)*. Misla, 1992a.

--- *Makedonija vo delata na stranskite patopisci (1850–1864)*. Misla, 1992b.

--- *Makedonija vo delata na stranskite patopisci (1864–1874)*. Gurga, 2000.

--- *Makedonija vo delata na stranskite patopisci (1875–1878)*. Gurga, 2001.

--- *Balkanot vo delata na stranskite patopisci vo vreme na turskoto vladeenje (1664–1779)*. Kultura, 1992c.

Ormendzhiian, Agop. *Armenski pŭtepisi na Balkanite 17 – 19 v*. Nauka i izkustvo, 1984.

Panova, Snezhka. "Tŭrgovska i finansova deĭnost na Evreite na Balkanite prez 16–17 Vek." *Istoricheski pregled*, vol. 3, 1970, pp. 30–60.

Paskaleva, Virdzhiniia. "Avstro-bŭlgarski trgovski vrŭski v kraia na 18 i nacheloto na 19 v." *Istoricheski pregled*, vol. 14, no. 5, 1958, pp. 83–92.

--- *Levantinskata tŭrgovia na triest prez 18 – 19 vek (s ogled na Balkanite). Iz istoriiata na tŭrgoviiata v bŭlgarskite zemi prez 15 – 19 vek*. Bŭlgarska akademiia na naukite, 1978.

Pischon, Karl Nathanael. "Die Mönchsrepublik des Berges Athos. Geschildert nach einem den bedeutendern Klöstern dieses Berges im Jahre 1858 abgefassten Besuche." *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1860, pp. 1–88.

Sidorovska-Čupovska, Silvana. *Prosvetno-kulturnite priliki vo Makedonija vo 19 vek*. Institut za nacionalna istorija, 2009.

Slade, Adolphus. *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece, & c. and of a Cruise in the Black Sea with the Capitan Pasha in the years 1829, 1830, and 1831*. Vol. 1, Carey, Hart & Co, 1833.

Stepanian, Asmik. *Vklad armiian v Osmanskoĭ imperii*. Natsional'naia Akademiia Nauk RA, Institut Vostokovedeniia, 2012.

Svoronos, Nikos. *Le Commerce de Salonique au 18-e siècle*. Presses universitaires de France, 1956.

Todorova, Mariia. *Chuzhdi pŭtepisi za Balkanite, angliĭski pŭtepisi za Balkanite (kraia na 16 – 30-te god. na 19 v.)*. Vol. 7, Nauka i izkustvo, 1987.

Twain, Mark. *Original Reports from Europe and the Holy Land*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.

Urošević, Atanasije. "Trgovina Južne Srbije do kraja 18 Veka." *Spomenica dvadesetpetogodišnjice oslobođenja Južne Srbije 1912–1937*, edited by Aleksa Jovanović, Južna Srbija, 1937, pp. 669–74.

Zdraveva, Milka. *Makedonsko-avstriski vrski od poslednite decenii na 17 do prvite decenii na 19 vek*. Institut za nacionalna istorija, 2002.

Zografski, Dančo. "Nadvorešnata trgovija na Makedonija od sredinata na 18 do početokot na 20 vek." *Godišnik na Ekonomskiot fakultet vo Skopje*, 1962, pp. 53–69.

--- *Razvitokot na kapitalističkite elementi vo Makedonija vo vreme na turskoto vladeenje*. Kultura, 1967.

The Macedonian Traditional Knowledge System at the Crossroads of Imperial Influences (from the early 18th to the mid-19th century)

Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska

Abstract: This article covers the period from the 18th to mid-19th century, through forms of knowledge acquired in correlation and interaction with the cultural influences of Western and Eastern centres. The cultural, societal and educational situation in Macedonia in the Ottoman Empire developed on the basis of the internal socio-political constellation of relations, but also on external influences over time as a crossroads of imperial geostrategic interests. In terms of the people, it was a time of economic progress and financial gain for the urban population and, consequently, the beginning of the Macedonian revival period. The focus is placed on the impact of transfers of knowledge to the traditional educational system across multiple levels and modes of communication.

The historical progress of individuals and peoples is contingent upon the dynamics of population movements, the basis of knowledge and the spread of ideas. The exchange and transfer of knowledge, from the standpoint of its diverse content and impact, are both important driving forces which shape the historical processes. The Balkan geographical region has always been an arena of movements. In this context, Macedonia, as one of the countries on the Balkan Peninsula, is one of the common points on the Balkan crossroads of economic, cultural and scientific movements.

When considering the period between the 18th to the mid-19th century, the seemingly strong Ottoman Empire, which extended over three continents and controlled vital strategic positions and vast natural wealth, was nevertheless in the process of decline. In contrast to the societal development of Western Europe (i.e. bourgeois ideas and revolutions, great geographical discoveries), Ottoman society was beset by internal deterioration. This was especially true of the Turkish bourgeoisie, as opposed to the burgeoning bourgeoisie of the other nations in the Empire, which aspired to independence while additionally weakening the state from within. Moreover, the peasant movements and national uprisings that marked the 19th-century further contributed to weakening the Ottoman Empire (Matkovski 1959, 7–11).

At that time, Macedonia was a part of the Ottoman Empire and was split into three administrative districts: the Salonika, Kosovo and Bitola vilayets. Life was characterized by growing cities, migration of mostly non-Turkish people to the

cities, the establishment of markets as trade hubs, and the emergence of guild organizations. Among other things, influenced by the Greek Uprising, an important event for Macedonia was the outbreak of the Neguš Uprising (1822), which began to spread toward Voden and Kostur (today's Edessa and Kastoria) after the liberation of Neguš (Naousa). However, this movement was soon suppressed by Labud Paşa's troops, and a part of the rebels managed to flee south and join their Greek counterparts (see Stojčev 2000, 329–30). An additional event of cultural importance was the abolishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid (as a bastion of the Slavic written tradition in Macedonia) in 1767, and all the cultural, national and political repercussions of this act in subsequent period(s). Concurrently, the influence of European Enlightenment ideas was strongly felt.

For the purpose of this research paper, the period from the beginning of the 18th to the mid-19th century is analysed with reference to, the modes of education in Macedonia in correlation and interaction with the cultural influences of Western and Eastern cultural centres. Accordingly, the initial focus is on the situation and changes pertaining to the traditional education system and the methods for increasing literacy practiced in Macedonia. Some of this subject matter has already been covered in various general and fragmentary studies, and in case studies of socio-political, military, socio-economic and diplomatic aspects and the cultural-historical specificities of Macedonia, i.e., concerning the history of literacy, education and literature, migrations of peoples and facets of technological development. Nevertheless, the significance of this article lies in its more specific research into Macedonian education and literacy from the aspect of knowledge transfer processes – through migration, schooling in particular, books and printing techniques from Europe and the Black Sea Region that one could find in Macedonia. In that respect, the impact of transfers and exchanges of knowledge is addressed through contacts with the cultural centres of the Austrian and Russian Empires at the time, with emphasis on the Black Sea Region.

The Traditional Knowledge System and Literacy

Considering the organization of education in Macedonia since the beginning of Slavic literacy in the era of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century, one could argue that it was basically initiated and implemented by the Church as an institution, including the so-called Clement University in Ohrid. In fact, during the Middle Ages, and even after Macedonia became part of the Ottoman Empire, the larger monasteries, as centres of cultural activities, managed to maintain their literary schools, where many copyists, icon-painters, wood-engravers, bookbinders, etc. worked. Analysis of the development of Macedonian medieval literature

shows that literary and educational activity was quite rich, but the model of literacy and knowledge transfer, as well as the creation of new knowledge, remained the same.

As far as the educational system in Macedonia in the 18th to mid-19th century is concerned, it was the product of the preceding period, when education was primarily spread through the Church. Ecclesiastical schools and copying centres were still located in monasteries, which were the fundamental organizational cores for the dissemination of knowledge. These schools bore all of the features of spiritual education in the Middle Ages, and served as centres for preparing aspiring priests and teachers. In truth, ecclesiastical schools were quite useful at the time because they maintained Church Slavonic literacy and culture, and nurtured the people's language, but at its base instruction was predominantly limited to religious scholarship that provided knowledge of the spiritual worldview (Sidorovska-Čupovska 2009, 17–29; Trajanovski 1988, 118). However, what once represented prestige – knowledge of the Old Slavonic alphabet and the writing or rewriting of manuscripts (mainly used for translations and copies of religious books, according to which it was taught) – over time became too confined a framework for new generations in every respect: linguistic, methodological, infrastructural and substantive. As such, the petrified forms of literacy did not, above all, keep pace with the development of the language (from Old Slavonic, through a separate redaction, to the contemporary form of the language used in that period). People did not understand the Old Church Slavonic with Cyrillic script which was offered in schools. With the passage of time, it became an obstacle for communication between the Church and the people (clerical/archaic language versus the people's/'simple' language). It triggered the movement to introduce the simple people's language into religious services and schools at the beginning of the national revival, until the creation of the national literary language.

During this process, a particular phenomenon, the so-called *damaskin* literature, played an important role at the beginning of the national revival. In fact, the appearance and development of the *damaskin* literature was dated to the beginning of the 16th century, at the peak of European humanism and the Renaissance period. The first translation into the people's language was the collection *Thësayrós* (Venice, 1557–1558) by Damascenus Studites, who wrote religious/instructional literature in a language comprehensible to ordinary people, as opposed to the archaic language used in churches and for literacy purposes. In time, a rich collection was created from this type of literature in a number of languages spoken by the Balkan Slavic peoples. For Macedonia, of particular importance is the first translation of the entire Damascenus collection (ca. 1570) –

the so-called *Krninski damaskin* (found in the Monastery of Krnino, near Kičevo) – known in scholarly circles as the 'Macedonian Translation of the Damaskin' by Bishop Grigorij of Pelagonia and Prilep. This translation continued to be used in the centuries that followed. However, with the abolition act of the Archbishopric of Ohrid as the ecclesiastical centre for the clergy as well as literacy in Macedonia, a new phase began, and every *damaskiner* wrote in the dialect of his native region, though the use of words from Church Slavonic, Serbian, Bulgarian, Russian and Turkish could still be observed. Toward the end of the 18th century, there were two *damaskin* editions in Macedonia: from the country's south-eastern and western regions. The Faculty of Philosophy's manuscript collection contains three *damaskin* books; the so-called *Prilepski* (with language features from south-eastern Macedonia) is a prominent one from that period (Ilievski 1999, 95–103).

Consequently, the first printed books in Macedonia at the beginning of the 19th century were also written rather similarly to the manner of the so-called *damaskin* literature. In the spirit of the pronounced rationalism and Enlightenment that were the prevailing movements in Europe at the time, books by the enlightened spiritual figures Kiril Pejčinoviḱ and Joakim Krčovski appeared, which, according to the language used, their content and writing style, were of particular significance to the development of literacy in Macedonia. They not only incorporated the people's speech into Church Slavonic printed texts, but also introduced secular content, as opposed to the "dark" medieval content up until then, which was already apparent in the works by Pejčinoviḱ (Tuševski 1985, 42–43). This was the basis for the process of turning to a newer form of modern spoken language.

Literacy until the 19th century bore the mark of the Old Macedonian Church Slavonic literary language, mostly written in Russian Cyrillic, but an oral tradition and written production in the people's language also developed simultaneously. Based on individual levels education and literacy, there were rare works of artistic literature as, for instance, is the poetic work *Pesna Makedonska* (Macedonian Song) from 1829 by Trifon Nedeliovič Davidski (revealed in the acrostic, see Fig. 1) (see Ristovski 2011, 174–80). The poem was written in the style of the contemporary script and orthography used in monasteries throughout Macedonia and especially on Mount Athos, in an Old Russian idiom with certain words derived from South Slavic languages. It is evident that the poem was written at the time when the Russian army appeared during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, with the expectation that it would proceed to liberate in Macedonia as well (the atmosphere of freedom already arose after the Neguš Uprising in 1822). The author calls on the people to rebel in a common fight with the help of the Russian Tsar:

14 *Weapons of Russia, many a great cannon shall be there*

15 *Bringing to us joy – to the enemy tears*

16 *If we do not stand up in defence again – that would be the first part.*
   Dear peasants and citizens, how long shall we remain subjects?

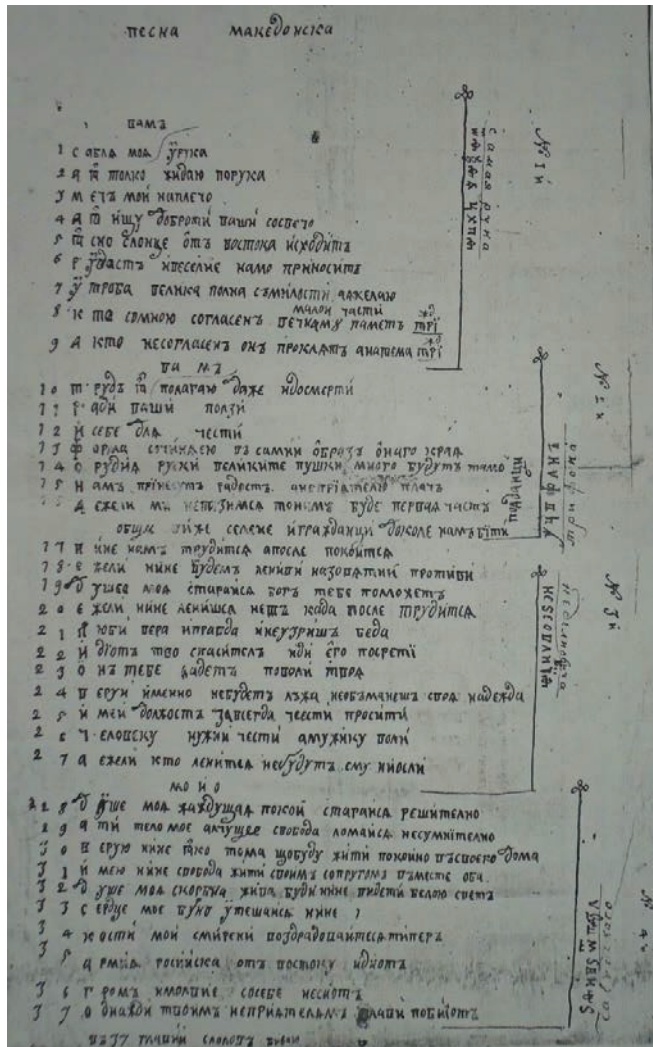17 *We must fight now, and we'll be peaceful after* (…) (see Fig. 1).

Figure 1: First page of the poem *Pesna Makedonska* by Trifon Nedeliovič Davidski (August, 1829).

Moreover, it is noteworthy that even the first autobiography in Macedonian literary history with secular content, *Nakazanie* (Narration) (see Fig. 2) by Ǵurčin Kokaleski (1775–1863) from that period (1823/24), was written in the Macedonian language and in the manner of the Old Church Slavonic manuscripts, most probably in the fashion of contemporary printed books and teaching aids which were also written with the Church Slavonic alphabet. Aleksandar Matkovski observed that the years noted at the top of the pages, which are finely framed and written in red ink, are reminiscent of medieval religious books (Matkovski 1959, 105–06). The text exudes piety – the author refers to God, the Virgin Mary, the martyrs St. George and St. Demetrius, and St. John the Precursor. This work primarily reflects economic relations at the time: transactions, trading goods and property, organization of work, hiring people, renting property, etc. Even the language of the text, which contains lexical material with a number of words from the Turkish language, is at times modified so as to determine certain socio-economic relations, and contains terminology connected to livestock-breeding and trading (Ristovska-Josifovska 2011, 169–84). The account of the Neguš Uprising is also of exceptional importance, wherein it states that the main actor was armed and a leader in charge of other leaders (Matkovski 1959, 267). After the uprising, he bought back Macedonian women who had been sold as slaves. It is assumed that he was an active participant in the uprising, or that he at least aided the rebels as a sympathiser (Ibid., 141; Smiljanić-Bradina 1940, 141).

Figure 2: The first page of the autobiography *Nakazanie* by Ǵurčin Kokaleski.

The process of recording the people's speech in writing continued its expansion even with the use of the Greek alphabet, a frequent practise that increased after the abolishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. It is interesting to note that the creation of works in the people's speech with use of the Greek alphabet was also common, especially in the southern part of Macedonia. This led to the creation of a literature (mostly translations) written in the Greek alphabet by people who were educated in Greek schools. In this vein, the example of *Preskazanie na Gkolem Alexantr* (Prediction of Alexander the Great; Venice, 1845) by the hieromonk Atanas Makedonec (see Fig. 3–5) should be pointed out. This book is a translation of a story in the Macedonian vernacular speech from the Voden-Bitola-Kostur region, but written in the Greek alphabet (Pretskažuvanjata 2007, 5–10).
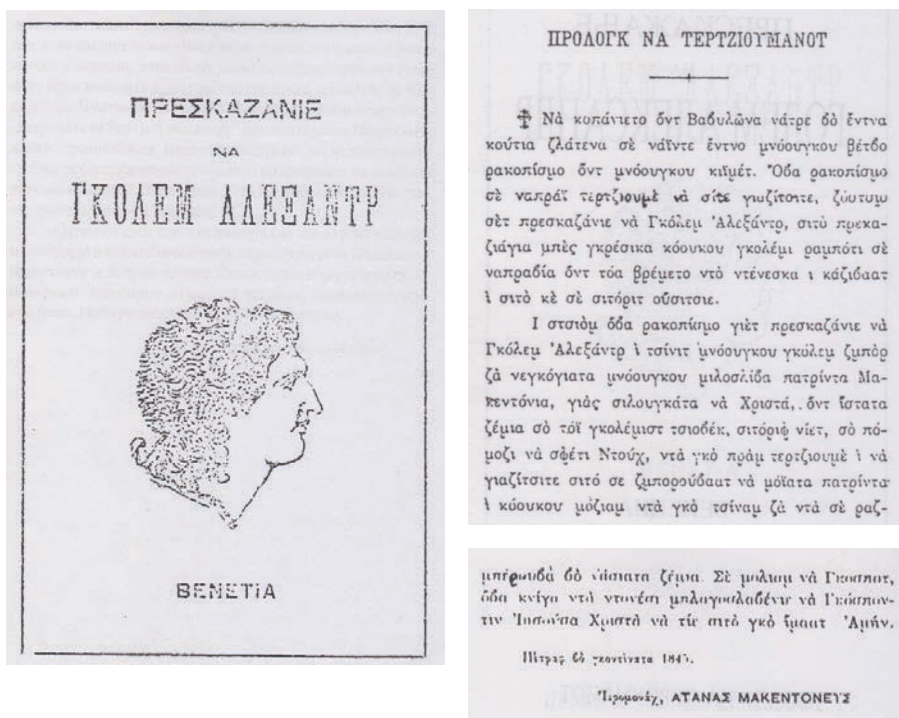
Figures 3–5: Copy of the title page and the first two pages of the book *Preskazanie na Gkolem Alexantr* by Hieromonk Atanas Makedonec.

Translations in the people's language using the Greek alphabet continued, under the influence of *damaskiner* ideas for communicating with the people in an

understandable language. An example of this is the *Eÿaggelῑe* (Gospel), published in Salonika in 1852 in Kirijak Drzhilen's printing house ('Stampa Kiriakova Darzilen'). The author was Adži Pavel Božigropski, signed as "rodom Vodenska (Eparha)" (born in the Eparchy of Voden). He was born in Konikovo (a village near Voden) which is the reason for the title *Konikovsko evangelie* (Gospel of Konikovo). Furthermore, there were also two important translations made in the village Kolakija (near Salonika) by the village teacher Evstatij Kiprijadi (Ilievski 1999, 104–05).

Transfers of Knowledge through Academic Migration, Books and Printing

The aim of this article is to analyse the transfer of knowledge and its influence on the Macedonian traditional education system in the period from the 18th to the mid-19th century. The analysis is based on observations of such transfers of knowledge and science that proceeded in three principal ways (see Ash 2006, 184–88): transfer through migration or other movements of people across borders (especially with reference to academic migrations); scientific advancements conveyed through the transfer of objects (of importance to the current topic, particularly with regard to books), and the transfer of knowledge or science in practical contexts (i.e. the case of printing techniques).

The influences of the already advanced European culture and science began to penetrate and become accepted in all aspects of life during the period of the so-called Modernization, Westernization and Europeanization of the Ottoman Empire. As Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu wrote, Ottoman knowledge of the West was growing through translations from European languages, personal observations by Ottoman ambassadors visiting Europe and modern educational institutions (Ihsanoğlu 1998, 20). During the course of introducing modern European ideas and scientific achievements, the Ottoman Empire began regulating internal relations by modifying its laws. In that respect, an important document is the so-called Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane (1839), issued by Sultan Abdülmecid I. The document was prepared by Mustafa Reşid Paşa during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, which was in fact the result of previous tendencies and processes that pushed for changes in laws and the mentality of people under the influence of the new intelligentsia educated in Europe (Akgün 1991, 8–12). This legal act was based on several central goals: guarantees of the safety of every citizen's life, honour and property; introduction of a standardized system for assessing and collecting taxes, as well as a standardized system for military recruitment and the duration of military ser-

vice. And thus began the period of reform movement called the Tanzimat, directed at altering and modernizing (Europeanizing) the Empire's internal structure (Rossos 2008, 63–68; Trajanovski 1988, 71–77).

The period of the first half of the 19th century was a time for reforms at the central level and, seen from the perspective of the people, a time demarcated by the beginning of the revival process, i.e. the national revival/awakening period in Macedonia (1802–1845) (Ristovski 2008, 53–69; Rossos 2008, 82–87). The proclaimed religious equality of all citizens (the right to build and restore churches and monasteries, and organize church–educational communities), no matter its declarative character, reflected mostly positively on the lives of citizens. The improvement of the Macedonian urban population's financial situation made it possible for churches, where sermons were held in the people's language, to be built and secular schools to be opened. Such action, on the other hand, meant active resistance to the process of Hellenization after the abolition of the Archbishopric of Ohrid (see Matkovski 1959, 54–63). In fact, this was one of the driving forces in the national awakening.

Development of an Affluent Class and Opportunities for Travel and Acquiring Knowledge

With regard to the Ottoman cities in the 18th and first half of the 19th century, they were already demonstrating signs of Westernization and modernization (especially through changes in the urban infrastructure, administration and communications), as well as economic and population growth (see Kaser 2011, 67–68). In that context, political stabilization led to the accelerated economic, social, cultural and architectural development of the Macedonian towns, thereby forming a class of wealthy people (Šipan 1978, 23–26). The introduction of capitalist processes and the development of a commodity-based monetary economy contributed to the economic growth of certain towns which then grew into larger economic hubs, as in the case of Salonika, Nevrokop (Gotse Delchev), Bansko, Ser (Serres), Kukuš (Kilkis), Skopje, Štip, Veles, Prilep, Bitola, Ohrid, and others. Among the Macedonian citizenry (merchants, craftsmen, industrialists, etc.), the economically potent elite, or rather the industrial and mercantile bourgeoisie, began to rise in prominent. The names of the leading merchants and craftsmen and their families became widely known (Trajanovski 1988, 84–86).

The growing wealth of the urban middle class opened greater opportunities for both travel and acquiring various types of knowledge; these gains were then transferred to their own, local environment. The activities of wealthy merchants and their contacts with more developed locations, as well as the branching of their

businesses out abroad, contributed to the introduction of new devices and improvements in the quality of their merchandise. Such was the case of the Robev family from Ohrid in the 19th century (see Fig. 6), whose prominent members held important positions in political, economic and ecclesiastical life in Macedonia during that time. They owned a network of trade companies and branches in Constantinople and various other European trade centres, and also conducted business with Odessa. It is from the ranks of such merchants that the intellectual elite was formed, who then had the opportunity to pursue and gain higher education in larger cities in the Ottoman Empire, the Black Sea Region and Western Europe. That in itself contributed to their awareness of Enlightenment tendencies and the new cultural and scientific achievements.

Figure 6: The house of the Robev family in Ohrid is one of the finest examples of traditional architecture, first completed in 1827. Today's appearance has been maintained since its reconstruction after it was set ablaze by Ustreph Beg (1862). Currently, it houses the Archaeological Museum, an ethnographic exhibition, a collection of personal items/belongings of the Robev family and works from the Ohrid Carving School.

Furthermore, it was these people, who rose above their communities in wealth and education, who served as the link to foreigners who visited Macedonia, and

thus participated in exchanges of knowledge. At the same time, these visitors created their own impression about the country and its people based on their interactions with local informants. This had an indirect influence on the global policies of the Great Powers, which used not only information gained by travellers but also deliberately sent others at state expense to gather information, and in some cases even sending representatives with a specific, pre-determined purpose. This, for example, was the case of the English travel writer Edmund Spencer, who travelled through Macedonia in 1850 and stayed with a number of local families with a certain degree of authority. Among others, Spencer mentioned Dimitrija Miladinov, who hosted him in the city of Ohrid, and of whom he wrote as follows, a "worthy man, Demetrius Miladin, who had been to Italy and Trieste, and spoke the Italian language fluently" (Spencer 1852, 81). In that same period, the wealthy Miladinov family also played host to the Russian explorer Grigorovich.

The situation within the Ottoman Empire affected every segment of the population's life and was thus felt in everyday life in Macedonian villages as well. With the introduction of capitalist practices, the development of agriculture, stock-breeding, etc., as well as the collapse of the *timar-spahi* system in the Empire, greater inequality in material comforts began to be appear in which, as a result, a wealthy stratum began to grow stronger. At that time, wealthier peasants took their surplus produce to markets and trade fairs, while larger land owners and livestock-breeders from the villages in the hills and mountains placed their agricultural produce and/or livestock products on Macedonian markets and fairs (see Matkovski 1959, 30–37; Trajanovski 1988, 86–87).

With reference to the newly created affluent class of villagers, Kokaleski from the village Lazaropole should be mentioned. He was a wealthy, reputable cattle farmer, a renowned landowner, tradesman and livestock-trader, and he was among the first organizers of the animal husbandry organization in the country (1801). Kokaleski was also deemed a leader in the region, a church-donor and the author of *Nakazanie*. His personal authority helped him obtain an audience with the Sultan, at which he petitioned for permission to building a church and to be granted a mosque. Kokaleski was also granted permission to carry a weapon, and was given a sultan's decree for the regulation of taxes in his region. Today, only one *ferman* has been preserved, which granted Kokaleski the legal right to safeguard his region from brigands and to participate in the local assembly of aristocrats (*begs*) in Debar. He was active in constructing and furnishing, and supplying Slavic books to, the Church of St. George in Lazaropole, where a Slavic-language school was established in 1841. He was also known for building the mosque in Lubanovo, restoring the Monastery of the Immaculate Mother of God near Kičevo, providing support to the St. Jovan Bigorski Monastery and the temple in

Rosoki (1836) – all of which contributed to his status as one of the first Macedonian revival activists (see Matkovski 1959, 117–206).

Progress in Educational Curricula and Teaching Methods

Technological development in the cities in the Ottoman Empire and the outside world, and new prospects for the development of society began to open, including a sense of openness to education and exchanges of knowledge. In that sense, the need to modify the methods and content of education arose. This also encompassed the introduction of new infrastructure through the physical separation of schools from church institutions and the training of secular teachers. Progress could also be seen in educational curricula and teaching methods. The demands of the new times and the introduction of modern ideas contributed to the fact that these schools began teaching other subjects as well (i.e. mathematics, recitation of prayers, folk poetry taught in the people's language). Such schools appeared in a number of cities throughout Macedonia (ex: Melnik, Bitola, Skopje, Veles, etc.) and they were a step higher in secular education (Sidorovska-Čupovska 2009, 11–29).

A new phenomenon in the educational system were church-educational communities. Their roots can be traced back primarily to the beginning of the 19th century and the functioning of general parochial schools, or the municipal folk schools where classes were taught by teachers from among the ranks of the common people. Financial support for monastic, parochial and secular schools fell on the monasteries, churches and wealthy individuals (*čorbadžii*) from the towns and villages. However, only the children of well-to-do parents, who were able to cover the costs of teachers, could be educated in these schools. Such an obstacle was overcome with the public municipal schools, which children could attend education free of charge because the entire infrastructure and classes offered were funded by the church community by way of a community body called *učilišno nastojništvo* (school administration). By assuming educational competences, the church community was transformed into a *crkovno-učilišna opština* (church-educational community). The main difference between parochial school teachers and the new municipal teachers was the process of their professionalization, i.e. it was their sole job to be educators and they were paid enough in this respect. Consequently, the church-educational communities became organizers of the primary, Madras and vocational schools in Macedonia. They were modelled after the Greek secular schools, but were also significantly influenced by the Serbian, Bulgarian, Russian and Austrian secular reform schools, with the overarching

idea of the European Enlightenment. The first secular Madras school in Macedonia was opened in Veles at around 1837, where classes were taught according to the so-called mutual instruction, or Bell-Lancaster, method, and besides religion, other subjects were also taught (i.e. secular, religious and general history, geography, grammar, dialectics, etc.). One should also note that the Madras school contained both male and female sections. Its first teacher was the eminent revival activist Jordan Hadžikonstantinov-Džinot (see Trajanovski 1988, 112–21).

Russian Influences through Academic Migration and Books

The cultural and educational situation in Macedonia developed primarily on the basis of the internal socio-political constellation, but also the external influences through time. The interest of the Russian Empire grew as well, and as a Christian country it was particularly oriented toward the Balkans and, consequently, Macedonia. That interest resulted permission from the Sultan to open consulates. One should not forget that even in the mid-18th century, and during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774, Macedonian and other immigrants from the Balkan region under Ottoman rule were settled by imperial edict for military service in the territory of present day Ukraine (Matkovski 1985, 145–288). After the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, Russian interest inside the Ottoman Empire were considerably strengthened, which resulted in, among other things, the right to open consulates and vice consulates. Already in 1784/1785, there was mention of a Russian vice consulate in Salonika, and in 1796 a Russian vice consulate was opened in Bitola. The fact that Macedonia was central to Russian interests is demonstrated by the volume of trade which, in the 1780s, was ranked third in goods imports and fourth in exports (Zdraveva 2015, 143–45).

Russian political efforts were directed towards their active presence and influence via various forms of activities in the church, the schools, textbooks, and also through aid for anti-Ottoman military activities. This contributed to the creation of a positive inclination toward the Russian Empire by the Orthodox Christian population. However, as the Russian engagement among the Orthodox Slavs in the Balkans intensified, the situation in Macedonia became more complex as Russian Slavophiles came to the fore (Ristovski 2011, 104). Russian imperial interests sought for validation through targeted investigative missions led by important people from scholarly circles or society. For instance, Grigorovich was sent on an expedition throughout so-called European Turkey that was financed for purposes (i.e. what he was supposed to fin) determined beforehand.

Russian influence had actually its beginnings long before the mid-19th century. It bears emphasis that many priests from Macedonia frequently stayed in the Russian Empire from the 16th to the 18th centuries. Namely, under the new historical circumstances created by the Ottoman conquests, when the Orthodox peoples and churches became noticeably impoverished due to the taxes imposed on churches and monasteries and the status of Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church as their protectors was enhanced, travel by religious people from different Macedonian monasteries and churches became commonplace. For instance, at the beginning of the 18th century, Dimitrij Petrov from Kičevo (Eparchy of Ohrid) left for Russia in order to request, on behalf of the church council, financial aid for a church that was being built (St. Demetrius of Salonika). He was also able to purchase six icons for the church with the donations he was given (Trajanovski 2007, 181).

With regards to the Black Sea Region, various sources indicate that priests from Macedonia had sojourned in Chernigov, Kiev, Nezhin and other centres on their travels to seek donations. They usually received deeds of gift and material aid, regulated by an edict issued by the Russian ruler. Besides these travels by archpriests and priests from the Archbishopric of Ohrid, journeys in search of refuge there by certain educated people, mostly associated with the Church, were also numerous (Trajanovski 2008, 259–76; Trajanovski 2010, 78–80). For instance, in 1720 a permit to travel and collect donations was issued to the Archimandrite Simeon, "from the Macedonian country, from the Monastery of Avel Dormition/Dormition of the Mother of God, who was accompanied by hieromonk Hrisant, translator Ivan Pavlov, servant Konstantin Nikolaev, and others (Trajanovski 2007, 183). At the same time, many merchants and a number of other people were also arriving. Around the mid-18th century, the name of Simeon from Ohrid was mentioned in the city of Nezhin, as well as Ivan Dimitriev Stalevskij from "the Macedonian Province, the town of Skopje (*makedonskoĭ provincii, goroda Iskip′*), Bishop Efrem Jankoviḱ-Tetoec, Nako Božik from Strumica, Stojan Petrov from Salonika, and others. Also noteworthy is that the separately established Greek community was managed by the priest Hristofor Dimitrov from Macedonia (Trajanovski 2010, 77–80).

In the revival period, at the peak of the national awakening and the development of Slavism, the university centres of the Russian Empire became desired destinations. The number of young Macedonians who came to these university centres to further their education began to increase. This was also encouraged by the Russian Empire which, motivated by its own interests to enhance its political influence on the Balkans, initiated its own planned activities at around the mid-19th century to attract students to pursue their studies in the Russian Empire. As

such, in 1844 a decision was made concerning the education of young people in the Odessa Seminary and this was accomplished by the imperial edict of 21 December 1856. A provision was made to support young Slavs from the Balkans, which became the responsibility of the administrators of the Kiev, Odessa and Kharkiv literary circles (Sidorovska-Čupovska 2009, 87–96).

Even though most of this travels was organized, there were also individual education initiatives financed by some of the more affluent families. There was moreover a significant number of Macedonian intellectuals and cultural-national activists of various backgrounds who continued their academic growth in the same manner. The examples of Macedonian intellectuals and activists who attended the educational centres of the Black Sea region were numerous: Dimitar Popgeorgiev-Berovski was educated at the Theological Academy in Odessa (1858–1860); Konstantin Petkovič lived and was educated in Odessa and St. Petersburg from 1843 onward; Andreja Petkovič studied at the Richelieu Lyceum in Odessa (1854–1860), etc. It is also known that Nedelko (Nešo) Bojkičev (later the hieromonk Natanail Stojanovič Kučeviški), born in the village Kučevišta near Skopje, was educated at the Chisinau Seminary (1841–1846) and at the Kiev Theological Academy (1847–1851) (Trajanovski 2010, 80; Zdraveva 2015, 150–51).

The traditionally strong ties between the Archbishopric of Ohrid and the Russian Orthodox Church, which continued to a certain extent even after the former's abolishment, were reflected in a number of examples. Such was the case of the Archimandrite Anatolija Zografski from the village Lazaropole, who spent some time at the Russian court as a confessor and godfather to Russian Tsar Nicholas I and served the Russian church on a diplomatic mission to the Greek state. He subsequently assisted in the opening of Archimandrite Teodosija Sinaitski's printing house in Salonika. Furthermore, it was with his help that Partenija Zografski was educated in religious schools in Athens and Russia and became the confessor of the Russian imperial family (cited in Ristovski 2011, 104–05). Božigropski was another interesting example of an intellectual who became a monk on Mount Athos, taught in Macedonia and resided in Jerusalem, where he became an archimandrite and pilgrim (the name *Božigropski* was derived from *Božji grob*, i.e. God's tomb). Yet another example is that of Cyril, who was sent by the Patriarch of Jerusalem on a special mission to Russia, whence he returned with gifts: vestments for priests and many ecclesiastical books in Cyrillic, some of which he donated to the village of his birth. The experience in Jerusalem influenced his later activities and his attempts to introduce the people's language in churches and schools. In 1850, he was appointed the head representative of the Jerusalem itinerant monks in Macedonia, with their head office stationed in Salonika (Ristovski 2011, 284).

Regarding the delivery of Slavic Cyrillic books from the Russian Empire (not limited to only printed books and mainly those with ecclesiastical content), they were brought into Macedonia, funded thanks to the Russian policy of donations. The process of supplying churches and schools with Slavic books written in the Cyrillic alphabet by way of donations or purchases influenced the spread of Slavic and suppressed the Greek school of thought. Such is the example of the Mijak region of Macedonia, where the Greek influence was completely halted as a result of this practise and activity. Namely, not only were the priests in the newly-built temples exclusively local people who conducted the liturgy either in Church Slavonic or in the people's language, but writing in the Greek alphabet could not be found anywhere in the churches of the Mijak region. As a rule, the wealthier, eminent people from this region (who were mainly livestock traders or breeders) supplied the churches with Slavic books bought with their own money. For example, the wealthy livestock breeder Kokaleski and the priest Martin began purchasing books from Russia even before construction of the Church of St. George in the village Lazaropole was completed. The books were bought from various merchants and people who emigrated for work, either via Salonika, Vidin, or Serbia. After Kokaleski's death, it was the Archimandrite Tofil who purchased books (Matkovski 1959, 167–72). Many of the books contained Kokaleski's writings (see Fig. 7), which clearly confirm and date such activity.

Figure 7: A record of Kokaleski, on a *Trebnik* from the Church of St. George in Lazaropole in Macedonia.

It is notable that the situation concerning Slavic literature in Macedonia changed after the abolishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. This was in part

due to the dwindling and elimination of Greek literature, especially in the south-eastern part of Macedonia. Even though clerical editions in the Slavic language were still printed with the permission of the Patriarchate and in its printing house up until the Crimean War, in the field Slavic literature and printed matter was systematically destroyed over time. There are accounts of this in various sources and documents. In this context, it is significant to mention the account of the Russian Slavicist Viktor Ivanovich Grigorovich on the destruction of Slavic books by the Greek clergy and the onset of printed matter from the Russian Empire and nearby printing centres (i.e. Moskopole). His was in Macedonia at around 1844–1845, and it was then that he wrote his account of the situation and documented the Slavic manuscripts which were given to him for examination in churches and monasteries (in many instances he took them with him). In the specific case of the Monastery of St. Naum near Ohrid, Grigorovich gave an account of his request that he be shown the monastery books, to which the Father Superior responded that he should not concern himself with that as "his predecessor (the Archimandrite Dionisiy Anantolit, a Greek) had in fact burnt them." That same account also contains information about the presence of different printed books in the monastery which were shown to him. He wrote: "In the end, we found that room where printed church books were kept in a box, and among them the Ostrog Bible and a volume of some Russian novel." Grigorovich also stated: "Among the Greek books there are two that were printed in Voskopolis (Moskopole), a city which is situated 12 hours south of the Monastery of St. Naum." (Grigorovich 1877, 110).

With regards to the need for Slavic books and especially textbooks in the Cyrillic alphabet in Macedonia, this was also accomplished through the procurement and donation of printed matter of differing origins, on various subjects and from different printing centres. Specifically, in the first half of the 19th century, Serbia already had an organized cultural-educational life, and consequently its own means of printing. Serbian books were brought to the Tikveš region as early as the 1830s, and in the next decade to Veles, Skopje, Prilep, Tetovo and Gostivar. For instance, the church-educational communities themselves requested books from the Serbian Ministry of Education, and in September 1851, a decision was made for 50 copies of old Serbian textbooks to be donated to the municipality of Skopje. However, the need for the Slavic written word in Cyrillic in Macedonian schools was also met with the influx of Bulgarian textbooks during that period. Among them were the *Bukvar s razlichni pouchenija* (Primer with various instructions) by Petar Beron (Brašov, 1824), and *Tablici vzaimoučitelni* (Tables of mutual teaching) by Neofit of Rila (Kraguevac, 1835) (Sidorovska-Čupovska 2009, 78–80).

Austro-Macedonian Relations and Exchanges of Knowledge Seen through the Movement of Peoples and Goods

During the 18th to mid-19th century, the Habsburg Monarchy and the Russian Empire became increasingly interested in learning more about circumstances in and the characteristics of the Ottoman Empire. Hence, exploratory expeditions were undertaken, and the information and knowledge gathered during such journeys were then used for the purpose of their imperial/political and economic goals. For example, with the aim of becoming familiar with the economy and potential opportunities for expanding trade on markets in the Ottoman Empire, the publication of materials, mainly travelogues, handbooks and periodicals was proceeding apace in the Austrian empire as of the beginning of the 19th century. Such publications contained various data and information on different economic aspects such as: the size and character of production and circulation on Ottoman markets, the export and import of goods from and to the Empire, etc. They contained a substantial number of descriptions of the trade centres in Macedonia: Bitola, Skopje, Salonika, Ser, Kostur, etc., as they were at the crossroads of the geostrategic interests of the various empires. As a result of such an approach to data collection, direct accounts outlining economic circumstances in the cities remained (Andonov-Poljanski 1964, 45–50).

The need and demand for educational and religious services in the Slavic people's language was not limited solely to processes in Macedonia and other Orthodox peoples in the Ottoman Empire. In fact, these were far broader phenomena. However, they proceeded rather differently in the case of the Austrian Empire, where Western European Enlightenment ideas provided significant backing to the peoples in that Empire first. As opposed to Russian policy, which was mostly directed outside of its borders and particularly toward the Balkan Slavic population as the target group, Austrian policy was directed mostly inward, i.e. within its imperial borders.

Thus, in the mid-18th century, schools (so-called people's, Orthodox or Slavic) were opened in the southern parts of the Austrian lands. Until then, the state did not interfere in the education of the Orthodox population, and responsibility for the construction of such schools and the procurement of teaching aids for them fell under the domain of the church. Slavic books from Moscow and Kiev were regarded highly and remained in high demand across the Slavic territories until the beginning of the 19th century, and even later. As a counterbalance to Russian influence on the Balkan Slavic populations, attempts were made to suppress the presence of Russian books and textbooks. This situation impelled the Austrian authorities, and Empress Maria Theresa herself, to place books under control. At the same time, there was also a strict ban on importing printed books from abroad.

In order to see the significance and, concurrently, the potential threat of printed Slavic books, the example of the establishment of a printing house for 'Oriental languages' is very illustrative. The decision was made in order to prevent the entry of books from Russia, and to halt the unnecessary expenditure of state funds. In 1770, the printer Joseph Lorenz von Kurzböck was granted a 20-year licence to open a printing press for 'Oriental languages' ('Illyrian' and other eastern languages) in Vienna (Mârza 2014, 284; Zdraveva 2002, 116–21).

Due to increased demand for education in Slavic languages, the Empire began to take a series of steps, such as opening schools where classes were taught in a Slavic language and granting privileges for the printing of books in Slavic languages. The latter measure contributed to the creation of a rich collection of printed matter. At the crossroads of imperial interests, the influence of the, at the time, far more developed Austrian Empire, which also had its own educational policies regarding the Slavic element, was also felt in Macedonia. The contribution that ensued from the cultural and technological development of the Austrian Empire could mostly be seen in the transfer of knowledge toward Macedonia, and partly in exchanges pertaining to the migration of people and gods. Although relations with Austria basically depended on Austrian-Ottoman political relations, by the mid-19th century they were proceeding in all spheres of life.

With regard to the academic migration from Macedonia, people lived in conditions which lacked the necessary opportunities to acquire an education of sufficient and relevant quality or the possibility of attending higher education institutions in the Ottoman Empire. As such, people were forced to find other means to pursue educational opportunities. Intensified trade even during the 18th century facilitated direct contacts with educational institutions in the Austrian Empire. Academic migration mainly proceeded to schools and universities in cultural centres (Leipzig, Munich, Belgrade, Zemun, Buda, Pest, Szeged, Bratislava, Kežmarok, Prešov, Modra, Trnava, Levoča, Košice, etc.). As of the mid-18th century, a high number of children of new immigrants from Macedonia were educated in different lyceums. Some of them were born in Macedonia, and some were second-generation children of newcomers. For instance, a number of such children were educated at the Lyceum of Bratislava, such as: in 1745, Georgija Nikola from Macedonia, the son of Jordan Nikola – a merchant who held a title of a nobleman; in 1749, Emanuel Tolmač, the son of a merchant, from Ber by birth, etc. (Matkovski 1985, 118–28).

Many of these students were children of wealthy people who were sent to such schools to be educated. Some of them were second-generation Macedonian migrants and some of whom remained in those cities where they later held various positions in the society. For instance, Anastas Makedonecot from Neguš studied

medicine in Halle (circa 1715); another well-known example was Georgi Žefarovič, the nephew of the famous Hristofer Žefarovič from Dojran, who studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna (1744), etc. This manner of interaction may also be illustrated with the example of Dimitrie Darvar (from Klisura) who, together with his brother Jovan, left for Zemun (1769), where their father owned a trading company. From 1771, Dimitrie was educated in Ruma, Novi Sad, Pest and Bucharest, and as he spoke several languages used in the two empires (German, Greek and Slavic), he also worked as a teacher, translator and writer. There is data available demonstrating that when he met the Russian Emperor Aleksandar I in Vienna (1818), they "spoke in Slavic", and the Emperor gave him a golden ring as a gift (cited in Zdraveva 2002, 133–35).

Even more significant is that printing was made possible mainly by way of self-financing or donations from wealthier Macedonian merchants, artisans and so forth, individually or as groups of donors (see Fig. 8–14). Some of them lived and worked in Macedonia, and some financed printing after they had already moved to the Austrian Empire. However, the transfer and exchange of knowledge were the most notable in the practice of bringing books and teaching aids back to Macedonia for personal needs, for the education of children, or for the needs of schools. Among other things, there are examples of printed translations and dictionaries which are particularly interesting. The collection of all these editions, financed by and for Macedonian clients, and printed at various centres of the Austrian Empire at the time, is rather large (Mironska-Hristovska 2005, 36–37; Zdraveva 2002, 137–47).

Figure 8: *Različna poučitelna nastavlenija* (Buda, 1819), the last work of Joakim Krčovski. This example is kept in the Museum of Kratovo (Republic of Macedonia).

Figures 9–14: Lists of Donors.

Stematografia (Stematography) by Žefarovič (Vienna, 1741) can be high-lighted As an exceptionally significant piece of work that was published in this period. The author of this work was a wood-engraver, icon-painter, copperplate engraver, printmaker, monk, merchant, heraldry expert, and artist. Born in Dojran, he was educated in Greek schools in Macedonia and improved his artistic abilities in Salonika, Ohrid and on Mount Athos. In later years, he moved to Hungary, where he applied his Enlightenment ideas and tendencies to move from the wood-engraving tradition in favour of the new trends in the world of art. Nonetheless, in the context of this article he is a significant figure for us because of one of his published works: *Stematografia*. This work was written in the Slavic language and alphabet, and it is, based on its content, a sort of album of South Slavic coats-of-arms (the Macedonian coat of arms is also included among them), rulers and saints. With regard to how influential this work was, the fact that the Austrian authorities placed it on the list of banned books under threat of death

speaks volumes by itself (Matkovski 1970, 121–29). Its influence was considerable among the Slavic peoples in the Balkans who identified with the depicted rulers and coat-of-arms, and as a result the Balkan, including the Macedonian, national revival movements were considerably bolstered (Ristovski 2001, 130–31).

Within the general framework of the time, when reverence for Alexander the Great appeared as a segment of the Macedonian revival process, the book *Istorija na Velikiĭ Aleksandra Makedonca* (History of Alexander the Great of Macedon), printed in Belgrade (1844) was a significant publication. This book fell on fertile soil in the burgeoning national revival. In later years, it was this particular edition that was used by Ǵorǵija Pulevski to write the chapter on the reign of Alexander of Macedon in the first history of the Macedonians: *Slavjansko-makedonska opšta istorija* (Slavic-Macedonian General History). In this manner, by means of translation and modification, Pulevski was able to create a special version of the *Alexandride* in the Macedonian language from the 19th century, which he incorporated in his voluminous book (Ristovska-Josifovska 2013, 269–78).

Book Printing in Macedonia as a Driver and Exemplar of Novelties

The aim of the information provided above is to analyze the status of the written word in Macedonia in the 18th and first half of the 19th century, with special emphasis on the system for acquiring an education and literacy, as well as the results and influencing factors in the process of transmitting and receiving knowledge. In that respect, printed books were seen as a sublimation of transferred and exchanged knowledge, becoming a medium its dissemination and an impetus for educational processes. However, the practical context of transfers and exchanges becomes a necessity and so we must now highlight the development and influence of printing techniques. The printing industry in general was a significant phenomenon that brought a new quality to cultural development. With the invention of the printing press by the first printer, Johannes Gutenberg, printing houses started opening as of the mid-15th century throughout western Europe, in Moscow, and in larger cities and monasteries in the South Slavic countries, while in Constantinople a printing house opened as late as 1726. In the case of Macedonia, the transfer of knowledge via printing developed in several ways, among which them the activities of Macedonian printers who worked in printing companies abroad. Such was the case of the 16th century printer Jakov from Kamena Reka (present day Makedonska Kamenica), who worked in a printing house in Venice owned by Božidar Vuković, and Kara Trifon, who owned a book shop in Skopje where these editions were sold, as well as the cases of printers in Wallachia in the 17th

century (Meletij Makedonski, Stefan Ohridski, Nekotrij Pelagoniski) (Georgievski 1972, 27–42). Still, the most prominent printer and copperplate engraver was the already mentioned Žefarovič from Dojran with his work in Vienna in the 18th century. No less important was the printing of books in printing houses in Moskopole, Buda and Constantinople. At the beginning of the 19th century, some Macedonian merchants and craftsmen in the Austrian Empire began to finance the printing of Slavic books. At the university printer in Buda, some anthologies of Macedonian literary history were printed, for example, the books *Povest radi strashnago i vtorogo prishestviya Hristova* (A narration about the terrifying and second advent of Christ; 1814), the first book by Joakim Krčovski, and *Ogledalo* (Mirror; 1816) by Kiril Pejčinoviḱ (Georgievski 1972, 52–58).

In this period, when printing finally reached Macedonia and the initial printing houses were established, the foremost publications were not very different from the liturgical in terms of iconography and thematic. The first printing houses in Macedonia were founded by people from the local Macedonian population, and the printing of the people's speech dates back to the mid-19th century. It is believed that, Teodosij Sinaitski (from Dojran, secular name Teohar Gogov) established his printing house in Salonika, most likely between the years 1835 and 1838, in which the printing materials were purchased by a Jewish man from Russia, while a man named Demetrius was the typographer. It was evident that the printing house had great significance to literacy and culture in Macedonia at that time, and it was wholeheartedly assisted by supporters (among them Pejčinoviḱ) during its rebuilding after the first fire in 1839. At the same time, such actions were clearly deemed unacceptable by opponents of Slavic literacy, which ultimately led to the final closure as a result of another fire in 1842. In this particular printing house, five books of people's speech were printed; the first one being *Načalnoe oučenïe* (Elementary education, 1838) by Anatolija Zografski. The book itself was a primer for prayers. Additionally, the activities of the first printing house were continued by Daskal Kamče, originally from the vicinity of Demir Kapija, who founded his printing house in Vataša (near Kavadarci) in 1847. He purchased the printing materials from Belgrade with the financial assistance of the merchant Jovko Marković. Printing activity in Macedonia until the mid- 19th century continued with another printing house which opened in Salonika in 1852, owned by Kirijak Držilovič, born in Držilovo, near Voden. Its significance to Macedonian literary history lies, among other things, in the printing of the translation of the aforementioned works by Božigropski (Mironska-Hristovska 2005, 189–202).

All of the printed books, primers and textbooks in the native language were of great importance to Macedonian education, language, literacy and literary tradition, given that they directly affected their development. Taking into consideration the complexity of the theme, this article attempts to sketch the cultural atmosphere in Macedonia, especially receptiveness to the new achievements of Western European culture and science during the 18th and especially in the first half of the 19th century. In doing so, a number of internal factors (new socio-economic relations and the revival movement) and external factors (the political interests of the great powers) should be taken into account.

More specifically, the focus is on education and the impact of the knowledge transfers which occurred throughout Macedonia, whose geostrategic position has enabled the flow of people, goods and ideas over the centuries. This effort was made by illustrating specific examples arising from Macedonian history, all with an aim of explaining the influences from the West and East converging in Macedonia, as a common intersecting point on the route from Europe and the Black Sea Region. On the one hand, there were circumstances in which outdated practices for gaining knowledge were predominant, and on the other hand, there was the penetration of new cultural and educational ideas and practices via the transfer of knowledge by way of academic migration, and the introduction of printed books and printing techniques throughout the region. The great empires, with their educational policies aimed at the Slavic population, were an important factor leading to changes in the traditional system of spreading literacy, and thus influenced the cultural circumstances from the beginnings of the Macedonian revival process. Accordingly, the overall aim of the article is to discuss education and literacy in Macedonia with special emphasis on the exchange of knowledge achieved through contacts with cultural centres in the Austrian and Russian Empires, and also the complexity of exchanges of knowledge between Europe and the Black Sea Region.

Works Cited

Akgün, Seçıl. "The Emergence of Tanzimat in the Ottoman Empire." *OTAM (Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Delgisi)*, vol. 2, 1991, pp. 8–12.

Andonov-Poljanski, Hristo. "Uslovite i sistemot na trgovskata organizacija vo trgovskite vrski pomeǵu Rijeka i Turcija vo vtorata polovina na 19 vek." *Godišen zbornik. Annuaire*, vol. 16, 1964, pp. 45–87.

Ash, Mitchell G. "Wissens- und Wissenschaftstransfer – Einführende Bemerkungen." *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 29, 2006, pp. 181–89, onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1002/bewi.200601158. Accessed 11 October 2017.

Čipan, Boris. *Makedonskite gradovi vo XIX vek i nivnata urbana perspektiva*. Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite, 1978.

Georgievski, Mihajlo. *Makedonskata pečatarska dejnost (1515–1913)*. Misla, 1972.

Grigorovich, Viktor. *Ocherk puteshestviia po Evropeĭskoĭ Turcii, (S kartoiu okrestnosteĭ okhridskogo i prespanskago ozer*. Tipografiia M. N. Lavrova i Ko., 1877.

Ihsanoğlu, Ekmeleddin. "Modernization Efforts in Science, Technology and Industry in the Ottoman Empire (18th and 19th centuries)." *The Introduction of Modern Science and Technology to Turkey and Japan. International Symposium October 7–11 1996*, edited by Feza Günergun and Kuriyama Shigehisa, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 1998, pp. 15–35.

Ilievski, Petar Hr. "Značenje na damaskinarskata knižnina za razvojot na pismeniot i kniževniot makedonski jazik." *Makedonija. Prašanja od istorijata i* kulturata, edited by Blaže Ristovski, et al., Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite, 1999, pp. 95–109.

Kaser, Karl. "The Urban Space of the Turko-Balkan City." *Balkanistic Forum*, vol. 3, 2011, pp. 63–69.

Mârza, Eva. "Romanian printed book in the Habsburg Empire (2nd half of the 18th century)." *European Journal of Science and Theology*, vol. 10, no. 6, 2014, pp. 281–91.

Matkovski, Aleksandar. *Ǵurčin Kokaleski 1775–1863 (Prilog kon prašanjeto za sozdavanje na selska, stočarsko-trgovska buržoazija vo Makedonija)*. Institut za nacionalna istorija, 1959.

--- *Grbovite na Makedonija*. Zaednica za izdavačka dejnost pri NIP "Nova Makedonija". Institut za nacionalna istorija, 1970.

--- *Makedonskiot polk vo Ukraina*. Misla, 1985.

Mironska-Hristovska, Valentina. *Prosvetitelstvoto vo Makedonija*. Institut za makedonska literatura, 2005.

Pretskažuvanjata na Golem Aleksandar. Podgotovka, predgovor i transkipcija Vera Stojčevska-Antiḱ. 2nd ed., Dijalog, 2007.

Ristovska-Josifovska, Biljana. "Dva avtobiografski zapisi od Lazaropole (kulturološki indikatori na XIX vek)." *Razvojot na makedonskata literatura*, edited by Loreta Georgievska-Jakovleva and Sarita Trajanova, Institut za makedonska literatura, 2011, pp. 169–84.

--- "Aleksandridata na makedonski jazik od XIX vek i nacionalniot identitet." *Njegoševi dani 4. Zbornik radova*, edited by Tatjana Bečanović, et al., Univerzitet Crne Gore, Filozofski fakultet, 2013, pp. 269–78.

Ristovski, Blaže. *Soznajbi za jazikot, literaturata i nacijata*. Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite, 2001.

--- "Periodizacijata na makedonskiot literaturno-kulturen razvitok." *Filološke studije*, vol. 1, 2008, pp. 53–69.

--- *Makedonskiot prerodbenski XIX vek. Prilozi za makedonskata literaturno-kulturna istorija*. Vol. 1, TRI, 2011.

Rossos, Andrew. *Macedonia and Macedonians. A History*. Hoover Institution Press Stanford University, 2008.

Sidorovska-Čupovska, Silvana. *Prosvetno-kulturnite priliki vo Makedonija vo 19 vek*. Institut za nacionalna istorija, 2009.

Smiljanić-Bradina, Toma. "Đurčin Kokale. Glavar Lazaropoljski." *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, vol. XXI, 1940, pp. 137–44.

Spencer, Edmund. *Travels in European Turkey, in 1850, Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thrace, Albania, and Epirus; with a visit to Greece and the Ionian Isles*. Vol. II, Colburn and Co., 1852.

Stojčev, Vanče. *Voena istorija na Makedonija*. Sojuz na društvata na istoričarite na Republika Makedonija, 2000.

Trajanovski, Aleksandar. *Crkovno-učilišnite opstini vo Makedonija. Prilog kon istorijata na makedonskite crkovno-učilisni opstini od nivnoto osnovanje do 70-tite godini na XIX vek*. Institut za nacionalna istorija, 1988.

--- "Vrskite na Ohridskata arhiepiskopija so Rusija i so Ruskata pravoslavna crkva niz gramotite od XVI do XVIII vek." *Istorija, istoriografija i nastava po istorija*, edited by Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska et al., Sojuz na istoričarite na Republika Makedonija, 2007, pp. 165–87.

--- "Prestojot na arhierejstvoto i erejstvoto na Ohridskata arhiepiskopija (XVI–XVIII vek) vo oddelni ukrainski centri na propatuvanje za Rusija i na vraќanjeto nazad." *Ukraïns'ko-makedons'kiĭ naukoviĭ zbirnik*. Vol. 3, edited by V. Litvin et al., Nacional′na akademiia nauk Ukraïni et al., 2008, pp. 259–76.

--- "Prestojot i školuvanjeto na makedonskata i balkanskata inteligencija vo Rusija." *Balkanot i Rusija: opštoto i specifičnoto vo istoriskiot i kulturniot razvitok*, edited by Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska, et al., Institut za nacionalna istorija, 2010, pp. 77–91.

Tuševski, Vančo. *Joakim Krčovski i izvorite na nekoi od negovite dela*. Studentski zbor, 1985.

Zdraveva, Milka. *Makedonsko-avstriski vrski od poslednite decenii na XVII do prvite decenii na XIX vek*. Institut za nacionalna istorija, 2002.

--- "Pogled na ruskata politika na Balkanot i Rusko-makedonskite vrski od Ćučuk-Kajnardziskiot mir (1774) do Berlinskiot kongres (1878)." *Ruskiot imperatorski konzulat vo Bitola 1861–1915*, edited by Dragi Ǵorgiev et al., Institut za nacionalna istorija, 2015, pp. 143–54.

List of Figures

II. Materialised Knowledge Exchange

Decentring Innovation: Circulation of Knowledge and Early (Russian) Photography

Dominik Gutmeyr

Abstract: Photography is often described as another exclusively 'Western' innovation, which eventually reached other parts of the world through unilateral knowledge transfer. This article does not argue for a relativization of the Western prevalence in the development of early photography but it questions why non-Western contributions to a dynamic, albeit asymmetric, field of scientific development have been overlooked. It aims to discuss processes of circulation and negotiation in the early development of photography by looking at the lives and works of Sergeĭ Levitskiĭ, Carl Peter Mazér, Dmitriĭ Ermakov and Antoin Sevruguin, and suggests that innovation should be considered from a global perspective of circulation in order to overcome binary conceptions of a progressive 'West' and a 'non-West' lagging behind.

On 23 July 1859, the director of Edinburgh's Royal Observatory, the astronomer Charles Piazzi Smyth, boarded the steamer 'Edinburgh' in the Scottish capital's port of Leith and headed for St. Petersburg's main seaport at Kronstadt (Kronshtadt). The expedition, which he considered as "materially promoting mutual knowledge, and giving rise to kindly sympathies between two great nations" (Smyth 1862, 3–4), had two main objectives. Firstly, Smyth was keen to try out a new "altitude-measuring apparatus" on board a ship at sea, for which he thought the Edinburgh's course across the North Sea was well suited. Secondly, the astronomer was enthusiastic about visiting the Russian Empire's Pulkovo Astronomical Observatory – an institution he described as the country's "highest scientific authority […] that every astronomer should visit once in his life" (Ibid., 4–5). The Briton's fascination with the observatory on Pulkovo Heights, situated slightly south of St. Petersburg, seemed to be justified when he acquainted himself with the work of his Russian colleagues. The high standing of this particular institution with colleagues in the field of astronomy, however, collided with the general perception of Russian science as being inferior to its Western counterpart.

When the Russian astronomer of German descent, Otto V. Struve (1819–1905), who, like his father Friedrich Georg Wilhelm Struve (Vasiliĭ Ia. Struve, 1793–1864) with whom he ran the observatory, had studied astronomy at the University of Dorpat (today's Tartu), presented his invention of a distance measurer – an invention Smyth described as "a more exact, economical, and scientific means of measuring distance, than either army or navy of any other European

power can show" – to the war office of his country, he was told that present methods were sufficient and no others needed. Struve's invention, however, was not condemned because it was deemed defective but because of the dogma that any "really good modern invention in Russia must have long since been discovered in England." Having found on inquiry that such an invention was unknown to the British Admiralty, the Russian authorities concluded that the astronomer of Pulkovo could not have contributed a substantial innovation (Smyth 1862, 160–65).

If not a priori disproven by an expert's experience in his own field, like in the case of Smyth and his enthusiasm for the Pulkovo Space Observatory, Russian science in the mid-19th century was perceived as backward and thus unable to compete with Western European innovation – a perception widespread both within and outside the Russian Empire itself. Any non-Western innovation and the subsequent circulation of knowledge including both Eastern and Western European scientists flew under the radar for a long time and despite the Russian Empire's potentially lucrative market, Russian science was underestimated and ignored by its contemporaries – an assessment based on two intellectual understandings. Firstly, Russia was included in the idea of 'Eastern Europe', an idea that according to American historian Larry Wolff's seminal work *Inventing Eastern Europe* (1994) was invented in Western Europe in the Age of Enlightenment and led to the division of Europe into an East and a West as a project of philosophical and geographical synthesis (Wolff 1994, 356). This relatively late development superseded the then dominant conception of Europe as being divided into a North and a South and brought about the modern reorientation of the continent by which, for instance, Poland and Russia were mentally detached from Sweden and Denmark and instead associated with the Balkan lands of Ottoman Europe, Hungary, Bohemia and the Crimea (Ibid., 5). The consequence of Russia being included in the idea of Eastern Europe was that it was subjected to the same process of intellectual mastery and was identified and described by the same dichotomies of East and West, of civilization and barbarism, of Europe and Asia (Ibid., 15). In 1784, Louis Philippe, comte de Ségur (1753–1830) on his way to St. Petersburg to serve as French ambassador to the court of Catherine II, described his impression of the lands imagined as Eastern Europe by writing that one could think of having left Europe entirely upon entrance to Poland ("*qu'on entre en Pologne, on croit sortir entièrement de l'Europe*"), of moving backwards ten centuries ("*qu'on a reculé de dix siècles*") and of finding oneself amidst the hordes of Huns, Scythians, Veneti, Slavs and Sarmatians ("*qu'on se retrouve au milieu de ces hordes des Huns, des Scythes, des Venètes, des Slaves et des Sar-*

mates"; Ségur 1859, 300). As Wolff has shown, this was only one of many examples that described the continent's eastern realms as intellectually inferior, and for which reason scientific contributions by Eastern European scholars may have received less acclaim than the same achievements by their Western counterparts – not only in contemporary perception but also in science history.

Secondly, modern science was considered a Western European achievement originating in the 'scientific revolution' of the 16th and 17th centuries and neglecting any contribution from the outside. As a result, science history has long sought to explain modern science as the logical consequence of a Western epistemological, sociological and economic uniqueness (Cunningham and Wilson 1993, 410–17; Raj 2007, 1). U.S. historian George Basalla took it for granted that the origins of modern science were distinctly Western when in 1967 he postulated a three-stage model by which he sought to describe the introduction of modern science into any [sic!] non-European nation. According to Basalla, the "original home" of modern science came into existence in Italy, France, England, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria and the Scandinavian countries of the 16th and 17th centuries (Basalla 1967, 611). Basalla's model of evolutionary progress underlined two assumptions: on the one hand, Eastern Europe was not considered a progressive factor in modern knowledge production and on the other, it could only "struggle to establish an independent scientific tradition" (Ibid., 617) based on Western European experience and that constitutes the third and final stage of his model.

As a result, non-Western involvement was, and still is, hardly a point of discussion within the narrative of exclusively Western innovation. The story of the 'invention' of photography is one example of the many created by a Eurocentric perspective blind to external influences. It is not the ambition of this chapter to join "the quest for the origins of photography" as just "one more instance of Western culture's perennial search for origins of all kinds", as Geoffrey Batchen (2015, 67) has put it, but to show the entanglement of Western European and Russian contributions to a multi-disciplinary field. Therefore, I do not argue for a relativization of the Western prevalence in the development of early photography. Under the premise that the invention of photography was a long-term process rather than a singular event, I however question why non-Western, in this case Russian, contributions to a dynamic, albeit asymmetric, field of scientific development have been overlooked, and challenge the concept of alleged knowledge transfer from a supposedly innovative West to an inferior and objectified rest of the world. For this purpose, I will briefly draw on criticism of Basalla's diffusionism and sketch the early involvement of Russian scientists and photographers in a wider network of negotiation before using three examples to

demonstrate 1) how Russian photographers were deeply rooted in the interna-
tional scene, 2) how Western European artists were inspired and educated in the
'East', and 3) how visual cultures and commercial interests blurred the lines be-
tween 'East' and 'West'. I thereby aim to underline my preference for a decentred
understanding of knowledge circulation over the linearity of knowledge transfer
under Western dominance.

Relocating the Production of Knowledge

Basalla's diffusionist model describing a supposedly endogenous scientific tradi-
tion emanating from Western Europe eventually received extensive criticism (e.g.
Arnold 2000; Keim 2014, 88–89). After the model's deconstruction, the history
of science was left with the insight that non-European innovation had long been
considered a late by-product of European diffusionism, as well as with the need
to find new perspectives to understand the creation, spread and circulation of
knowledge within the globalized space of early modernity. In his ambition to
"defuse Diffusionism", Kapil Raj (2007, 159–80) took on the institutionalization
of modern science education in early 19th-century Bengal and concluded that
"important parts of what passes off as 'Western' science were actually made out-
side the West" (Ibid., 223). The acceptance of several national and local
knowledge traditions and dynamics over a unique version of "modern science"
(compare, for example, Porter and Teich 1992) thereby constituted the precondi-
tion for an emphasis on the role of intercultural encounter, which included non-
Western agents in the circulation of specialized knowledge (Raj 2007, 7–10). I
follow Raj's proposition to focus on the intercultural contact zone in place of
civilizational and diffusionist models and argue "for the making of scientific
knowledge through co-constructive processes of negotiation between different
skilled communities and individuals from both regions, resulting as much in the
emergence of new knowledge forms as in a reconfiguration of existing knowl-
edges and specialized practices on both sides of the encounter" (Ibid., 223). Sim-
ilarly to Raj's elaboration on Southern Asia, Eastern Europe was hardly a simple
space where Western European knowledge was applied but another active partic-
ipant in the emerging world order of knowledge. Scientific knowledge was con-
structed through reciprocal, albeit asymmetric, processes of circulation and ne-
gotiation within an intercultural contact zone – knowledge that would not have
been created if it had not been for intercultural dialogue (Ibid.). Thus, the idea of
'circulation' counters terms such as 'diffusion', 'dissemination' and 'transmis-
sion', which are all based on the common premise of both a producer and an end
user. Rather, it seeks to overcome resulting binaries such as 'centre and periph-

ery' by focusing on interactions as *loci* of knowledge construction and reconfiguration *per se* (Raj 2013, 343–44). Peter Burke's (2007, 191) understanding of 'circulation' does not include this sharp split from 'dissemination', which he considers a well-suited metaphor by way of its allusion to seeds germinating into something else, thereby allowing space for misunderstandings and deliberate adaptions of ideas. Either way, the concept of the 'circulation of knowledge' stands for an acceptance of knowledge being related to development, negotiation and reconfiguration through communicative acts.

In order to approach an understanding of knowledge production and circulation as a form of communicative action, it is expedient to look beyond the boundaries of the traditional *loci* of European knowledge-making activities, i.e. academies and universities (Ibid., 13–16). James A. Secord (2004, 661) emphasized that a central role in epistemology should be given to the interaction between agents, raising the question of who the agents involved in producing and acquiring knowledge within an intercultural sphere were and how Western and non-Western scientists both contributed to the progress of modern science. I suggest taking a closer look at Russian photographers and their work and, in a prior step, at the interdisciplinary contributors to the development of photographic technology as protagonists in knowledge production and circulation in an intercultural zone.

'Inventing' Photography

In the 19th century, photography was a new but not necessarily revolutionary outlet of the visual production of knowledge, or as the English art historian John Tagg (1993, 63) put it, "Photography as such [h]as no identity. Its status as a technology varies with the power relations which invest it. Its nature as a practice depends on the institutions and agents which define it and set it to work." Based on an understanding of intertwined power relations and agency, it is widely acknowledged across the disciplines analysing the use of visual images that they are more than mere illustrations since they also produce knowledge by forming sets of representations and strands of it (Pink 2001, 96–97). In the 1990s, anthropologists in particular began to analyse the use of photography in creating (ethnographic) knowledge (compare Edwards 1992). The new aspect here was heightened awareness of how visuality creates and circulates knowledge rather than the intrinsic relation between photography and knowledge itself.

Before photography was ready to be used for creating knowledge of any kind, it was the introduction of photography itself that produced knowledge. However, the introduction of photography to the intercultural zone and its negotiation were

confronted with a variety of visual culture traditions, which had different effects on its early perception and development (compare Kaser 2013). In the Ottoman Empire, for instance, photography arrived exclusively as an imported technology without any links to pictorial traditions, hence creating a truly new visual experience among viewers but also practitioners (W. Shaw 2009, 80). For 19th-century India, Christopher Pinney (2008, 16–17) wrote of an "early enthusiasm for photography's *cure* of existing representational problems" for it was seen as an opportunity to overcome "the weaknesses and corruptions of earlier practices of representation". In Russia's case, photography met with enthusiasm and great expectations and the many pre-revolutionary photographers were both innovative and alert to the developments abroad (Lenman 2005b, 553). As an elite project, moreover, photography had the function of linking visual cultures based on Orthodox pictorial traditions to the developing visual cultures of Western modernity (Kaser 2013, 170).

Reciprocal contacts between Russian and Western European photographers were numerous and ideas circulated from the very beginning of photography's introduction to the international market. Thus, despite photography remaining an expensive elite project for the rest of the century, the camera gradually became a key medium in Russia's cultural production and the development of 19th century Russian photography followed a similar path to that of the new technology in Western Europe. The same mixture of euphoria and scepticism marked early discussions on the value of photographs and resembles the history of the reception of photography between fabricated artefact and natural product (Stiegler 2006, 18–32). In Russia, contemporary discourse revolved around the relevance of photography in comparison to the fine arts, as well as around whose contribution to its development was the most relevant. The first newspaper to report on the new technology was *Severnaia Pchela* (Northern Bee) which in January 1839 already came to the following conclusion: "We do not see any reason to discuss a potential future influence of this discovery on the fine arts; it is an invention of practical character only" (cited in Barchatowa 1993a, 24).

In retrospect, this conclusion was far removed from realities to come but before the product itself, i.e. the photograph *per se*, became a powerful medium of knowledge creation and circulation, the technology's invention, presentation to the public and the procedures to refine it constituted a prime example of a mutually constructive process of negotiation and innovation rather than the success story of Western diffusion frequently connected with its invention. The invention of photography is often symbolically dated with the presentation of Louis Daguerre at the Parisian *Académie des sciences* in January 1839 since this marks the first time in history that the new technology was revealed to the broader public.

The Frenchman's presentation of the '*daguerréotype*', however, had its roots in many decades of experimental research that laid the foundation on which photography came into existence. Further well-known milestones of early photography include the '*héliographie*' developed by fellow Frenchman Joseph Nicéphore Niépce and the 'photogenic drawing', a process capable of producing negative images developed in England by William Henry Fox Talbot. Some even consider the experiments of British chemist Thomas Wedgwood around 1800 as proof of his being the first photographer (Litchfield 1903). Either way, the contributions of these pioneers shaped the story of the origins of photography as revolving around the cities of London and Paris, while non-Western contributions were widely excluded from the narrative of photographic innovation (compare Batchen 1997, 24–53; Stiegler and Thürlemann 2011; Wilder 2005). The history of Russian photography – besides the works of the Russian avant-garde – was for a long time scarcely included and discussed in Western standard works and hardly represented in photographic exhibitions on the history of photography.

Negotiating Photography in Russia

Nonetheless, photography was discussed among Russian scientists in its earliest days. The news of Daguerre's demonstration of his innovation as well as of Talbot's results naturally aroused interest in the Russian Empire and motivated the Academy of Sciences to send its members to London and Paris to inform themselves about the latest developments (Elliott 1993, 12). Especially the naturalists Karl von Baer (1792–1876) and Fëdor (Johann Friedrich) von Brandt (1802–1879) were eager to explore the possibilities of including photography in their research and asked Joseph Hamel (Iosif Gamel', 1788–1861), an academy correspondent, to frequently update them on the latest developments in photography. In London, Hamel became acquainted with Talbot and his work. He sent descriptions of Talbot's method as well as some examples of his work, along with the required production materials, to the Academy in St. Petersburg (Barchatowa 1993a, 26). In Paris, Hamel worked together with Isidore Niépce, the son of Joseph Nicéphore Niépce, who allowed him to view the correspondence between Niépce and Daguerre and also provided him with a camera – at a time when such a camera was still unavailable on the market (Ibid., 27). Furthermore, Hamel added some of Isidore Niépce's photos of the Louvre and other buildings to his collection (Loginov 2008b, 1228). He quickly forwarded the entire material to St. Petersburg where a special committee came together to analyse the mail from Paris. Hamel's detailed report shows a clear preference for Niépce's work over Daguerre's technique. He noted that he could not follow Daguerre's suggestion to call "the new graphical art" *daguerréotype* because he considered Niépce to be

its true founder (Hamel 1840, 319) and optimistically concluded that the latter's *héliographie* had a bright future if only it could be perfected (Ibid., 336).

Scientific interest in the news and materials coming from Paris and London was high but so was the academicians' disappointment in the quality of the first works to arrive in St. Petersburg. Consequently, the academy's leading physicists and chemists were ordered to analyse the received daguerreotypes and to find ways to improve their quality. The German chemist Carl Julius Fritzsche (1808–1871), who had been working in Russia since 1834, was also instructed to analyse and improve Talbot's methods. Fritzsche's conclusions included the preference of ammonia over sodium thiosulfate in production, but overall he did not see a bright future for the new technology and predicted "its practical application to remain relatively meaningless" (Fritzsche 1839; cited in Barchatowa 1993a, 30). In retrospect, Fritzsche's conclusion was obviously wrong but his report for the Imperial Academy of Sciences constituted the first scientific investigation of photography in Russia and also the very first scientific analysis of Talbot's method, and was subsequently received in Paris (Barchatowa 1993a, 26–27).

In fact, chemical research as the basis for photography already had a tradition in the Russian Empire as, according to Russian historiography (Morozov 1977, 327; Barchatowa 1993a, 24), amateur chemist Alekseĭ P. Bestuzhev-Riumin (1693–1766), later to become chancellor of the Russian Empire, in 1725 discovered that solutions of iron salts changed their colours after exposure to sunlight – an early 18th-century discovery that prepared the ground for photography more than 100 years before Daguerre's presentation in Paris. Documentation on the background to Bestuzhev-Riumin's findings is slim but it is very likely that he was influenced by the findings of the German scholar Johann Heinrich Schulze (1687–1744), who in 1719 published on his accidental discovery of the darkening effect of light rather than heat upon silver salt but left it to others to study the causes of the phenomenon (Schulze 1719, 234). Neither the notion that photography was discovered in the early 18th century (compare for instance Litchfield 1903, 217–27) nor the Russian claim that Bestuzhev-Riumin had already made his discovery before Schulze (probably correlating with a frequent misdating of the discovery due to a 1727 reprint; see, for instance, Levashov 2014, 12) matter for this study. What is significant here is that both in the 1720s as well as in the 1830s ideas moved across a network that included both St. Petersburg and Western European cities. These ideas were no exclusively Western product emanating to the East but also travelled in the other direction. In Daguerre's time, the first major technical development in photography to come from Russia was the application of the Russo-German physicist Moritz von Jacobi's (Boris S. Iakobi) '*Galvanoplastik*' in the process of fixating the image on daguerreotype plates (Elliott

1993, 13). This chemical process, also known as 'electrotyping', was first observed by von Jacobi in 1837 and reports on it were widely published also in foreign journals by the end of 1839 (Jakobi 1840, iii). His invention made it possible to create exact reproductions by electroplating a metal onto an object's mould, which is then removed.

Not only were Russian natural scientists in constant contact with their fellow scholars in the west of the continent but so were the first Russians who embraced the new technology now available on the open market. Alekseĭ F. Grekov (1800–1855) was among those contributors to the development of early photographic technology. One of Russia's first professional photographers, he opened a commercial studio already in the summer of 1840 and was interested in improving Daguerre's method. He managed to reduce exposure times for the daguerreotype to about two minutes (Lenman 2005b, 553) and also contributed to the technological development of the camera by producing and selling self-constructed daguerreotype apparatuses which were able to create images by using cheaper photographic plates than the cameras coming from France and Great Britain (Loginov 2008b, 1228). This in turn stirred interest in Paris where in 1840 François Arago – the same Arago who had announced Daguerre's 'discovery' in 1839 – presented Grekov's work to the Académie des sciences. The press helped to disseminate news about the most recent accomplishments of scientists beyond the boundaries of their disciplines and the international echo to Grekov's work was substantial (Barchatowa 1993a, 29). Soon, photography was no longer a mere scientific project but played an increasingly important role in public life. Materials and cameras became more easily available over the years though photography remained an expensive occupation and product for many decades to come.

Nevertheless, daguerreotypes gradually conquered the sphere of public and commercial interest. The first specimens were prominently exhibited in the shopfronts of the bigger cities and attracted the curiosity of pedestrians. The first Russian daguerreotypes outside the Academy's endeavour to improve Talbot's method were already made in 1839. A lieutenant colonel of the Ministry of Lines and Communication, Franz Teremin, was among the first amateurs to take an interest in the technology and took a photograph of St. Petersburg's Isaac Cathedral with an exposure time of 25 minutes. However, many photographers active in the early phase of Russian photography remain unknown, and even more photographs are lost or known only from their mention in newspapers and catalogues. Due to the turmoil that engulfed the Russian Empire during its last decade of existence, many items of high artistic value but fragile physical condition such as daguerreotypes did not survive the revolution of 1917, and if they did, were seriously damaged (Saburova 2014, 19).

The works of the Austrian photographer Joseph Weninger who took pictures of the Isaac Cathedral façade and its sculptures of the apostles James, Simon, Thomas and Philip, are among the earliest non-portrait Russian daguerreotypes to survive until today (Ibid., 19, 122–25). Moreover, daguerreotypy did not focus only on the landmarks of St. Petersburg; first daguerreotypes of views of Moscow were made and sold already in 1839. One of the pioneers was K. A. Bekkers who had initially sold *camerae obscurae* and later took orders for pictures of Muscovian buildings and streets (Barkhatova 2009, 12). Another early photographer of Moscow was the French daguerreotypist N. M. P. Lerebours who aimed at eternalizing the Kremlin and other standout landmarks of the Muscovian skyline. The fate of their works, however, remains unknown after they were transferred abroad. At the State Historical Museum, for instance, only 16 original architectural or landscape daguerreotypes have survived in the collection (Saburova 2014, 439). The vast majority of the images, i.e. 294 of 315 daguerreotypes, are portraits, since as elsewhere the genre of photo portraiture formed the commercial basis for early photography (Loginov 2008b, 1228).

Internationalizing Photography in Russia

As portrait photography boomed, a smaller circle of Russian photographers who had been active in this commercial field from the very beginning continued their work, while the majority of professional daguerreotypists to shape the early years of photography in the Russian Empire came from Western Europe. They arrived to exploit the lucrative market abroad – an indicator for early negotiation in an (asymmetric) process but equally for the Western European prevalence in the development of early photography. Some of the incoming photographers opened permanent studios in St. Petersburg or Moscow. Weninger, for instance, stayed in the capital city and ran his business there from 1843 to 1860 (Käyhko 1995, 25). Others decided to travel the country and made trips to cities far from the imperial capital. In 1845, Frenchman Alfred Davignon took on Siberia, journeying all the way to the then Russian-Chinese border at Kiakhta, and made portraits of Decembrists living in exile in the suburbs of Irkutsk. The official response was harsh: Davignon was arrested for having had dealings with enemies of the state. Although he was soon released, his daguerreotypes were confiscated and allegedly destroyed. Nevertheless, some of the images have been preserved and are now part of the Historical Museum's collection (Loginov 2008b, 1228; Saburowa 1993, 31). Davignon planned to publish a lithographic album showing views of Russian cities as captured in his daguerreotypes – a plan that was never realized. Again, the destiny of the artist's works remains unknown (Saburova 2014, 19).

Due to the early photography boom and with production costs decreasing, competition soon turned fierce on the Russian market. Thus, only a few photographers managed to establish themselves on a permanent basis and many foreign photographers left the Russian Empire after the first euphoria declined. By the 1850s, a stable Russian photography scene had come into existence dominated by Russian portrait photographers who had graduated from St. Petersburg's Academy of Fine Arts. However, the Russian market remained attractive for Western European photographers.

The Crimean War (1853–1856) in particular attracted the interest of Western photographers. The famous series of images by British photographer Roger Fenton, who travelled across the Russian Empire in 1852, is widely considered to be the first documentation of war supported by photographs. But Fenton was not the only photographer to focus his lens on the Black Sea region (see Fig. 1). Among the many others was Carol Szathmári, a Romanian-based photographer, who took (now lost) pictures of Russian troops as well as of the Ottoman army in the Wallachia region in 1853–54 and exhibited them in Paris in 1855 (Elliott 1993, 17). Another British photographer, Richard Nicklin, vanished in a hurricane along with his assistants and their photographs near Sevastopol (Schulz 2005, 663), At the same time, Russian photographers also tried to document military scenes on, still limited, wet collodion plates (Barchatowa 1993b, 48).

Figure 1: Roger Fenton's 'Cavalry Camp near Balaklava' (1855)

In the first decades of Russian photography the Crimea constituted an international arena to where photographers from several European states were commissioned and from where photographic images were also designed to reach the opponent. The role of the Crimean War as a prequel to international photo coverage correlated with growing ambitions to use photography for documentary purposes. More and more photographers in the Russian Empire took the camera outdoors and the imperial periphery came increasingly into the focus of photography. Photographers began to look for alternative motifs in the hunt to display romanticized landscapes, explore social questions or create ethnographic collections. The introduction of photography into the world of science thereby coincided with the Russian endeavour to amass a growing body of knowledge about the imperial peripheries, especially the newly conquered areas such as the Caucasus – an endeavour that was slowly but clearly manifested in photography. Furthermore, the understanding of photography as having a commercial or scientific and documentary rather than pictorial purpose was comparatively persistent in Russia where 'art photography' emerged much later than abroad (Lenman 2005b, 553).

The combination of these factors clarifies why the imperial borderlands, and especially the Caucasus, were occasionally considered the "cradle of Russian photography" (Kouteinikova and Solovyova 2016, 135). As a potent point of reference in Russian cultural memory, i.e. the Caucasus as Pushkin's "new Parnassus" and its landscapes as myth-enshrouded realms (compare Hokanson 2008; Layton 1994), the Caucasus was in the camera spotlight very soon. Given the preference for scientific documentation over artistic expression, many of the first photographers active in the Caucasus had graduated from the Military Topography School and were instructed to document the landscape and the lives and customs of the native population within the framework of military interests rather than prompted by artistic inspiration, which is probably the reason why most of their names remain unknown (Saburowa 1993, 32–33; Solovyeva 2010, 63). Early photography in the Caucasus thereby resembles the case of the Crimean War in that the names and works of Western European photographers were widely circulated in their day and are still known, while the names of their Russian counterparts were mostly unknown to contemporary audiences as well as to today's researchers. Furthermore, almost no photographs from the first decade of photography in the Caucasus are known to have survived (Kouteinikova and Solovyova 2016, 136). The predominance of strategic interests in photography over artistic expression also explains why comparably few permanent photography studios were opened in the southern borderland's administrative centre,

Tbilisi. In 1863, Edward Westley – a member of the London Photographic Society – opened his studio in Tbilisi with the name, 'Caucasus Photography'. He established himself as the personal photographer of the Viceroy of Georgia and also pioneered a photo gallery of Georgian society and foreign officials working in the region. The same year saw the establishment of the first photographic unit of the Russian Caucasus Army, which was to support imperial topographical, archaeological and ethnographic studies (Mamatsashvili 2014, 21–22).

Sergeĭ L. Levitskiĭ: Eastern Fame in the West

Despite the anonymity of much of early Russian photography in the empire's borderlands, there are exceptions, the most famous being Sergeĭ L. Levitskiĭ (1819–1898). A cousin of Aleksandr I. Herzen (1812–1870) and son to a wealthy family, Levitskiĭ studied law in Moscow and became a civil servant. He soon became interested in daguerreotype photography and spent 25 roubles on one of Grekov's cameras with a Chevalier lens of the type sold as '*photographe à verres combinés*' ('combined glass'), the earliest lens to successfully achieve lower exposure and improved transmission (Levitskiĭ 1892, cited in Barkhatova 2009, 41–45; Zahorcak 2007, 158–59). In 1843, he accompanied Fritzsche on an expedition that aimed to investigate mineral springs in the southern borderlands. Levitskiĭ, at that time still an amateur armed with a camera, was assigned to take photographs of Caucasus vistas around Piatigorsk and Kislovodsk. This was not only the first series of photographs of the Caucasus region but also the first prominent series of Russian landscape photography. Upon his return to St. Petersburg, he sent a few of his daguerreotypes to Charles Chevalier (1804–1859) in Paris who used them in his exhibition of lenses at the French Industrial Exposition of 1844, where the images were highly acclaimed. Probably motivated by this success, Levitskiĭ quit his job with the Ministry of Internal Affairs later that year and travelled to France and Italy. During his years in Western Europe, he became acquainted with the latest technological developments, studied chemistry at the Sorbonne and met the leading French daguerreotypists. In Rome, he took a photograph of Nikolaĭ V. Gogol' (1809–1852), which is believed to be the only portrait of the famous writer. He stayed in France until 1848, when he moved back to St. Petersburg in the wake of the February Revolution. The contacts between Levitskiĭ and the leading daguerreotypists of Paris remained intact and eventually Chevalier and Levitskiĭ jointly won a gold medal at the 1849 Exposition of the Second Republic for the landscape photographs from the Caucasus expeditions – a feat no photograph had achieved before (Levashov 2014, 28; Loginov 2008a, 853). Back in St. Petersburg, Levitskiĭ established himself as a professional photographer. He opened a studio on Nevskiĭ Prospekt and kept working to improve

photo technology, for example experimenting with the use of wet collodion. Later in the 1850s, Levitskiĭ also pioneered the use of artificial lighting in photography before Gaspard-Félix Tournachon – better known under his pseudonym 'Nadar' – introduced it to the world of studio portraiture (Elliott 1993, 13; Henisch and Henisch 1994, 215).

Back in Russia, Levitskiĭ concentrated on portrait photography – a lucrative genre. His works shaped the development of Russian portrait photography, above all his series 'Portraits of Russian Writers'. The portraits of Mikhail A. Bakunin (1863) and of his cousin Aleksandr I. Herzen (1864) were particularly notable, but he also portrayed Lev N. Tolstoĭ (1828–1910) and Ivan S. Turgenev (1818–1883). Similarly to his picture of Gogol', the portraits of these public figures are still commonly used to illustrate texts about them. In contrast to many of his colleagues, Levitskiĭ did not concentrate on expansive backgrounds and accessories but rather experimented with the model's pose to overcome the generic conventions of studio portraiture (Loginov 2008a, 853–54). His work, however, was neither confined to portraying the giants of 19th century Russian literature nor did he work exclusively in Russia after 1848. For example, he took a portrait photograph of Emperor Nikolaĭ I (1796–1855) in 1853 – probably the first portrait of a Russian emperor ever (Barkhatova 2009, 49) – and repeatedly travelled to Paris. There he worked together with the American photographer Warren T. Thompson, about whom little is known today despite his being referred to as "famous" at the end of the 19th century (N.N. 1898, 330; Sachse 1892, 451). Levitskiĭ developed '*cartes de visite*' and eventually took photographs of Napoleon III and his family in 1864, a feat that brought him the honorary title 'the Emperor's photographer' as well as membership of the French Photographic Society. Levitskiĭ continued to travel back and forth between St. Petersburg and Paris. He took photographs of Emperor Alexander II's family and was appointed court photographer, but more importantly he represented Russian photography at various international exhibitions between London and his home city. He continued to play a creative role in Russian photography within the empire as well as abroad until his death in St. Petersburg in 1898 (Lenman 2005a, 362–63; Loginov 2008a, 854). Already called the "father of Russian photography" by his contemporaries (Barkhatova 2013, 5), Levitskiĭ's obituary in the journal *Fotograf Liubitel'* (Amateur Photographer) is an indication of his lasting legacy, stating that with his death, "Russian photography has lost its oldest teacher" (N.N. 1898, 330).

Levitskiĭ's career and work is representative for early photography in relation to both technological and artistic processes of circulation and reciprocal negotiation within an intercultural contact zone connecting Eastern and Western Europe. Product and actor were circulating factors in an international sphere of dialogue

by which technological knowledge was created and developed. Russian images were seen and exhibited in Western European circles and Russian portrait photography was considered to have produced some of the genre's prime examples of that era. Early innovation and excellence were therefore not unique features of Western photographers which despite their dominant position were occasionally also on the receiving end of intercultural encounters with pioneers and inventors from other parts of the world.

Carl Peter Mazér: The East Influencing the West

The story of Sergeĭ Levitskiĭ of course centres on an Eastern European going to the West where innovation and excellence were bundled and structured. The circulation of knowledge behind early photography, however, also brought actors to the Russian Empire. Mostly hunting for profitable markets and exotic motifs, they picked up new ideas there. Thus, a number of foreign artists became acquainted with the new technology while in Russia. The Swedish portraitist Carl Peter Mazér (1807–1884), who came to St. Petersburg in 1838, is a prime example. Initially wanting to go to Paris, he considered Russia an ideal place to accumulate a small fortune that would allow him to pursue his dreams (Lindwall 1985–1987). Indeed, a painter by profession, he was hired by prominent public figures to paint their portraits and was able to build up an extensive client base that included no other than Aleksandr S. Pushkin (1799–1837). Living with an aristocratic family as an art teacher, he learnt to use the family's daguerreotype set and savoured the idea of becoming a professional daguerreotypist. By the late 1840s, Mazér had opened a portrait studio in Moscow where he continued to work on refining his photography skills for the next six years. He also travelled along the River Volga and to Siberia where he intended to portray the exiled Decembrists, but local authorities became aware of his plans when he reached Tobol'sk and expelled him from the city (Saburova 2014, 14, 438). He continued to travel east all the way to Mongolia, a journey that hugely influenced his work as suggested by his abandoning of the Western central perspective in favour of the East Asian style of illustration in his late pictures (Lindwall 1985–1987). Further travels took him to the empire's southern regions in the Caucasus and the Crimea.

After sixteen years, Mazér had accumulated enough capital to realize his old dream of going to Paris and he returned to Western Europe in 1854 where he continued to work as a photographer. A planned album on his travels through the Russian Empire was, however, never realized. Instead, he applied Mongolian and Chinese motifs in his art – something that did not resemble anything else at the Stockholm Academy Exhibition in 1856 (Ibid.). More importantly, he continued

to use and disseminate his knowledge of photography. In 1864, he published a handbook on photography that was also received in the Russian Empire, at least among the Swedish-speaking population of Finland (Käyhko 1995, 110). With his understanding of photography as "the art of writing or drawing with the help of light" ("*Fotografi är konsten att skrifva eller teckna med tillhjelp af ljuset*"; Mazér 1864, 1), he compiled and translated foreign sources to inform his readership on the state of the art in working with collodion, albumen prints and formats like the *carte de visite*. Furthermore, he supported a more holistic understanding of portrait photography and worked on capturing the entire model rather than restricting portraiture to the facial features alone (Käyhko 1995, 112).

The unpublished and undated (though definitely written after leaving Russia) memoirs of his years in Russia give an insight into Mazér as an attentive observer but unfortunately only occasionally into his work as a photographer. His barely structured, three-part manuscript *Notes sur la Russie. D'après different ouvrages* (Notes on Russia. According to various works) consists of 153 tightly scribbled pages and is neither a diary nor a travelogue. The first part (Mazér n.d., 1–101) is an extensive accumulation of recalled conversations, general observations and musings about socio-political issues in the Russian Empire and includes fragments from other sources, for example by the German author and traveller Friedrich Bodenstedt (1819–1892). Influenced by the zeitgeist, Mazér wrote about a "European civilization" having been introduced to Russia by Pëtr I. (Ibid., 8), about the regime of Nikolaĭ I as a "golden age of privilege, of nepotism and of corruption" ("*Son [de Nicolas] régime était l'âge d'or du privilege, du népotisme et de la corruption*"; Ibid., 10), and condemned Napoleon's "egoistic and stupid politics" ("*politique égoïste et stupide*") which had forced Aleksandr I. to delay inner reforms (Ibid., 29). Photography (and painting) is hardly discussed or addressed in his sketches for an album of Russia's countryside (Ibid., 54) – a plan never realized. The second part of the manuscript (Ibid., 102–31) represents an interesting source on the ethnography of the exiled communities in Siberia in which he expresses sympathy for the Decembrists in and around Irkutsk. In writing of higher levels of societal freedom, he follows the narrative of a utopian Siberia (Mazér n.d., 112; Slezkine 1994, 114). As in the third and final part titled, "*Les Chinois*" (Ibid., 132–52), he does not give his photographic work much room and consequently little is known about the working conditions of one of the first Western European photographers educated in the Russian Empire.

Mazér was a well-established painter before becoming acquainted with photography in Russia. In comparison, the biography and work of Scotsman William Carrick differ from the Swede's but equally indicate that St. Petersburg was a hub, albeit peripheral, of European education – able to process and develop

knowledge rather than relying exclusively on imported know-how. Having grown up in Kronstadt in a family of timber merchants, Carrick studied art, architecture and photography at the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts, as well as in Rome and Edinburgh. He opened his own studio in the imperial capital in 1859 and later, in the 1860s and 1870s, became a pioneer of Russian ethnographic photography, exerting a strong influence on the further development of Russian photography as a whole (Ashbee 1978; Barkhatova 2010).

Dmitriĭ Ermakov and Antoin Sevruguin: Eastern Eyes with a Western Gaze

It could well be argued that the examples of Levitskiĭ and Mazér are representative only of the imperial capital, St. Petersburg, and cannot serve to exemplify the role of the Russian Empire as a participant in the international circulation of knowledge in the 19th century. Like anywhere else, early photography was an urban phenomenon and in the case of Russia it was not confined to St. Petersburg and its special role in the contemporary mental mapping of East and West (Plath 2017; D. Shaw 2003) but boomed in other imperial centres such as Moscow (Shipova 2012) and Tbilisi (Mamatsashvili 2014, 22). Regarding the importance of Tbilisi for early photography in the Russian Empire, the researcher may stumble upon conclusions such as: "It was during the early period of photography's development in Georgia that the overall system for importing and using the latest European technology took shape" (Ibid., 28). However, the Russian Empire's borderlands were more than a destination for imported technology and a playground for arriving foreign photographers (for instance, Simon Moritz and Edward Westley) but rather a space of negotiation and the communication of knowledge where photographers from the Russian Empire not only collaborated with their Western European colleagues but also influenced other, non-Western realms.

Similarly to the role of Orthodox Christian photographers, among them many Armenians, in the development of early Ottoman photography (Kaser 2013, 161–65), Russian photographers left their imprint on the early photographic history of the Persian Empire. The first daguerreotype photograph in Iran was produced by the Russian diplomat Nikolaĭ Pavlov who took a portrait of the Qajar crown prince Nāser al-Dīn (1831–1896) upon the official request of the court (Lerner 2015, 158; Tahmasbpour 2013, 7). Whereas in Ottoman Istanbul the Armenian Abdullah brothers were appointed as official court photographers under Sultan Abdülaziz (1830–1876) in the second half of the century (W. Shaw 2003, 141), two Russian photographers were elevated to the same position at the court of the Persian Shah: Dmitriĭ I. Ermakov (1845–1916) and Anton V. Sevriugin (late

1830s–1933), better known as Antoin Sevruguin. Both left an extensive photographic description of 19th century Iran to posterity.

Like many other photographers of his generation, Ermakov received his training at the Military Topographic Academy at Ananuri, located in the foothills of the Caucasus mountain range on the southern side of the Georgian Military Highway. By the time of his education in the 1860s, every military academy in Europe had a photographic department to serve cartographic needs and the production of maps and topographic files, so that it is highly likely that he made his first steps towards becoming a photographer while studying at this academy. Ermakov's diverse photographic legacy, however, reflects more than mere military pragmatism but gives an ethnographic insight into some of the Russian Empire's remotest locations in the Caucasus region as well as of neighbouring countries such as the Persian and Ottoman Empires. Based in Tbilisi with his own photographic studio – considered "a prototype of a photo-agency of today" (Loginov 2008b, 1230) – he frequently travelled abroad on business. His extensive estate included 126 sales albums and more than 25,000 negatives taken in Ottoman Turkey and Russian Turkestan, as well as in Iran where he had a Tehrān branch and eventually received the prestigious title of 'Court Photographer to the Shah of Persia' – a title he happily used when promoting his work (see Fig. 2). Ermakov, however, not only worked in lands to the (south-)east of the Russian Empire but was closely linked to the photographic scene in Western Europe. He exhibited his photographs on numerous occasions in France and Italy, received several awards and eventually became a member of the prestigious French Photographic Society (De Herder 2008, 494–95; Mamatsashvili 2014, 29–35).

Figure 2: "D. Ermakov. Photographer to His Highness, the Persian Shah"

In Tbilisi, Ermakov made the acquaintance of Sevruguin. Born to an Armenian orientalist serving the Russian Empire as a diplomat in Tehrān and his Georgian wife, Sevruguin had started out as a painter but eventually switched to more lucrative photography and was greatly inspired by Ermakov's photographs of Iran, which encouraged him to plan and implement his own photographic survey of the Persian Empire (Behdad 2016, 83). Sevruguin's pictures of Iran have been interpreted as an expression of cultural hybridity (Bohrer 1999) as well as a product of the wide circulation of photographs of the 'Orient' on European markets – a circulation supported by those European institutions whose colonial interests it served (Behdad 2016, 73–99). Indeed, Sevruguin predominantly photographed for Western European audiences and travellers who were acquainted with his works from several expositions in cities such as Brussels and Paris where he was awarded medals and considered a valuable contributor to the study of Iran (Ibid., 91–92). As an intermediary, however, he not only brought photographic images from the Persian Empire into wider circulation in the West but also transported ideas in the other direction, for instance by translating Alphonse Liébert's (1827–1914) works on photography into Fārsī and presenting them to the Persian court (Tahmasbpour 2013, 9).

Russian photographers were deeply influential in establishing photographic traditions in Iran. The first camera in Tehrān came from Moscow upon the Shah's request (Ibid., 7), while Ermakov and Sevruguin left behind two of the most durable photographic surveys of the late Persian Empire. Through the agency of Russian photographers, Iran was included into a network that circulated images to Western Europe – images, however, produced under the influence of Western European expectations and that positioned Russian photographers between mimicry and the 'orientalist gaze'. In order to bring the story of Russian photographers conveying an image of 19th century Iran to Western Europe full circle, we can take a look at the title page of *Le Monde Illustré* of 26 June 1873. The issue shows a portrait of the now adult Shah Nāser al-Dīn with the explanatory remark, "*D'après la dernière photographie faite à Saint-Pètersbourg*" (see Fig. 3). No other than Sergeĭ Levitskiĭ took the Shah's photograph, thereby providing the image reproduced in the newspaper or what Matthias Gründig (2016, 179–80) called a "perfect example for the international circulation of photographs for journalistic purposes already in the 70s of the 19th century".

Figure 3: "Nasser-Ed-Din-Shah, empereur de toute la Perse. (D'après la dernière photographie faite à Saint-Pétersbourg)" (1873)

Conclusions

The history of photography is too complex to be reduced to a singular event of invention, implying an original *locus* of production and innovation from which related knowledge emanated to a variety of receivers. However, the imagined sovereignty of the 'West' in combination with an intellectual understanding of an inferior 'East' has been deeply embedded in the narrative of the former being the origin of modern science and innovation, effectively marginalizing non-Western contributions in different fields of study of which photography is only one. By investigating the example of Russia, I have shown how early photography was the result of widely circulating innovation in an intercultural zone of negotiation. In Russia, photography hardly represented a rupture in visual culture that had already undergone massive change in the course of the secularization of the Empire in the 18th century. This is also the reason why a local practice of photography was quickly established in the Russian Empire. Thus, photographers coming from Western Europe to St. Petersburg, Moscow or Tbilisi were able to soon blend in, maintaining the styles of visual representation that they were familiar with from

their home countries. Some Western European artists were inspired and educated in Russian institutions. Meanwhile, a number of Russians went to the West to become famous and recognized photographers of their time, while others significantly contributed to the technological development of photography. Instead of understanding photography as a product of Western intellectual triumph transferred to the rest of world, I propose that it be considered the result of reciprocal, albeit asymmetric, processes of circulation and negotiation, and that innovation be explained from a global perspective of circulation in order to overcome binary conceptions of a progressive 'West' and a 'non-West' lagging behind. It is exactly this binary conception that decreases awareness of non-Western innovation and leads to its further marginalization in a development that was asymmetric in the first place.

This conception not only marks modern photography history but also dominated the contemporary perception of early photography. The empire in the east of the European continent, Russia, constituted an intriguing object of interest to foreigners and was well suited as a photographic theme to satisfy Western European curiosity. Thus, Charles Piazzi Smyth wrote that "[…] the present imperial metropolis, St. Petersburg, was an important object of our photographic ambition, and the plates we spent on it were not a few" (Smyth 1862, 167). He also described the bureaucracy he was willing to endure when seeking official permission to photograph public buildings and scenes in Russian cities (Ibid., 398–401). Despite the strong interest of photographers in taking pictures of the Russian Empire, this did not result in any particular knowledge about photographs by Russian artists. In his travel notes, *Three Cities in Russia*, Smyth wrote:

> Again, some one had told us on ship-board that photography was miserable and hardly known in St. Petersburg; that was, nevertheless, a decided mistake, for there is scarcely a more frequent sign to be met with along all the principal streets, than фотографія; and the specimens exhibited outside the studios, chiefly large-sized portraits, were among the finest things we have ever seen in that line […] (Smyth 1862, 308).

By the time Smyth noted his expectations and observations, photographs had been on the market for more than two decades already and it still came as a surprise that the European East could contribute the one or other innovation to a scientific world that was understood to be shaped exclusively by the West – an understanding that was perpetuated through a binary conception of history focusing on knowledge transfer rather than circulation.

Works Cited

Arnold, David. *Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India*. Cambridge University Press, 2000. The New Cambridge History of India III/5.

Ashbee, Felicity. "William Carrick: A Scots photographer in St. Petersburg (1827–1878)." *History of Photography*, vol. 2, no. 3, July 1978, pp. 207–22.

Barchatowa, Jelena. "Die ersten Photographien in Rußland." *Russische Photographie 1840–1940. Katalog zur Wanderausstellung Hundert Jahre Photographie in Rußland 1840–1940*, edited by David Elliott, Ars Nicolai, 1993a, pp. 24–29.

--- "Realismus und Dokumentation. Photographie als Fakt." *Russische Photographie 1840–1940. Katalog zur Wanderausstellung Hundert Jahre Photographie in Rußland 1840–1940*, edited by David Elliott, Ars Nicolai, 1993b, pp. 41–50.

--- = Barkhatova, Elena V. *Russkaia svetopis'. Pervyĭ vek fotoiskusstva 1839–1914*. Al'jans and Liki Rossii, 2009.

--- = Barkhatova, Elena V. "The Russian Fate of the Scotchman William Carrick." *Russkie fotografy XIX veka. Vil'iam Karrik. Kartiny russkoĭ zhizni*, edited by A.P. Balachenkova, Rosfoto, 2010, pp. 39–62.

--- = Barkhatova, Elena V. "Pervaia natsional'naia fotokollektsiia (Rossiĭskaia natsional'naia biblioteka." *Sbornik dokladov mezhdunarodnoĭ konferentsii "Fotografiia v muzee", 21–23 Maia 2013 g.*, edited by E.A. Vasil'eva, Rosfoto, 2013, pp. 5–12.

Basalla, George. "The Spread of Western Science. A three-stage model describes the introduction of modern science into any non-European nation." *Science,* vol. 156, no. 3775, May 1967, pp. 611–22.

Batchen, Geoffrey. *Burning with Desire. The Conception of Photography.* MIT Press, 1997.

--- "Origins without End." *Photography and its Origins*, edited by Tanya Sheehan and Andrés Mario Zervigón, Routledge, 2015, pp. 67–81.

Behdad, Ali. *Camera Orientalis. Reflections on Photography of the Middle East*. University of Chicago Press, 2016.

Bohrer, Frederick N. "Looking through photographs: Sevruguin and the Persian image." *Sevruguin and the Persian Image: Photographs of Iran, 1870–1930*, edited by Frederick N. Bohrer, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1999, pp. 33–53.

Burke, Peter. "The Circulation of Knowledge." *The Renaissance World*, edited by John Jeffries Martin, Routledge, 2007, pp. 191–207.

Cunningham, Andrew, and Perry Williams. "De-centring the 'big picture': *The Origins of Modern Science* and the modern origins of science." *The British Journal for the History of Science*, vol. 26, no. 4, December 1993, pp. 407–32.

Edwards, Elizabeth, editor. *Anthropology and Photography. 1860–1920.* Yale University Press, 1992.

Elliott, David. "Die Photographie in Rußland: Ikone eines neuen Zeitalters." *Russische Photographie 1840–1940. Katalog zur Wanderausstellung Hundert Jahre Photographie in Rußland 1840–1940*, edited by David Elliott, Ars Nicolai, 1993, pp. 11–22.

Gründig, Matthias. *Der Schah in der Schachtel. Soziale Bildpraktiken im Zeitalter der Carte de visite*. Jonas, 2016.

Hamel, Joseph. "Ueber Daguerre's Heliographie und Abdrücke von seinen heliographirten Platten. Aus einem Schreiben des Herrn Akademikers HAMEL an den beständigen Secretär (lu le 10 janvier 1840)." *Bulletin Scientifique publie par L'Académie Impériale des Sciences des Saint-Peters-bourg*, vol. 6, no. 20–21, 1840, pp. 318–36.

Henisch, Bridget A., and Henisch, Heinz K. *The photographic experience 1839–1914. Images and attitudes.* Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.

Herder, Hans de. "Dmitri Ermakov." *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography. Vol. 1. A–I*, edited by John Hannavy, Routledge, 2008, pp. 494–96.

Hokanson, Katya. *Writing at Russia's Border*. University of Toronto Press, 2008.

Jakobi, Moritz Hermann. *Die Galvanoplastik oder das Verfahren cohärentes Kupfer in Platten oder nach sonst gegebenen Formen, unmittelbar aus Kupferauflösungen, auf galvanischem Wege zu produciren*. Eggers, 1840.

Kaser, Karl. *Andere Blicke. Religion und visuelle Kulturen auf dem Balkan und im Nahen Osten.* Böhlau, 2013.

Käyhko, Unto. *Painted and Photographed Portraits in Finland 1839–1870.* Jyväskylä University Press, 1995. Jyväskylä Studies in the Arts 50.

Keim, Wiebke. "Conceptualizing Circulation of Knowledge in the Social Sciences." *Global Knowledge Production in the Social Sciences. Made in Circulation*, edited by Ercüment Çelik et al., Ashgate, 2014, pp. 87–113.

Kouteinikova, Inessa, and Karina Solovyova. "A Different Caucasus. Early Triumphs of Photography in the Caucasus." *Venezia Arti*, vol. 25, December 2016, pp. 133–49.

Layton, Susan. *Russian Literature and Empire. Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy*. Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Lenman, Robin. "Levitsky, Sergei." *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph*, edited by Robin Lenman, Oxford University Press, 2005a, pp. 362–63.

--- "Russia." *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph*, edited by Robin Lenman, Oxford University Press, 2005b, pp. 552–56.

Lerner, Judith A. "A case of synchronicity: Photography and Qajar Iran's rediscovery of its ancient past." *The Eye of the Shah. Qajar Court Photography and the Persian Past*, edited by Jennifer Y. Chi, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at NYU, 2015, pp. 158–77.

Levashov, Vladimir. *Lektsii po istorii fotografii*. Trimedia, 2014.

Levitskiĭ, Sergeĭ L. "Iz vremen dagerotipii (1841–1850)." *Fotograficheskiĭ ezhegodnik P.M. Dement'eva*, no. 1, 1892, pp. 177–89.

Lindwall, Bo. "Carl Peter Mazér." *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 25, 1985–1987, p. 295, https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/9214. Accessed 15 December 2017.

Litchfield, Richard B. *Tom Wedgwood. The First Photographer.* Duckworth, 1903.

Loginov, Alexei. "Sergey Lvovich Levitsky." *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography. Vol. 2. J–Z*, edited by John Hannavy, Routledge, 2008a, pp. 853–55.

--- "Russian Empire." *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography. Vol. 2. J–Z*, edited by John Hannavy, Routledge, 2008b, pp. 1227–32.

Mamatsashvili, Lika. "Early Photography in Georgia." *Masters of 19th Century Photography. Dimitri Ermakov. Photographer and Collector*, Georgian National Museum, 2014, pp. 15–41.

Mazér, Carl Peter. *Notes sur la Russie d'àpres différents ouvrages.* Riksarkivet Stockholm, SE/AB144/EA_728-1/CM 1/1, N.d.

--- *Handledning i fotografi eller konsten att på egen hand lära sig att aftaga bilder på glas och papper, samt att förfärdiga stereoskopbilder och visitkortporträtter; efter nyaste och enklaste methoder*. Sigfrid Flodins, 1864.

Morozov, S. "Early photography in Eastern Europe. Russia." *History of Photography*, vol. 1, no. 4, October 1977, pp. 327–47.

N.N. "Sergeĭ L'vovich Levitskiĭ." *Fotograf-Liubitel'*, vol. 9, September 1898, pp. 330–31.

Pink, Sarah. *Doing Visual Ethnography. Images, Media and Representation in Research*. SAGE, 2001.

Pinney, Christopher. *The Coming of Photography in India*. British Library, 2008.

Plath, Tilman. "Nördlich, westlich, oder östlich? – St. Petersburg als Forschungsobjekt und Wissenschaftsstandort deutschsprachiger Wirtschaftswissenschaftler Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts." *Konstruierte (Fremd-?)Bilder. Das östliche Europa im Diskurs des 18. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Christoph Augustynowicz and Agnieszka Pufelska, De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2017, pp. 164–78.

Porter, Roy, and Mikuláš Teich, editors. *The Scientific Revolution in National Context*. Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Raj, Kapil. *Relocating Modern Science. Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900*. Palgrave Macmillian, 2007.

--- "Beyond Postcolonialism … and Postpositivism. Circulation and the Global History of Science." *Isis*, vol. 104, no. 2, June 2013, pp. 337–47.

Saburova, Tat'iana G. *Dagerotip v Rossii. Sobranie istoricheskogo muzeia*. Gosudarstvennyĭ istoricheskiĭ muzeĭ, 2014.

Sachse, Julius F. "Early Daguerreotype Days – V. An historical retrospect." *American Journal of Photography*, vol. 13, no. 154, October 1892, pp. 451–59.

Schulz, Constance B. "War Photography." *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph*, edited by Robin Lenman, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 659–66.

Schulze, Johann Heinrich. "Scotophorus pro phosphoro inventus feu experimentum curiosum de effectu radiorum solarium." *Bibliothecae Novissimae Observationum Ac Recensionum*, vol. 5, 1719, pp. 234–40.

Secord, James A. "Knowledge in Transit." *Isis*, vol. 95, no. 4, December 2004, pp. 654–72.

Ségur, Louis Phillipe de. *Mémoires, Souvenirs et Anecdotes.* Didot, 1859.

Shaw, Denis J. B. "St. Petersburg and Geographies of Modernity in Eighteenth-Century Russia." *St. Petersburg, 1703–1825*, edited by Anthony Cross, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 6–29.

Shaw, Wendy M.K. *Possessors and Possessed. Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*. University of California Press, 2003.

--- "Ottoman Photography of the Late Nineteenth Century: An 'Innocent' Modernism?" *History of Photography*, vol. 33, no. 1, February 2009, pp. 80–93.

Shipova, Tat'iana N. *Moskovskie fotografy 1839–1930. Istoriia Moskovskoj fotografii*. Planeta, 2012.

Slezkine, Yuri. *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the small peoples of the North*. Cornell University Press, 1994.

Smyth, Charles Piazzi. *Three Cities in Russia. Vol. 1*. Lovell Reeve, 1862.

Solovyeva, Karina. "Russian Ethnographical Pictures and Orientalism." *Russia's Unknown Orient. Orientalist Painting 1850–1920*, edited by Inessa Kouteinikova and Patty Wageman, Groninger Museum and NAI Publishers, 2010, pp. 63–66.

Stiegler, Bernd. *Theoriegeschichte der Photographie*. Fink, 2006.

Stiegler, Bernd, and Felix Thürlemann. *Meisterwerke der Fotografie.* Reclam, 2011.

Tagg, John. *The Burden of Representation. Essays on Photographies and Histories.* University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

Tamasbpour, Mohammad Reza. "Photography in Iran: A Chronology." *History of Photography*, vol. 37, no. 1, February 2013, pp. 7–13.

Wilder, Kelley E. "Invention of Photography." *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph*, edited by Robin Lenman, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 314–17.

Wolff, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford University Press, 1994.

Zahorcak, Milan. "Evolution of the Photographic Lens in the 19th Century." *The focal encyclopedia of photography*, 4th ed., edited by Michael R. Peres, Elsevier, 2007, pp. 157–76.

List of Figures

Figure 2: "D. Ermakov. Photographer to His Highness, the Persian Shah." The Georgian Museum of Photography [D. Jermakov's photographic stamp. Tiflis.], http://www.photomuseum.org.ge/photographers/jermakov/jermakov_en.htm. Accessed 15 December 2017.

Figure 3: "*Nasser-Ed-Din-Shah, empereur de toute la Perse. (D'après la dernière photographie faite à Saint-Pétersbourg)*" (1873). *Le Monde Illustré*, no. 846, 28.06.1873, pp. 1.

THE DEPICTION OF THE WESTERN BLACK SEA REGION IN FRENCH MILITARY DOCUMENTS FROM THE NAPOLEONIC ERA[1]

Wojciech Sajkowski

Abstract: Russian and Habsburg interests met in the western area of the Black Sea Region (Moldavia, Bessarabia, Dobruja, Wallachia and Bulgaria). However, from the second half of the 18th century, the French presence became crucial. It began with the search for new markets and was followed by rising political involvement in this area, culminating in the 1860s. This paper focuses on the most important moment in this process: the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte (1799–1815), marked by an expansionist policy towards the Ottoman Empire. The paper discusses the problem of the representation of the western Black Sea Region as a sphere of imperial interest in French military documents.

The toponym 'Balkan Peninsula' became one of the most undefined and semantically capacious names used in the geography of Southeast Europe. It was introduced by the German geographer August Zeune in 1808, who thought that the mountain chain described by ancient Greek geographers as 'Haemus' and later named 'Balkan Mountains' by the Ottomans divided the south-eastern part of Europe from the rest of the continent, and thus created a separate geographical entity (Jezernik 2004, 23). However, no other clear division ever existed that would make it possible to distinguish distinct geographical frontiers for the Balkans. The name 'Balkans' became a political, cultural and civilizational category, used in a rather pejorative way (Todorova 2008, 27–28), though quite loosely (Garde 2004, 17–36). The term was introduced gradually as the Ottoman Empire weakened, making the term the 'Turkey of Europe' less and less useful.[2]

---

[2] As long as the Ottoman Empire was successful in its conquests, it had a positive image in Western Europe. However, after the defeat at Vienna in 1683, and following the treaties of Sremski Karlovci and Požarevac, the Ottoman Turks were held in increasingly low esteem. As Western European observers tried to detect the causes of the weakening political position of the Ottomans, they started to emphasize the backwardness of the state, firstly in terms of the development of the social system as well as with regard to science and the arts. Secondly, on a more general level, while Ottoman culture was seen to possess the positive qualities of exotic charm, it was also described as barbaric (Todorova 2008, 68, 268).

As already outlined, this semantically capacious term was able to emerge due to the lack of geographical knowledge about the inland areas of European Turkey. This concerned not only the territories of Serbia, Macedonia and Bulgaria, through which this hypothetic chain of mountains supposedly ran, but also the territories of Wallachia and Dobruja, which were actually divided from each other by the Balkan Mountains. Thus, it can be said that insufficient geographical knowledge had an important impact on the creation of this new category, serving to describe the lands hitherto simply named the 'Turkey of Europe' (Todorova 2008, 68).

This paper tries to shed some light on the problem of Western-European knowledge on the inland parts of South-Eastern Europe on the example of the western part of the Black Sea Region (Dobruja, Wallachia and Bulgaria), which – as it was already mentioned – was representative for a more general issue of the emergence of the idea of the Balkans. This part of the continent was the area in which Russian and Habsburg interests met. However, since the second half of the 18th century the French presence was also becoming significant. Although the French were gathering the information on the western part of the Black Sea Region already in 16th century (Iosipescu 2006) and were discussing the possibilities of the partition of the Ottoman Empire already in the times of King Louis XIV (Todorova 2008, 167), it was the search for the new markets after the defeats of the French Fleet during the Seven Years' War (1757–1763) which considerably raised French interest in South-Eastern Europe, especially in the water route on the Danube (Šamić 1960, 55–66). This economic expansion was followed by a rising political engagement in this area, which had its culmination in the sixth decade of 19th century, during the Crimean War (1853–1856). This paper focuses on the important moment of this process, which was the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte (1799–1815) marked by the expansionist policy towards the Ottoman Empire,[3] and deliberates on the problem of representation of the western Black Sea Region as a sphere of imperial interests in French military documents. To understand the importance of such testimonies, the paper highlights also the question of the French knowledge on the geography of South-Eastern Europe in the 18th century.

---

[3] In 1806, the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy acquired Istria and Dalmatia. Those regions along with Civil and Military Croatia as well as Carniola and Carinthia formed the Illyrian Provinces, which existed in the years 1809–1813. This short interval of French government in South-Eastern Europe resulted not only in gathering information on the territories administered by the Napoleonic administration, but also on the entire region, which later was named as the Balkans (Senkowska–Gluck 1980, 16–19).

The subject of the image of the peoples of the Balkan Black Sea coast in France during the Enlightenment and at the beginning of the 19th century has not yet been studied sufficiently. Such researchers as Midhadt Šamić, Božidar Jezernik, or Maria Todorova who investigated the notion of the emergence of the idea of the Balkans concentrated mainly on the travellers and their testimonies, which were considered as the main medium allowing the Western observers to create a certain vision of South-Eastern Europe. However, it seems that the documents, which were produced by the militaries, could be at least of the same importance, if not of the greater. Nevertheless, some of the works, which were related to that matter, became a significant help in the research. First of all, the works on the subject of French travel literature in South-Eastern Europe. One of the first researchers in this field was Nicolae Iorga. In his work titled *Les voyageurs français dans l'Orient européen*, he wrote about such travellers as Quiclet or Poullet, who went to Istanbul through Dalmatia and Bosnia, but Iorga's investigation also concerned the travellers who described the Black Sea coast. This thread was also touched upon by such researchers as Larry Wolff (1994, 69–74) who raised the problem of the image of the Eastern Part of the Black Sea Region in a wider perspective of the Western European image of South-Eastern Europe and in a broader context of the knowledge exchange and cosmopolitism (Bourguinat 2007, 225–49). The problem of the French image of the West Coast of the Black Sea also appeared in the special issue of the journal *Revue historique des armées* (2006) devoted to the French-Romanian relations in the military context in 19th century (Georgescu 2006; Pernot 2006) and earlier (Iosipescu 2006), yet omitting the Napoleonic period. A separate problem important for the matters analysed in this paper is the question of the knowledge of the cartography of South-Eastern Europe in the Napoleonian era and earlier, discussed by such authors as Petto (2007), Gašperič (2010) or Pazarli (2010).

French Cartography of South-Eastern Europe and the Black Sea Region in the 18th Century

The famous French cartographer Guillaume Delisle mentioned the difficulties which occurred during the preparations of his famous *Carte de la Hongrie et des pays qui en dépendaient autrefois* published in 1703, which depicted almost the entirety of South-Eastern Europe, including the western part of the Black Sea

Region.[4] According to the French cartographer, who, in a letter published in *Journal des savants* from 18 June 1703, commented on the problems which occurred while drawing the map: "Dalmatia, Albania, Bosnia, Serbia and Bulgaria, were the most difficult to be depicted on this map."[5] This observation was followed by the declaration in which the cartographer explained his motivation behind preparation of the map: "It is certain that the countries included on this map are among those most neglected not only by contemporary but also ancient cartography and it is the strive for better representation that drove me into this work."[6]

It is possible to say that Delisle could be viewed as the person who highlighted the necessity of improving the knowledge on the geography of South-Eastern Europe, although his example was not followed immediately. The geographical manuals from the second part of the 18th century, e.g. the reissue of the geographical manual of Lenglet du Fresnoy from 1768, which was firstly published in 1718, still referred to the maps which were made in 17th century by Guillaume Sanson (Sanson 1689), and naturally to Delisle's works (Delisle 1703), when reporting on the available maps of the Ottoman Turkey:

> We have several maps of the Turkish Empire. M. Guillaume Sanson drew the map of the Turkish Empire in 1689, in two sheets, in general published by Monsieur Jaillot's house. The same Mr. Sanson also published the map of the Turkish Empire in Europe in two sheets, which Jaillot made reappear in 1716. Finally, we have another one made by Guillaume Sanson, depicting the northern part of Turkey in Europe, in two sheets, as well as the southern part, similarly in two sheets. Mr. Delisle also drew two good maps on the Turkish Empire: Hungary and

---

[4] On the east-west axis, the map covered the area from Croatia to the Crimea, and on the north-south axis, it showed areas from Poland to northern Greece. This map – unlike many other ones of that time – was a real improvement, and not only the repetition of the work of other cartographers (Petto 2007, 153). In his letter, published in *Journal des savants*, Delisle underlined, that he was conscious that many of the previous maps of South-Eastern Europe were the examples of plagiarism, but he benefited from a few valuable maps by preparing his sheet, e.g. the ones made by the famous Venetian cartographer, Coronelli in 1689. He underlined that he compiled those information with the discoveries made by travellers such as priest Michel Antoine Baudrand, and many others (Delisle 1704, 625–27).

[5] "J'ai trouvé dans ces mémoires quelques excellents morceaux, partie en cartes M. S. et partie en discours, touchant la Dalmatie, l'Albanie, la Bosnie, la Servie & la Bulgarie, qui sont des endroits autant difficiles à démêler qu'il y en ait sur cette Carte" (Delisle 1704, 627).

[6] "Il est certain que les Pays qui sont décrits dans cette carte, sont du nombre de ceux qui ont été des plus négligez, non seulement pour la géographie moderne, mais aussi pour l'ancienne; & c'est ce qui m'a déterminé à y travailler pour tâcher de les éclaircir" (Ibid., 625).

Northern European Turkey, in one sheet, in 1703, and Greece, or south-ern European Turkey, also in one sheet, in 1707. We favor them over the previous ones.[7]

Of course, the first edition of of Lenglet du Fresnoy's work, which was pub-lished in 1718, was accurate. However, the lack of the new information about the cartography of South-Eastern Europe in the edition from 1768 was not an edito-rial mistake. It is just that between 1719 and 1768, there were only few maps of South-Eastern Europe issued in France. Later, in the ninth decade of 18th century (1781), Laville published his map of *Turquie d'Europe ou se trouve la Moldavie et les environs de la Mer-Noire*, but this map was only a slight improvement when it comes to the geography of South-Eastern Europe. Although the title of the map mentioned "Moldavia and the surroundings of the Black Sea", it presented all of the area later named as the Balkans, as well as the entirety of the Black Sea, not only its Western coast. Unfortunately, this map was not a great improvement when it came to the cartographic representation of geography of the lands situated on the western coast of the Black Sea, e.g. Dobruja and Budjak were depicted in the same way as on Delisle's map, with only few differences.

Although the work of Delisle marked an improvement when it came to knowledge on the geography of South-Eastern Europe, the overview made above shows that maps of those areas were still inaccurate, and there was almost no further amelioration in that matter in the 18th century. This problem was observed by the French themselves. Voltaire mentioned in his *Dictionnaire philosophique* that "a general who would wage war in the countries of the Uskoks, the Morlachs, and Montenegrins, would be as embarrassed as if he was in the middle of Af-rica."[8] Of course, the French philosopher refers here to the Eastern Coast of the Adriatic, although it seems that this citation might also fit the western part of the Black Sea Region, were the French were present as well. This citation contains a very stunning comparison of the South-Eastern Europe to Africa, which aimed to show that even at the time when the Europeans colonized distant lands, they did

---

[7] "Nous avons plusieurs cartes de l'empire Turc. M. Guillaume Sanson a donné, en 1689, en deux feuilles, l'Empire Turc en général: Elle se vent chez monsieur Jaillot. Le même M. Sanson a donné aussi en deux feuilles l'Empire du Turc en Europe, que le sieur Jaillot fit reparaître en 1716. Enfin nous avons du même Guillaume Sanson la partie septentrionale de la Turquie en Europe, en deux feuilles, aussi bien que la partie méridionale, pareillement en deux feuilles. M. Delisle a aussi donné deux bonnes Cartes sur l'Empire Turc: la Hongrie et Turquie Européenne septentrionale, en un feuille, 1703, et la Grèce, ou Turquie Européenne méridionale, aussi en une feuille, 1707. On les préfère aux précédents" (Du Fresnoy 1768, 11–12).

[8] "Un général qui ferait la guerre dans les pays des Uscoques, des Morlaques, des Monténégrins, et qui n'aurait point toute connaissance de lieux que les cartes, serait aussi embarrassé que s'il se trouvait au milieu de l'Afrique" (Voltaire 1784, 458–59).

not know everything about Europe. This remark made by Voltaire contains also a very important indication about the person for whom the lack of the good maps of this part of the continent was the biggest problem: Naturally, it was a general leading the war campaign. This opinion of Voltaire clearly shows that it was the political engagement in the region of South-Eastern Europe, which resulted in the necessity of improving the knowledge on its geography. Unlike in Delisle's declaration who mentioned that he was driven by the sole desire of augmentation of the knowledge on the geography of South-Eastern Europe, in Voltaire's *Diction-naire philosophique* this necessity of supplementing the maps of this part of the continent was presented as the result of the political expansion of the European powers.
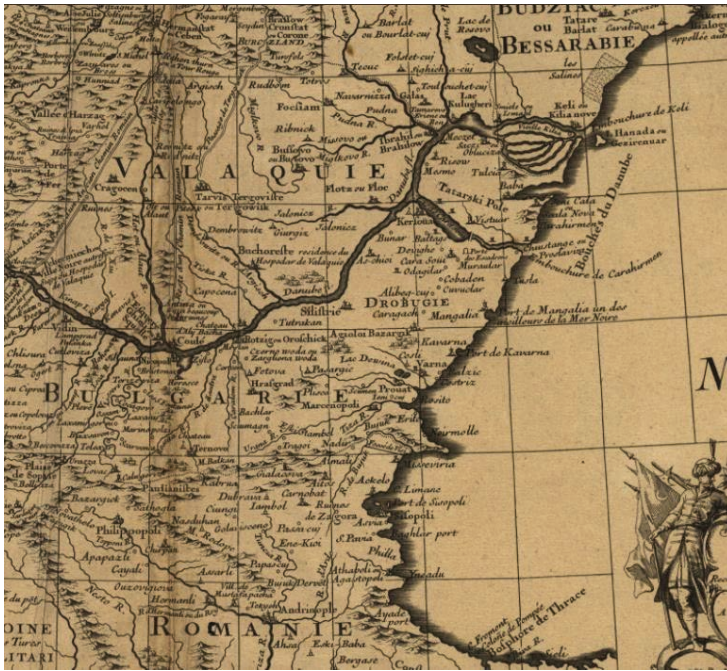
Figure 1: A Fragment of a Map of Guillaume Delisle, Carte de la Hongrie et des pays qui en dépendaient autrefois (1703)

The Black Sea Region in French Military Documents from the Napoleonic Era

Following the remark of Voltaire that good maps were important for the military officers involved in the political expansion in South-Eastern Europe, it seems well justified to start the investigation of the French image of the west of the

Black Sea Region from the military documents. The proper starting point for the analysis of the evolution of the French image of the west of the Black Sea Region consists of a further investigation of the French cartography of South-Eastern Europe, which obviously developed after the French became the rulers of its western confines, when Dalmatia became a part of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy in 1806, and when the Illyrian Provinces were created in 1809.

Maps are the best-known proof of this amelioration of the French knowledge on the geography of South-Eastern Europe. The first one used in this analysis was the map published by Gaetan Palma in 1811, *Carte de la plus Grande Partie de la Turquie d'Europe*, dedicated to the first governor of the Illyrian Provinces, Marshal Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de Marmont (Pazarli 2010, 162). The other ones are stored in the archival section SHD/DAT[9] 1M 1619 of the archives of the French Ministry of Defense at Château des Vincennes, i.e. the sheets *Carte d'une partie de la Turquie d'Europe*, from 1810 (Carte d'une partie de la Turquie, SHD/DAT 1M 1618), and the second one, from the same archival section, which was added to *the Rapport sur les deux Valachies* made in 1829 (Rapport sur les deux Valachies, SHD/DAT 1M 1619).

The common point between the maps by Delisle (Delisle 1703), Laville (Laville 1781) and the map of *Carte d'une partie de la Turquie d'Europe* (1810) was the very specific depiction of the course of the lower Danube (in Wallachia and Dobruja), which was placed on the West-East axis, with only a slight change in Northeast direction after passing through the city of Cernavodă. However, the course of the river was depicted more correctly already on the map issued by Gaetan Palma from 1811. It showed that after passing the cities of Rasova and Cernavodă, the Danube flows from the South to the North (and not from the South to the Northeast), and only after passing through Galați it turns East, and forms an estuary. The similar shape of the Danube was later reflected in the abovementioned maps that were issued later, e.g. the one added to *the Rapport sur les deux Valachies* made in 1829.

The differences between the maps issued before 1811, and since this year inclusive, shows that it was during the Napoleonic period when the knowledge on the geography of western Bulgaria, Dobruja or Wallachia (also on the region of the Balkan Mountains that later gave name to the whole peninsula) was improved. Especially the section of the manuscripts which are gathered in *Service Historique de la Défense* provides some important documents which show the changes occurring in the French knowledge on such regions as Bulgaria, Dobruja

---

[9] Service Historique de la Défense / Département de l'Armée de Terre.

or Wallachia. The archival sections described by the signatures SHD/DAT 1M 1618 (*Turquie et péninsule illyrienne, 1807–1809*) and SHD/DAT 1M 1619 (*Turquie et péninsule illyrienne, 1811–1849*) contain some very important manuscripts which give an insight into the evolution of the French knowledge on Bulgaria, Wallachia or Dobruja.[10]

Figure 2: A Fragment of a Map of Gaetan Palma, Carte de la plus Grande Partie de la Turquie d'Europe […] (1810)

---

[10] Such testimonies can be divided into two basic groups, and both of them can be found in the archives of *Service Historique de la Défense*. The first *les rapports* (*the reports*) are the descriptions of the certain area which are made to one, fixed dictionary, enumerating the information about geography of every land, its natural resources, agriculture, and finally the society and its customs. The second group consists of the travel itineraries, which often the similar information similar as in the reports, although this information is not classified according to the survey, but it was mentioned along with the description of each day of the travel. We can add the third one to those two kinds of documents – the correspondence between the officers. Such sources did not contain only the information useful for military manoeuvres but also detailed descriptions on the indigenous population, including its character, confession, and advancement of agriculture and industry. The French were investigating the inner diversity of Ottoman Empire for political reasons, but at the same time they were constructing the image of this area and passing it to Western Europe.

Once more, it is important to mention the statement made by Voltaire, who, in his *Philosophical Dictionary*, said that "geographers have often traced their fantasies in their offices" (Voltaire 1784, 458–59). The French militaries who visited South-Eastern Europe in the beginning of the 19th century were as far as it is possible from such attitude. They were becoming the geographers who based their cartography on erudition, but the practice of travel, merged with the detailed description made for the military purposes, which allowed the generals and officers not to be "as embarrassed as if he were in the middle of the Africa" (Ibid.).

The itineraries, which are related to the Black Sea Region, were not very numerous because the main route, which led through the Balkans to Constantinople, was the route for the Dalmatian cities trough Bosnia, and it was known by French travellers since the 15th century (Šamić 1960, 21–66). The majority of reports which may be found in the archival sections SHD/DAT 1M 1618 and SHD/DAT 1M 1619 involve the routes from Dalmatia to Istanbul through Bosnia, which proves that the areas which became a part of the Napoleonic Empire known as the Illyrian Provinces became the base for the exploration of the inland parts later named as the Balkans.[11] However, even if the majority of the travellers headed towards the capital of the Ottoman Empire, it is also possible to find the itineraries describing other travel routes. Among them, the testimonies of the already mentioned interest in the water route of Danube which made the Black Sea Region accessible from the lands which formed Illyrian Provinces in 1809, e.g. from Carniola. The French investigated the possibility of the communication from Ljubljana to Belgrade via Sava River, and from Belgrade to the Black Sea via the Danube River. The report depicting the course of the Danube from Belgrade to the Black Sea, dated on 15 December 1807,[12] proves that the French were vitally interested in the exploration of the Black Sea Region. The existence of such a report explains also the already highlighted question, which occurred in the times of Napoleon: the improvement of the cartographic representations of the geography of the western coast of the Black Sea and the course of the lower Danube. As

---

[11] The archival section SHD/DAT 1M 1618 includes the itineraries of travels to Istanbul from Sinj, made by Boutin (*Itinéraire de Sign à Constantinople par Boutin capitaine du génie, Constantinople, 28 mars 1807*) and by General Lauriston (*Journal de voyage, de Sign à Constantinople, du 16 mai au 20 juin 1807*), as well as from Spalato, also made by Boutin (*Itinéraire de Spalato à Constantinople, par Boutin, chef de bataillon du génie, Paris, janvier 1808*), from Zadar to European Turkey by Captain Tromelin (*Itinéraire d'un voyage fait dans la Turquie d'Europe, par le capitaine Tromelin, de l'état-major de l'armée de Dalmatie, Zara, 10 février 1808*), from Istanbul to Ragusa (*Itinéraire de Constantinople à Raguse, etc., novembre 1807*) and many others.
[12] *Description du cours du Danube depuis Belgrade jusqu'à la mer Noire, 15 décembre* (Description du cours du Danube, SHD/DAT 1M 1618).

it is visible, this amelioration of the maps remained in the strict correlation with the travel itineraries.

Although the mentioned report on the course of Danube concentrated mainly on the description of topography and was made strictly for the navigation purposes, the archival section SHD/DAT 1M 1619 delivered also some more complex descriptions. One of them was made by an officer, Captain Thomassin, sent by French authorities to investigate the military routes in the western part of the Black Sea Region, and the travel resulted in the report dated on 1814 and titled *Itinéraire de Constantinople à Bucarest* (Itinéraire de Constantinople, SHD/DAT 1M 1619). Thomassin travelled from Constantinople (Istanbul) to Bucharest, and further to Transylvania.

Captain of military engineering ('génie militaire') Thomassin, thoroughly described his route from Istanbul to Bucharest which naturally passed through the chain of the mountains of Balkan. Not all of the toponyms were possible to be localized on the maps, those which were identified, mainly thanks to the map of Bulgaria from 1897 (Turkey in Europe 1897), were mentioned with their actual name in the parenthesis. The travel started right at the gates of the capital of the Ottoman Empire, at the 'Ponte Piccolo' (Küçük Çekmece) and followed to Silvira (Silivri) and this leg of journey lasted ten hours. The next legs of the travel led from Silvira to Cirili (Çorlu, eight hours), then six hours to Caris Tecan (a small village which I was not able to localize), eight hours to Eski Baba (Babaeski), ten hours to Adrianople (Edirne), six hours to Buyuk-Dervend (Büyük-Dervend, a locality in the north of Edirne, probably Golyam Dervent, six hours), Papasli (south of Yambol, probably Popovo, six hours), Dokus-Jukler (unlocalized, close to Karnobat, nine hours), Dobrol (Prilep, six hours), Cialy Kavac (unlocalized, four hours), Dragoi (Dragoevo, four hours), Caradgios (unlocalized, nine hours), Dorlaz (unlocalized, nine hours), Ruse (Rusçuk, seven hours), Guirievo (Giurgiu, seven hours), and to Bucharest (13 hours). Each leg of the journey was traversed in one day; so generally, it lasted 17 days, although the captain described also a further road from Bucharest to Transylvania.

The description of Thomassin was very detailed and included not only the information about the cities and villages which he passed through, but also about the fortresses and other important locations located nearby. Thomassin noticed the differences between different peoples inhabiting the area, like Turks, Bulgarians, or the Vlachs, but focused mainly on the agriculture of the lands he travelled through. Almost every day of the journey, Captain Thomassin made a similar

remark: "The country is uncovered and not much cultivated."[13] This remark was made on the first, the second, the fourth, the fifth and eight day of his travel. Only on the third day of the travel he observed that near Çorlu the lack of the cultivated land can also be observed, but there are some vineyards, and the seventh day he mentioned that the lands near the Adrianople are very well cultivated. In the case of the Dokus-Jukler he made an interesting remark that the lands around the village are very fertile and they could be used better for the purposes of the agriculture. This might suggest that he could think that it was the fault of the population who did not want to exploit the potential of the land sufficiently. It is hard to say if it is possible to search here for some beginnings of the stereotypes on the backwardness of the Balkans, but such physiocratic observations were surely a proper basis for their development. The descriptions made by Thomassin were rather brief, with only one exception of the description of the poverty of the inhabitants of Wallachia:

> The Vlach people are slaves. They possess only cattle, their horses, and their houses. The lands belonged to Boyars or Lords, most of whom lived in the country, confining themselves to asserting their property, while the greedy Greeks who had come from Constantinople to enrich themselves formed the Court of the Prince, who had no other aim during the short duration of his reign than to amass treasure at the expense of the people he governs. It is the very last grain of which the inhabitants of the country make the basis for their food. The principal productions of Wallachia are wheat, barley, and maize (...) The wines of this province are in small quantities and of poor quality, and their forages are very abundant.[14]

It is very striking why so much space was devoted to this issue. There are two possibilities – the first is that the poverty on Wallachia was so deep that it surprised the French officer who felt compelled to write about it. However, it is possible that he already knew about this problem. The history of Wallachia was known to the French observers firstly because of the French translation of the

---

[13] "Le pays est découvert et peu cultive" (Thomassin, SHD/DAT 1M 1619).
[14] "Le peuple Valaque est esclave. Il ne possède que son bétail, ses chevaux et ses maisons. Les terres appartiennent à des Boyards ou Seigneurs qui par la plupart habitent la campagne, se bornant à faire valoir leur propriété tandis que les Grecs avides venus de Constantinople pour s'enrichir, forment la cour du Prince, qui n'a d'autre but pendant la courte durée de son règne que d'amasser un trésor aux dépens du peuple qu'il gouverne […]. C'est le dernier grain que les habitants des campagnes font la base de leur nourriture. Les productions principales de la Valachie sont le blé, l'orge et le maïs. […] Les vins de cette province sont en petite quantité et d'une mauvaise qualité. Ses fourrages sont très abondantes" (Ibid.).

historical work of Dimitrie Cantemir,[15] and also thanks to Friedrich Wilhelm von Bauer's work *Memoires historiques et geographiques sur la Valachie*. The latter work described the excessive burdens of the Wallachian feudalism and the exploitation of the Vlachs by the Phanariotes, who, since the second decade of the 18th century were appointed the rulers ('hospodars') of Moldavia and Wallachia (Jelavich 2005, 107–08). Friedrich Wilhelm von Bauer described the unreasonable tax policy of one of the Wallachian hospodars of Phanariot origin, Constantin Mavrocordat (1711–1769) in the following way:

> Far from thinking of abolishing the capitation, of diminishing it or at least of fixing it, still less thinking of establishing the principal weight of the tax relatively to the productions and consumption of the country, he increased the capitation (…). This manner of collecting taxes, to be convenient to the hospodars, is very pernicious in the country.[16]

The problem of the tax abuse in the Danubian Principalities was also described by Baron de Tott (1733–1793), a French officer and diplomat of Hungarian descent. His diplomatic missions in the territories of European Turkey resulted in the publication of the work *Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares*, in which he tried to refute the false, in his opinion, image of the Ottoman nobility of manners. He drew attention to the oppression of the peoples living in the area of European Turkey, describing the effects of excessive taxation of the inhabitants of Moldova, for which he blamed the Ottomans. He also depicted the entire system of

---

[15] In the second half of the century, French historians have already referred to the history of the Ottoman Empire written by Dimitrie Cantemir, a Moldovan hospodar, scholar and writer (1673–1723). The work of *Incrementa atque decrementa aulae othomanicae* was published in 1714–1716, but thanks to the efforts of the author's son, Antioch, it was translated from Latin into other languages. In 1735, an English translation was published by Matthew Tindal. Although it did not sell well, its fragments, and the biography of the author, were placed in the popular French journal *Le Pour et Contre*, whose editor was L'abbé Antoine François Prévost. In 1737, thanks to the efforts of Antioch, a French translation was published, written by Jean Rousset de Missy, editor of the popular journal *Mercure historique et politique*, and in 1743 an edition translated by Joncquières, titled *Histoire de l'empire ottoman, et les causes de sa décadence*. It was particularly popular and became the basis for the German version (Lemny 2009, 305–12).

[16] "Rien loin de songer à abolir la capitation, à la diminuer du moins & à la fixer, encore moins de songer à asseoir le poids principal de l'impôt fur les productions & la consommation du pays, il augmenta la capitation […]. Cette manière de percevoir les impôts, pour être commode aux Hospodars, est très pernicieuse au pays" (Bauer 1778, 101).

their state, which he called "despotic".[17] The misery of the population of Moldavia and Wallachia, described by Baron de Tott, could be viewed as the confirmation of Montesquieu's theories about the enslavement of peoples ruled by the Ottomans (Tóth 2017, 69–71), but firstly it was a direct commentary on the situation of the economy of the Danubian principalities under the rule of the Phanariotes. According to Baron de Tott, the situation of the Moldavian or Wallachian agriculture would be much better if the taxes were proportional to the number of population and the fertility of the soil:

> If we mind that Moldova & Wallachia are overburdened with taxes & vexed more cruelly than they were in their most flourishing state, it will be possible to make an idea of the deplorable destiny of these countries. It seems that the Despot, only occupied with the destruction, thinks it is necessary to demand more and more as the number of men decreases and the land becomes less and less fertile.[18]

After this short recapitulation of de Tott's and von Bauer's thoughts on the poverty in Wallachia and excessive and unreasonable taxation of its population, it is possible to assume that there could be some point of reference for French travellers visiting this land.

Returning to the Thomassin's itinerary, we should emphasize once more the difference between the brief and unemotional descriptions of the other places in Rumelia, Bulgaria, and then in Transylvania with this rather emotional passage devoted to the bad living conditions of the inhabitants of Wallachia, and the greed of the prince, boyars and Phanariotes. Most probably, because the problem of the poverty of the Wallachian population was already known to Thomassin thanks to elaborate descriptions made by Friedrich Wilhelm von Bauer or Baron François de Tott. It is very probable that the personal observations made by captain Thomassin were to a large extent supplemented by the information that he gathered before undertaking his journey. In this way, a strict and curt form of the

---

[17] It should be clarified, that the French image of Turkish governments was not homogeneous. Charles-Claude de Peyssonnel, who undertook the criticism of the aforementioned memoirs of Baron de Tott, pointed out that this work has done an unjustified denigration of the Turks (Peyssonnel 1785, 9). In addition to the votes of Montesquieu or Baron de Tott, there were many opinions that emphasized that the conquered peoples living in South-Eastern Europe enjoyed large freedoms, including denominational ones. This last thread was already raised by Pierre Bayle, who argued that there is religious tolerance in Turkey (Bayle 1715, 897).
[18] "Si l'on considère actuellement que la Moldavie & la Valachie sont plus surchargées d'impôts, & plus cruellement vexées, qu'elles ne l'étaient dans leur état le plus florissant, on pourra se faire une idée juste du sort déplorable de ces contrées. Il semble que le Despote, uniquement occupé de la destruction, croie devoir exiger davantage à mesure que les hommes diminuent en nombre & les terres en fertilité" (Tott 1785, 163).

itinerary made for the military purposes merged with some more erudite travel writing. It should be added that the image of the poverty and enslavement of the Wallachian population became a sort of standard element in the descriptions of this region of South-Eastern Europe.

Conclusions

The paper was aimed at analysing the role of military documents as the testimonies of the French knowledge on the Black Sea Region in the Napoleonic period. The analysis of the French cartographical documents depicting South-Eastern Europe in the 18th century, which was made in the first sub-chapter of this paper, allowed showing how the knowledge on such regions as Bulgaria, Dobruja or Wallachia improved during the Napoleonic period.

The improvement was mainly the result of the French expansion in the area of the eastern coast of the Adriatic, which resulted in the attempts to gather the information on the other parts of South-Eastern Europe. The chronological scope of the analysis made it possible to show how the knowledge of the French on the western part of the Black Sea Region was improving along with the gradual growth of the involvement of France in the Balkans affairs. This amelioration of knowledge, which was especially visible on the example of the depiction of the topography of the western part of the Black Sea Region (e.g. the course of the lower Danube) occurred right in time of the most intense engagement of the French in South-Eastern Europe (the short period of existence of the Illyrian Provinces, 1809–1813).

The amelioration of cartographic representations was only one of the symptoms of the French interest in the territories lying on the western coast of the Black Sea. The French military reports on the course of the lower Danube, as well as the ones which described the military routes (e.g. the one made by Captain Thomassin), delivered more descriptive information, which allows to trace the exact course of the communication routes, but also contained some more profound characteristics of the region and its inhabitants. The latter descriptions were often correlated with the images conveyed by more conventional travelogues, as well as other kinds of literature; e.g. historiography. This observation proves that the military reports constituted important documents that participated in the creation and consolidation of the various clichés that were later incorporated into the general stereotype of the Balkans.

Works Cited

Bauer, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur la Valachie: avec un prospectus d'un atlas géographique & militaire de la derniere guerre entre la Russie & la Porte Ottomanne*. Henry-Louis Broenner, 1778.

Bayle, Pierre. *Dictionnaire historique et critique*. Vol. 3. Reinier Leers, 1715.

Bourguinat Nicolas. *Voyager en Europe de Humboldt à Stendhal. Contraintes nationales et tentations cosmopolites 1790–1840*. Nouveau Monde, 2007.

Cantemir Dimitrie. *Histoire de l'empire ottoman, et les causes de sa décadence*. Despilly, 1743.

Coronelli, Vincenzo. *Le Royaume de Dalmatie, Divisé en ses Comtez, Territoires etc. La Morlaquie, et la Bosnie*. 1689.

Delisle, Guillaume. *Carte de la Hongrie et des pays qui en dépendaient autrefois – dressée sur un grand nombre de mémoires et cartes manuscrites ou imprimées, rectifiez par les observations du comte Marsilii et quelques autres*. Delisle, 1703.

--- "Lettre de monsieur Delisle à un de ses amis sur la carte de l'Hongrie et des pays qui en dépendaient autrefois." *Journal des savants pour l'année M.DCCIII*, 31, 1704, pp. 624–33.

Description du cours du Danube depuis Belgrade jusqu'à la mer Noire, 15 décembre. Service historique de la Défense, Château de Vincennes, SHD/DAT 1M 1618).

Garde, Paul. *Discours Balkanique*. Fayard, 2004.

Gašperič, Primož. "The 1812 Map of the Illyrian Provinces by Gaetan Palma." *Acta geographica Slovenica*, vol. 50, no. 2, 2010, pp. 277–94.

Georgescu, Maria. "La mission militaire française dirigée par les frères Lamy." *Revue historique des armées*, no. 244, 2006, pp. 30–37.

Jelavich, Barbara. *Historia Bałkanów, wiek XVIII i XIX*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2005.

Jezernik, Božidar. *Wild Europe. The Balkans in the gaze of western travelers*. Saqui, 2004.

Iosipescu, Sergiu. "Relations politiques et militaires entre la France et les principautés de Transylvanie, de Valachie et de Moldavie." *Revue historique des armées*, no. 244, 2006, pp. 11–21.

Iorga, Nicolae. *Les voyageurs français dans l'Orient européen*. Boivin, 1928.

Laville. *Turquie d'Europe ou se trouve la Moldavie et les environs de la Mer-Noire*. 1781.

Lenglet du Fresnoy. Nicolas. *Méthode pour étudier la géographie ou l'on donne description exacte de l'univers, formee sur les observation de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, et sur les auteurs originaux*. Vol. 4. Tilliard, 1768.

Lemny, Stefan. *Les Kantemir – l'aventure européenne d'une famille princière au XVIIIᵉ siècle*. Editions BNF, 2009.

Palma, Gaetan. *Carte de la plus Grande Partie de la Turquie d'Europe dressée sur d'anciens matériaux rectifiés par les observations Astronomiques faites récemment sur les Côtes et sur les nombreux renseignements fournis par divers Voyageurs Dédiée à S.E.M.gr le Maréchal Duc de Raguse Grand Aigle de la Légion d'Honneur, Commandeur de la Couronne de Fer, Grand croix de l'Ordre Royal de Würtemberg & c.&c.&c*. 1811.

Pazarli, Maria. "On the early 19th c. map by Gaetan Palma, printed in Trieste, 1811." *e-Perimetron*, vol. 5, no. 3, 2010, pp. 160–71.

Pernot, Jean-François. "Éléments pour une mise en perspective de la défense de Bucarest à la fin du XIXe siècle." *Revue historique des armées*, no. 244, 2006, pp. 22–29.

Petto, Christine. *When France was king of cartography: the patronage and production of maps in Early Modern France*. Lexington, 2007.

Peyssonnel, Claude-Charles de. *Lettre de M. de Peyssonnel, contenant quelques observations relatives aux mémoires qui ont paru sous le nom de M. le baron de Tott*. 1785.

Šamić, Midhadt. *Les voyageurs français en Bosnie à la fin du XVIIIe siècle et au début du XIXe et le pays tel qu'ils l'ont vu*. Didier, 1960.

Senkowska-Gluck, Monika. *Rządy napoleońskie w Ilirii: 1809–1813*. Ossolineum, 1980.

Thomassin, *Itinéraire de Constantinople à Bucarest, par le capitaine du génie Thomassin, 26 décembre 1814* (15 pages). Service historique de la Défense, Château de Vincennes, SHD/DAT 1M 1619.

Todorova, Maria. *Bałkany wyobrażone*. Translated by Piotr Szymor and Magdalena Budzińska, Czarne, 2008.

Tóth, Ferenc. "Les *pays arabo-musulmans* de *l'Empire ottoman vus* par un *écrivain voyageur contemporain* de *Rousseau.* Les *Mémoires* de *Fran-*

çois de *Tott (1733–1793)*.*" Rousseau, les Lumières et le monde arabo-mu-sulman. Du XVIIIe siècle aux printemps arabes*, edited by Pascale Pellerin, Garnier, 2017, pp. 67–84.

Tott, François de. *Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares*. 1785.

Turkey in Europe and Bulgaria. London-Edinburgh Johnston, 1897.

Voltaire. *Œuvres complètes*. Vol. 40. Imprimerie de la Société littéraire–typogra-phique, 1784.

Wolff, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford University Press, 1994.

List of Figures

Knowledge Transfer among Muslim Communities in Ottoman Balkan Society: Cultural and Social Aspects based on the Case Study of Two Dictionaries from 1827 and 1836/37

Dragi Gjorgiev

Abstract: This paper will attempt to analyse two similar Ottoman-Slavic dictionaries from the years 1827 and 1836. The dictionaries were written by anonymous authors and they consist of a total of 32 pages. They contain approximately 1,100 Ottoman terms and short phrases translated into the Slavic language, and they are written in Arabic script. Most of the words concern everyday life, which demonstrates that the authors' aim to meet the basic, everyday needs of the population. However, the grouping of specific terms and phrases into a single whole, the surprisingly small number of terms pertaining to religion, and the orthography of the terms in their Slavic renditions, allows for speculation as to the origin and identity of the authors, as well as their motivation and objective for compiling such peculiar dictionaries. These two dictionaries can also be perceived as an attempt to convey certain knowledge from one language into another.

A number of writers, poets and scholars emerged in the territory of the Balkan Peninsula during the long Ottoman domination. Some of them appeared as early as the 15th century. They used the Turkish language as a mode of communication and were ethnic Turks who settled in the peninsula after it had been conquered. In the case of writers and poets who emerged from the ranks of the Balkan nationalities, they converted to Islam but also retained their language. They began producing works in their mother tongues using Arabic script. Thus, the literature which was known in the world at the time as *aljamiado* and which for the first time emerged in the Iberian Peninsula also spread through the Balkans.[1]

---

[1] The term *aljamiado* is derived from the Arabic word '*El-Acemiyye*' which means foreign, non-Arab in the linguistic sense. Over time, the term suffered some semantic changes and lost some of its original meaning and became a purely technical term that refers to Spanish texts written in Arabic letters. By analogy, the term has been applied to other literatures written in the Ottoman state in Slavic, Greek and Albanian languages in Arabic script. One of the richest *aljamiado* literatures in the Balkans is the Bosnian *aljamiado* literature, and the first example of this literature is the Bosnian-Turkish dictionary written in 1631 by Muhamed Heva'i Uskufi, one of the most important authors of *aljamiado* literature in Bosnia. With regard to the *aljamiado* literature of the Bosnian Muslims, one should make note of the following: Blau, Otto. "Bosnisch-türkische Sprachdenkmäler." *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* vol. 5, pp. 1–316, Leipzig 1868; Scheich Seifuddin Ef. Kemura, and Vladimir Ćorović. *Serbokroatische Dichtungen*

It may be argued that one of the dictionaries that this paper makes an effort to analyse is in fact the first work that confirms the existence of *aljamiado* literature in the territory of Macedonia. Until recently, it was believed that there is only one copy of this dictionary (Gürsu 2013, 4) kept at the SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, under the title *Liugat-i bulgari* (Bulgarian dictionary) and call number OP 900. However, research has shown that there is another copy of this dictionary which is being held at the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU; see Rukopis 640).[2]

Both dictionaries are identical in length (a total of 32 pages), with about 1,100 Turkish, Arabic and Persian words translated into the Slavic language, written in Arabic script in the *nesih* style.[3] However, there are two important distinctions between these two dictionaries. The first difference is the fact that the dictionary from the Bulgarian library is entitled *Liugat-i bulgari* (Bulgarian dictionary), not in *nesih* script in which the rest of the text is written, but rather in *nestalik*.[4] As a result, the title of the dictionary in the library is registered as a 'Bulgarian-Turkish dictionary', although the Slavic language into which the terms are translated is not Bulgarian. The existence of this title, written in a different script, raises the dilemma as to whether the title was written at the same time as the dictionary, or somewhat later.

This dilemma also underscores the difference regarding the dictionary at the Croatian Academy. Namely, this dictionary, which is identical to the Bulgarian

---

bosnischer Moslims aus dem XVII., XVIII. und XIX. Jahrhundert, mit 6 Abbildungen im Text. B.-H. Institut für Balkanforschung, 1912; Balić, Ismail. *Aljamiado književnost u Bosni za vrijeme Osmanlija*. Muslimanska biblioteka, 1957; Hadžijahić, Muhamed. "Hrvatska muslimanska književnost prije 1878." *Napredak kalendar za 1938*, 1938, pp. 93–104; Nametak, Alija. "Nov prilog bosanskoj aljamiado literature." *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, XII–XIII/1962–1963, pp. 237–47; Lehfeldt, Werner. *Das serbokroatische Aljamiado-Schrifttum der bosnisch-hercegovinischen Muslime. Transkriptionsprobleme.* Trofenik, 1969; Nametak, Abdurahman. *Hrestomatija bosanske alhamijado književnosti*. Svijetlost, 1981; Huković, Muhamed. *Alhamijado književnost i njeni stvaraoci*. Svijetlost, 1986; Memija, Minka. "Dosadašnja istraživanja alhamijado prakse i šta dalje." *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, 39 (1990), pp. 211–17.

[2] These two dictionaries are undergoing analysis in a project conducted by the following scholars: Prof. Aleksandar Loma, full professor at the Department of Classics at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Belgrade, Prof. Srdjan Katić, senior research associate at the Institute of History in Belgrade, and Prof. Dragi Gjorgiev, senior researcher at the Institute of National History in Skopje.

[3] *Nesih* script was one of several kinds of scripts used in the Ottoman state office, which, because of its concrete, clear and simple structure, was chosen as a printing script. Its most common uses were for transcriptions of the Quran, books with legal-religious content, commentaries about the Quran, hadises, collections of documents, etc.

[4] The *nestalik* script was developed as a combination of *neslih* and *taik,* as a rather elegant script used in manuscripts, especially for artistic prose and above all poetry.

one, does not contain a title on the frontpiece, but instead begins with an invocation to God ("*Bismillah ar-Rahman ar-Rahim*"). However, in the call number under which this work is registered at the Croatian Academy, it states that the work is a 'Turkish-Croatoserbian dictionary' ('*Rječnik tursko-hrvatskosrpski*'). This is quite acceptable given the fact that the Slavic language into which the Ottoman words are translated is much more similar to the contemporary Croatian (or Serbian or Bosnian) language than to contemporary Bulgarian.
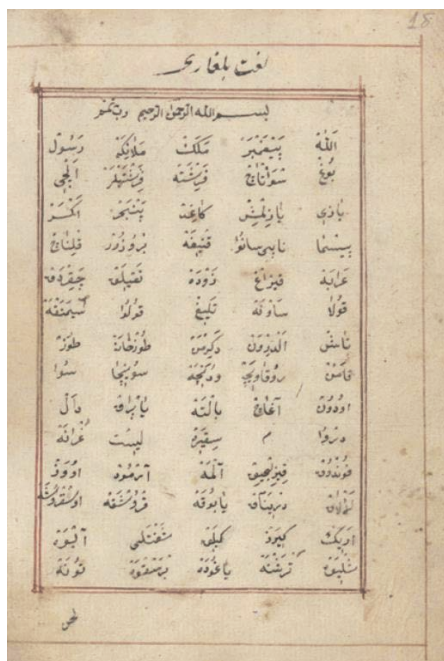
Figures 1–2: The first pages of *Liugat-i bulgari* and *Rukopis 640*

The second difference is the fact that according to the entry on the last page of the Bulgarian copy, the dictionary was written on 1 Ramadan 1242 in Hijrah, i.e. 29 March 1827, in Skopje. In the Croatian copy of the dictionary, also on the last page, the year is specified as 1252 in Hijrah, or 18 April 1836 – 6 April 1837, while the location is not mentioned. The difference in the years of its writing points to the conclusion that the Croatian copy is a transcript of the Bulgarian copy, but without the title.

The author of the dictionary is not mentioned in either of the copies. However, unlike the Croatian copy, on page 1a in the Bulgarian copy the name Osman-beg Zade Mula Mehmed is written and it may be assumed that he was the owner of this dictionary. Furthermore, on the top of page 1a there is a stamp of the *waqf*

library from the town of Samokov (present-day Bulgaria). The name of the owner is also written on the last page of the dictionary, but this time it is followed by the addendum *kardeşlerimizden* – 'one of our brothers', which may also suggest some interesting possibilities, such as that the owner may have been a member of a particular religious community, or even a dervish order. Furthermore, both copies of the dictionary do not contain any grammatical or linguistic explanations for the languages used in the dictionary, nor is there a text written by its author.

Both dictionaries are composed in the same manner. The Turkish words are written in one column and the translations in the Slavic language are provided in the column beneath them. However, the impression is that the Bulgarian copy seems 'neater' and that it was perhaps written much more carefully. The words are not in alphabetical order, but a tendency to concentrate words on the same topic on the same page can be observed. For instance, in the first pages of both dictionaries the following words are written: Allah – God; *peygamber* – saint; *melek* – angel; *melaike* – angels; *resul* – emissary: or: *sığır* – cattle; *öküz* – ox; *koyun* – sheep; *koç* – ram; *kuzu* – lamb; *keçi* – goat.

Analysis of the words in the dictionary shows that most of the words pertain to everyday life. Among these words are terms concerning food, beverages, plants, domesticated animals, the names of different tools used in agriculture and in everyday life, as well as, to a lesser extent, terms concerning the Islamic faith (which is quite unusual). What is also impressive is that in the dictionary there are very few words that pertain to craftsmanship, and even fewer words pertaining to statesmanship. Indeed, the absence of such terminology and also the fact that the words are in non-alphabetical order shows that to the author, the acknowledgement and practicality of common, daily-life terms was more important than the use of the correct alphabetical order and proper lexicographic organization of the words in the dictionaries.

Although the dictionaries are not divided into sections, it can be seen that on pages one through seventeen the dominant aspects are single words, while on the pages from eighteen to the end, phrases and the short sentences predominate. Once again, there is a tendency for the short sentences to refer to the same topic. Thus, on page 23a of the Bulgarian dictionary, a typical conversation from the bazaar while purchasing a certain product is illustrated (Liugati-i bulgari 1827, 23a)[5]:


[5] All translations into the English added by the author.

1.	*Git çarşıya*	*Ne işüm var*	*Un al*
2.	Iđi u čaršiju. [Go to the bazaar.]	Kaka posla ima? [Why?]	Brašna uzmi. [Buy flour.]
3.	*Kangısını alurum*	*Kukuruz unı*	*Çabuk*
4.	Koga ću uzet? [What kind of flour?]	Klasovna. [Corn flour.]	Hitro. [Quick.]
5.	*Kaç kıyye[6]*	*On kıyye*	*Gideyim*
6.	Koliko oka? [How many oka?]	Dest oka. [Ten okas.]	Da iđem. [I am going.]
7.	*Aldım*	*Tartdum*	*Ne kadardur*
8.	Uzeh. [I bought.]	Izmjerih. [I measured it.]	Koliko je? [How much is it?]

9.	*Didügün kadar*	*Kaç paraya aldun*
10.	Koliko si reko. [Like you said.]	Pošto si uzeo? [How much did you buy?]
11.	*Beş paraya*	*Niçün öyle pâhâlı*
12.	Po pet para. [Five coins.]	Jere tako skupo? [Why is it so expensive?]

There is also a dialogue related to field work (Ibid. 24b):

1.	*Gidelim*	*Nereye*	*Kukuruz çapalum*	*Nerede*
2.	Da iđemo. [Let's go!]	Kuda? [Where?]	Klasove da kopamo. [To dig the corn.]	Đi? [Where?]
3.	*Ovada*	*Git sen*		*Ben gelürüm*

---

[6] *Kıyye*, an old measure for weight used in the Ottoman state, equal to 1.282 kg. The term which the Balkan peoples used for this measure is *oka*.

4.	U polju. [On the field.]	Iđi ti. [You go!]	Ja ću doći. [I will come.]
5.	*Çapam küngekdür*	*Gideyim biledeyim*	*Soñra gelürüm*
6.	Motika mi tupa. [My mattock is dull.]	Iđem naoštrit. [I will go and sharpen it.]	Poslije ću doći. [I will come later.]
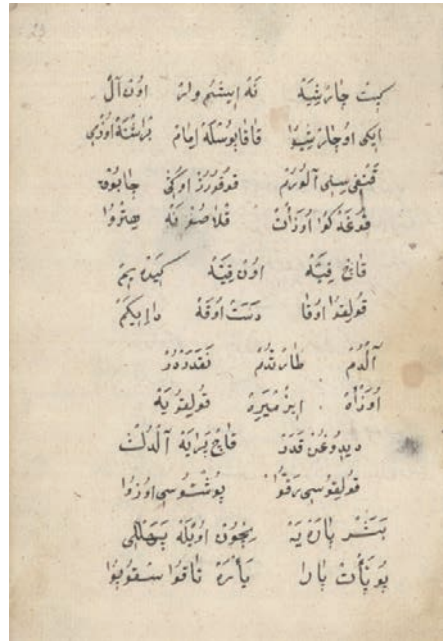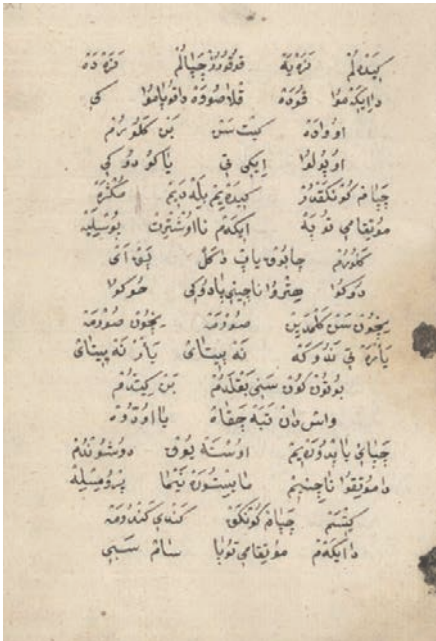
Figures 3–4: *Liugat-i bulgari*, p. 23a and p. 24b

Beyond the lexical aspects, the creation of such dictionary raises two basic questions: what was the aim of its creation in the first half of the 19th century and who were its target users?

Unfortunately, the author did not leave any notes that explain why he was motivated and inspired to write such a dictionary. He does not indicate for whom the dictionary is intended, i.e. who the target group is, and he does not demand any reward – material or spiritual. Also, he does not dedicate his dictionary to anyone. The selection of the words in the dictionary itself, which are related to everyday life, also do not allow for any speculation that the dictionary may have been intended for students in the *madrasas*. The Turkish language and, even less

so, any Slavic language were not included in the Ottoman *madrasas*, which were traditional Islamic schools with curricula exclusively in Arabic and mainly concerned with religious education. This dictionary with only a limited number of terms referring to Islam could not be incorporated in the textbooks in the *madrasas* because the social and political situation in the state in the beginning of the 19th century was not much different than that of previous centuries.

Nevertheless, keeping in mind the lack of use of religious terms and words, as well as phrases pertaining to everyday and common conversations cited above, a rather plausible conclusion is that this small dictionary functioned as a phrasebook that could meet the basic, everyday needs of the Muslim community in the Balkan cities where Slavic languages were spoken.

Furthermore, it may be concluded that the main target group of the dictionary could have been individuals who had no opportunity to learn Turkish and who could improve their status in Ottoman society by learning the *lingua franca* of the state. Apparently, the aim of the author was to bring the Ottoman Turkish language closer to those Muslims who did not speak Turkish, regardless of whether the peasants would have been able to use it and how much they would have benefited from the dictionary in terms of linguistic knowledge. This knowledge was usually limited to everyday conversations which occurred in the markets and bazaars regarding common purchases or sales. Indeed, one should bear in mind the fact that unfortunately, both the Muslim and non-Muslim common people in the Balkans region were largely uneducated and illiterate.[7]

As already mentioned, the Bosnian Muslims were the most active in the field of literature among the Muslims in the Balkans who did not speak the Turkish language. Since the 17th century, they had begun to create works in their mother tongue written in the Arabic script. In the 19th century, there was already a strong tradition of writing such works, and there was a solid body of works written by Bosnian Muslims in the Slavic language but using the Arabic script. Since the language in which Ottoman terms were translated is very similar to today's language spoken in Bosnia, it can be assumed that the author of this dictionary was originally from Bosnia and was a member of the Bosnian Muslim community, who, with his dictionary, wanted to assist and educate his illiterate countrymen.

---

[7] The Christians as a target group of this dictionary are excluded because, at the beginning of 19th century, the number of Christians in the Balkans, who spoke the Ottoman Turkish language well, was quite small. Christians who knew the Arabic alphabet and who were capable of reading and writing in the Ottoman Turkish language were almost nonexistent. Knowledge of the Ottoman Turkish language among non-Muslims in the Balkans in that period was at a very low level and limited almost exclusively to the citizens from mixed urban environments and among the highest ecclesiastical and mercantile elite in the large cities.

1.	*Allâh bizim işümüzi görür*	*hem bilür*	*biz ne işlersek*
2.	Bog naš poso vidi [God sees our affairs]	i znade [and knows]	mi što god radimo [whatever we are doing]

3.	*dahı fikir itdüğümüz hep bilür*		*Inşa'llâh türçe[8] öğrenelüm*
4.	još što god pomislimo zna [He knows what we are thinking]		Ako Bog da turski da učimo [If God permits us to learn Turkish]
5.	*ayak altında kalmayalum*		*türçe bilenden utanmayalum*
6.	da pod nogama ne ostanemo [not to be left downtrodden]		Turski ko zna da ga se ne stidim [So not to be ashamed of one who speaks Turkish]
7.	*Söyleme*		*bilenler söyledüklerinde*
8.	Ne govori [Do not speak]		kad govori koji umije govorit [when one who knows how to speak speaks]

9.	*Bilelüm*	*ne söyleyorlar*	*dilsüz gibi*
10.	Da znamo [So that we know]	šta govore [what they are saying]	Ko brez jezika [Without a language]
11.	*Oturmayalum*	*ne poturlardur*	*Demesünler*
12.	da ne sjedimo. [so that we do not sit.]	Vala nisu poturice [Well, perhaps they aren't poturice]	neka ne reknu [let them not say]

Another question underscored by this dictionary is its author's identity. A small section of the dictionary may provide the answer. Namely, there is a segment of phrases on pages 25a and 25b about learning the Ottoman Turkish language and the significance of knowing this language at that time. The identity of

---

[8] The term *türçe* is always used instead of *türkçe*.

the author may be discerned precisely from the content of that particular segment. As such, the segment reads (Liugati-i bulgari 1827, 25a; 25b):

1.	*bilmezler türçe*		*Belki desünler*	
2.	ne znaju turski.		Već neka reknu	
	[they don't speak Turkish.]		[Instead let them say]	
3.	*bunlarda türçe bilürler.*		*Öyle olınca*	
4.	i ovi turski znaju.		Tako kad bude	
	[these people speak Turkish as well.]		[When it will be this way]	
5.	*hazz iderler*	*bizi.*	*Türçe bilmeyen*	
6.	milo će	nas.	Turski ko ne zna	
	[they will be pleased]	[with us.]	[One who does not speak Turkish]	
7.	*sıgır gibidür.*		*her yere varma üşeniyor*	
8.	ko goveče.		na svako mjesto otić oduje se	
	[is like cattle.]		[he is afraid wherever he goes]	
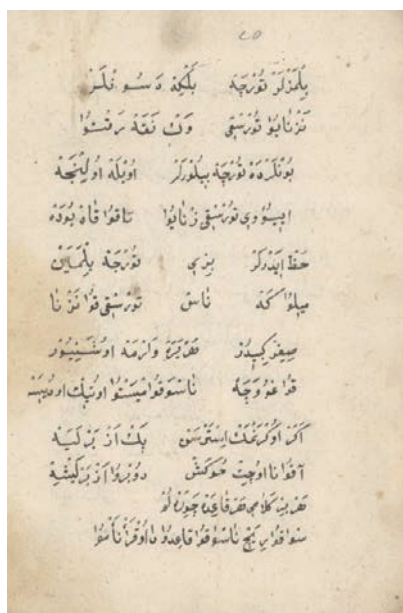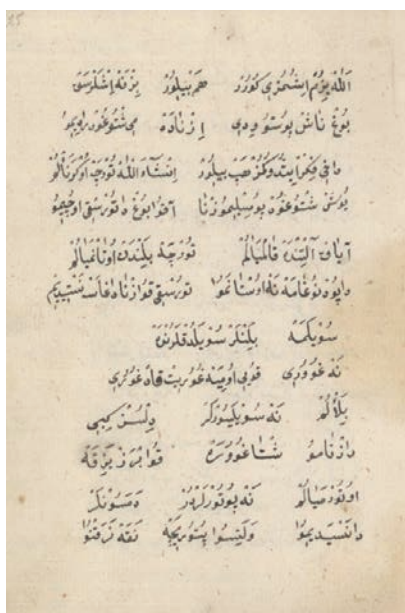
Figures 5–6: *Liugat-i bulgari*, p. 25b and p. 25a

In this segment there are several interesting indications about the author and about the target group of this dictionary as well. Firstly, based on the fact that the anonymous author wrote such a dictionary, it is clear that he was familiar with the Ottoman Turkish language, but also with the Slavic language into which the Ottoman terms are translated. He certainly was not a high-profile educated man. However, he had solid knowledge of the Turkish language, which was certainly not his mother tongue. Moreover, the author demonstrated competence in the Persian language, since numerous Persian terms are also listed. It is undoubtedly clear that his native tongue was Slavic, due to the fact that it was highly unlikely for a representative of the Ottoman *ulema* of Turkish origin to speak a Slavic language.

However, when the author addressed the individuals for whom this dictionary was intended, he used the conditional form in the first person plural: "*inşaʾllâh türçe öğrenelüm*" ("If God permits u**s** to learn Turkish"), thus including himself in the community which needed to learn the Turkish language. This may imply that he was not an ethnic Turk, but rather belonged to one of the Balkan peoples. The following sentence suggests the group of Balkan peoples to which he may have belonged to: "*Ne poturlardur demesünler. Bilmezler türçe.*" ("Not to say what kind of *poturi* these are. They don't speak Turkish.") In this sentence, the term *potur* particularly draws the reader's attention. In the Balkan linguistic context, this term indicates a person who has accepted Islam, but who has retained his mother tongue, i.e. who became *poturčenik*, or *poturica* – "a person who became a Turk". According to Stanford Shaw, in the period after the conquest of Bosnia (1463) until the beginning of the 16th century, this word was used simply to label the Christians who became Muslims (Shaw 1976, 114). In the aforementioned dictionary of Hava'i Uskufi from 1631, the translation of this Slavic word is 'peasant', and Hava'i considered the word *potur* the equivalent of peasant (Mišević 2013, 58). Furthermore, Juraj Križanić's[9] idea about the Slavic-speaking Muslim community in Bosnia, expressed in the latter half of the 17th century, is quite interesting. He stated that in earlier times the Turks accepted everyone who wanted to join their faith and gave them the highest honours and functions in the state. They referred to such individuals as *poturice*. In this regard, in Turkey, with the acceptance of the *poturice*, power transferred into the hands of foreign peoples (Križanić 1997, 47).

---

[9] Juraj Križanić was born in Obrh (in present-day Croatia) in 1618 and perished during the siege of Vienna by the Ottomans in 1683. Križanić was one of the earliest proponents of Pan-Slavism and author of several political and theological works.

There are two theories regarding the origin of the word *poturice*. According to the first, this term is a short form of the infinitive *poturčiti se*, i.e. to become Turkish in a religious sense. A similar etymological explanation underlies the theory that *potur* meant 'half-Turk' ('*pola Turčin*') and that it served for religious differentiation among the Bosnians themselves, i.e. in determining who was a genuine Muslim, and who was only 'half' ('*pola*') Muslim (Mišević 2013, 54). This term was especially common among the Slavic populations, especially in the Serbo-Croatian speaking territory i.e. in the territory of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Montenegro.[10] The term *potur* also has a derogatory meaning and denotes a primitive, uneducated person or peasant who does not belong to the elite and the educated classes. The Ottoman elite were ashamed of this label, and if someone addressed them with that term they felt insulted because the name had the connotation of being a 'rude peasant'.[11] In the eyes of the Ottoman elite, the Bosnian Muslims remained primitive and provincial despite the fact that they were also part of the Islamic faith.

The second theory on the origin of this word is that, with modification, the term derived from the word *pataren*, i.e. *Bogomil*[12] (Škaljić 1989, 523). According to some writers, the word *potur* is a link between the Bosnian Church and Islam and it emphasizes the *Bogomil* background of the Muslims in Bosnia (Malcolm 1994, 51–69). However, the first theory tends to be more generally accepted, given that some Ottoman chroniclers, such as the renowned Evliyâ Çelebi in his Travelogue, referred to the Muslim citizens of certain Balkan cities outside of Bosnia as *Poturi*. The *Bogomil* movement had not spread in these regions (Čelebi 1967, 68, 91, 377).

This assumption is also supported by the manner in which this term is used in our dictionary. Its unknown author in the first half of the 19th century used the term *potur* to denote primitive and illiterate people who did not have knowledge

---

[10] In contrast to these countries, the terms *Pomak* (in Bulgaria) or *Torbeš* (in Macedonia) were, and are still, used for those who accepted Islam during the Ottoman period but retained their mother tongue. In these countries, there are still numerous *Pomak* and *Torbeš* communities.

[11] The saying: *Baška meso, baška džigerica, baška plemić, baška poturica*, which roughly translates to "The meat should be separated from the liver, just like the nobles should be from the *poturica*", is well known.

[12] The Bogomils were adherents of Bogomilism as a social and religious dualist doctrine and movement (named after its creator and primary propagator, the priest Bogomil), which originated in the territory of Macedonia in the 10th century and spread throughout the other Balkan countries and beyond (see Angelovska-Panova 2004). Regarding Bosnia, the Bogomils or Patarens in the pre-Ottoman period were members of a distinctive Christian church, known as the Bosnian church, which existed in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is believed that they, after the Ottoman conquest, accepted Islam without changing their language and that this is one of the main reasons for the rapid Islamization of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

of the Turkish language and who, with the help of the dictionary, could have become acquainted with that language and could have thus become true Muslims. In this way, he defines the *poturi* as Muslims who were culturally and religiously backward and who did not belong to the high and educated Ottoman classes.

Also noteworthy is that the expression *potur* mentioned in the dictionary allows for the assumption that the author, who originated from Bosnia and Herzegovina, was familiar with the Ottoman Turkish language and was most likely in the service of the Ottoman administration. This assumption is further reinforced by the spelling of the words in Slavic language in which the author used the –*jekavica* and –*ijekavica* dialects, which are characteristic of the language spoken in Bosnia and Herzegovina, instead of the –*ekavica* dialect, typical of the language in Serbia. For example, he wrote *mjesto* (Liugat-i bulgari 1827, 25a, column 8), instead of *mesto* (place); *mlijeko* (Ibid., 9a, column 16) instead of *mleko* (milk); *riječ* (Ibid., 25a, column 6) instead of *reč* (word), etc.

Furthermore, other evidence that can confirm the origin of the author includes some of the names which, with some reservations, can be found on the last page of the Bulgarian copy of dictionary. Namely, the surnames Halilović, Ganetić (?) and Muminović were written in there. Additionally, on the last page of the Croatian copy, the name Omer Ikanović from the town of Bihač in Bosnia can be clearly read. These names undoubtedly point to Muslims originating from Bosnia.

In any case, given the facts that the author used the –*jekavica,* and –*ijekavica* dialects, typical of the language in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to spell words in Slavic and also that several surnames typical of the Muslim population in Bosnia were written in the dictionary, it may be assumed that the dictionary was written by a person who lived in Bosnia and who also knew the Ottoman Turkish language. Perhaps one may deduct that the author was a member of the Janissary order at the time, whose members were usually bilingual.

One aspect which remains unclear is the reason behind the dictionary being written or copied in Skopje, where the number of Muslims who spoke the Bosnian, Serbian or Croatian language was fairly low and where there was a non-existent Muslim literate elite among the population who spoke any Slavic language.[13] Analysis of the social and political conditions in Skopje in the period

---

[13] The aforementioned community of the *Torbeš* was generally settled in the western part of today's Republic of Macedonia. Its members remained uneducated and engaged in agriculture or trades. The term *torbeš,* together with the term *potur,* has a pejorative meaning in Macedonia even today.

when the dictionary was created may show that perhaps the creation of such a dictionary in Skopje was not accidental.

It is worthwhile noting that at the beginning of the 19th century, Skopje was still the centre of a sancak. Nevertheless, after it was burned down (1689) during the 'Great War' (1683–1699), the city lost its significance as one of the most important continental Ottoman centres in the Balkans. From the end of the 18th century until the beginning of the 1830s, Skopje, as a regional provincial centre in Rumelia, was under the control of powerful officials who bore the title *nazir* (*Üsküb nazırı*). This title was connected to control of the surrounding mines (*Üsküb nezareti*). They also bore the titles *emin* and *ayan*.

The names of several local *ayans* who governed Skopje and its surroundings are well known, but in the political sense, the city gained importance when its governance was taken over by Ali Hıfzı-paşa (1793(?)–1850). He was the son of the well known Recep-paşa from Tetovo, who, together with his other sons (Abdurahman, Hasan and Celaledin), took control over some important territories in Macedonia, Kosovo and South Serbia at the beginning of the 19th century.[14] The reign of Ali Hıfzı-paşa of Skopje, which lasted for two decades, was marked by political stabilization and some progress in the city's development, whereby Skopje again found itself in the centre of the political events in that territory. As was the case in the 15th century, the city once again became a place to which the official armies, used in the clashes with the Albanian begs, were summoned. The loyal Hıfzı-paşa, who resided halfway between Bitola the seat of the governor of Rumelia, and Shkodra, the centre of the powerful Albanian pashas, succeeded in increasing the political importance of his city and himself as well. It is assumed that the earliest Ali Hıfzı-paşa took control of Skopje was in 1822 and the latest in 1826/27 (Todorov 2013, 107). Upon taking power, Ali Hıfzı-paşa, like his predecessors, gained the title *nazir* of Skopje, and he was also mentioned as the *emin* of the mines in Kratovo.

According to the German botanist August von Griesebach, who during his stay in Skopje in 1839 had the opportunity to meet and converse with Ali Hıfzı-paşa three times, and according to the accounts of some of the citizens of Skopje from the end of the 19th century, Ali Hıfzı-paşa was a short man with a dark complexion and a black, well-groomed beard, who wore a broad fez on his head. He was also described as being highly intelligent (Griesebach 1841, 140). Furthermore, as stated by Griesebach, Ali Hıfzı-paşa was a religious man in poor health.

---

[14] During different periods, the pashas from Tetovo from the end of the 19th century until the 1840s governed the following cities: Skopje, Prishtina, Vranje, Štip, Tetovo, Kičevo, Ohrid, Debar, Kriva Palanka, Kyustendil, Kumanovo, etc.

Because of this, there were at least three physicians residing in Skopje at that time who were responsible for taking care of his fragile health. It seems that Ali Hifzi-paşa was a well-educated person for his time. Griesebach stated that he read a great deal and had a solid knowledge of the classical authors and ancient history. In line with one of the many testimonies, Ali Hıfzı-paşa told the peasants that if they happened to find any antiquities, they were obliged to bring them to his residence in the village of Bardovci in Skopje (Griesebach 1841, 140; Hadži Vasiljević 1930, 399). Ali Hıfzı-paşa was dismissed from the post of *ayan* of Skopje in 1842, and lived for eight more years in Istanbul. He died in 1850 and was buried in the yard of the mausoleum of Mihrişah Valide Sultan, near the Eyup Sultan Mosque in Istanbul.

During the administration of Ali Hıfzı-paşa, a number of construction activities were undertaken in the city and its surroundings. These were mainly buildings with a public or religious character. Thus, the restoration of the aqueduct in Skopje, the Church St. Demetrius in the Monastery of Marko, the clock tower in the yard of the Sultan Murat Mosque, as well as the building of the Church of St. Mary (1835) can be attributed to Ali Hıfzı-paşa's activities (Asim 2005, 19; K'nčov 1970, 16).

In the notes of several travel writers from the beginning of the 19th century, the number of citizens in Skopje varied from 6,000 to 12,000, and according to the first Ottoman census conducted in 1831, which covered the entire *kaza*, the *kaza* of Skopje alone had a population of 22,260 men, of whom 9,660 were Muslims, 11,700 were Christians and 900 were Roma (Ziya Karal 1943, 86–87).

Regardless of the numerical ratio of the religious communities in the entire *kaza*, the city of Skopje in the first half of the 19th century was still predominantly Muslim, just as in the classical period. This was also confirmed by the census conducted in the mid-1830s. According to the data from the census of 1844/45, Skopje had 2,373 households arranged in 44 neighbourhoods, which meant that the number of citizens in Skopje in 1844/45 was 11,865. Out of this number, 7,175 or 60.4 percent were Muslims, and 3,795 or 31.9 percent were Christians. The number of Jews was 310 or 2.62 percent, and the city had a total of 585 Roma residents (or more than 5 percent of the total number of citizens), of whom 480 were Muslims and 105 were Christians (Ǵorgiev 2002, 31–40).

During that period some of the institutions created in the 15th century continued to function in Skopje, like part of the *waqf* of the powerful Yigit Paşa-Beg family, the conquerors of Skopje. One of these institutions was the library of Isa-beg, the nephew of the above-mentioned Yigit-beg, built in the latter half of the 15th century as part of his *waqf*. The data from *waqfname* shows that during its

establishment, the library housed 230 different manuscripts linked in 320 volumes. This library was destroyed when Skopje was burned down in 1689, and afterwards there is little information on its reconstruction. However, it seems that this library continued to function, because in 1819, the Şeyh Said Aguş İbrahim Şevki el Küstendili in Skopje copied the first volume entitled *Ferahu'r Ruh* (Broad Soul) from the work *Şerh-i risale-i Muhamediye* (Commentaries on Mohammed's scriptures) by the author Ismail Haki Bursavia. This work was endowed to the library of Isa-beg in Skopje (Elezović 1925, 168).

Yet another confirmation that the library functioned and was able to keep a part of its literary inventory is the rich collection of oriental manuscripts which is being kept at the St. Clement of Ohrid National and University Library in Skopje. The number of handwritten and printed books based on language is outlined below:

   2,568 handwritten books in Arabic

   1,050 handwritten books in Ottoman Turkish

   107 handwritten books in Persian

   5,580 printed books in the three above-mentioned languages

This exceptional collection covers works written during the period from the 12th to 20th centuries, which geographically come from the entire Islamic world. One part of the manuscripts was copied in Macedonia, or the transcribers came from Macedonian towns such as Skopje, Bitola, Ohrid, Debar, Radoviš, Štip and Tetovo. One of these works could well be the anonymous dictionary, the subject of this paper, which, according to the data on its last page, was written or copied in Skopje in 1827.

The creation of the dictionary in Skopje and then its presence in the Waqf library in the city of Samokov, Bulgaria, along with the existence of its transcript in Zagreb, as well as the mention of persons from Bosnia and the Bosnian town of Bihać on its last page, show that this dictionary had a long and interesting history. The example of such a dictionary points to the phenomenon of exchanges of books and knowledge in the 19th century Ottoman Empire. From the very beginning, there were different mechanisms for the transmission of knowledge in the Ottoman state, mainly through the transfer of books and texts from the centre to the provinces or from one part of the Empire to other parts. The dictionary is additionally concerned with the question of the production of knowledge through cross-cultural exchanges and dialogue, the production and restoration of texts and written culture and the establishment and functioning of networks of knowledge

in the Balkan Peninsula. Transfers of culture and knowledge were present in all historical periods and the differing phases and intensities at which these transfers proceeded can be identified. This dictionary exhibits an interesting perspective on the transfer of knowledge in a cultural and religious microcosm which existed within the vast macrocosm of the Ottoman state. It facilitates an understanding of at least one way in which the knowledge was transferred and exchanged through linguistic dialogue. It also demonstrates how the different Ottoman cultural and linguistic communities perceived each other.

It is important to emphasize geographic diversity, so that the regional impact of the dissemination of knowledge and the transfer of information during the Ottoman period are addressed. The geographic expansion of the Ottoman state fostered the political integration of different countries, languages, religions and civilizations. However, although this state was considered a single entity, numerous languages and cultures continued to live side by side within its borders. These languages and cultures intermingled by communicating and exchanging information, experiences and knowledge.

This dictionary demonstrates the relationships between languages and cultures in the Ottoman Empire, in which the Islamic scriptural culture came into contact with other linguistic traditions and proved the richness and intensity of the linguistic realities of the Ottoman Empire as a whole. The dictionary raises the question of modes of communication, especially in the Balkan Peninsula, and the question of translation, more specifically that of multilingual persons who served as translators, and the role of the persons who converted to Islam and who served as mediators in disseminating the Islamic and the Ottoman culture among local communities (Ricci 2011, 1–2). The practice of writing such dictionaries, which began at the onset of the 17th century, can be seen as a manifestation of the Islamization of the Slavic language, but also as a sign of continuity of the pre-Ottoman identities of the peoples who converted to Islam. *Aljamiado* literature is actually one of the elements that created relations between regional and imperial identities in the Ottoman state. This literature can demonstrate how cultural and religious tolerance, which developed in the Ottoman Empire and which was based, to some extent, on exchanges of knowledge, can influence the development of different identities among the same religious communities.

Finally, this dictionary confirms the tradition of writing *aljamiado* texts by Bosnian Muslims in the literary domain. This domain does not exclusively cover theological texts, but also covers secular texts, such as poetry, historiography, travelogues, chronicles, etc. The tradition that began at the start of the 17th century continued well after the end of Ottoman political domination in Bosnia in 1878, and proceeded with its occupation by the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Works Cited

Angelovska-Panova, Maja. *Bogomilstvoto vo duhovnata kultura na Makedonija*. Az-Buki, Institut za staroslovenska kultura, 2004.

Asim, Salih. *Kratka istorija na Skopje*. Translated by Dragi Ǵorgiev. Muzej na grad Skopje, 2005.

Elezović, Gliša. "Turski spomenici u Skoplju." *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva,* vol. 1, no. 1, 1925, pp. 143–75.

Evlija, Čelebi. *Putopis. Odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama.* Translated by Hazim Šabanović. Svjetlost, 1967.

Ǵorgiev, Dragi. "Demografskata i socioekonomskata struktura na Skopje vo sredinata na XIX vek." *Istorija,* vol. XXXVIII, no. 1–2. Sojuz na istoričarite na Makedonija, 2002, pp. 31–40.

Griesebach, August von. *Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa im Jahre 1839*. Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1841.

Gürsu, Uğur. *19. Yüzyıla Ait Anonim Sözlük. Lügat-i Bulgari*. Akademi Titiz Yayınları, 2013.

Hadži Vasiljević, Jovan. *Skoplje i njegova okolina*. Sveti Sava, 1930.

Hukočić Muhamed, et al. *Muhamed Hevaji Uskufi*. Biblioteka Baština, 1990.

Jašar-Nasteva, Olivera. *Turskite leksički elementi vo makedonskiot jazik.* Institut za makedonski jazik "Krste Misirkov", 2001.

Kadrić, Adnan. "The Phenomenon of Conceptual Lexicography in Ottoman Bosnia." *Perspectives on Ottoman studies*, edited by Ekrem Čaušević et al., LIT, 2010, pp. 317–28.

Križanić, Juraj. *Politika*. Golden marketing, 1997.

K'nčov, Vasil. *Izbrani proizvedenia*. Vol. 2. Nauka i izkustvo, 1970.

Liugat-i bulgari. SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library, Sofia, Bulgaria. OP 900, 1827.

Malcolm, Noel. *Bosnia: A Short History*. Macmillan, 1994.

Mišević, Marijana. *The social, political and linguistic context of the emergence of aljamiado literature in sixteenth and seventeenth century Bosnia: The case of a lexicographer and poet, Mehmed Heva'I Uskufi.* 2013. Central European University. MA Thesis.

Nedkov Boris. *Osmano-turska diplomatika i paleografia.* Č. I. Nauka i izkustvo, 1966.

Ricci, Ronit. *Islam translated. Literature, Conversion and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia.* University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Rukopis 640. Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, Croatia. Orientalna Zbirka Hrvatske Akademije (OZHA-R-640), 1836/37.

Shaw, Stanford. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Vol. 1. Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire 1280–1808.* Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Škaljić, Abdulah. *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*. Svjetlost, 1989.

Todorov, Petar. *Skopje od početokot na XIX vek do krajot na osmanliskoto vladeenje.* 2013. SS. Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje, PhD Thesis.

Toskov, G. "Tetovskit' paši." *Sbornik za narodni umotvorenia, nauka i knizhina*, vol. XI, 1894. pp. 404–22.

Wiegers, Gerard. *Islamic Literature in Spanish & Aljamiado. Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), His Antecedents and Successors.* E. J. Brill, 1994.

Yaşar, Aydemir, and Hayber Abdulkadir, editors. *Makedonya kütüphaneleri türkçe yazma eserler kataloğu*. TIKA Yayınları, 2007.

Ziya Karal, Enver. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831.* T.C. Başvekalet Istatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943.

List of Figures

Armenian Printing as a Means of Mastering European Thought and Knowledge (late 18ᵀᴴ to mid-19ᵀᴴ century)

Gor H. Yeranyan

Abstract: In this article, I will argue that just as the struggle between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation in Europe contributed to the development and expansion of book printing, in the same way the ideological struggle between Catholics and Apostolics (the latter with their spiritual base in Etchmiadzin) contributed to the progress of the art of printing in Armenia. At the same time, I will examine how European thought became the 'property' of some Armenian groups and penetrated the Armenian world. The article looks at the dissemination of European thought and Western science to the Armenian environment through printing during the second half of the 18ᵗʰ and the first half of the 19ᵗʰ centuries.

The aim of my article is to show how Armenians mastered the art of printing, perceived as European, and how European ideas and modern science penetrated the Armenian world. As we shall see, the latter is a classic example of knowledge exchange with its own peculiarities. Although we cannot speak of modern science and knowledge exchange per se during the dawn of Armenian book printing (16ᵗʰ–17ᵗʰ centuries), the beginning of Armenian printing practice in itself represented a bridge of communication with the European world. Already at the end of the 18ᵗʰ century, European ideological currents impacted on the Armenian environment through printing, continuing into the 19ᵗʰ century. In the same period, Armenian printing houses also transmitted Western knowledge into Armenian society through translations and original works. The article is thus divided into three parts. The first presents an introduction to Armenian book printing; the second investigates the reflection of European ideas through printed works, while the third part explores the dissemination of Western knowledge into the Armenian world.

The 'Armenianization' of the European Art of Printing

The fall of Constantinople was met with despair in 15ᵗʰ-century Armenia. Despite having different confessional traditions, Byzantium was traditionally regarded as a citadel of the Christian faith and a stronghold for Christian Armenia. The fall of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia in the 14ᵗʰ century and the destruction of the Byzantine Empire finally cut off Armenia from the Christian world, enclosing it

within the domain of Muslim countries and the Islamic tradition, and thus prede-
termining the directions of its further development. Under these conditions, print-
ing became a means of communication with the European Christian world.

The difficulties of maintaining an identity as a Christian community sur-
rounded by Muslims caused the Armenian population to seek a Christian king or
ruler, or a leader who favoured Christians. Meanwhile, Armenian spiritual leaders
looked towards Europe, anticipating that by accepting the nominal domination of
the Pope, Catholic countries would help to free them from Muslim control.[1]
Rome, however, raised the question of adopting Catholicism, provoking dissatis-
faction among the Armenians. In this context, we will consider Armenian in-
volvement in the global, intellectual activity of book printing, in an effort to pre-
serve Armenian cultural identity between the Catholic and Muslim worlds.

Armenian book printing began[2] when the invention of printing technology,
which gradually transformed the world by accelerating the dissemination of in-
formation, had spread throughout western Europe and was gaining a foothold in
the eastern part of the continent (Dondi 2013, 82).[3] Jews had also begun to print
in Hebrew; however, the technology had not yet penetrated the Muslim and East-
ern Christian worlds (Roper 2013, 541).[4]

In the 16th century, religious wars took place in Europe. And of course, the
ideological war, i.e. the war over the printed word, was an integral part of these
struggles. It is no coincidence that Luther considered publishing to be God's
greatest gift to man (Flood 2013, 371). It was in the ecclesiastical environment,
or more precisely, in the struggle between Catholics and Protestants in the 16th
century, that the concepts of propaganda and anti-propaganda emerged. The
struggle between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation contributed to
the development of printing and the growth of literacy. In addition, the Catholic
Church aspired to absorb the Eastern Christian churches, including the Armenian
Church.[5] In the 17th century, a Catholic–Apostolic conflict flared up in the Arme-

---

[1] Under the Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran, the Georgian kings also sometimes sought help from
European countries. In some cases, their envoys to Europe were Armenian.

[2] The first Armenian books were printed in Venice in 1512. Details of the activities of the publisher
of the first Armenian book, Hakob Meghapart, are unknown. He was probably able to print without
restrictions, since the Republic of Venice had adopted a policy of non-interference in printing ac-
tivities (Dondi 2013, 90). On the first Armenian publisher and his books, see *Hay grk'i patmut'yun*
(The History of the Armenian Book) by Rafayel Ishkhanyan (1977, 36–179).

[3] In the 1460s and 1470s, printing spread almost all across Germany and Italy. Between 1471 and
the 1480s, printing houses opened in more than 100 European cities.

[4] Hebrew printing in the Ottoman Empire began in 1493, and in Morocco in 1515.

[5] On the activities of Jesuit preachers in the Armenian-populated areas, see Lēō 1904, 337–65.

nian world. Just as the struggle between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation in Europe contributed to the development and expansion of printing, in the same way the ideological struggle between Catholics and Apostolics (led from Etchmiadzin) contributed to the progress of printing and publishing in Armenia.

Nevertheless, it proved very difficult for Armenian Apostolic clerics to engage in theological disputes with the highly educated Catholics, including Catholic Armenians, as Armenian schools and education in general found themselves in decline. At the beginning of the 17th century, Armenian clergymen Khach'atur Kesarats'i and Simēōn Jughayets'i, who had been ordered by the Catholicos of All Armenians to go to Poland and persuade Polish-Armenians who had adopted Catholicism to return to the Armenian faith, were defeated in a debate with Armenian Catholics because they were not proficient in grammar and philosophy (Davrizhets'i 1669, 632). Returning to Armenia, they set up a school in Yerevan that began to teach grammar, philosophy and calendar history. Interestingly, this school seemed to have the tendency to overlook medieval abstraction (Samvelyan 1997, 112). It is noteworthy that in the 17th century, Catholics might have been considered the regressive power in the struggle between Catholics and Protestants. Nevertheless, the conflict and communication between Catholics and Armenians contributed to a degree of progress in Armenian life.

The Armenian Catholicos bishops and clergy devoted themselves to the organization of book printing. Khach'atur Kesarats'i, who had witnessed the intellectual progress of Europe's Catholic Armenians, founded a publishing house in New Julfa, the Armenian community in Iran.[6] Its necessity was justified by the abundance of books in Latin, i.e. in the Catholic world (Oskanyan et al. 1988, 26). The Vanandets'i family, famous for its printing activities, openly admitted its envy at the magnificent book printing tradition in Europe and understood that Armenians lacked it (Ibid., 202). Since printing was a European art, the Armenian Church fathers sent men to Europe (in Armenian 17th-century colophons often collectively referred to as 'the West', 'the Latin world', or 'the Country of Franks') to master this technology and open printing houses.

Printing activities in New Julfa, the Armenian colony in Iran and relatively close to Armenia, failed to meet the demands of the Armenian population. The Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran were not favourable places for printing in that period since Muslim book printing had not yet come into existence. Moreover, printing threatened the profession of the scribes/calligraphers, depriving them of

---

[6] The Armenian printing house founded by Khach'atur Kesarats'i is considered the first in Iran. The printing house used its own printing press, paper and type.

a means of living. At that time, Armenia was not a centre of printing but rather a land of manuscripts.

Under these circumstances, in the second half of the 17th century, Europe – firstly protestant Amsterdam, then Marseilles and Livorno – became centres of Armenian printing. Most ancient Armenian books were printed in the Armenian printing houses in Europe.

Whereas the manuscripts created in Armenia (in a Muslim environment) mostly emphasized Armenian religious identity, surprisingly, the colophons of books published in Europe (in the Christian lands) sometimes stressed national identity. It is also interesting that in the struggle between Catholics and Apostolics (Gregorians), a new marker of self-identification emerged allowing for a distinction to be made between the followers of the Armenian Church and Roman Catholic Armenians: the expression 'my Gregorian Armenian nation' and its variations (Mkhlayim 1750, 253; Nor Ktakaran, 1710, 3). Being subject to Etchmiadzin was emphasized, too.

However, Armenians not only gained skills in printing and book publishing, but also absorbed European knowledge: the first Armenian printed book in the exact sciences, *Arhest hamaroghut'ean* (The art of arithmetic), was published in Marseille in 1675. Additionally, Armenian book printers aroused interest through their activities among local populations in Europe. In order to spread Catholicism among Armenians, Catholic clergymen learnt Armenian, and the first Armenian-Latin dictionaries appeared as a result (T'osunyan 2001, 252).[7]

However, Armenian printers in Europe increasingly encountered Catholic censorship and were cut off from their main market in Armenia. Thus, at the beginning of the 18th century, they left Europe. In the 18th century, Constantinople became the new centre of Armenian printing activities,[8] which took on the burden of transporting books to Armenia. In the 18th century, about two dozen Armenian printing houses were in operation in Constantinople.

---

[7] The first Armenian-Latin dictionary dates back to 1621. The author was Francesco Rivola. The second Armenian-Latin dictionary was published in 1645 by Clemens Galanos.

[8] Interestingly, in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, a secret printing house run by Armenian Catholics operated in Constantinople. The need for covert printing probably stemmed from the negative attitude of the Ottoman authorities towards Catholics, including the Catholic Armenians, at that time (Davt'yan 1965).

Dissemination of European Thought through Printing

In the struggle between the Catholic and the Armenian churches, Constantinople became a bastion of Etchmiadzin and the defence of the Armenian Church.[9] Many writings by the Catholic fathers were published there with the aim of making them accessible – ultimately, in order to oppose them. Gēorg Mkhlayim's polemical book, *Chshmarit nshanakut'iwn kat'ughikēut'ean* (The true significance of Catholicism) (1750), directed against the Catholic Church, was most likely published in Constantinople. The book was a response to the Jesuit theologian and historian Clemens Galanos (Ibid., 3–4). Mkhlayim possessed the relevant skills and knowledge to take on Galanos, as he had studied in Paris.

Constantinople became the foremost seat of Armenian publishing. The most important figure was Pōghos Arapean (1742–1835), who created new Turkish typefaces and published the empire's first official newspaper. Heraclius II of Georgia also asked for Arapean's help, inviting him to Tbilisi where Arapean created new Georgian typefaces (Maghalyan 2013, 62–63). Thus, Armenians who early mastered the European art of printing contributed to the development of the printing industry in the wider Black Sea region. While the works of French Enlightenment writers were not translated inside the Ottoman Empire at that time, some artistic works of literature were published in Constantinople, such as *Patmut'iwn kaysern P'onts'ianosi* (The history of Emperor Pontius) and *Girg patmut'ean or koch'i Pghndzē k'aghak'* (The tale of the city of bronze). The scope of these activities in the Ottoman Empire and the French influence shaped the development of literature, drama and music, and the emergence of prominent artists, playwriters and musicians among the Armenian community of Constantinople in the second half of the 19th century. While at this time *Les Misérables* by Victor Hugo, for example, had not yet been translated into Turkish, there were already several publications in Armenian.

Before proceeding to other centres of Armenian printing and publishing, I would like to touch upon another aspect of Armenian reality. It should be noted that relations between Armenian Catholics and representatives of the Apostolic Church were not always tense. Beginning in the first half of the 17th century, we

---

[9] At the end of the 17th century, the struggle between the Apostolics (followers of the Armenian Apostolic Church) and Roman Catholics escalated. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Avetik' Evdokats'i (Tokhatts'i), was deported to Paris for anti-Catholic activities, the sources of the time calling him the greatest persecutor of Catholics in the East. His greatest opponent was the French ambassador to Istanbul, Marquis de Friol, who organized the kidnapping of the Patriarch and his removal from Constantinople (Ter-Stepanyan 1984, 36–37).

see a tendency towards an improvement in relations, with the result that Armenians moved closer to modern scientific thought. Oskan Erevants'i was part of this trend. Having been the disciple of a Catholic priest in the 1630s, he later became one of the initiators of Armenian printing.[10] Another famous Armenian printer, Tovma Vanandets'i, even had plans to open a Latin-Armenian school in Armenia to educate his compatriots, whom he perceived as living in "darkness and under a dictatorial yoke" (Hovhannisyan 1959, 171–72). These men tried to diminish the distance between Catholics and Apostolics, and to introduce new intellectual trends. At the same time, they had no intention of becoming Catholics. In the 18th century, Mkhit'ar Sebastats'i (Mekhitar of Sebaste), also a representative of this tendency, adopted Catholicism and in 1701 founded a Catholic congregation in Constantinople. The Mekhitarists subsequently established a monastery on the Island of Saint Lazarus, close to Venice, in 1717. They seemed to be guided by an elaborate and long-term plan to renovate and modernize Armenian educational life. The Armenian historian and philologist Lēō described the role of the Mekhitarist Congregation for the Armenian nation as follows: "It is known how big a role the Mekhitarist Congregation has played for the Armenian nation. I can confidently say that for the whole century, until the mid-19th century, it was the only institution that supplied Armenians with enlightenment and science" (1902, 47).

In 1717, Mkh'itar Sebastats'i devoted himself to studying Armenian grammar. He tried to clear the language of Latin vocabulary. He also compiled a comprehensive set of Armenian grammar rules for Turkish-speaking Armenians in *Durn k'erakanut'ean* (The access to grammar) in 1727. Mik'ayēl Ch'amch'eants, a member of the Congregation, began publishing a three-volume work called *Patmut'iwn Hayots'* (The history of the Armenians) in 1784. It comprised a complete history of the Armenian people and presented the history of Armenia in a scientific way based on empiricism. The author also attempted to underline the uniqueness of the Armenian people and its position, which can be read in the context of the new era and the necessity to create a national history in Armenian reality, apparently as a result of the spread of nationalism in Europe.

---

[10] At a young age, Oskan Erevants'i met a Catholic priest at Etchmiadzin who did not speak Armenian very well but was educated in all fields of philosophy. The young Oskan was enchanted by his knowledge and received personal instruction in Latin, grammar, philosophy and theology. However, Oksan's friendship with the priest sparked opposition from society and the Armenian Catholicos (Davrizhets'i 1669, 633–34). In 1669, Oskan Erevants'i published the 'Book of Histories' by Armenian historian Arak'el Davrizhets'i, editing several parts and thus demonstrating his aspiration to adapt the book to European standards and thought. Hrachik Mirzoyan writes: "Being more or less acquainted with European science and culture, Oskan tried to free Davrizhets'i's book from overt expressions of superstition" (Mirzoyan 2015, 14).

Thus, Sebastats'i and Ch'amch'eants shouldered the work of studying the Armenian language and the country's history, and of enriching the Armenian world with new books. At the beginning of the 19th century, literacy was not widespread in Armenia, leading philologist Manuk Abeghyan to correctly conclude: "The Mekhitarists were printing more books than those who read them, especially those who understood them" (cited in Davt'yan 1967, V).

Unlike the Venetians, the Mekhitarist Congregation in Trieste was active in publishing religious works and propaganda. Furthermore, they printed a large number of Turkish works in Armenian script. Although the Catholic Armenian congregations were based in the centre of Europe, they did not reflect Enlightenment ideas as such in their printing activities.

Although it may seem strange at first glance, the impact of progressive European ideas was most noticeable in the Armenian community of colonial India. The community was obviously influenced by British Enlightenment thinking, which in the Armenian socio-political mind led to the concept of liberation from foreign domination. The Armenian printing house in Madras published Movsēs Baghramean's *Nor tetrak, or koch'i yordorak* (The new pamphlet known as 'exhortation') in 1772–1773, which was the first work of its kind in Armenian. Here, the author attempted to revive the memory of the Armenian kingdoms, presenting the 'glorious' past of Armenia and opposing it to the country's "miserable" current existence. Recalling the kingdoms was intended to awaken national sentiment: in fact, the Madras group rejected monarchy as a form of government. In the next book published by the Madras printing house, the Armenian community of India presented the constitution of a future independent Armenia and its public administration system, and spoke about freedom of speech, democracy, and the separation of church and state. In short, the progressive thought of the time was summarized in this book (see Hakob Shahamirean's *Orogayt' P'arats',* 1773).

The Madras publications emphasized the national identity of Armenians. They declared that it was shameful to write in a foreign language, and called for learning Armenian and writing in the Armenian language. Basically, the Madras group tried to inspire a national movement (see *Ghekawar mankants'* 1797, 280–82). It is noteworthy that in the works published by the Armenian printing houses in India, the term 'Armenian nation' served as a term of self-identification, instead of 'Christian nation' – a term that initially had been an equivalent reference but was now starting to change in India. This represented yet another step towards Enlightenment thought and deviation from religion. In general, the Armenian diaspora in India adhered to Etchmiadzin, but both its distance and the prosperity of these Armenians contributed to their relative independence.

In 1780–1783, the Madras group undertook the translation of the history of the Persian ruler Nader Shah by Jonas Hanway, which was the first translation from English into Armenian (see *Patmagrut'iwn varuts'n ev gortsots' Naděr Shah Tagaworin Parsits'* (The History of Life and Work of Nader Shah, King of Persia). Apparently, the Armenian publishers were tempted by the topic because Nader Shah was credited with having saved the country from the Ottomans and Afghans. Having created a heroic image of the Armenian in history, the publishers compared it with the invincible present. "Instead of treating us with due honour upon hearing our name as an invincible nation [in the original, 'invincible T'orogomians' – this term is often identified with the Armenian ethnonym], they [most likely the Persians and Turks] call us faithless gawurs [infidels]", complained the Armenians in India (Hanway 1780–1783, 182). Publishing gradually acquired a pro-Russian orientation, with materials appearing about Peter the Great. On the one hand, the Russian Empire gradually started to get interested in the invasion of the Southern Caucasus and on the other hand, this matched the Armenian preference of living under Russian rather than Persian sovereignty.

Nor tetrak, or koch'i yordorak, published for the first time by the Armenian publishers of Madras, called for a national struggle, provoking the anger of Catholicos Simēōn Erewants'i. Simēōn Erewants'i ordered the disbanding of the printing house and burning of the book, and declared its author insane. Instead, Simēōn Erewants'i had his own vision for the future of the Armenians. He founded a printing house in Etchmiadzin in 1771 and at last, two and a half centuries after the inception of Armenian book printing, this technology reached Armenia.[11] Unlike the Madras group's call for 'struggle', Simēōn Erewants'i addressed his own 'exhortation' to the Armenians that can be summarized as follows: not to assume Catholicism, to endure the difficulties of being Christian in the Muslim world and not to convert, and at the same time to progress as a religious community and improve education (Simēōn Erewants'i 1779–1783, 142, 264). Naturally, the Etchmiadzin printing house started to create and publish religious works and together with Constantinople – though never reaching the level

---

[11] The Etchmiadzin printing house was troubled by an acute shortage of paper, which was imported from European countries at huge expense. For this reason, specialists in paper production were invited from Constantinople. This time, Armenian merchants came to the aid of printing; with the help of a wealthy Indian Armenian, the Etchmiadzin paper factory was already producing paper in 1776 (Aghayan and Arak'elyan 1972, 624).

of the latter – became the ideological stronghold of the Armenian Church at the end of the 18th century.[12]

It is worth noting that *Nor tetrak, or koch'i yordorak* was published in 1786 in Russia under the title *Kratkoe istoricheskoe i geograficheskoe opisanie tsarstva Armianskogo* (A short historical and geographical description of the Armenian Kingdom; see Shaamiriants, 1786). Russia had actively started a policy of expansion in the Caucasus, until then dominated by Persia.[13] In the second half of the 18th century, the economic and political weight of the Armenians inside Russia was growing. In 1780, the Armenian printing house in London was moved to St. Petersburg to become the first in the Russian Empire at the initiative of Hovsēp' Arghut'ean, the spiritual leader of the Armenians of Russia and a loyal defender of Russian influence in Armenia. Besides writings of religious content, the first Armenian-Russian dictionary was published in 1788: *Girk', or koch'i shavigh lezuagitut'ean* (A book as the path to the knowledge of language) compiled by Grigor Khaldareants'. In addition, the first translation from Russian into Armenian appeared (see *Skzbunk' k'aghak'akan usmants'* (Principles of civil studies). The printing house was then transported to southern Russia, first to Nakhichevan-on-Don, then to Astrakhan. In 1793–1794, the Armenian printing house of New Nakhichevan published Francois Fenelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque* as *Patmut'yun Patmut'iwn T'ĕlamak' ordwoy Yulisi* in two volumes – one of the most widely read books at the time.

The printing house propagated the pro-Armenian activities of the Russian Empire. It published the imperial privileges accorded to the Armenians in Russia, contributing to the formation of pro-Russian sentiment among this community (Ekaterina erkrord 1796). Although the printing house was closed in 1801, the Apostolic Armenians, noting the printing activity of the Jesuits, reopened it in 1818 (Khach'atryan 1996, 210–11).

After partial incorporation into the Russian Empire in 1828, Armenia was connected to the developing Russian education system. Contrary to in the environment of Constantinople, where, as we have already noted, literature and music evolved, eastern Armenians gradually developed the study of Armenology. It is

---

[12] The Etchmiadzin printing house, founded by Simēōn Erewants'i, had published twelve books by the end of the century. Taking this figure into account, it is evident that the main centre of Armenian printing remained outside the country.

[13] Manuscript nr. 1477 in the Matenadaran is a copy of the *Orogayt' P'arats'* – the constitution of future Armenia published in Madras. It was copied and prepared for publication in 1805 following a decree by Archbishop Ep'hrem, the spiritual leader of the Armenians in Russia. The publication date was omitted – it was to be added in the future. I was unable to verify whether the book was printed – most likely it was not. I owe this information to Matenadaran researcher K'narik Sahakyan (see Ant'abean and K'eōsēean 2008, 1355–59).

here that the Armenian public-political mind was shaped. The impact of Russian thought (in some cases influenced by German thought) on the future of Armenian socio-political ideology was quite significant.

Printing as the Main Medium for Mastering Modern Science

Armenian printing became a unique means for European knowledge to penetrate the Armenian world. Of course, the Armenian printing houses operating in European cities were foremost in this role. Although the Armenian printing house in Madras published a book with the title *Grk'uk Erkrach'ap'akan* (Geometrical booklet) in 1792 (Taghean 1792), the development of geometry in the Armenian language is linked to Sahak Pronean. His works *Erkrach'ap'ut'iwn* (Geometry, 1794) and *Erankiwnach'ap'ut'iwn* (Trigonometry, 1810) were published in Venice. His intention was to create a geometry manual based on works in European languages, and thus to devise and promote Armenian terminology. As expected, both he and his intellectual base were in Europe. Ignatios P'ap'azean of the Venetian Mekhitarists authored *Erkrach'ap'ut'iwn gortsnakan* (Practical geometry) in 1817. Suk'ias Aghamaleants' published the work *T'uabanut'iwn* (Arithmetic) in Venice in 1781, while another Venetian monk, Kh'ach'atur Siwrmēlean, wrote the book *Hamaṛōt t'uabanut'iwn ashkharhabar* (A brief arithmetic in modern Armenian) in 1788. Besides in Venice and Vienna, books on arithmetic were published in Constantinople and Etchmiadzin. The book *Arhest t'uabanut'ean* (The craft of arithmetic) published in Etchmiadzin in 1842 rather resembles a textbook, yielding to the scientific works of the Mekhitarists. The author refers to the works of the 'splendid European authors' and of Suk'ias Aghamaleants', the author of the work 'Arithmetic' (Shahnazareants' 1842, 1).

As in the case of the mathematical sciences, books on chemistry, physics and astronomy were mainly printed in Vienna or Venice. Issues relating to physics, chemistry and meteorology are discussed in the book, *Hamaṛōt bnakan gitut'iwn* (A brief natural science) by Matt'ēos Saghat'iēleants' (1842), a member of the Mekhitarist Congregation of Vienna. In 1845, Aghek'sandr Palchean's *Hrahangk' asteghagitut'ean i veray erknagndoy* (Astronomical indications in relation to the sky) and Barsegh Nurichanean's *P'ordzarakan bnagitut'iwn kam fiziga* (Experimental natural sciences or physics) were published in Vienna. Ghukas Oghullugean published the first book on shipbuilding in Armenian in Venice in 1809 (see Oghullugean, 1809). According to approximate estimates, the 1843–1880 editions of the journal *Bazmavep* (Polyhistory) alone, published by the Venetian Mekhitarists, printed more than 300 articles on physics, chemistry, astronomy, biology, mining and meteorology (P'ashayan 1998, 65).

Discounting the works published by the Vienna and Venice publishing houses, only a few works on the natural sciences appeared in the Armenian sphere, and most were translations. Thus, the book *A Brief Astronomy* was translated from English into Armenian (*Hamaṛōt astghabashkhut'iwn*) in Izmir in 1841.

During the 18th century, Armenian students of European medicine compiled translations from European languages into Armenian or authored independent works. For example, Iranian-Armenian Petros K'alant'arean was the first Armenian to study at the St. Petersburg hospital school (Vardanyan 1986, 141). His *Bzhshkaran hamaṛōt* (A brief medical book) was published by the Armenian printing house in New Nakhichevan in 1793. His thesis was a notable attempt to master Russian and European medicinal science. Although Russian centres of learning could educate a scholar in subjects more or less related to modern science, it is difficult to state the same in the case of the Ottoman Empire.

Hovakim Oghullukhean, from Trabzon in the Ottoman Empire, studied at the University of Vienna. His work *Niwt' bzhshkaran* (A medical treatise), which contains medical advice, was printed in the Armenian printing house in Venice in 1806. His intellectual base was clearly in Europe. Another physician and naturalist, Step'anos Shehrimanean, studied in Europe, writing works on medical science and botany (Marjanyan 1971, 236–46). The Armenian physician Mik'ayēl Rēstēn, who had also received a European education, published the two-volume study *Bzhshkabanut'iwn* (Medicine) on biology in Venice. In 1823, the medical work *Patmut'iwn ew khrat bzhshkut'ean* (A history of medicine and medical advice) by Davit' Mkrtch'yan Karbets'i, focusing on the fight against cholera, was published in Tbilisi. In this case, the author had developed his knowledge not in Russia but in India; he studied at the Calcutta English Medical College. Here, we are dealing with British influence: knowledge entered the Armenian world not only from Central Europe (Venice and Vienna) but also via a path leading from Britain to India and on to Russia. In Moscow and Tbilisi, as well as in the Armenian printing houses of the Ottoman Empire such as in Istanbul and Izmir, the books published on the natural sciences were mostly of an informative nature or translated, and their scientific value is inferior to the comparable works of the Mekhitarists.

Conclusion

The ideological struggle between Catholic and Apostolic Armenians (the latter with their spiritual base in Etchmiadzin) contributed to the progress of Armenian book printing. The second half of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries saw a transitional phase from religious life to secularisation. This era reflected

the diversity, the dispersion, the ideological contradictions and the struggles of the Armenian world. As noted by the Islamic book specialist, Vahid Gdura, book printing signalled openness to the West (cited in Albin 1988, 367). Whereas the Muslim world had closed its doors to the invention of Gutenberg[14] (Ottoman printing only began in 1729, while printing got underway in Persia in 1830), the eastern Christians – Greeks, Maronites, Armenians and Jews – embraced it. The Armenians adopted the European craft and made it their own in local contexts. At the same time, European thought began to penetrate the Armenian world in different ways, contributing to Armenian involvement in the process of secularisation and modernization.

According to the model developed by George Basalla, the above-mentioned stage corresponds to the first phase of dissemination of science, when 'non-scientific' communities interact with 'scientific' communities. In his article, *The Spread of Western Science,* Basalla put forward the thesis that European knowledge or contemporary science spread through 'non-scientific' societies as a result of their contact with Europe (Basalla 1967, 611). This is confirmed by studying the history of the development of science in Armenia. However, Basalla's three-part model is not entirely applicable to Armenian reality. We can conclude as follows: the Armenian context had its own peculiarities. If Europeans brought their knowledge to the countries they colonized, in the case of the Armenian world it was not transferred by colonial officials from Europe but primarily by European-born Armenians who were carriers of European knowledge (i.e. Western science). Clearly, the Mekhitarists authored most of the books written in the Armenian language in the field of the natural sciences.

It is remarkable that an Armenian from Calcutta, who had acquired knowledge of modern science through education in a British institution, transmitted medical knowledge in Tbilisi, at that time ruled by Russia. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, most of the Armenian researchers in the fields of physics, mathematics and astronomy studied and lived in European countries. In a few cases, they were connected with the Russian Empire. It should be noted that in this era neither the activities of missionaries nor military expeditions, political or trade relations, or

---

[14] Ottoman book historian, Orlin Sabev, has studied the problems faced by printers in the Ottoman Empire. Two western travelers, André Thevet (who toured the East in 1549) and Paul Rico (who visited Istanbul in the 1660s) claimed that printing was banned by the Ottoman leaders. Thevet claimed that Sultan Bayazid II (1481–1512) had decreed that publishing a book would be punished by death, while his successor Sultan Selim the Grim (1512–1520) confirmed his predecessor's order in 1515. Researchers consider this information in line with historical reality; there is proof neither for nor against it (Sabev 2013, 143–64).

even Russian colonial policy, played as important a role as Armenian book printing in the dissemination of modern science into the Armenian world.

Works Cited

Aghamaleants', Suk'ias. *T'uabanut'iwn*. Demetrius Theodosios Publishing, 1781.

Aghayan, Tsatur, and Babken Arak'elyan, editors. *Hay zhoghovrdi patmut'yun, Hay zhoghovurdě feodalizmi vayrējk'i zhamanakashrjanum, 14–18 darer*. Vol. 4, Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Press, 1972.

Albin, Michael W. "Recent Studies in Middle Eastern Printing History: A Review Essay." *Libraries and Culture*, vol. 23, no. 3, Summer 1988, pp. 365–73.

Ant'abean, P'aylak, and Hakob K'eōsēean, editors. *Mayr ts'uts'ak hayerēn dzeṛagrats', Mashtots'i anuan Matenadarani*. Vol. D, Nayiri Press, 2008.

Arhest hamaroghut'ean. Author unknown. Saint Ējmiatsin and Saint Sargis Publishing, 1675.

Baghramean, Movsēs. *Nor tetrak, or koch'i yordorak*. Hakōb Shamirean Publishing, 1772.

Basalla, George. "The Spread of Western Science. A three-stage model describes the introduction of modern science into any non-European nation." *Science*, vol. 156, no. 3775, May 1967, pp. 611–22.

Ch'amch'eants', Mik'ayēl. *Patmut'iwn Hayots'*. Vol. 1, Pietro Valvaziani Publishing, 1784.

--- *Patmut'iwn Hayots'*. Vol. 2, Pietro Valvaziani Publishing, 1785.

--- *Patmut'iwn Hayots'*. Vol. 3, Pietro Valvaziani Publishing, 1786.

Davrizhets'i, Arak'el. *Girk' Patmut'eants*. Saint Ējmiatsin and Saint Sargis Publishing, 1669.

Davt'yan, Hayk, "K. Polsi hay-kat'olikneri gaghtni tparaně." *Journal of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, Social Sciences*, no. 1, January 1965, pp. 29–39.

--- *Hay girk'ě 1801–1850 t'vakannerin, Matenagitut'yun*. Armenian National Library Press, 1967.

Dondi, Christina. "The European printing revolution." *The Book, A Global History*, edited by Michael F. Suarez, S. J. and Henry R. Woudhuysen, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 80–92.

Ekaterina erkrord = Catherine II. *Hrovartak*. Arghut'eants' Publishing, 1796, http://greenstone.flib.sci.am/gsdl/collect/armenian/Books/hrovartak_1796_index.html. Accessed 15 December 2017.

Erewants'i, Simēōn. *Partavchar*. Saint Grigor Lusavorich' Publishing, 1779–1783.

Fenelon, Franchesk'oy. *Patmut'iwun T'ĕlamak' ordwoy Yulisi*. Vol. 1–2, Surp' Khach' Vank' Publishing, 1793.

Flood, John L., "The History of the Book in Germany". *The Book, A Global History*, edited by Michael F. Suarez, S. J., and Henry R. Woudhuysen, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp**.** 365**–**83.

Ghekawar mankants'. Author unknown. Harut'iwn Shmavonyan Shirazets'i Publishing, 1797.

Girg patmut'ean or koch'i Pghndzē k'aghak'. Author unknown. Martiros Dpir Publishing, 1757.

Hamaṛōt astghabashkhut'iwn. Author unknown. Goulielmos Griffith Publishing, 1841.

Hanway, Jonas. *Patmagrut'iwn varuts'n ev gortsots' Naděr Shah T'agaworin Parsits'*. Yakob Shahamiryan Publishing, 1780–1783.

Hovhannisyan, Ashot. *Drvagner hay azatagrakan mtk'i patmut'yan*. Vol. 2, Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Press, 1959.

Ishkhanyan, Ṛafayel. *Hay grk'i patmut'yun, vol. 1. Hay tpagir girk' ĕ 16–17 darerum*. Hayastan Press, 1977.

Khach'atryan, Vardan. *Hay tpagrut'yunn Astrakhanum (18-rd dari verj-20-rd dari skizb), ejer hay gaghtavayreri patmut'yan*, edited by Vladimir Barkhudaryan and Zawēn Ekawean, RA National Academy of Sciences Press, 1996.

Khaldareants', Grigor. *Girk', or koch'i shavigh lezuagitut'ean*. Grigor Khaldareants' Publishing, 1788.

K'alant'aryan, Petros. *Bzhshkaran hamaṛōt*. Surp' Khach' Vank' Publishing*, 1793*.

Lēō. *Haykakan tpagrut'iwn*. Vol. 1 (XVI–XVII centuries), 2nd ed., Hermēs Publishing, 1904.

--- *Haykakan tpagrut'iwn*. Vol. 2 (XVIII century), Vrats' Hratarakch'akan ĕnkerut'iwn, 1902.

Maghalyan, Vladimir. "Haykakan gratput'yuně Tiflisum (XIX dar–XX daraskizb)." *Historical-Philological Journal*, no. 3, 2013, pp. 62–83.

Marjanyan, Karine, "Sharimanian Stepanos." *Historical-Philological Journal*, no. 3, 1971, pp. 236–46.

Mirzoyan, Hrach'ik. *Hay grk'i ev gratput'yan patmut'yan p'ilisop'ayakan andradardzner*. YSU Press, 2015.

Mkhlayim, Gēorg. *Chshmarit nshanakut'iwn kat'ughikēut'ean*. 2nd ed., Martiros Sargsyan Publishing, 1750.

Mkrtch'yan, Davit' Karbetsi. *Patmut'iwn ew khrat bzhshkut'ean*. Nersisian Publishing, 1823.

Nor Ktakaran = New Testament. Antoni Bortoli Publishing, 1710.

Nurichanean, Barsegh. *P'ordzarakan bnagitut'iwn kam fiziga*. Vienna Mekhitarist Publishing, 1856.

Oghullugean, Ghukas. *Usumnakanut'iwn nawughghut'ean*. Saint Lazarus Publishing, 1809.

Oghullukhean, Hovakim. *Niwt' bzhshkaran*. Saint Lazarus Publishing, 1806.

Oskanyan, Ninel A., et al. *Hay girk'ě 1512–1800 t'vakannerin*, *Hay hnatip grk'i matenagitut'yun*. Armenian National Library Press, 1988.

Palchean, Aghek'sandr. *Hrahangk' asteghagitut'ean i veray erknagndoy*. I vans Pashtpan Surp' Astvatsatsni Publishing, 1845.

P'ap'azean, Ignatiōs. *Erkrach'ap'ut'iwn gortsnakan*, Saint Lazarus Publishing, 1817.

P'ashayan, Asatur. "18–19-rd darerum Venetiki Mkhit'aryan miabanut'yan hratarakats bnagitakan ashkhatut'yunnerě." *Ējmiatsin*, no. 12, December 1998, pp. 64–68.

Pronean, Sahak. *Erkrach'ap'ut'iwn*. Saint Lazarus Publishing, 1794.

--- *Erankiwnach'ap'ut'iwn*. Saint Lazarus Publishing, 1810.

Rēstēn, Mik'ayēl. *Bzhshkabanut'iwn.* Vol. 1–2, Saint Lazarus Publishing, 1822.

Roper, Geoffrey. "The History of the Book in the Muslim World." *The Book, A Global History*, edited by Michael F. Suarez, S. J., and Henry R. Woudhuysen, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 524–52.

Sabev, Orlin. "A Virgin Deserving Paradise or a Whore Deserving Poison: Manuscript Tradition and Printed Books in Ottoman Turkish Society". *The History of the Book in the Middle East,* edited by Geoffrey Roper, Routledge, 2013, pp. 143–64.

Saghat'iēleants', Matt'ēos. *Hamaṛōt bnakan gitut'iwn*. I vans Pashtpan Surp' Astvatsatsni Publishing, 1842.

Samvelyan, Khach'ik. "Oskan Vardapeti usumnaṛut'yunĕ Erevanum." *Ējmiatsin*, vol. 10, October 1997, pp. 106–13.

Sebastats'i, Mkhit'ar. *Duṛn k'erakanut'ean*. Antoni Bortoli Publishing, 1727.

Shahamirean, Hakob. *Orogayt' P'arats'*. Yakob Shahamiryan Publishing, 1773.

--- = Shaamiriants, Yakob. *Kratkoe istoricheskoe i geograficheskoe opisanie tsarstva Armianskogo*. Translated from the Armenian by Varlaam Vaganov, Shnor' Publishing, 1786.

Shahnazareants', Karapet. *Arhest t'uabanut'ean*. Saint Ējmiatsin Publishing, 1842.

Siwrmēlean, Kh'ach'atur. *Hamarōt t'uabanut'iwn ashkharhabar*, Giovanni Piazzo Publishing, 1788.

Skzbunk' k'aghak'akan usmants'. Author unknown. Translated from Russian (Translator unknown). Grigor Khaldareants' Publishing, 1785.

Taghean, Hakob. *Grk'uk Erkrach'ap'akan*. Harut'iwn Shmavonyan Shirazets'i Publishing, 1792.

Ter-Stepanyan, Armen. "Gevorg Mkhlayim." *Ējmiatsin*, no. 5, May 1984, pp. 36–37.

T'osunyan, Gevorg. "Grabari bararanagrut'yan zargats'man ĕnt'atsk'ĕ." *Historical-Philological Journal*, no. 3, 2001, pp. 251–58.

Vardanyan, Stella A., "Bzhishk Petros K'alant'aryanĕ ew XVIII dari hay bzhshkagitut'yan mi qani harts'er." *Historical-Philological Journal*, no. 2, 1986, pp. 139–49.

III. Communities in Exchange

MINORITY DEBATES ON THE FUTURE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: GREEK AND ARMENIAN NATIONALIST THOUGHT

Ioannis N. Grigoriadis

Abstract: Nationalist revolutions claimed the secession of parts of the Ottoman territory and the establishment of sovereign nation-states. Greeks and Armenians were two among the biggest minority groups which straddled over a part of the Ottoman territory. They were both influenced by the presence of strong Diaspora communities in Western, Central and Eastern Europe (including Russia) that proved critical in the dissemination of nationalist ideas. Nevertheless, there is a striking difference in the way the two nationalist movements unfold. This paper aims to discuss the reasons why Greek and Armenian nationalism developed along different lines.

Introduction

The Ottoman Emirate came to existence in the early 14th century in the land of Bithynia. Within a few decades, it succeeded in consolidating itself in Western Anatolia and the Southeastern Balkans. By doing that, it included sizeable Christian populations, Armenian and Orthodox (*Rum*) which would form the bulk of the minority populations of the new state. By occupying Constantinople in 1453, it laid a claim on becoming an Empire. Soon further conquests in the Middle East, Central and Eastern Europe pointed at the rise of a formidable political, economic and military power. The two sieges of the Habsburg capital Vienna in 1529 and 1683 marked the high point of Ottoman expansion in Central Europe. A long era of contraction was soon to follow. In fact, the second siege of Vienna became a watermark of the beginning of Ottoman decline. The Ottoman failure to keep up with economic, military and social developments in Europe eventually affected the Empire military capacity and performance. The Treaties of Karlowitz (Sremski Karlovci, Karlofça) in 1699 and Passarowitz (Požarevac, Pasarofça) in 1718 did not only seal the loss of territories to the Habsburg Empire; they also became the harbingers of a long and protracted era of territorial losses. Both the Habsburg and the Russian Empires started reclaiming territories, and the once formidable Ottoman administration appeared unable to deliver solutions. The set of economic, social and political transformation that shaped the European continent in the 18th and 19th century and led to the rise of the modern state gave European states a decisive military and economic advantage over the Ottoman Empire.

Ottoman minorities were inevitably influenced by these processes. Subjugated to the Ottoman rule between the 14th and the 16th century, Ottoman Greeks and Armenians maintained privileged relations with the West through their diasporic communities and the establishment of trade networks. These allowed for the flow of Western ideas, in particular since the Enlightenment and the advent of modernity reshuffled the political and ideological agenda. The Enlightenment set a new political agenda defined by republicanism, secularism and nationalism (Hobsbawm 1990, 14–45). The American and the French Revolutions also clearly manifested that revolutionary mobilization was not necessarily futile and raised optimism among revolutionaries throughout the European continent. Nationalism was one of the key innovations. As the decline of the Ottoman Empire accelerated in the 18th and 19th century, minority nationalist movements grew stronger. Different intellectual discourses emerged within Greek and Armenian intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire. The question of national awakening was addressed in different ways. This had major repercussions on subsequent historical developments. The position of primordial community institutions, religion, the choice between pursuing secession and independent statehood for the nascent nation or attempt to improve the relative position of minorities within the Ottoman Empire with the help of Ottoman reform were crucial questions. This paper aims to discuss the reasons why Greek and Armenian nationalism developed along different lines by focusing on the work of key scholars residing both in the Ottoman Empire and in the European Diaspora (Kitromilides 1989, 151–59; Kitromilides 1994; Panossian 2002, 125–39; Suny 2001, 886–88).[1] The reason Greeks and Armenians are selected and not Serbs or Bulgarians, for example, has to do with the long coexistence of Greeks and Armenians in the core Anatolian lands of the Ottoman Empire which inevitably affected their approach towards the new Enlightenment ideas. Bulgarians, Serbs, Bosnians and Croatians were never as integrated in the Ottoman state administration as Armenians and Greeks were. Ideas flowed on both ways from Western Europe to the Ottoman lands and vice versa, when it came to discuss the transformation of the Ottoman *millets* to modern nation states. This became easier with the activities of intellectuals who travelled between the Western, Central and Eastern Europe and the Ottoman imperial domains thus facilitating that crosspollination.

---

[1] On Korais and his intellectual environment, see several chapters of the seminal Paschalis M. Kitromilides. *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the Culture and Political Thought of South-Eastern Europe.* Variorum, 1994. Collected Studies Series CS453.

Enlightenment and Ottoman Minorities

Ottoman minorities were the first to be affected by this revolutionary wave. Through their extensive diasporic networks, Ottoman Armenians and Greeks became influenced by the ideas that questioned the legitimacy of autocratic regimes and the primacy of religion in the public sphere, advocated popular sovereignty, liberty and equality of all citizens. Since the transformation of the whole Empire was soon understood as an unrealistic goal, nationalist movements aimed at the secession of parts of the Ottoman territory and the establishment of sovereign nation-states.

Greeks and Armenians were two among the biggest minority groups which straddled over a part of the Ottoman territory. They were both influenced by the presence of strong Diaspora communities in Western, Central and Eastern Europe (including Russia) that proved critical in the dissemination of nationalist ideas. Nevertheless, there is a striking difference in the way the two nationalist movements unfold. The emergence of the Greek nation-state because of the Greek War of Independence between 1821 and 1828 became a catalyst for the further development of Greek nationalism, as well as attitudes towards the future of the Ottoman Empire. Greek and Armenian nationalist movements remained in a dialectic relationship throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century. As they operate in a common public sphere, Greek and Armenian intellectuals were informed about developments in both their respective and the other community. Positive and negative experiences were noted, although this may have not sufficed to change the status quo within their communities.

Greek Debates on the Future of the Ottoman Empire

Greek nationalism appeared willing to challenge Ottoman sovereignty and carve a Greek nation-state from the Ottoman territories already in the late 18th and early 19th century. Two intellectuals made the biggest contribution to the cause, Adamantios Korais and Rigas Velestinlis. Adamantios Korais, a medical doctor by profession, devoted his life to the publication of the works of ancient Greek classics and the proliferation of the Enlightenment ideals within the Ottoman Greek communities (Kitromilides 1994). In his writings, it was clear that he considered the restoration of the cultural links of Ottoman Greeks with their own classical past as *sine qua non* for their liberation from the Ottoman rule. The liberation of the Greek nation would in other words occur first at the mental and then at the political level. Korais' secularism was a crucial aspect of his political message. He considered the Orthodox Church not as a liberating force but as part and parcel of the *ancien régime*, the Ottoman imperial autocratic order. The reduction of the

influence of the Orthodox Church and the Byzantine culture and the resurgence of the Hellenic classical heritage was seen as an essential step towards the true liberation of the Greek nation. While Korais lived for most of his life in Western Europe, his ideas had a profound influence upon the Ottoman Greek intellectual elites.

Rigas Velestinlis (Feraios) was an emblematic figure of the Hellenic Enlightenment. Intellectual as Korais, as well as revolutionary, Rigas travelled between the Danubian provinces, the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires and engaged in extensive publication activities, trying to propagate his ideas about a republican confederation of all Ottoman ethnic groups which would realize ideals of the French Revolution. While Rigas was eventually arrested by the Habsburg authorities, extradited to the Ottoman Empire and murdered in custody in Belgrade, his revolutionary message could not be suppressed. Even after the death of Rigas, the French Revolution generated repercussions within the Ottoman Greek community. Two pamphlets published in the early 19th century manifested the divide between the views of the Orthodox Church and intellectuals (Grigoriadis 2012, 17–21). In the first pamphlet entitled *Patrikē Didaskalia* (Paternal Instruction) authored by Patriarch of Jerusalem Neophytos,[2] the author argued against the proliferation of Enlightenment ideas and the French Revolution and defended the legitimacy of Ottoman rule (Clogg 1969, 94–97). In that view the demise of the Eastern Roman Empire and the Ottoman rule was a divine punishment for the sins of the Greek Orthodox[3] which would cease as soon as they were able to recover their moral stature. It stressed that the French Revolution had not delivered what it had promised. Instead it wrought havoc to the France and other European countries and comprised a much more venal threat against the Orthodox than the Ottoman rule. Considering that, it advised Ottoman Greeks to reject the revolutionary messages that were circulated by leading diaspora intellectuals and pledge loyalty to the Ottoman order. In the author's words:

---

[2] It has been inconclusively claimed that the true author of this piece might have been Athanassios Parios, a major intellectual opponent of the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment, or Ecumenical Patriarch Grigorios V himself. See Paschalis M. Kitromilides. "Imagined Communities and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans." *European History Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1989, pp. 149–94. It has been inconclusively claimed that the true author of this piece might have been Athanassios Parios, a major intellectual opponent of the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment, or Ecumenical Patriarch Grigorios V himself. See ibid.

[3] On this, see Richard Clogg. "The 'Dhidhaskalia Patriki' (1798): An Orthodox Reaction to French Revolutionary Propaganda." *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1969, pp. 87–115, and Paschalis M. Kitromilides. "Imagined Communities and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans." *European History Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1989, pp. 149–94.

Brethren, don't get distracted from the path of salvation, but as you always destroyed with bravery and steadfastness the tricks of the Devil, do the same now, as salvation lies closer to us. Shut your ears and don't listen to these novel hopes of freedom, and be certain that the views and teachings of those, as far as we could understand from the nations that accepted them, are against the words of the Holy Bible and the Holy Apostles who order us to obey the authorities, not only the lenient but also the harsh, so we can sorrow in this world and present our senses clean to Jesus Christ. While being against the Holy Scriptures, they do not do any ephemeral good to our contemporary life, as they mischievously claim, to fool you and deprive you of all heavenly and earthly wealth. Where is the glorious and graceful view of most beautiful Italy, which used to be coveted by all? Where is the unspent treasure of the most ancient and serene authority of the Venetians? This illusory system of freedom caused everywhere poverty, killings, damages, seizures, absolute impiety, soul loss and useless regret. The teachings of these new free are erroneous and watch out. Maintain solid your traditional faith and as followers of Jesus Christ unchanged the obedience to the political administration, which not only gives you whatever is necessary in this life and most importantly does not pose any obstacle or damage to the salvation of your soul. Because what would be the benefit for one, if he wins the entire world and damages his soul? These novel teachings are against the Holy Scripture and the teachings of the Apostles and, even if it were possible to make you win all the wealth of the world, they are again abominable inventions of the evil devil that ambushes for the loss of Christian souls. Furthermore, since their promises are false and elusive, and their consequences are not wealth and glory, but poverty, sorrow, disorder and what this freedom really intends, an abominable oligarchy, as it becomes clear by experience.[4]

The publication of this pamphlet generated a fervent response by the Enlightenment intellectuals. No less than Adamantios Korais responded to this pamphlet by issuing an anonymous counter-pamphlet called *Adelfikē Didaskalia* (Fraternal Instruction). Korais added that he could not believe that Patriarch Anthimos could have made such unfounded statements and argued that the real author of the pamphlet must be someone else. He then delivered a scathing attack against those who objected to the message of Enlightenment and obstructed the renaissance of

---

[4] Patriarch Anthimos of Jerusalem. *Didaskalia Patrikē*. Constantinople, 1798. Translated from the Greek by the author.

the Hellenic nation. In effect, he identified priests who objected to the novel ideas with the Ottoman despots:

> It is easy to understand from these, that these greedy people must be afraid of the destruction of the Turks as their own catastrophe and of the freedom of Greeks as their unmitigated sorrow. In which free or even moderately law-ruled administration, can they fearlessly commit all these unlawful acts under the illegitimate authority of the Turks? When the laws and not the authoritative decisions of rulers govern the Greeks, the salaried pastors (and I do not mean all of them) can threaten without reason, torture without a crime, aphorize and excommunicate anyone they want without investigation and judgment, in one word do what the Turks do?[5]

Korais' views gained the upper hand within the Greek intellectual elite, and this facilitated the work of the '*Filiki Etaireia*' ('Society of Friends'), a clandestine group established in Odessa in 1813, which brought together some of the most prominent Greek intellectuals, merchants and priests, and put forward revolution plans. Underground activities by Greek merchants in the Ottoman Empire persisted, while the aim shifted from a multi-ethnic confederation to the establishment of a Hellenic nation-state. This organization advanced the goal of organizing nationalist mobilization throughout the diasporic centres and the Greek-inhabited Ottoman provinces until a nationalist revolution broke out in early 1821.

The outbreak of the revolution exposed the delicate position of Orthodox institutions within the Ottoman world. One should not forget that the Greeks of Istanbul, Thessaloniki and other big Ottoman cities had paid a heavy toll during the Greek War of Independence. Prominent community leaders including the Patriarch Gregory V were executed, while anti-Greek pogroms led to substantial casualties throughout the Empire (Mazower 2001, 125–32). The outbreak of the Greek War of Independence also led to the rapid loss of the influence of the Phanariotes within the Ottoman administration, the Porte and the Danubian provinces.[6] The dilemma which Ottoman Greek elites, and the Phanariotes faced was displayed in a very lucid manner. The Ecumenical Patriarchate had to walk on a tight rope. On the one hand, some bishops and clergy sympathized with the revolutionaries, following centuries of Ottoman rule upon Orthodox subjects. On the other hand, it opposed the advent of secularist and nationalist ideas, which were part

---

[5] Korais, Adamantios. *Adelphikē Didaskalia*. Rome, 1798. Translated from the Greek by the author.
[6] Some of this influence was restored when Tanzimat permitted the rise of non-Muslim bureaucrats in the Ottoman administration.

and parcel of the revolutionary message, at least in its final version. The Greek nation-state to be built would not Orthodox but secular. The *millet* and its institutions would not fit the new national order. The Ecumenical Patriarchate, as well as the role of religion would be scrutinized and limited. The emergence of the Greek nation would pave the ground for the further fragmentation of the Orthodox *millet*.

While the Revolution was launched both in the Danubian provinces and the southernmost tip of the Balkan Peninsula, it only struck roots in the latter. The revolutionary forces quickly took control of the Peloponnese and several Aegean islands and struggled to expand their territory towards the north. The fortunes of the war seemed to change with the 1825 deployment of Egyptian troops under the leadership of İbrahim Paşa son of the Egyptian ruler Mehmet Ali who arrived to aid the Ottoman forces led to the virtual suppression of the revolution. Nevertheless, increased interest in the plight of Greek population by the European public opinion contributed to the shift in the foreign policy of the European powers which demanded a cession of hostilities. This paved the way for the independence of the Greek nation-state. The military intervention of Britain, France and Russia with the aim to impose an end to hostilities led to the naval battle of Navarino, the destruction of the Egyptian fleet and the departure of Egyptian troops from the Morea. The independence of a small Greek nation-state in 1830 in the far south end of the Balkan Peninsula and some of the Aegean islands left the vast majority of Greek population still within the domains of the Ottoman Empire but critically changed the nature of the debate about the future of the Greek nation. While the big majority of Ottoman Greek population remained within the borders of the Ottoman Empire and maintained a clear cultural and economic lead, the establishment of the Kingdom of Greece was meant to upset that order (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002, 249–62). The modern Greek nation-state posed a challenge not only to the Ottoman Empire but also to the Ottoman Greek elite. The Ottoman capital would cease to be the sole point of political and intellectual reference for the Greeks. Athens, nominated as the capital of the nascent Greek nation-state precisely because of its classical glory would soon emerge as a competing centre of Greek nationalism. The intentions of the Greek state elite became clear already in 1833, when a royal decree declared the autocephaly of Church of Greece without any consent from the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This led to a grave ecclesiastical crisis, a schism that was only healed in 1845, when the Patriarchate decided to accept the *fait accompli* and recognize *ex post* the autocephaly of the Church of Greece. This would pave the way for the fragmentation of the Orthodox into national churches in the Balkans, the Caucasus and beyond. This move reflected the views that had dominated in the bureaucracy of the nascent Kingdom

of Greece. The Ecumenical Patriarchate remained an Ottoman institution, and true sovereignty could not be established without full state control of the Orthodox Church. The interests between the Athens-based and the Constantinople-based Greek elites diverged further than the ecclesiastical order. Soon two divergent nationalist visions would be suggested. Athens would soon rise into a competitor against Constantinople

While Athens was swiftly developing from an Ottoman provincial town to a capital of a small European state, the Greek minority of the Ottoman Empire also thrived due to the conditions of the Tanzimat. The modernization process of the Ottoman Empire, the first industrialization steps and its integration into the European economic networks offered unprecedented opportunities to minority entrepreneurs. The existence of Greek and Armenian diaspora communities in all major European capitals and trading ports meant that they would enjoy a crucial advantage against their Ottoman Muslim or European competitors (Panossian 2006, 75–100). In addition, the formal recognition of the equality of all Ottoman subjects regardless of their religion with the 1839 Imperial Rescript of the Rose Garden (*Hatt-i Şerif-i Gülhane*) and the 1856 Imperial Rescript (*Hatt-ı Hümayun*) removed another crucial barrier for the development of economic activities of minority entrepreneurs. In addition, the growing capitulations regime which endorsed the subjects of the European powers with certain privileges and immunities within the Ottoman Empire gave in some occasions even an advantage to some Greek and Armenian merchants against their Ottoman Sunni competitors. Acquiring a passport of a Great European power enshrined key legal and tax privileges to its holder. This allowed Ottoman Greek and Armenian merchants to avoid taxation or enjoy special jurisdiction rights against their Ottoman Sunni competitors. This allowed for their faster economic growth which further consolidated their key role in Ottoman economy.

Towards the end of the 19th century, strong competition between Athens and Constantinople was simmering (Veremis 1989, 140–46). Being the capital of the Greek nation-state, Athens was emerging as a competitor and disputed the leadership of the Phanariotes. The Greek nations-state aspired to establish its own sphere of influence within the Ottoman Greek population sometimes complementing and sometimes opposing the influence of the Phanariot elites. An area of competition was education. A large part of the Ottoman Greek community in inner Anatolia was Turkish-speaking, using Greek only for ecclesiastical purposes. The proliferation of Greek language especially among the Turkish-speaking Orthodox of Anatolia (the Karamanli) proved a key priority of the educational initiatives of both Greek-government supported, Athens-based organizations and

Patriarchate- or Ottoman Greek association-supported, Constantinople-based organizations. The establishment of a network of educational institutions throughout the Ottoman lands by associations linked with the Greek government overlapped with the existing and similarly growing educational network of schools belonging to Ottoman Greek communities.

These activities may have apparently aimed at the same objective, namely the promotion of Greek literacy among the Ottoman Greek Orthodox populations, nevertheless it pointed at the crux of the question which was whether the interests and the strategic goals of Greece and Ottoman Greeks always coincided or not (Clogg 1969, 109–32). Setting the interests of the Greek nation-state above the interests of the Ottoman Greek elite was a crucial issue that did generate substantial disconcert. Pushing for the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire made sense from the point of view of a small nation-state that aspired to expand its territory against a declining multi-ethnic, multi-religious empire. Nevertheless, such a strategy exposed the Ottoman Greek minority to substantial risks. Retaliation against Ottoman Greeks in the core provinces of the Ottoman Empire would be likely reactions by Ottoman authorities facing the risk of losing border provinces to Greece. In addition, Ottoman Greek elites greatly benefited from the opportunities that the Westernizing and liberalizing Ottoman Empire availed in terms of freedom of trade and transport. Trading across the Mediterranean and the Black Sea was greatly facilitated by the existence of a common economic space which the Ottoman Empire could guarantee. In contrast to that, the fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire would destroy or disrupt trade networks and have multifold negative effects on the economic activities of these merchant elites and even put the Greek communities dispersed across the Ottoman territories to severe risk.

The divergence of views, goals and even strategic objectives was best manifested through the work of Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim II. Joachim II became a leading figure of the Ottoman Greek elites who struggled to protect the interests of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Phanariotes against the mounting nationalist pressure which originated from at least two different directions. On the one hand, the Bulgarian nationalist movement aimed to deprive the Patriarchate of its Balkan dioceses where Bulgarian was the main language of the Orthodox population through the establishment of the Bulgarian exarchate. On the other hand, the Athens-based Greek nationalist movement aimed to become the new powerhouse of Hellenism and impose its strategy and tactics on the Ottoman Greek community. Both Bulgarian and Greek nationalisms aimed to the fragmentation or the marginalization of the Greek Orthodox *millet* and its representative institutions within the Ottoman Empire. The interests of the Greek Orthodox population in the preservation of Ottoman institutions and sovereignty would be either

instrumentalized or side-lined. Joachim II's struggle required diplomatic skills to navigate between the divergent interests of the Ottoman Empire, the Balkan nation-states, the Russian Empire and the other Great Powers. Joachim II realized how grave a threat nationalism comprised for the future of the Greek Orthodox *millet* and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In the Patriarchal Synod of 1871, as the Bulgarian Exarchate was brewing, nationalism was described as heresy. This was meant not only to condemn the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate but also all attempts to subordinate religion to the nation-state, in other words instrumentalize religion for nationalist aims. The diplomatic and political skills of Joachim II were not sufficient to change a tide that was sweeping over all European empires. The Ecumenical Patriarchate would eventually face an existential threat because of the triumph of nationalism and nation-states against pre-modern identities and empires.

Nevertheless, there were certain Greek intellectuals who did not subscribe to the mainstream nationalist view which envisioned the enlargement of the Greek nation-state against the Ottoman Empire until the final substitution of the latter by the former. Other intellectuals saw the impossibility of carving a nation-state out of the Ottoman Empire and endorsed a transformation of the Ottoman Empire to a multi-ethnic, multi-religious entity where the Greek Orthodox culture would rise to a dominant position as in the Eastern Roman Empire. Intellectual diplomats such as Ion Dragoumis challenged the dominant view of Greek nationalism that reduced the renaissance of the Eastern Roman Empire to the expansion of the borders of the Greek nation-state and the '*Megalē Idea*' ('Great Idea') (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 86–87). This fell short of the ambitions of Greek nationalist to replace the Ottoman Empire with a Hellenic one (Veremis 1999, 181–85). On the other hand, it was willing to tolerate Ottoman religious and cultural diversity to the extent that the Hellenic culture would become dominant and would serve as a bridge between the Ottoman domains and Western culture. The Ottoman Empire would in other words only become Westernized and survive if it embraced the classical Greek heritage as its own. These views were closer to the vision of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Ottoman Greek elites, as it allowed for an institutional framework guaranteeing the prosperity of the Greek communities throughout the Ottoman Empire. Dragoumis had the chance to elaborate on his views, as he served as Greek diplomat in several consular posts in the Ottoman Empire. While his views never had a wide popular following, they appealed to some Greek intellectuals and the leaders of the Constantinople Greek community.

Such hopes and visions were dashed with the turn of events in the early 20th century. The nationalist vision of Europe emerged victorious against the imperial

order which the balance of powers system had maintained since the end of the Napoleonic Wars. In the case of the Ottoman Empire, the Hamidian administration continued paid lip service to Ottomanism, while it endorsed policies reinforcing the Islamization of the Ottoman state. Meanwhile, pan-Turkism gained strength both within the intellectual circles and the administration of the Ottoman state. These deliberations were in line with the argument developed by a leading Turkish nationalist ideologue Yusuf Akçura in his article *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Three Ways of Politics) published in the Cairo-based daily *Turk* in 1904. Akçura outlined and then compared the three ideologies, which the Ottoman Empire could endorse in order to survive in a highly volatile international environment: Ottomanism, pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism. Ottomanism aimed at the transformation of the Ottoman Empire to a constitutional monarchy, promoting a civic national identity for all citizens regardless of religious, ethnic or racial affiliation. Pan-Islamism aimed at bringing forward the Ottoman Empire as the Caliphate. Being the spiritual centre of the world's Muslims, the Ottoman identity should be built around Sunni Islam, and the state policy should pursue the unification of all Muslim-inhabited territories under Ottoman sovereignty. Pan-Turkism followed the growing trend of ethnic nationalism throughout Eastern Europe and underscored common ethnic Turkic descent as the founding bloc of Ottoman identity. The Ottoman Empire should therefore pursue the unification under its sovereignty of all ethnic Turks in Europe and Asia. Akçura argued that Ottomanism, which remained the official state ideology in the Hamidian era despite the pan-Islamist sympathies of the Sultan, was not a viable option not only because it did not serve the interests of the Ottoman state. Ottomanism had no future because even the Ottoman minorities had lost faith in it. In other words, Ottoman Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks and other minority groups chose to promote their own nationalist projects against the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Akçura conceded that adopting pan-Islamism or pan-Turkism would inevitably lead to complications in the Ottoman foreign policy. Ottoman pan-Islamism would displease all European powers that possessed colonial empires and ruled over millions of Muslim subjects. Britain, France and Russia were only the three biggest states that would consider this shift as a threat against their vital interests. On the other hand, Akçura understood that adopting pan-Turkism would turn the Russian Empire into an archenemy of the Ottoman Empire, given that most of the Turkic populations residing outside the Ottoman borders were Russian subjects. While clearly rejecting Ottomanism, Akçura avoided choosing between pan-Islamism and pan-Turkish in his essay. He later became an ardent supporter of pan-Turkism.

The 1908 Young Turk Revolution provided a brief glimpse of optimism about the revival of Ottomanism through the restoration of the Ottoman constitutional order (Ahmad 1982, 401–05). The end of Hamidian despotism was hoped to restore the faith of Ottoman minorities in Ottomanism and reinforce the stability of the declining Empire. Nonetheless, mutual distrust soon reigned. The Young Turk movement soon took a decisively Turkish nationalist shift, while the groups within the Ottoman minorities that supported secession and establishment of nation-states took the upper hand. It became increasingly clear that the days of Ottomanism were numbered. Developments in both the Crete and the Bosnia questions manifested that the interests of Ottoman minorities did not lie in the preservation and reinforcement of the Empire but its partition. The Italian-Ottoman War in Tripolitania and the 1912–1913 Balkan Wars gave the final blow against Ottomanism and led to the full endorsement of Turkish nationalism. The Young Turk triumvirate, Enver Paşa, Talat Paşa and Cemal Paşa would follow a policy of Turkification against the Ottoman minorities.

Armenian Debates on the Future of the Ottoman Empire

In contrast to Greek nationalism, Armenian nationalism appeared less willing to challenge Ottoman sovereignty in the short term (Suny 1993, 19–21). While Enlightenment ideas found appeal within Armenian intellectuals in diasporic communities across Europe, this did not translate to a major nationalist mobilization (Tölölyan 2000, 116–19). No revolutionary activities were recorded in the late 18th century, despite the thriving intellectual activities of Diaspora Armenians in Europe. The absence of an Armenian revolution, a war of independence and a nation-state also embedded the interests of the Armenian community to the future of the Ottoman Empire. This meant that the Ottoman Armenians appeared more willing to endorse or accommodate solutions involving the reform of the Ottoman Empire (Panossian 2006, 160–88). The Tanzimat heralded the era of the Ottoman reform, with the aim to transform the Ottoman Empire into a democratic entity recognizing equality of rights for all its citizens regardless of religion and ethnicity. It provided a great opportunity for all non-Muslim communities which saw the prospect of gaining equality for the first time in Ottoman history. Ottomanism as the ideology of Tanzimat reformers came to be called aspired to contribute to the establishment of a civic Ottoman national identity which would remain open to all Ottoman subjects. This served the interests of all Ottoman minorities, not least those that had no recourse to a "motherland" outside the shrinking borders of the Ottoman Empire. The absence of a nation-state outside the Ottoman borders harbouring irredentist claims against the Ottoman Empire turned into a major difference between the two

communities which had crucial consequences regarding the development of Greek and Armenian nationalism within the Ottoman domain. Armenian national movement grows in a more stochastic way. The absence of a national centre in the 19th century meant that the integration of the Armenian elites with the Ottoman state was stronger. Their interest in the success of the Ottomanist project was consequently stronger. The transformation of the Ottoman Empire into a liberal and possibly democratic polity, as promised by the Ottomanist reformers, appealed to the majority of the Armenian urban elites.

The Armenian *millet* was famously called as '*millet-i sadaka*', the 'loyal millet', for failing to endorse any nationalist movement aiming to partition the Ottoman Empire. Armenian elites served the Ottoman Empire through different offices throughout the 19th century. Given the absence of an Armenian nation-state Armenian secularists could not establish themselves and struggle for their positions outside the realm of the Ottoman Empire. They had to fight for stronger influence within the Ottoman Armenian society. This was reflected in the confrontation between the Armenian secular elites and the Armenian Patriarchate regarding the right of representing the Armenian *millet* in front of the Ottoman authorities.

Unlike in the Greek case, where secularist elites found refuge in Greece and attempted to weaken the influence of the Ecumenical Patriarchate through the bureaucracy of the Kingdom of Greece, Armenian secularists pursued their cause within the Ottoman Empire. The circle around the Armenian Patriarchate, which had already consolidated its spiritual power over Ottoman Armenians (Bardakjian 1982, 95–97) and business elites had a strong interest in the success of the Tanzimat and the consolidation of Ottomanism. The Armenian *amira* class played a particular role in that respect in light of their position in Ottoman society and economy. On the other hand, secular middle-class Armenian movements objected to their subordination to the ecclesiastical and business elites and claimed their own role in the management of community affairs. This objection distinguished the Armenian middle class from the Armenian Patriarchate which had consolidated its power because of the Ottoman state support.

This was better expressed with reference to the rise of Armenian secular organizations which disputed the monopoly of representation in front of the Ottoman authorities which the Armenian Patriarchate had traditionally enjoyed. Their lobbying activity bore fruit, and legislation on Ottoman non-Muslim communities was passed in the 1860s (Barsoumian 1982, 177–81). The representation of the Ottoman Armenians ceased to be a monopoly of the Armenian Patriarchate, as some functions were recognized to secular associations. Armenian secular as-

sociations won such rights in contrast to Ottoman Greek associations whose position remained subordinated to the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Even the expansion of the Russian Empire in the Caucasus and its territorial gains against the Ottoman Empire according to the 1881 Treaty of Berlin did not fundamentally alter good relations between the Ottoman Armenians and the Ottoman imperial administration. The Ottoman-Russian War of 1877–1878 and the 1878 Treaty of Berlin led to the annexation by the Russian Empire of Ottoman Armenian-inhabited territories. The annexation of Batum, Kars, Ardahan, Artvin, Iğdır and Doğubeyazıt to Russia meant that substantial Armenian populations would now live under Russian sovereignty. This did not mean, however, that Armenian nationalists would then have a free hand. On the contrary, the Armenian revolutionary message did not resonate with the autocratic tendencies of the Russian administration. Relations between Armenian nationalists and the Russian Empire were not cordial. The former professed a set of ideas which the autocratic Empire fundamentally objected to and they also envisioned an Armenian nation-state to be carved from the territories which belonged either to the Ottoman or to the Russian Empire. Armenian nationalism was not endorsed by the Russian Empire which pursued policies of Russification in the recently annexed provinces against Christian and non-Christian subjects and also attempted to play one community against the other. Only when it became clear that the Ottoman Empire and Russia would be in opposing camps in the First World War did Russia engage with Armenian nationalists in the Ottoman Empire in the hope that they would stand by its side in the event of a war.

Meanwhile, pursuing Ottomanism appeared less appealing or realistic a policy choice, following the advent of Sultan Abdulhamid II to power. The suspension of the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 and the pursuance of policies that stressed the Islamic character of the Ottoman Empire led to doubts about the viability of the aim to achieve full political equality under the Ottoman aegis. The rise of Armenian nationalist party *Dashnaktsutyun* raised some new discussions about the future of Ottoman Armenians (Nalbandian 1963, 151–78). What finally changed the convergence between Armenian elites and the Ottoman Empire, was the decline of Ottomanism and the rise of Panislamism and Panturkism into political significance. It also raised the stakes of the final confrontation between the Armenian and the Turkish nationalist project. This might have been one of the reasons for the brutal turn of the Ottoman-Armenian nationalist confrontation in Anatolia, which culminated with the outbreak of the First World War and the 1915 Armenian Genocide.

The parallel rise of pan-Turkism professing the annexation of all the territories inhabited by Turkic populations and the transformation of the Ottoman Empire

into a state whose identity would be defined by Sunni Islam became an additional reason for concern. Rising religious and ethnic tensions in different Ottoman provinces exposed Armenian populations to severe risks. The Adana Massacres of 1904–1905 reflected a shifting attitude of the Ottoman state towards its minorities. The appeal of Ottomanism was decreasing, while viewing Ottoman Armenians as security threats or second-class subjects became more common. The partnership between the Young Turks and Dashnaksutyun, established at the time of the Young Turk Revolution, did not last for long (Ahmad 1982, 418–25). The official endorsement of Ottomanism finally collapsed in the very last years of the Ottoman Empire, following the Young Turk Revolution, the outbreak of the Balkan Wars and the First World War. A whole-scale Armenian insurrection in the eastern Ottoman provinces following the outbreak of Ottoman-Russian hostilities in 1914 paved the way to the events of the Armenian genocide. The decision on 24 April 1915 to arrest prominent Armenians of Istanbul and deport hundreds of thousands of Armenians from the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire led to one of the most horrendous humanitarian disasters of the 20th century.

The 1905–1906 and 1915 massacres were a sad testimony to the failure of the Ottoman Empire to transform into a state that would guarantee equal rights to all its citizens. It also pointed that the Armenian pledge on the successful transformation of the Ottoman Empire into a liberal constitutional monarchy was an unwise one. While fragmentation within the Armenian community was higher than the Greek one, a nation-state project outside the borders of the Empire was absent. This allowed for higher diversity but possibly also for lower effectiveness in pursuing the aims of the Ottoman Armenian community. This proved critical in the last years of the Ottoman Empire. What appeared as the inevitable end of the era of empires proved disastrous for the fortunes of the Ottoman non-Muslim community that had most closely knit its fortunes to that of the Ottoman Empire. It also triggered the eclipse of the Ottoman non-Muslim merchant elites that operated in a cosmopolitan economic and cultural environment and would face the direst consequences as a result of the end of the era of empires and the rise of nation-states in the position left by the Ottoman Empire. The establishment of the Greek nation-state in 1830 and the ensuing competition between the Athens-based and the Constantinople-based elites made it possible that the interests of the Greek nation would be disconnected from those of the Ottoman Empire. The absence of an Armenian nation-state in the 19th century meant that the prosperity of the Armenian nation was closer connected with the fortunes of the Ottoman Empire. This paved the ground for an all-out struggle between Turkish and Armenian nationalists during the First World War that resulted in the Armenian genocide.

Conclusion

Comparing the debates within the Ottoman Greek and Armenian communities from Tanzimat to the end of the Ottoman Empire points at three main conclusions. First, cosmopolitan elites of multi-ethnic Empires were doomed, as long as nationalism became the hegemonic ideology of Europe in the late 19th century. The partition of Empires and the establishment of nation-states would inevitably destroy both the cosmopolitan habitus and the networks that secured the flow of ideas, capital and goods. Second, the establishment of the Greek nation-state became the intervening factor that contributed to the different development of the relations between the Ottoman Greek and Armenian communities and the Ottoman Empire. Athens influenced the course of intellectual debate within Ottoman Greeks and had a crucial impact on the final result. Third, the intensity and the brutality of the Armenian-Turkish nationalist confrontation in the last years of the Ottoman Empire was also due to the fact that they were the last two Ottoman ethnic communities to link their interests and future to that of the ailing Empire. When it became clear that Ottomanism was defunct and nation-states would succeed the Ottoman Empire, their struggle for their jointly claimed motherland was ruthless with an enormous humanitarian cost. Fourth, Greek and Armenian nationalist movements remained in contact, as ideas and practices travelled in both directions. Nevertheless, this interaction did not suffice to transform any of the communities and alter the existing state of affairs.

Works Cited

Ahmad, Feroz. "Unionist Relations with the Greek, Armenian and Jewish Communities of the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1914." *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, edited by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, vol. 1, Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1982, pp. 401–34.

Bardakjian, Kevork B. "The Rise of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople." *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society, Vol. 1 the Central Lands*, edited by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, vol. 1, Holmes & Meier, 1982, pp. 89–100.

Barsoumian, Hagop. "The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class within the Ottoman Government and the Armenian Millet (1750–1850)." *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society, Vol. 1: The Central Lands*, edited by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, Holmes & Meier, 1982, pp. 171–84.

Clogg, Richard. "The 'Dhidhaskalia Patriki' (1798): An Orthodox Reaction to French Revolutionary Propaganda." *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1969, pp. 87–115.

--- "The Greek *Millet* in the Ottoman Empire." *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, edited by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, vol. 1, Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1982, pp. 185–207.

Grigoriadis, Ioannis N. *Instilling Religion in Greek and Turkish Nationalism: A 'Sacred Synthesis'.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality.* Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Kitromilides, Paschalis M. "Imagined Communities and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans." *European History Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1989, pp. 149–94.

--- *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the Culture and Political Thought of South-Eastern Europe.* Variorum, 1994. Collected Studies Series CS453.

Koliopoulos, John S., and Thanos Veremis. *Greece, the Modern Sequel: From 1821 to the Present.* Hurst & Co., 2002.

--- *Modern Greece: A History since 1821.* Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

Korais, Adamantios. *Adelphikē Didaskalia.* Rome, 1798.

Mazower, Mark. *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430–1950.* Harper Perennial, 2001.

Nalbandian, Louise. *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties through the Nineteenth Century.* University of California Press, 1963. vol. 1.

Panossian, Razmik. "Between Ambivalence and Intrusion: Politics and Identity in Armenia-Diaspora Relations." *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1998, pp. 149–96.

--- "The Past as Nation: Three Dimensions of Armenian Identity." *Geopolitics*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2002, pp. 121–46.

--- *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars.* Columbia University Press, 2006.

Patriarch Anthimos of Jerusalem. *Didaskalia Patrikē.* Constantinople, 1798.

Suny, Ronald Grigor. *Looking toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History.* Indiana University Press, 1993.

--- "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations." *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 73, no. 4, 2001, pp. 862–96.

Tölölyan, Khachig. "Elites and Institutions in the Armenian Transnation." *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2000, pp. 107–36.

Veremis, Thanos. "From the National State to the Stateless Nation: 1821–1910." *Eastern European Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1989, pp. 135–48.

--- "The Hellenic Kingdom and the Ottoman Greeks: The Experiment of the 'Society of Constantinople'." *Ottoman Greeks in the Age on Nationalism: Politics, Economy and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Dimitri Gondicas and Charles Issawi, Darwin Press, 1999, pp. 181–92.

The Activities of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice and their Literary Translations from French to Armenian (late 18th and early 19th centuries)

Greta Nikoghosyan

Abstract: The Mekhitarist congregation is best known for its great input in the reconstruction of the Armenian language. Along with other research activities, Mekhitarists chose one of the most powerful means of language and cultural enrichment: translation. Their translations had the greatest scope, as the world's most important works of literature and science were in their field of vision. What were their incentives while translating world religious, historic, and literary works into Armenian? My purpose in this paper is to examine the incentives of the Mekhitarists' translations from French to Armenian within the scope of the Venice Mekhitarist Congregation's activities (late 18th and early 19th centuries).

The Mekhitarist congregation is best known for its contributions in the reconstruction of the Armenian language. Founded on a little island in the Lagoon of Venice, the monastery of St. Lazarus (San Làzaro dei Armeni) became an institution that brought contemporary European literary achievements to the Armenian sphere. Armenian Catholic monasticism was quite developed at that time: the monks had to master foreign languages in order to get access to the world's rich literature in different European languages. Thus, at the beginning of the 18th century, Catholic Armenian monasticism focused primarily on translations, and partly, of course, on their own research.

Translation activities of the Mekhitarist Congregation have not been deeply studied yet; there have been special publications on some translators and translations, but more related to their religious and other activities. *Hay girk'ĕ 1512–1800* (The Armenian book in 1512–1800) by Ninel Oskanyan (1988) and *Hay girk'ĕ 1801–1850* (The Armenian book in 1801–1850) by Hayk Davt'yan (1967) were very useful while compiling Mekhitarists' translations from French. These books are outstanding bibliographies of Armenian early printed books and valuable sources of Armenian books printed in various parts of the world. The study of these bibliographic lists has given me the opportunity to master the subject matter and helped me to define the translation priorities of the Mekhitarists and to understand the general character of the literature they have chosen to translate in the period under study. The conclusions of the article are based on the study of

all translations from French in *Bazmavep* (Polyhistory), the Venetian Mekhitarists' official periodical, in 1843–1866 and on the translations published by the Mekhitarists in 1750–1850. So my purpose in this article is to examine Mekhitarists' translations and to discuss their impact on the development of the Armenian language. I will particularly focus on the translations from French in the given period and will try to define the reasons behind the choice of certain works to be translated.

The Origins of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice

The Mekhitarists are a congregation of Benedictine monks of the Armenian Catholic Church, founded in 1717 by Abbot Mkhit'ar Sebastats'i (1676–1749), an Armenian Catholic monk as well as a prominent scholar and theologian. From the biographical data of Mkhit'ar Sebastats'i we know that he was dissatisfied with the Armenian educational environment. He was looking for education and science, but he could not find what he was looking for even in Etchmiadzin, one of the most reputable institutions in the Armenian world of his time. He therefore decided to pursue his goals outside of Armenia.

In 1701, after much searching, Mkhit'ar gathered his supporters and explained to them how and on what principles it was possible to organise a congregation, which he had been considering for many years. Mkhit'ar was persecuted for his religious views not only in historical Armenia, but also in Constantinople; the influence of the Armenian Patriarchate was strong in Constantinople, and the Patriarchate was not Catholic but Apostolic. He was considered a threat for the Armenian flock in the eyes of the Patriarch, because he could direct people to Catholicism. Thus, the monks had to move to another country and establish their congregation there. Over the next 17 years, members of the congregation were constantly forced to move from one place to another. Finally, on 8 September 1717, on the 17th anniversary of the Congregation's establishment, Mkhit'ar and the brothers settled on the island of St. Lazarus in the Venetian Lagoon.

There, the brothers built a church in which the first Armenian school in Europe was opened. It was not just a school of literacy, but an excellent literary school. We can say that this school was the only leading institution to offer scientific development and knowledge for Armenians in the first half of the 19th century. The foundation of this outstanding school was laid in the hands of Mkhit'ar. He was the first Armenian who publicly declared that he was an ardent Catholic by religion, but also an ardent Armenian. He stated that it was possible to be both, that nationality did not determine religion, and that he loved both the Roman church and the Armenian people. This was Mkhit'ar's basic principle (T'orosean

1932, 448–49), which, initially, was new and generally unacceptable to the Armenian Apostolic Church. However, the Mekhitarists proved that they were true to this principle and that they acted for the good of the nation.

The Impact of the Mekhitarists' Translation Activities on the Armenian Language

By establishing the Congregation, Abbot Mkhit'ar forged a new path and showed through his personal work that literary activity was the most important function of their enterprise. In general, this played a significant role in the reconciliation of Grabar (classical Armenian language) and Ashkharhabar (modern Armenian language). The Mekhitarists did not reject Grabar, but they understood the necessity of drawing the language closer to the reader. Mekhitarists were among the first to start writing in Ashkharhabar. *Bazmavep*, the world's first newspaper in Ashkharhabar was published by the Mekhitarists in the first decades of the 19th century. Ghevond Alishan (1820–1901), an ordained Armenian Catholic priest, historian, and a poet, together with some other Mekhitarists, took on the role of glorifying Ashkharhabar as a language of fiction, writing their own works and translating texts into modern Armenian (Ant'abyan 1968, 67).

Since literary revival could not have happened without linguistic reconstruction, along with other research activities, Mekhitarists chose translation as one of the most powerful tools for language enrichment. The translation activities of the Mekhitarists began in a very interesting period for the Armenian language. Having a fairly wide geographical diffusion, Armenians were deeply affected by their linguistic environment, thus absorbing new foreign particles into their language. As a result, in different geographical environments, Armenian vocabulary was subject to serious syntactical and morphological changes. One of the main aims of the Mekhitarists was to clear the Armenian language of unnecessary 'barbarisms' and to preserve the original structure of the language. So the Mekhitarists, and especially Mkhit'ar Sebastats'i himself, took it upon themselves to restore the language first. They started an entire campaign to penetrate the oldest layers of the Armenian language, to restore the former meanings of the words and to implement them in the vocabulary while translating literary works into Armenian. They were redefining the semantic use of these words, and trying to identify how each word was used by the most famous Armenian authors. The first Armenian translations were particularly helpful for the monks. Mkhit'ar found the original texts and compared them with old translations into Armenian, thus identifying the correct meaning of each word. The crown of ancient Armenian translations, as it is known, is the Bible translated at the request of Sahak Part'ev (354–439),

Patriarch of the Armenian Apostolic Church, and Mesrop Mashtots' (362–440), early medieval Armenian linguist, theologian, statesman, and hymnologist. He is best known for inventing the Armenian alphabet in 405 AD. The Mekhitarists most often referred to this rich and pure source. They had the Greek original in their hand and, by comparing them, they were able to understand in which sense the first translators used this or that word. Through that work, Mkhit'ar and his disciples succeeded in rebuilding the former purity of the Armenian language. They explained the meaning of words and brought testimonies from translated books.

Moreover, pursuing the same goal, the Mekhitarists developed a lexicography, creating numerous bilingual dictionaries and Armenian explanatory dictionaries. From this perspective, the monumental two-volume *Nor bargirk' Haykazean lezui* (New Dictionary of the Armenian language) is considered to be the most complete dictionary of Classical Armenian. In addition to definitions in Armenian, the dictionary presents equivalents in Latin and Greek. The volumes were republished in Venice, in 1836 (and in Yerevan in 1979). These dictionaries served as the main tools for the numerous translations into Armenian by Mekhitarist scholars. Their research was also valuable in editing dictionaries of Armenian and foreign languages. The profound knowledge of Armenian and foreign languages has given them a wide range of possibilities. The dictionaries by Father Harut'iwn Awgerean (1774–1854) (French-Armenian, Armenian-French, English-Armenian, Armenian-English, German-Armenian, and Greek-Armenian) have contributed to Armenian studies and the Armenian people's involvement in European science and culture, as no translation could be made without the availability of a good dictionary.

Before speaking about literary work, it should be noted that, in terms of art and quality, Venice was the most important centre of Armenian printing in the 18th century. Though more books were printed in Istanbul than in Venice, Venice's publishing houses attracted publishers even from Istanbul because of their beautiful printing. According to Alek'sandr Erits'eants'' data, the Mekhitarists published 630 titles, or 832 volumes, from 1715 to 1882 (not counting the repetitive publications of the same works, 76 of which were foreign bibliographies) (Erits'eants' 1883, 157). It should be noted that the Mekhitarists' contributions occupy an honourable place in the intellectual life of the period under study. At the time, there were about 67 authors and translators on St. Lazarus, and 44 authors and translators in the Mekhitarist Congregation of Vienna (Erits'eants' 1883, 205).

The Mekhitarists as Translators

The world's greatest works of literature and science were in the field of vision of the Mekhitarist congregation. One could assume that the majority of Armenian translated literature of the 18ᵗʰ and 19ᵗʰ centuries was translated by Mekhitarists. The congregation took part in the classicist movement and, as mentioned, their works revised and reconstructed the Armenian language, paving the way for the modern Armenian language (Ashkharhabar). In order to paint a more complete picture of the translation activities of the Mekhitarists, I will first briefly introduce translations from several other languages, and then I will refer, in particular, to French.

Naturally, after the religious-ecclesiastical works, the Mekhitarists began to translate literary monuments of the ancient world[1]. Both of Homer's world-famous poems were translated several times: The *Iliad* was first translated in verse by Eghia T'omachean (1843), then by Arsēn Bagratuni (1864), and finally by Arsēn Ghazikean (1911). The first two were in Grabar, and the last one was in modern Armenian. The parables of Aesop were translated from French in 1818 and have been published three times (Arakk' Ezovbosi 1818). Mekhitarists translated the works of European authors like Racine, Corneille, Voltaire, Alfieri, Tasso, Fénelon, Milton, Lamartine, Byron, Schiller, Goldman, and Tennyson (Grats'uts'ak Mkhit'arean tparani 1978, 36–60). They were trying to convey all the news and achievements of contemporary science to their readers in order to support the intellectual development of the nation. Separate studies and numerous pages in their press were devoted to translated stories related to natural sciences, chemistry, geology, botany, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, and other sciences.

However, the Mekhitarists often examined in detail foreign and, specifically, French authors before translating their works. They naturally overlooked overly secular works with revolutionary ideas; they did not translate the works of authors expressing views contrary to Catholicism. They were very cautious about the translations of the works of the authors representing the Enlightenment. One cannot say that they did not address those authors in general, e.g. there are some

---

[1] It is worth mentioning that they do tremendous work to introduce Armenian bibliography to the European world. "History" by Agat'angeghos and Movsēs Khorenats'i, some works by Narekats'i, the Lamentation by Lambronats'i are all translated into Italian. The works of Eghishe and P'arpets'i, and the poems of Shnorhali are translated into French. In addition to these, they translate into Latin several other works that have been translated into Armenian from ancient Hebrew or Greek. The original texts were later lost, so the Armenian translations were the only sources. Among them are Eusebius Caesar's "Chronicle" and Philo's speeches, which were translated from Armenian into Latin by M. Awgerean and published in 1818 and 1822.

translated fragments by Montesquieu in *Bazmavep*, who was one of the greatest political philosophers of the Enlightenment; however, it was his more innocuous ideas that were chosen – his *Aylabanut'iwn nakhandz* (Allegory on envy; Bazmavep, no. 24, 1847, 370). As for philosophy, in a book by Alek'sandr Erits'eants' (1841–1902), who was a historian, archaeologist, and a researcher, he complains about a manual of philosophy translated from French by the Mekhitarists. The manual had been translated loosely because the translator apparently wanted to avoid certain ideas that were deemed unacceptable by the Catholic Church. As a result, he translated parts of the manual selectively. Additionally, the Mekhitarists of Venice did not take any particular steps to acquaint the Armenian nation with the philosophers of the time of Germany or France, mostly due to the Enlightenment movement of the period, as some of their ideas were alien to traditional Catholic dogma and traditional Catholic philosophical and political thought. Instead, they translated the writings of Cicero, Seneca, and Plato (Erits'eants' 1883, 214).

Mekhitarist Translators and their Works

Interestingly, looking at the long list of Mekhitarist scholars, we see that most of them came from the Armenian Catholic community in Constantinople. To mention some, let's begin with Father Vrt'anēs Askērean (1720–1810), one of the first Vardapets,[2] who did the purest translations into the Armenian language. Askērean was born in Constantinople in 1720. He was sent to St. Lazarus Monastery at a very young age, where he received education, improving especially in Latin. He carried out literary and philological activities and compiled many Latin-Armenian dictionaries. Although his main works were devoted to Catholic texts, they were so well translated that they spread among Armenians all over the world. Askērean spent his whole life conducting lengthy and thorough language studies and obtained excellent skills, especially in Latin and French, translating the six great volumes of Charles Rollin's *Histoire romaine* (Roman History).

Another scholar is Manuēl Jakhjakhean (1770–1835), poet, translator, a member of the Mekhitarist Congregation of Venice since 1791. He carried out pedagogical and scientific activities. He translated *Les aventures des Télémaque* (*The Adventures of Telemachus*) by François Fénelon in 1826, but he is more famous for his Armenian-Italian and Italian-Armenian dictionaries.

---

[2] A vardapet is a highly educated archimandrite in the Armenian Apostolic Church and in Armenian Catholic Church traditions who holds a doctorate in theology.

Father Harut'iwn Awgerean (1774–1854), was an Armenian linguist, lexicographer, and translator. He was born in Ankara and moved to St. Lazarus Island in 1786. Awgerean was fluent in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Italian, French, English, Hungarian, German, and Turkish. His linguistic abilities were fully manifested in the field of lexicography. He was also Lord Byron's Armenian language teacher, did translations from many different languages; one of his best contributions to the Armenian language is his French-Armenian dictionary.

Gēorg Hiwrmiwz (1797–1876), Armenian translator, cleric, educational, cultural figure, member of the Mekhitarist Congregation (1819), abbot (1846), contributed to the classical movement by translating Pierre Corneille's *Polyeucte* (1858), and Jean Racine's *Athalie* (1834). He also did some translations from Greek and, like most scholars at the time, he authored his own writings in the style of classicism.

The list of translators is quite long, but let us move on to the French authors that the congregation selected for Armenian readers in this period. More than 20 French authors were within the scope of the Mekhitarists' activities, not counting those that were included in *Bazmavep*, the Mekhitarists' periodical journal.

Mekhitarists' Translations from French to Armenian

The general picture of the translations from French into Armenian is quite diverse. In the period under review, the Mekhitarists published works of 25 French authors (nine of them were of narrow religious nature). The Mekhitarists did not address the enlightening authors of the era due to Catholic ideology. In one issue of *Bazmavep*, the editors acknowledged that they also skipped the genre of comedy in order to avoid the need to use improper words and phrases that are common for this genre. In the case of non-religious works, translators have always placed some ideas in the preface of the books, attributing religious context to the writings. The Mekhitarists translated and published three manuals about the discipline of logic written by Saint Francis Xavier (1506–1552) and César Chesneau Dumarsais (1676–1756).

While translating world literature, the enlightened monks of the Mekhitarist congregation were also inspired to write notable classical works themselves, thus refining and developing Armenian fiction. According to some prominent researchers, Mekhitarists created and developed Armenian classicism under the direct influence of European classicism. The history of the two main branches of new Armenian literature, classicism and romanticism, is closely related to the activities of the congregation. In this regard, we could mention Arsēn Bagratuni, who was born in 1790 in Constantinople. He was educated while part of the

Mekhitarist Congregation. He was well versed in classical languages. Bagratuni translated from French such extraordinary authors as Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, Jean-Baptiste Massillon, Voltaire (*Bazmavep*, 1843–1865), and some of the classic masterpieces of Racine. He was one of the most fruitful translators of the congregation, also the most famous representative of classicism in Armenian literature. The most striking expression of Armenian classicism are the plays written by Mekhitarists. They consisted mainly of tragedies, with subjects drawing from sacred Christian books and inspired by the works of major European authors.

In general, by translating European literature into Armenian, the Mekhitarists developed and taught new forms of expression and style. The translation activities of the Mekhitarists in the late 18th and early 19th centuries are not, of course, limited to translations from French. The number of translations from Italian, German, Greek, and Latin is quite impressive. Thus, at the end of the 18th century, the Armenian mind was influenced by Western Europe mainly through the Mekhitarist Congregation's literary activities. As I mentioned above, more than 40 works of about 20 authors were translated from French into Armenian and published in addition to a significant number of literary writings published in *Bazmavep* from 1843 to 1865.

It is a well-known fact that literature can be a powerful tool for social transformation. Over the centuries, literature has contributed to civic harmony, public aspiration, and the inculcation of religious sentiments. Through literature, we can learn about others' values, experiences, and beliefs, and thus expand our emotional and intellectual horizons. According to Stephen Tanner (1999, 12), literature is mostly interpreted as reflecting norms and values. It reveals the ethos of a culture, of class struggles, and of certain types of social "facts". In most theories about the relationship between literature and society, reflection, influence, and social control are implied. In this perspective, the criteria by which the Mekhitarists selected literature to be translated for the Armenian public were interesting.

The admiration of classicism was an aspiration of the Latin and Hellenic worlds, particularly of their literature, which was characterised by accuracy, delicacy of morality, clarity, and purity of style. The idea that literature reflects society is at least as old as Plato's concept of imitation (The Works of Plato 2013, 34). In France and in Europe in general, the age of Louis XIV was characterised by the classicism movement, stretching to the end of the 17th century. This movement reached the Armenian sphere almost two centuries later, thanks to a number of Mekhitarist translators who entered the linguistic arena, taking advantage of the Armenian language and its capabilities. Some significant preparations had to be made for the vital movement of literature into the Armenian sphere, and the Mekhitarists carried out these preparations.

The monks of St. Lazarus had to pursue many languages, through which they could develop and convey the knowledge they gained to the Armenian nation. The Mekhitarists were naturally focused on Greek and Latin, because there were more religious literature written in those languages when compared to other European languages, but they also placed great emphasis on Italian, French, and English, in addition to some German and Russian. They introduced Armenians to French literature beginning from the time of Louis XIV. They chose to translate the works of the founders of French tragedy, such as Corneille's *Polyeucte*, whose hero-martyr is a young Armenian man, and Racine's *Phèdre* (17th century). However, the Mekhitarists seemed to overlook the works of Molière, the playwright and actor who is considered to be one of the greatest masters of comedy in western literature. As already mentioned above, they were avoiding translating comedies. In 1847, the Mekhitarists announced in *Bazmavep* that from the first year of the magazine's publication, many people had called on them to publish short comedies serials like in European journals. The Mekhitarists admitted that they agreed with these suggestions because they believed that the purpose of comedy is not only to entertain people, but also to eliminate the shortcomings of people by emphasising their nature and habits. They also added that this undertaking had been postponed because it was hard for them to write something that would make them periodically violate their usual clarity of language and use harsh vocabulary in some scenes. If representatives of other nations were included in those scenes, they would have to misuse the language due to their way of speaking. In order to solve this problem, some suggested to keep the language clean and to write everything in Ashkharhabar. However, based on their own experience, Mekhitarists found that it was unnatural, as the comedy would not be amusing and would not reach its goal if it did not maintain linguistic nuances. In addition, readers would not be able to understand if the described events were going on in modern times or much earlier. As a result, they decided to try the opposite, and not to pay attention to clarity of language (Bazmavep, no. 4, 1847, 48). They also skipped over Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, and they did not refer to Descartes' philosophy, since their ideas for this period were extremely innovative and contradicted Catholic principles. In the historical branch, Armenians were introduced to Rollin and Fleury, and later to the spiritual speeches of Bossuet and Massillon.

In the end, the Mekhitarists passed through the next stage of French literature and philosophy, where they made a choice, according to the author, "as if introducing a 16-year-old girl to the youth" (Erits'eants' 1883, 85). The Mekhitarists did not acknowledge the encyclopaedic and sensualist philosophers. Voltaire is represented as a major playwright, but his historical-philosophical works are bypassed. They translated Florian's *Numa Pompilius*, but at the same time, they

bypassed his famous *Wilhelm Tell*, as throughout the 19ᵗʰ century Tell was perceived as a symbol of rebellion against tyranny in Europe, and Mekhitarists were avoiding rebellious ideas. From the newest period of the French literature, the Mekhitarists translated the works by Prosper Mérimée, but they avoided such authors as Dumas and George Sand for the same reason. As for Hugo, they started translating his novels quite late. However, I will refer to a more detailed list of selected literature for translation below.

Naturally, a significant part of the Mekhitarists' translations consisted of religious writings, especially in the late 18ᵗʰ century. Later on, the Mekhitarists did not deviate from their religious orientation, but from the beginning of the 19ᵗʰ century they expanded the role of social sciences in their activities.

First, I will present some of the semi-religious works of religious authors and then I will move forward to secular authors. In this sense, their decision to translate Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet is quite interesting. Bossuet was a French bishop and theologian, renowned for his sermons and other speeches. However, he was also considered one of the most brilliant orators of the time and a masterly French stylist. Mekhitarists decided to translate his *Discours sur l'Histoire universelle* (*Discourse on Universal History*) which is read by social scientists even today. The text was written in 1681 and translated into Armenian in 1841 by one of the students of Mkhit'ar Sebastats'i. The next author, Claude Fleury, is also very intriguing.[3] Several of his works were considered tinged with Jansenism, including his very popular Catechism, and were put on the Index by the Church of Rome. Nevertheless, Mekhitarists translated his *Histoire ecclésiastique* (Ecclesiastical History).[4] The translator included a short prologue at the beginning of the book, where he spoke about the necessity of writing religious texts in a more accessible language. Fleury's intention was to write a history of the church for all classes of society. However, the translator mentioned in the prologue that Fleury tried to explain the order of things using a figurative language[5], which sounds more like

---

[3] Another French ecclesiastical historian, who became a lawyer in Paris in 1658, where he worked for nine years becoming the protégé of the above-mentioned Bossuet. In 1689, he was appointed sub-preceptor of the dukes of Burgundy, of Anjou, and of Berry, and thus became intimately associated with Fénelon, their chief tutor.

[4] Fleury collected materials for this book for about 30 years. His intention was to write a history of the church for all classes of society, but it was less religion than theology that interested the clergy and the educated public. Therefore, his work was more appealing to students than to secular readers, dwelling as it does particularly on questions of doctrine, discipline, supremacy, and rivalry between the priesthood and the imperial power.

[5] As Mkhit'ar Sebastats'i once did, while writing his Christian Doctrine in Grabar and Ashkharhabar, Grabar was intended to serve the Church's purposes. The second version in Ashkharhabar (common language) was more subtle and understandable and for the secular people.

a justification. The name of the translator is not mentioned in the book, but according to the list of the Venetian Mekhitarists, it is Andreas Tsovizean. The two other works by Fleury were also translated into Armenian soon after the first, in 1843, but they were published as one book, entitled *Les Mœurs des Israelites* (The Manners of the Israelites) and *Les Mœurs des Chrétiens* (The Manners of the Christians). Although Fleury was not totally accepted in society, he managed to succeed in one surprising aspect: Bossuet and Fénelon, who disagreed with each other with respect to quietism and other religious aspects, both declared that Fleury was modest, pious, loyal, and impartial (Dartigue 1922, 330). Obviously, the Mekhitarists approved this opinion of Fleury, and also respected Fénelon, because the next author they repeatedly referenced is Fénelon himself.

Mekhitarists justified the choice to translate François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon – French theologian, poet, and writer – by his rhetoric, which they described as natural, sweet, and ornate (Bazmavep, no. 10, 1851, 145–51). Nowadays Fénelon is remembered mostly as the author of "The Adventures of Telemachus" which was translated and published in Armenian by the Mekhitarists in 1826 (the translator is the above-mentioned father Manuēl Vardapet Jakhjakhean, with the help of philologist Poghos Agha Yusufean). In 1850, the book was translated and published again. Until the First World War, this book was in the leading position in the European book market. So the publishing of this text twice may have been caused by the demand of Armenian readers. However, the Mekhitarists have also attributed some religious and moral context to the purpose of choosing this work, emphasising first and foremost the educational and moral aspect of the writing[6]. Mekhitarists translated two other works by Fénelon as well: *La vie des anciens philosophes* (Lives of the ancient philosophers) in 1826, and *Traité de l'éducation des filles* (Treatise on the Education of Daughters) in 1850.

In addition to religious authors, Mekhitarists translated the works of some secular writers. One of their favourite genres was fables. As it is stated in *Bazmavep*, Mekhitarists considered fables to be a type of poetry that has always been dear to human beings, as it helps people understand each other and their own misdeeds, without distorting their mind and without breaking their hearts (Bazmavep, no. 6, 1849, 58). Interestingly, Mekhitarists translated Aesop's fables from French and published his works three times during the observed period (in 1818, 1827, and 1849). In addition, of course, they published many works by Lafontaine, because

---

[6] The novel is in many respects inspired by the fourth book of the Odyssey by Homer and is a political allegory that has some didactic purpose as well. The book was written for a pupil of Fénelon, the Duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis XIV. However, the "evil sneers" over the French monarch in the book eventually led to disgrace towards Fénelon.

he adapted the same fables in such a lively and amusing manner that, according to Mekhitarists, no other European writer had achieved his mastery (Bazmavep, no. 3, 1843, 47).

The Mekhitarists referred to many famous French authors, but even when translating secular works that had nothing to do with religion, Mekhitarists had the habit of placing small prologues before the original work. In a way, they were trying to speak to their flock through these prologues. In all the secular works, Mekhitarists tried to apply some religious context, or to describe the events of the book in a religious aspect, usually calling for obedience, loyalty, godly fear, and giving some instruction to the reader. In 1845 and then in 1859, they published Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*, now largely forgotten, but in the 19th century a very popular children's book (translator – Manuk Astuatsaturean). In addition, here again, the translator mentions the God-pleasantness of his work[7] and this book, hoping that his example will inspire other young scholars to translate the eminent writings of world literature.

I would also like to mention Daniel Defoe with his famous *Robinson Crusoe*. The work was translated not from the original language, but from French, by Minas Bzhshkean and was published three times in the observed period. Here too, at the beginning of the book, the translator emphasises the educational nature of the text.[8] Later on, in 1853, they translated Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian's *Numa Pompilius* (1786), Pierre Corneille's *Polyeucte* in 1858, Jean Racine's *Phèdre* in

---

[7] "Paul et Virginie is Bernardin's most prominent writing and has been translated almost by all the nations. This book leaves great impression on everyone, but especially on people who have a grief. The innocent love of Paul and Virginie as well as the sincerity to each other inspire and educate especially young people, and their disastrous death in the end fills the hearts of everyone with sadness, showing the vanity of the world. Madame de la Tour and Margarita can serve as an example for mothers, Virginia – for teenage girls, and Paul – for young men. This lovely and sad story awakened memories in my heart, too, and that's why I had a great desire to translate this work. Now I am delivering my modest work to my nation, considering it not a deserving translation, but as a signal for the young men of the age, so that they also get encouraged to make excellent translations of other moral stories for the benefit of our nation. That is the only reason why I dared to publish this writing and thus, I apologise to the readers for the imperfections of my translation."

[8] "The philosophers say that each person is created the same way, the soul and natural perfection of all are equal: it's only the education and the politeness that differentiate people from each other. This truth is expressed in the behaviour of Robinson Crusoe, who was indifferent and disobedient even in the European environment, but finding himself on a desolate island, he desperately began to self-educate, almost reaching perfection. This story is like a mirror in which everyone can see himself. Therefore, this story depicts not only the power of human thought but also the events of the whole world and the misery, as well as the successful and misguided fate. It teaches humbleness and longevity to elders, tells parents to love their children, but not to spoil them, to be a good example, to give them virtuous education. Young people are taught to have patience and to be humble, to not to get discouraged even in misery, but always rely on God."

1861, Joseph-Xavier Boniface dit Saintine's *Picciola* in 1865, some works of Lamartine, Hugo, Chateaubriand, Jean-Jacques Lefranc, Delille, Massillon, de Tournefort, and many others.

The Translations from French in *Bazmavep*

The Venetian Mekhitarists became leading figures in the history of the Armenian press as well; they were among the first in this area. Their official magazine, *Bazmavep*, which was founded in 1843, was one of the pioneers of the development and purity of the Armenian language. *Bazmavep* aimed to endow readers with enlightened ideas and useful tips regarding the revival of economic, political, and spiritual life. In the first period, this magazine featured a great deal of religious and linguistic articles, the latest discoveries in the fields of science and industry, geographical information, and archaeological discoveries. Part of the aforementioned translations as well as many other translation works were first published in *Bazmavep*. Initially, the journal consisted of three large sections: the Natural Sciences section, the Economic Sciences section and, last but not least, the Philological section, which contained information about every social aspect, about prominent people, history, geography, and a lot of information about European literature translated into Armenian. This scientific, literary, historical-philological magazine is the longest lasting Armenian periodical and one of the oldest in the world. At first, it pursued more modest programmes, providing interesting and useful information, propagating natural sciences, and giving useful advice on economic, commercial, handicraft, agricultural, medical, geographical, and other fields. The choice of the modern Armenian language and its content shows that the first editors Gabriēl Ayvazovk'i (1812–1879) and Ghevond Alishan (1820–1901) intended to create an "enlightened nation". Over the years, the magazine gradually matured and articles about Armenian history, archaeology, ethnography, language, philology, architecture, music, and folklore were published, whose scientific value and benefits were inexhaustible.[9] *Bazmavep* played a major role in the translation, research, and reporting of foreign literature, folklore, history, culture, and everyday life. The journal places a lot of emphasis on parables and fables. In almost every issue, one can find plenty of fables by Lafontaine, poems by Lamartine, quotations by Chateaubriand, Montesquieu, and many other

---

[9] Most of these topics are translated. The sources and the author are not mentioned, as well as the translator, but a large number of words are presented in the original language, mostly in French, or are given as footnotes (Bazmavep, no. 4, 1844).

French authors. As usual, before each piece, the editors of the journal placed a short preface explaining their choice.[10]

The Mekhitarists created a very interesting tradition of combining religious, scientific, and instructive articles in *Bazmavep* with poems by various authors. For instance, one can find Lamartine's poem about tears, serving as a preface for some scientific material regarding teardrops. Another example is an article about the natural history of snakes supplemented by Delille's "Boa Snake" poem, or information about space and stars followed by Racine's poetry about faith in God, or an article about sharks again combined with Delille's poetry. Such translation combinations exist in all issues of the journal.

Conclusion

One of the main objectives of the Mekhitarists was to implement classical culture into Armenian by means of translation, and they definitely succeeded in their endeavours. It is a fact that religion, morality, and the laws of society influence literature and, similarly, literature has an influence on religion, morals, and laws. Much more remains to be learned about how human relations develop through various literary works created since the time of Homer, but one thing is for sure: translation activity is a very important means of spreading knowledge, and for developing the most diverse cultures in the world. Their decisions while selecting literary works involved multiple factors: being a religious congregation, the Mekhitarists were sometimes bound by certain conventions: they could not refer to the works representing the ideas of the Enlightenment, or translate writings of revolutionary character; they were at times forced to bypass famous works that were relevant to the European worldview of that period. But over time, the Mekhitarists also began to listen to the opinion of their Armenian readers. They repeatedly stated in their official newspaper that they were ready to accommodate their readers' preferences. In general, by translating French literature into Armenian, the Mekhitarists developed the Armenian language by introducing new forms of expression, new styles, and new words and expressions. So once again,

---

[10] "In order to please our readers, sometimes besides the national bibliography, we would also like to talk about modern foreign literature, and let our reader get acquainted with prose or poetry of European authors, placing some parts in the *Bazmavep* issues. This time we present you one of Lamartine's poems, with an accurate translation. Lamartine is nowadays a well-known writer in Europe and is considered the first French poet. The most striking qualities of his writings are the soul of constant piety, soft emotion, slender thinking and vigorous imagination. His main poems are Jocelyn, Poetic Meditations, Poetic and Religious Harmonies and others." (Bazmavep, no. 2, 1843)

Mekhitarists came to prove that if the translator is a mediator between cultures, translation is one of the most effective tools in the entire process of building knowledge exchange.[11]

Works Cited

Abelly, Louis. *Ugh ew tsuts astuatsabanut'ean*. Translated from French by Petros T'iflisetsi. Antoni Bortoli Publishing, 1748.

Aesop. *Aṛakk' Ezovbosi*. Translated from French by Minas vardapet Bzhshkean. St. Lazarus, 1818.

---. *Aṛakk' Ezovbosi*. Translated from French by Minas vardapet Bzhshkean. St. Lazarus, 1827.

---. *Aṛakk' Ezovbosi*. Translated from French by Minas vardapet Bzhshkean. St. Lazarus, 1849.

Ant'abyan, P'aylak. "Venetiki Mkhit'aryanneri hayagitakan gortsuneut'yuně." *Patma-banasirakan handes*, no. 4, 1968, pp. 25–38.

Awetik'ean, Gabriēl, et al., editors. *Nor baṛgirk' Haykazean lezui*. St. Lazarus, 1836.

Bagratuni, Arsēn. *Hayk diwts'azn*. Mekhitarists of Venice, 1858.

Corneille, Pierre. *Poliktos*. Translated from French (Translator unknown). St. Lazarus, 1858.

Dartigue, Abbé Gaston. "Le traité des études de l'abbé Claude Fleury (1686). Examen historique et critique (compte rendu)." *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, vol. 8, no. 40, 1922, pp. 336–39.

Davt'yan, Hayk. *Hay girk'ě 1801–1850*. ArmSSR State Library Al. Myasnikyan, 1967.

De Florian, Jean-Pierre Claris. *Numa Pompilios*. Translated from French by Eduard Hiwrmiwzean. St. Lazarus, 1853.

Defoe, Daniel. *Patmut'iwn varuts' Ṛōpēnsōnin K'ṛiwzōē i khrat ew i krt'ut'iwn mankants'*. Translated from French by Minas vardapet Bzhshkean. Mekhitarists of Venice, 1817.

--- Pa*tmut'iwn varuts' Ṛōpēnsōnin K'riwzōē*. Translated from French by Minas vardapet Bzhshkean. St. Lazarus, 1836.

De Saint-Pierre, Jacques-Henri Bernardin. *Pōghos u Virginia*. Translated from French by Manuk pēy Mahtesi Astuatsaturean. Mekhitarists of Venice, 1848.

De Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, François. *Arkatsk' Telemak'ay ordwoyn Odiseay*. Translated from French by Manuēl Jakhjakhean. St. Lazarus, 1826.

--- *Vark' nakhni imastasirats'*. Translated from French (Translator unknown). St. Lazarus, 1826.

--- *Arkatsk' Telemak'ay*. Translated from French by Eduard Hiwrmiwzean. St. Lazarus, 1850.

--- *Hrahangk' dastiarakut'ean aghjkants*. Translated from French by Ambrosios Galfayean. St. Lazarus, 1850.

De Staël-Holstein, Germaine. *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales*. Vol. 1. Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1858.

Erits'eants', Alek'sandr. *Venetiki Mkhit'areank'*. Hovhannes Martirosian, 1883.

Fleury, Claude. *Kents'agh Israyēlats'wots' ev k'ristonēits'*. Translated from French by K'erovbē vardapet Aznawor. St. Lazarus, 1843.

--- *Flēōrieay Gaghghiats'woy K'ristoneakan vardapetut'ut'iwn patmakan*. Translated from French (Translator unknown). St. Lazarus, 1844.

Grats'uts'ak Mkhit'arean tparani 1700–1978. Editor unknown, St. Lazarus, 1978.

Homer. *Eghiakan*. Translated from Greek by Eghia T'omach'ean. Mekhitarists of Venice, 1843.

--- *Iliakan*. Translated from Greek by Arsēn Ghazikean. Mekhitarists of Venice, 1911.

Leo. *Erkeri zhoghovats'u*. Vol. 3. *Hayots' patmut'yun*. Girk' 2, 1973.

Milton, Albrecht. "The relationship of literature and society." *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 59, no. 5, March 1954, pp. 425–36.

Montesquieu, Charles. "Aylabanut'iwn, Nakhandz." *Bazmavep*, no. 24, 1847, pp. 370–71.

Napoleon III. *Patmut'iwn Yuliosi Kesaru*. St. Lazarus, 1867.

Oskanyan, Ninel. *Hay girk'ĕ 1512–1800*. ArmSSR State Library Al. Myasnikyan, 1988.

Pztikian, Haroutiun. *Mkhit'ari ew Mkhit'areanneru npastĕ hay mshakiwt'in*. Zangak-97, 2003.

Racine, Jean. *P'edra*. Translated from French by Eduard Hiwrmiwz. St. Lazarus, 1861.

Ristaud Cottin, Sophie. *Ak'sorakanats'n i Siperia*. Translated from French by Eduard Hiwrmiwz. St. Lazarus, 1873.

Rollin, Charles. *Hnakhōsut'iwn i veray Egiptats'ots', Kark'edonats'ots', Asorestaneayts', Babelats'ots', Marats' ev Parsits', Makedonats'ots' ev Yunats'*. Translated from French by Gēorg Hiwrmiwzean and Eduard Hiwrmiwzean. In six volumes. St. Lazarus, 1826–1829.

Saintine, Xavier Boniface. *Bich'ch'iola*. Translated from French by Davit' Nazaret'ean. St. Lazarus, 1865.

Sophocles, *Idipos t'agavor*. Ashkharhabar, translated by Arsēn Ghazikean. Mekhitarists of Venice, 1928.

Tanner, Stephen. "Literary Study and the Social Order." *Humanitas*, vol. 12, no. 2, 1999, pp. 48–63.

The works of Plato. Translated from Greek by Benjamin Jowett. In four volumes. Dial Press, 2013.

T'orosean, Hovhannēs. *Vark' Mkhit'aray abbayi Sebastioy*. Mekhitarists of Venice, 1932.

Villotte, Jacobus. *Patmagrut'iwn Kat'ughikosats' ew T'agaworats' hayots'*. Antoni Bortoli Publishing, 1748.

THE ROLE OF DIASPORIC COMMUNITIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ODESSA REGION

Yana Volkova

Abstract: The article deals with the contribution of French, German, Italian, and Greek immigrant communities to the cultural, economic and social development of Odessa. Although numerous publications have been devoted to the history of Odessa, the role of the diasporic communities in the development of the city and wider region remains obscure. The article brings together historical facts about the prominent diasporic communities and immigrant figures of different nationalities in the late 18th to 19th centuries, and their contribution to processes of knowledge exchange between Europe and the northern Black Sea coast.

The term 'diasporic community' is understood differently under different historical circumstances. Diaspora is an established concept whose uses and meanings have recently undergone dramatic change. Originally, the concept referred only to the historical experience of particular groups, specifically the Jews and Armenians. In recent times, literature on diaspora has generally defined it almost exclusively in terms of migrant origin or as the far-reaching dispersal of an ethnic community to multiple destinations. In the course of time, this naturalistic approach has been replaced by a constructivist one, which has now come to dominate academic discourse. This approach envisages diaspora as more than a grouping based only on ethnicity and not only as the natural result of mass migration, and suggests that there is a difference between migrant communities and diaspora groups. Diaspora identity is thus a constructed form of community, rather than a natural result of mass migration. More and more researchers define diaspora as a political project (Volkova 2017, 95) and the term diaspora is now applied to all forms of movement and dispersion of a people, even where no migration is involved; for instance, 'accidental diaspora' occurs when state borders are moved (Brubaker 2000, 2). Nowadays, the term is under threat of concept stretching (cyber diaspora, jihad diaspora, Muslim diaspora, accidental diaspora), which is why, before analysing the role of diasporic communities in the development of the Odessa region, it is necessary to clarify the term. In the late 18th century, 'diaspora' was not used to refer to coherent social groups, but more to describe voluntary or forced migrants. However, the character and the origin of different ethnic groups in Odessa are not the same.

The history of the northern coast of the Black Sea is a history of movement of people, and the Odessa region is now one of the most multi-ethnic regions in Ukraine. The inscription on Odessa's original coat of arms (1798) was written in four languages: Russian, Greek, German, and Italian. Each of these groups played significant roles in shaping the city. The Greek scholar Evrydiki Sifneos (2017, 12) characterized Odessa, during the time between the founding of the city and the end of the Crimean War (1794–1856), as a Europeanised port-city. There were several reasons for this. Odessa was founded in accordance with the European principles and prototypes established by its French and Russian governors (all of whom had European experience), foreign merchants, and the Balkan and Central European settlers. Demographic composition of the Odessa region was formed through the colonization of "free" land by representatives of various ethnic groups in the late 18th–19th century. During its early years Odessa was occupied by compact colonies of different ethnic and national groups; in the streets of the city one could hear French, Italian, Greek, Ukrainian, Russian, German, Bulgarian, Polish, and Armenian languages. This ethnic variety among the population, and mutual penetration of different cultures, later resulted in a specific urban culture and peculiar mentality of the residents.

The founder of Odessa, the Russian Empress Catherine II, inaugurated an active policy of expansion along the Black Sea and towards the Mediterranean. After the Russo-Ottoman War (1787–1792), in accordance with the Treaty of Jassy, the coast between the Bug River and the Dniester River became part of the Russian realm. From the very beginning, Catherine's city received a foreign imprint. It was given a Greek name because of the mistaken assumption that the site had once been occupied by the Greek colony of Odessos. The ancient Greek colony of Odessos, however, had been located in Bulgaria (Iljine and Herlihy 2004, 4). The city's formation is also associated with the name of the first immigrant in the history of Odessa – a Naples-born soldier of fortune of Spanish José de Ribas, who, during the course of the Russo-Ottoman War, had stormed the Turkish fortress Yeni Dunya (which was then situated in the centre of what is now Odessa city) and helped to secure it, in September 1789. An immigrant from Naples, he was also one of the members of the Russian delegation in the negotiations with the Ottomans in Jassy. After the war, de Ribas took an active part in the construction of the new city, and the main street of Odessa is still named in his honour – Deribasovskaia Street. The city's master plan was drawn up by the Dutch brigadier-engineer Franz de Volán in 1794, and is considered to be the highest achievement of domestic town-planning culture of the Classicism period (Tret'iak 2012, 30). Thus, two free-spirited foreign adventurers – de Ribas and de Volán – pro-

posed building a garrison city on the site of the fortress Yeni Dunya, at the Ottoman settlement of Khadzhibei (Sifneos 2017, 21). Catherine II included this area in the province of Novorossiia, which she created in 1764. She wanted to found a city on this territory, on the one hand to provide access for the Russian Empire to the Black Sea, and to the other to serve as a bridgehead against Ottoman ambitions to regain the region. Just as her predecessor Peter I had created the northern city of St. Petersburg as a gateway to Europe, Catherine II wanted to do the same, but in the south. On 27 May 1794, Catherine II accepted de Ribas's and de Volán's proposal for the creation of a new town and port between the Danube and the Dnieper river deltas.

Foreigners founded the city, foreigners developed it. During the three years of his tenure (1794–1797), Admiral de Ribas managed to build a vibrant city, whose first settlers, developers and actual founders were Italians. The most enduring marks of Italian influence on the city can be seen in its architecture. The Customs House, wharfs, the port, residential buildings and the Opera House were built by the Italian settlers. The Mediterranean appearance of Odessa was formed by the brilliant creations of Francesco Boffo, Alexander Bernadazzi, Francesco Frapolli, Giorgio Torricelli, and other Italian architects. The most significant contribution was made by Boffo, who was the architect of the commune of Odessa from 1822 to 1844, and he designed more than 30 buildings in Odessa between 1818 and 1861, including the famous Potemkin Stairs, the Potocki Palace, and the Shidlovsky and Vorontsov Palaces. Many historians have observed that the common language in cosmopolitan Odessa at that time was Italian (Herlihy 2001, 181), a fact which reflected not so much the demographics of the city, but the political, economic, social, and cultural power, which the Italian settlers had enjoyed since the city's foundation. The key positions in many of the city's industries – banking, navigation, port administration, and shipping, for instance, were held by Italians for many years. In 1853, however, the Italian population of the city began to disintegrate, due to reverse migration back to Italy and the rise of the Russian Empire. Nevertheless, the first Italian immigrants had established permanent European traditions, unique to the city, and radically altered the cultural course of Odessa for centuries to come.

The Russian government paid very close attention to the development of Odessa from the city's earliest days, largely due to the urgent need to develop direct trade relations with Mediterranean countries – of interest not only to the Russians of course, but also to Portugal, Spain, the Italian states, France, and others. The newly acquired southern steppe areas required rapid economic development, which Russia was not able to achieve alone, mainly because of its feudal political system: serfdom limited the freedom of movement of Russian peasants

and thus made immediate settlement of the new area impossible. In order to populate these lands, Catherine II decided to invite immigrants and colonists from abroad. There was minimal response to Catherine's first call for immigrants, made on 12 December 1762, but her Manifesto of 22 July 1763 was much more successful, perhaps because the Seven Years' War had ended earlier that year: "We, Catherine the Second, Empress and Autocrat of all the Russians in Moscow, Kiev, Vladimir […] permit all foreigners to come into Our Empire, in order to settle in all the governments, just as each one may desire" (Johnson 2009, 19). While the offer was directed at all foreigners, Catherine II was targeting Germans in particular. Born as Sophie Friederike von Anhalt-Zerbst-Dornburg, the tsarina was herself a German national. Copies of the Manifesto were printed in newspapers and on leaflets that were distributed throughout Europe, but with a particular focus on the German-speaking lands, which had no national government at that time, comprising instead a large number of small principalities, counties, duchies and city-states, that were part of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Among the promises made to the colonists in the Manifesto, were: exemption from military service, freedom of religion, a 30 year exemption from taxes, land provided at no cost and travel expenses paid by the Russian government. Catherine II's main goal was to stimulate population growth and productive use of "uncultivated" regions.

Catherine II's son and successor, Emperor Paul I (1796–1801), unwilling to support Catherine II's project and collaborators, eagerly dismantled much of what she had achieved, including Odessa (Sifneos 2017, 22). He dismissed de Ribas and de Volán, allowing the city to languish, until he was assassinated a few years later. However, Tsar Alexander I (1801–1825) was determined to continue the colonization policies in southern Russia begun by Catherine II. In 1804, a massive influx of people led the government of Alexander I to reduce the tax-free period for foreigners to ten years, to make it more difficult to enter Russia, and to accept colonists only if they were experienced farmers or vine growers, silk-worm cultivators, stock breeders or village craftsmen. In the first half of the 19th century, the colonists continued to be a self-contained legal and social group with privileges that were denied to the majority of the Ukrainian and Russian peasants.

French immigrants played a major role in the formation and development of Odessa in the early stages. The starting point for the rapprochement of the Russian Empire with France is considered to be 1717, when Peter I sent the first Russian students to study in Paris (Galias 2012, 18). French influence intensified during the reign of Empress Elizabeth (1741–1761), who was a student of the French tutor Etienne Rambourg, and reached its peak during the reigns of Catherine II and Alexander I. Many French aristocrats emigrated from their homeland

during the French Revolution and sought refuge in the Russian Empire. This immigration of the late 18th and early 19th centuries created the basis for a permanent French presence, both in the territory of Ukraine as a whole, and in Odessa in particular. Governor de Ribas was succeeded by two Frenchmen, the Duc de Richelieu (Armand-Emmanuel du Plessis de Richelieu), a descendant of the all-powerful Cardinal Richelieu from the times of Louis XIII, and Alexandre de Langeron. The first of these, de Richelieu, did much of the groundwork which enabled the further development of the city. Even contemporaries of the Duke recognized him as a talented administrator, who in a short time turned a small settlement, formerly Hacıbey, into the European city of Odessa. Nowadays the streets named after de Richelieu and de Langeron – Rishel'ievskaia and Lanzheronovskaia streets – are among the central streets of Odessa, and the monument to de Richelieu has become the symbol of the city. Born in France, into one of the most famous aristocratic families of Europe, de Richelieu left his homeland during the French Revolution and subsequently served in the Russian Imperial Army, taking part in the storming of the fortress of Izmail under the command of Alexander Suvorov. His reminiscences of the assault formed the basis for those scenes in George Gordon Byron's *Don Juan*, in which the great English poet presented de Richelieu as one of the protagonists. For his bravery he was awarded the St. George Cross of the 4th Degree, with a Golden Sword, but most importantly, for his fearless and skilful actions, de Richelieu gained a high reputation among the officers of the Russian army. In 1802 he was appointed governor of Odessa by Alexander I, a position he retained until 1814. During his tenure, the number of Frenchmen in the city increased significantly, and, what is most important, they were predominantly well-educated people. As Evrydiki Sifneos (2017, 47) stated, the French immigrants, largely worked as tutors in private houses, resulting in the French population having the highest degree of literacy, 92.2 percent, of any group in the city. Besides his experience in warfare, de Richelieu had broad knowledge of economics and diplomacy. Being a fervent advocate of the beneficial role of trade for a nation's well-being, he strongly believed that strengthening commerce in Odessa and its port was the only way out from the period of stagnation that followed the death of Catherine II. Under his administration a discount bank, exchange, insurance company, customs district, quarantine facility, and commercial court were established, and many French immigrants, thus, found their welcoming niches, for example, the first banks belonged to Frenchmen (Galias 2012, 56). Among the closest partners of de Richelieu was an immigrant from Marseilles who settled in Odessa at the very beginning of 1804, Charles Sicard. In the city's history Sicard is known primarily as the author of *Lettres sur Odessa* (Letters on Odessa), published in 1809 in the magazine *Bibliothèque britannique* (later renamed *Bibliothèque universelle*), which was popular in Geneva

from 1797 to 1816 (Tret'iak 2010, 10), in which he described the main features of social and economic development of a young city on the Black Sea coast. For de Richelieu, such a publication provided a good opportunity to draw the attention of European scholars not only to specific issues related to, for example, agriculture or geodesy in the northern Black Sea region, but also to provide the European public with a real picture of the changes that were occurring in the region. By the time of publication of *Lettres sur Odessa*, Europe was already in the state of ongoing war that followed the French Revolution, and, in spite of military actions in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, the total trade of Odessa during that period not only did not fall, but sharply increased. Sicard thus portrayed the state of commerce in Odessa as an example for those European cities, which were in a disastrous state because of the wars. In almost every section of his book Sicard advocated the expansion of foreign trade, both qualitatively and quantitatively, and geographically. In addition to *Lettres sur Odessa*, Sicard also left behind some short, but bright and very informative memoirs, written at the very end of his life, about city life during the reign of de Richelieu (Ibid., 18).

The role of Frenchmen in the promotion of education in the south of the Russian Empire was also remarkable. In 1803, de Richelieu sent a request to the Emperor Alexander I for the establishment of an educational institution in Odessa. A year later the Odessa Commercial Gymnasium and the Noble Education Institute were created. Both educational institutions were located in the same building and had one director – a French nobleman called Wolsey, who taught the French language, geography, and history (Grebtsova and Syniavs'ka 2015, 22). In 1811, these private educational institutions gained all the rights and privileges of state ones. The course of study at the institutes lasted eight years. Children were taught Russian, Greek, French, Italian, German, English, and Latin; the Law of God, Geography, History, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Physics, Architecture, Fortification, and Military Exercise. Eventually, in 1814, de Richelieu returned to France, where he became Prime Minister during the Bourbon Restoration, leaving behind what he himself called "the best pearl in the Russian crown" on the shores of the Black Sea (Ruble 2008, 19). After his departure from Odessa, the Jesuit Abbot Charles Dominique Nicolle (1758–1835), who had been de Richelieu's closest colleague in the field of education since 1812, became director of the Noble Institute. Nicolle arrived in Odessa in 1811, having previously gained pedagogical experience teaching in St. Petersburg and in France. Nicolle wrote the *Plan d'éducation pour les deux institutes nobles d'Odessa* (Instructions for education in the two noble institutions of Odessa), referring to the male and female noble educational institutions. The *Plan d'éducation* was published in 1814 in Russian (*Nachertanie pravil vospitaniia v oboikh Odesskih Blagorodnykh institutakh*) and

French and it is considered to be the first printed book, published in Odessa (Grebtsova and Syniavs'ka 2015, 24). In its essence, this book, which should be more accurately called a brochure, was a kind of guideline for the establishment in Odessa of a type of educational institution that, by its status, would be equated with a university. This plan for the reorganization of the Noble Institute was designed in the best traditions of classical education, and was intended to create a higher education institution.

As time went by, in the circles of the local administration a project to unite the branches of the commercial gymnasium with the institute in order to create a completely independent educational institution – a lyceum – appeared. This type of educational institution became popular in the Russian Empire within the framework of Emperor Alexander I's educational reforms. At the beginning of the 19th century, however, only two lyceums were functioning in the Russian Empire – in Yaroslavl and near St. Petersburg. The Odessa community, headed by Abbot Nicolle, started the struggle for the right to open the third. Despite the departure of de Richelieu, the process of transforming the Odessa Noble Institute into a higher educational institution had irreversibly been launched, and the new French Prime Minister followed the destiny of his brainchild in Odessa very closely. In May 1817, Alexander I approved the unification of Odessa Commercial Gymnasium and the Noble Education Institute, and the new institution thus created was named the Richelieu Lyceum, in recognition of de Richelieu's achievements in the development of the city and his patronage of educational affairs. De Richelieu donated his own library and 13,000 francs to his 'godchild'. The former director of the Noble Institute, Abbot Charles Nicole, became the first director of the Lyceum, and another Frenchman Professor Remi Gilles, was appointed Assistant Director (Grebtsova and Syniavs'ka 2015, 24). The Richelieu Lyceum attracted outstanding foreigners as lecturers, Frenchmen being particularly numerous in its early years, and its students came from many regions. The *Plan d'éducation* of Abbot Nicole formed the basis for the curriculum of the newly created institution, although some changes, such as adding the Greek and Italian languages, were made. Because of Tsar Alexander's prohibition of the Jesuit order in 1820, however, Abbot Nicole, who built the foundation for the creation of one of the best higher educational institutions in the Russian Empire of that time, was forced to leave Odessa and return to France at the beginning of that year. But the Lyceum which he founded continued to grow and develop, and on 11 July 1864 Alexander II signed a decree for the creation in Odessa of the Imperial Novorossiysk University, with three faculties: legal, historical and philological, and physical and mathematical, on the basis of the Richelieu Lyceum. Thus, having made a significant contribution to the development of education in

the Southern region, the Richelieu Lyceum became the basis for the Imperial No-vorossiysk University, which is now Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University. Although de Richelieu's dream of creating a university in Odessa was realized only in 1865, it can be confidently asserted that his Lyceum fulfilled its historic mission of spreading education in the northern Black Sea region.

Another outstanding French immigrant in the Russian service was Langeron, a native of Paris, who had risen rapidly through the ranks of the French army, attaining the rank of colonel. His initial enthusiasm for the revolution of 1789 was soon quelled. At this time he wrote: "For France, it seemed, a new day began to shine; the kindness and benevolence of the monarch, the aspirations of the people, the convocation of the General States, all proclaimed a complete change, which, forever destroyed the fate of a young, talented officer who did not wish to reconcile himself to the extremes of the revolutionary whirlpool" (cited in Tret'iak 2012, 92). He left France and in the spring of 1790, entered the Russian army, taking part in the war with Sweden, and then in December, together with his friend de Richelieu, he excelled in the storming of Izmail, receiving a Golden Sword as a reward for bravery. In Odessa, Count de Langeron brought to fruition a number of important initiatives, which had been started by his predecessor, de Richelieu. During his tenure, for instance, there appeared the first local newspa-per *Messager de la Russie Meridionale* (Messenger of Southern Russia), pub-lished in both French and Russian (Ibid., 88). However, de Langeron's most im-portant innovation was the creation of a Free Port, established in Odessa by Im-perial Decree on 16 April 1817. Odessa rapidly became the connecting node between places of agricultural production and places that traditionally had a high demand for agricultural products such as foodstuffs and raw materials, that is, between nearby areas of the Empire and distant European countries, and soon was a major port and commercial centre: already in 1815, it handled more than half the freight passing through the Black and Azov Seas, and by the mid-1870s had grown into the largest wheat-exporting centre in Europe. Economists and histori-ans also noted some negative aspects of the Free Port, which eventually led to its abolition in 1859 (Stanko and Pershyna 2002, 89), but this does not negate the main conclusion: it was the Free Port that brought about the rapid development of the city in virtually all directions, and turned Odessa into a special part of the world, significant and attractive to millions of people. The Free Trade Zone in-stantly made the city one of the world's trading centres.

Another significant event during de Langeron's governorship was the creation of the Odessa Botanical Garden in 1818. The scientific adviser in this matter was the renowned French botanist, Charles Descemet, who had lost all his magnifi-cent gardens near Paris during fighting in 1814. The despairing botanist, on the

verge of suicide, became closely acquainted with the commander of the Russian occupation corps Mikhail Vorontsov and the French Prime Minister, de Richelieu. The latter, after concluding the peace, persuaded Descemet to move to Odessa, providing him with appropriate recommendations to the Governor-General of the New Russia region (Novorossiia), de Langeron. The latter welcomed his compatriot cordially and appointed him Professor of Botany at the Odessa Construction Committee, a post which came with a very high salary. The famous French botanist was able to find the most favourable forms and methods for grafting dozens of different species of trees and shrubs and worked as Director of the Botanical Gardens from the time of their establishment until 1833. From 1834 to 1848 the post was occupied by another talented botanist Alexander von Nordmann (1803–1866). Although he had been born in Ruotsinsalmi (Finland), German was Professor Norman's mother tongue, and he studied in the medical faculty at the University of Berlin (Plesskaia-Zebol'd 1999, 290). A severe outbreak of cholera in Berlin in 1832 drove him away and he was appointed Professor of Botany and Zoology at the Richelieu Lyceum in Odessa. At the end of 1833, in addition to his professorship, von Nordmann was appointed director of both the Botanical Garden, and the School of Horticulture near Odessa, positions which he held until he left Odessa. He travelled extensively to collect flora and fauna, to places including Bessarabia, the Danube region, Crimea, and the Caucasus. Among the most important of Nordmann's scientific achievements, during his two years of filed work, was the discovery of a number of fossils, which were included in the comprehensive book *Palaeontologie Südrusslands* (Palaeontology of Southern Russia), published from 1858 to 1861 (Damkaer 2002, 265).

De Richelieu tried to attract not only French people to Odessa but also played an outstanding role in resettling German colonists in the northern Black Sea region. In response to his petition of the 17 October 1803, an imperial decree was issued, which allowed the duke to buy land in the vicinity of Odessa for the establishment of German colonies. These colonies spread out over a considerable area, covering the present Odessa, Mykolaïv, Kherson, Zaporizhzhia, and Crimean regions. The colonists often named the villages after their home towns, thus they were called things like Groß-Liebenthal, Kandel, Baden, Mannheim, Selz, Alexanderhilf, Klein-Liebental, Josephsthal, Marienthal, Petersthal, Elsass, Hoffnungsthal, etc. Groß-Liebenthal (today the village of Velikodolinskoie) was the centre of the region densely populated by Germans; it included the colonies of Lustdorf (Chernomorka), Klein-Liebental (Malodolinskoie), Alexanderhilf (Dobroaleksandrovka), Franzfeld, Neuburg (Novogradovka), Marienthal (Mardzanovka), Josephsthal (Jossipovka) and Petersthal (Petrodolina). The State Archives of Odessa Oblast contain about 200,000 records concerning the history of

the Black Sea Germans, the majority of which have not yet been fully investigated. As Volodymyr Vasyl'chuk has noted, among political factors that instigated migration of the Germans to the territory of the northern Black Sea coast were the division of German territories, oppression by the governors of the German lands, service in the army, hostile occupation, military exactions and taxes. Economic factors such as the tyranny of large land magnates, the lack of land, frequent crop failure, and large taxes also played a crucial role. A third factor was religious, particularly religious persecution (Vasyl'chuk 2017, 12). In the beginning, the unfamiliarity of the geographic and climatic conditions presented great difficulties for the German farmers. In the first phase of their adaptation to these new circumstances their main occupation was cattle raising. In 1805, sheep were brought to the cities of Odessa and Dnepropetrovsk and breeding of these animals began in the Odessa region, with the result that wool soon became the colonists' most important product. Later they began to cultivate grain, sunflowers, wine, vegetables, fruits, tobacco and silk. They worked as beekeepers and foresters, and many colonies boasted brickyards, wineries, breweries, cheese factories and oil mills. But the German colonies, with their Protestant or Catholic populations, remained separate enclaves within an Orthodox world. The growth of Pan-Slavism and a new Russian national identity through the 19th century led increasingly to criticism of the concentration of real estate in the hands of non-Slavic immigrants, and in 1887, a law for foreigners was enacted which significantly restricted their rights to lease and acquire property, especially in areas near the borders. Meanwhile, in 1871, the privileges colonists had hitherto enjoyed were abolished, and it was at that time many Germans decided to leave the Black Sea region.

Close to the German settlements there were also a number of Swiss settlements. In general, the history of Swiss emigration to the Odessa region has not been investigated properly. The Swiss colony 'Schabag', or Shabo as it is called today (Shabo 2016), was established in 1822 and survived for five generations, with descendants of the Swiss colonists still living in the village in 1940. The settlement was founded by winegrowers from the Swiss canton of Vaud on the northern coast of the Black Sea at the mouth of the River Dniester, about 70 miles south of Odessa. This territory had been under ottoman control since the 16th century, when the settlement had been called Aşa-abag, Turkish for "lower gardens" (as vineyards were called in those days), reputedly because the vineyards were located below Akkerman (present-day Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi). Because of the difficult pronunciation, the Swiss soon renamed their settlement – first to Schabag and then to Shabo (Ibid.). The main reason Alexander I invited skilled vintners and tradesmen to settle in the regions of Bessarabia recently acquired by Russia, was to restore the vineyards, which had formerly been not only productive but

also established a considerable reputation under the Ottoman Empire. In response to the invitation, on the 18 June 1822, at a notary public office in Vevey, five Swiss men signed and registered an agreement about emigration to the new lands, where they hoped to re-create a successful wine-producing community. The signatories were botanist and academic Louis Vincent Tardent of Ormond Dessous; Jean Louis Guerry, town councillor of Chexbres; Jacob Samuel Chevalley, citizen of Rivaz; Jean Caspar Meyer of Aigle, member of the Corporation Vaudoise; and Charles Auguste Grand Jean, citizen of Buttes, Canton de Neuchâtel (Gette 2011, 55). Later other families also joined the colony. In the fall of 1822, with the support of the Russian government, a first group of 30 people settled the lands. Tardent was appointed head of the settlement of Shabo by the Governor of Bessarabia, General Ivan Inzov, and remained in office until 1831. After 1831, the administration of the colony passed to a collective body headed by the Governor. The Russian government guaranteed the Swiss freedom of religion, exemption from service in the Tsar's army, and the right to govern themselves in accordance with their democratic principles. Each family was granted an area of farmland slightly in excess of 60 hectares and was exempted from various taxes and government charges. Good soil and proximity to the port of Odessa were good conditions for the prosperous development of the colony. As the main occupation of the settlers was winemaking, the Swiss brought European winemaking standards with them and planted these standards here. As a result, in 1847 Shabo wines won their first gold medal, thus originating a tradition of winning the highest awards at the world's leading tasting competitions. From the early 1830s, the prosperity of Shabo steadily increased until the 1880s when the colony achieved its economic and cultural heyday, which lasted until the beginning of the First World War (Gette 2011, 53). In 1892, the affiliate colony Osnova was founded on the banks of the Dnieper River and later New Schabag on the Crimean Peninsula. The Russian government wooed such migrants with the explicit aim of skill transference and what the Russians of the time would have called 'modernization', or Europeanization. The settlers provided their experience in wine-making, new technical knowledge, and a close-up view of a 'European' work ethic, skill and persistence. After World War II, all these settlements vanished.

Catherine II, when she invited foreigners to make their home in Odessa, also addressed ethnic groups that were in the process of defying their Ottoman conqueror. Russian diplomacy was ultimately interested in positioning Russia as a protector of the Orthodox Christian populations living in the Ottoman Empire, and first and foremost those in the Balkans. On the basis of Russian national interest and power politics, the chief goal in the Balkan Peninsula was control over the Straits. Despite all the changes in Russian foreign policy in the 19th century,

this objective remained constant, and all political interests in the Balkans were subordinated to the problem of the Straits. Together with military and strategic consideration, the idea of the unity of the Slavs impelled Russia to take actions in the Balkan region (Levine 1914, 670). With the ideas of Pan-Slavism and Orthodoxy, Russia attracted Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro; on the basis of Orthodoxy alone, Romania and Greece. Odessa soon became one of the centres of Greek and Bulgarian immigration. The shared Orthodox tradition, in addition to promoting a sense of cultural cohesion among Russians and Greeks, was a very valid and viable cultural bond. Not only the name 'Odessa' is of Greek origin, archaeologists also discovered a 2,600 year-old Greek settlement on the hill above the port. At the beginning of the 19th century, Greeks formed a small ethnic group, which participated dynamically in the economic and social life of Odessa. Contact with the movement of the European Enlightenment, belief in the idea of Hellenic liberation, and active collaboration with liberal movements in Europe constituted fundamental elements of the political behaviour of the Greek merchants in Odessa. All of these were embodied in the creation of the clandestine organization 'Philikí Etaireía' (Society of Friends) in the city, by three merchants: Emmanuel Xanthos, Nikolaos Skoufas, and Athanasios Tsakalov. The aim of this society was to launch a general Balkan uprising supported by the Russian government: Russian assistance was central to the plans of the society. From humble beginnings in Odessa, they went on to play a critical role in the victory over the Ottomans in the Greek War of Independence (1821–1829). According to Richard Clogg, the number of members did not exceed 1,000 until 1821; his statistical report shows that out of 1,000 members, 54 percent were merchants, who provided financial support for the society (cited in Turan 1999, 265).

From the very beginning of Odessa's history Greek merchants were involved in the modernizing process that led to the city's commercial boom. The development of the grain trade was perhaps the city's lifeblood and brought it great affluence. As a result, involvement in trade, mainly export-oriented, was for a long period of the 19th century an attractive goal for social groups that already had a strong tradition in commercial networks. These groups included Greeks, first and foremost, Jews, and Italians. Thus, the export of wheat was the main source of income for Greeks in Odessa (Herlihy 1989, 239). Some of them became members of international trade guilds, others mastered fishery or worked as marine pilots, sailors, or port specialists. Besides economics, Greeks in Odessa were actively involved in religious, educational and non-profit activities. The Greek College of Commerce was founded in 1817, and provided free education for children mainly of Greek origin. One of the most famous Greek families was the Marazli family, which made its fortune in the grain trade. By 1879, one of them, Grigoriĭ

Marazli, had become governor of Odessa, having been a member of the city council for five years; he continued to serve the city as governor for nearly a quarter of a century. Marazli was able to indulge his philanthropic impulses, such as subsidizing the publication of many books on Odessa's history, for his many business ventures proved to be very successful (Herlihy 2001, 186).

Bulgarian settlement on the territory of what is now southern Ukraine was the product of migration in several stages, which took place at the end of the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th century (Ganchev 2006, 38). Considerable waves of migration of Bulgarians occurred during the Russo-Ottoman Wars in 1806–1812, 1828–1829, and 1854–1856. The Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812 resulted in the Bucharest Peace Treaty, according to which Russia received the territory between the Prut, Danube and Dniester rivers, also known as Bessarabia. The war had brought large numbers of Bulgarian refugees to this region, and it was here that subsequently many Bulgarian colonies developed. By decree of the Russian Governing Senate, dated 29 December 1819, the Bulgarian colonists were afforded numerous privileges, regulating their economic, political and social life, along with a number of legislative norms. With the help of the Russian Empire, as a powerful accelerator of Bulgarian spiritual revival and culture, there arose the desire for modern education and culture among the Bulgarian immigrants. Established in 1854, the Odessa Bulgarian Trustee – an organization of the emigrating bourgeoisie in southern Russia - aimed to collect donations for Bulgarian schools and churches. With this initiative, many Bulgarian young people were attracted to Russia, and entered Russian schools, seminaries, colleges and universities. In 1865, the Russian government decided to establish a unified system for selecting and training southern Slavs in Russia. By royal decree, 5,000 silver roubles were granted for this purpose. Some special schools, Odessa School and Nikolaev University for instance, were appointed for the education of the southern Slavs. The students who were sent to Moscow, Kiev and Odessa were supposed to be educated with Slavophil ideas of salvation through Orthodoxy. As a result of such Russian policies, during the period from the Crimean War to the Liberation of Bulgaria (1878), hundreds of young Bulgarians received an education in Russia, many of whom became leaders of the Bulgarian Revival – Liuben Karavelov, Hristo Botev, Vasil Drumev, Marin Drinov, Raĭko Zhinzifov, Nesho Bonchev, Konstantin Miladinov, Konstantin Stanishev, etc. Two of the foremost Bulgarian revolutionary leaders, Botev and Stefan Stambolov, were educated in Odessa, in 1863–1865 and 1870–1872, respectively. Besides Botev, famous Bulgarian writers and poets Aleko Konstantinov and Ivan Vazov, Dobri Chintulov, Ivan Bogovov, Naĭden Gera, Vasil Drumev, Elena Muteva wrote and published

their works here. Thus, in the 19th century, Odessa became one of the main centres of the Bulgarian Renaissance.

Although the meaning of the term 'diaspora' changed in the course of history, it has always had a political subtext. At the end of the 18th century, the Russian leaders attracted well-educated French, Italian, German immigrants with the explicit aim of transferring their knowledge and skills to the Russian Empire, in order to accelerate the process of modernization. From the first day of the city's foundation, well-educated immigrants from Western Europe contributed a great deal to the Odessa region's prosperity and growth, especially in the field of education, architecture, culture and economics. The most outstanding figure of that time was the French immigrant de Richelieu, who was responsible for establishing the first honourable educational institution in the south of the Russian Empire. Grateful Odessa residents named it after him – the Richelieu Lyceum, – which later was transformed into Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University. With the development of ideas of Pan-Slavism in the Russian Empire, the French, Italian, and German diasporic communities gradually lost their influence, giving way to the Greek and Bulgarian. At the same time, the Odessa region served as an arena for the formation of foreign elite. In this city, many prominent figures of the Bulgarian Enlightenment were student and members of the Greek elite worked on the anti-Ottoman uprising. Designed, built, and ruled mostly by foreigners in its early years, and with its large immigrant population, Odessa became a kind of commercial and cultural meeting-point between the Russian Empire and the outside world, especially Europe and the Middle East. Odessa was a foreigners' city, because in the late 18th–19th centuries they constituted a substantial majority of its population. Thanks to its diasporic communities, Odessa rapidly grew into one of the largest cities in the Russian Empire and one of the most important trading centres at the eastern end of Europe.

Works Cited

Arabadzhy, Svitlana. "Greeks in Ukraine: from ancient to modern times." *The AHIF Policy Journal*, no. 6, 2015, pp. 1–20.

Bagaleĭ, Dmitriĭ. *Kolonizatsiia Novorossiĭskogo kraia i pervye shagi ego po puti kul'tury*. Tipografiia G.T.Korchak-Novitskogo, 1889.

Boĭko, Iaroslav. *Zaselenie iuznoĭ Ukrainy. Formirovanie ėtnicheskogo sostava naseleniia kraia: russkie i ukraintsy (konets XVIII – nachalo XXI v.)*. Vertikal', 2007.

Brubaker, Rogers. *Accidental Diasporas and External "Homelands" in Central and Eastern Europe: Past and Present.* Institute for Advanced Studies Vienna, 2000.

Cherkaz'ianova, Irina. "Razvitie sistemy nemetskogo narodnogo obrazovaniia na territorii Odesskogo uchebnogo okruga v 1880-kh–1990-kh gg." *Naukovyĭ visnyk Mykolaïvs'kogo natsional'nogo universytetu imeni V.O. Sukhomlyns'kogo: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'*, no. 3.30, 2011, pp. 156–67.

Damkaer, David M. *The copepodologist's cabinet.* American Philosophical society, 2002.

Galias, Oleksandr. *Frantsuzy v Odesi.* Nash chas, 2012.

Ganchev, Alexander. "Bessarabian Bulgarians: Studying in Bulgaria, searching for identity." *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, vol. 24, no. 1, 2006, pp. 38–43.

Gette, Genriietta, and Georgiĭ Molotkov. "Luĭ Vinsen Tardan: pogliad z inshogo rakursu." *Chornomors'kyĭ litopys*, vol. 3, 2011, pp. 53–62.

--- "Mis'ki shveĭtsars'ki kolonii na Pivdni Rosiĭs'koï imperiï." *Chornomors'kyĭ litopys*, vol. 10, 2014, pp. 81–86.

Grebtsova, Irena, and Olena Syniavs'ka. "Rishel'ievs'kyĭ litseĭ iak poperednyk universytetu v Odesi." *Odes'kyĭ natsional'nyĭ universytet imeni I. I. Mechnykova. Istoriia ta suchasnist' (1865–2015)*, edited by Igor Koval, Odes'kyĭ natsional'nyĭ universytet imeni I. I. Mechnykova, 2015.

Herlihy, Patricia. "The Greek Community in Odessa, 1861–1917." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2, October 1989, pp. 235–52.

--- "Commerce and architecture in Odessa in late Imperial Russia." *Commerce in Russian urban culture, 1861–1914*, edited by William Craft Brumfield et al., Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001, pp. 180–94.

Herlihy, Patricia, and Nicholas V. Iljine, editors. *Odessa memories*. University of Washington Press, 2004.

Jelavich, Charles. *Tsarist Russia and Balkan Nationalism: Russian Influence in the Internal Affairs of Bulgaria and Serbia, 1879–1886.* University of California Press, 1958.

Johnson, Anthony P. *The original diva: the life and times of Catherine II the Great.* JAPSS Press, 2009.

Kabuzan, Vladimir. *Zaselenie Novorossii (Ekaterinoslavskoĭ i Khersonskoĭ guberniĭ) v XVIII – pervoĭ polovine XIX veka (1719–1858).* Nauka, 1976.

Konstantinova, Viktoriia. "'Natsional'ni istoriï' polietnichnykh mist pivdennoukraïns'kogo frontyru impers'kogo periody." *Misto: istoriia, kul'tura, suspil'stvo*, no. 1, 2016, pp. 207–18.

Levine, Louis. "Pan-slavism and European politics." *Political science quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 4, 1914, pp. 664–86.

Lieven, Dominic, editor. *Imperial Russia, 1689–1917*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Plesskaia-Zebol'd, Ėl'vira. *Odesskie nemtsy*, *1803–1920*. TĖS, 1999.

---. "Samoorganizatsiia nemtsev Prichernomorʹia: istoricheskiĭ aspect." *Istoriia nimtsiv Ukraïny*, 2017, pp. 25–32.

Ramer C., Samuel, and Blair Ruble A., editors. *Place, Identity, and Urban Culture: Odesa and New Orleans*. Kennan Institute Occasional Papers, 2008.

Ruble, Blair A. *Establishing a New Right to the Ukrainian City*. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2008.

Shabo. No author. Ministry of foreign affairs of Ukraine, 2016. https://mfa.gov.ua/mediafiles/sites/austria/files/SHABO_PRESENTATION-ENG_OK.pdf. Accessed 17 February 2018.

Sifneos, Evrydiki. *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities.* BRILL, 2017.

Stanko, Volodymyr, and Zaïra Pershyna, editors. *Istoriia Odesy*. Druk, 2002.

Tret'iak, Aleksandr "Letter sur Odessa" Sharlia Sikara." *Deribasovskaia-Rishel'evskaia*, no. 43, 2010, pp. 6–19.

---. *Rozhdenie goroda*. Optimum, 2012.

Turan, Omer. "The role of Russia and England in the rise of Greek nationalism and in Greek independence." *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, no. 10, 1999, pp. 243–91.

Ursu, Dmitriĭ. *Odessa v evropeĭskom i kulturnom prostranstve (XIX–XX vv.)*. Aprel', 2014.

Vasyl'chuk, Volodymyr. "Etapy rozselennia nimtsiv v Ukraïni." *Istoriia nimtsiv Ukraïny*, 2017, pp. 4–24.

Veryga, Vasyl'. *Narysy z istoriï Ukraïny (kinets' XVIII-pochatok XX st.)*. Svit, 1996.

Volkova, Iana. "Diaspora engagement policy: a new type of transnationalism." *Politychne zhyttia*, vol. 1–2, 2017, pp. 95–100.

THE NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION PROJECTS OF GREECE AND BULGARIA: THE ROLE OF ETHNIC BESSARABIAN DIASPORAS

Svetlana V. Koch

Abstract: The article is devoted to an analysis of the roles of the Bulgarian and Greek diasporas in Bessarabia in achievement of the national self-determination projects of Greece and Bulgaria. Based on historical and ethnographic materials, the paper demonstrates the conditions under which ethnocultural groups became the nucleus of national liberation movements in the 19th century. Emphasis is placed on the fact that successful rebellion in Greece in 1821–1832 and the war in Bulgaria in 1876–1877 became possible due to the active position of ethnic diasporas in Odessa and Bessarabia. Their activities proceeded in several directions: emergence of the idea of national revival; financial support for the national struggle by Maecenas from diasporas; and formation of people's militias that played the role of an advance detachment in national liberation wars.

The Black Sea Region is an area of stable transcultural interaction. Throughout history, tribes, ethnic groups, nation states, empires and complex integration systems have played an active role there. This area, together with the Balkans, may serve as an illustration for exploring the civilizational factors and ethnic influence on geopolitical processes in both the present and the past. This region may be taken as a model to investigate processes entailing the formation and interplay of ideas and sensibilities that determine the dynamic of cultural and political borders.

Besides forming the long-term memory of regional socio-cultural actors, the knowledge accumulated in the form of experience also determines the capacity of the information and value system channels in the region. The actual channels of exchanges in knowledge are the modes and methods for the regulation of behaviour, the mechanisms for the succession of cultural and household experience, the modes of socio-cultural adaptation under conditions of changes in political power, and commemorative practices by groups and states.

Herewith, the deep mechanisms of interaction between the parties to regional geopolitical relations always relied on the advantages accorded by the status of 'periphery'. Above all, this refers to the traditions of 'contact space', 'marginal space', 'space of intercultural communication', 'transit region', etc. These regions, which are always remote from centres, are precisely the most favourable for exchanges of human resources, goods, ideas and knowledge. The peripheries

frequently become spaces for the emergence of diasporas of cataclysm, as fluid political borders transform formerly coherent cultural areas into patchworks of separated local groups. Such groups experienced numerous nation-building models. As a result, they either lost their cultural specificity, or developed such forms of diasporic behaviour that allowed them to manipulate identities in line with the political environment.

This article presents an analysis of the influence of diasporas on the formation of national movements in Bulgaria and Greece. Emphasis is placed on forms of diasporic behaviour when the groups are able to act as guardians of the 'cultural matrix'. Also, ideas of reviving their cultures and states were formed within these groups. The exchange of knowledge became a vital aspect of the interaction between diasporas and nation states. It presumed the integration of the accumulated experience and resources in the diaspora during the formation of nation and state. The aim of this paper is to analyse the influence of the diasporas of Greeks and Bulgarians in Bessarabia on the processes of nation-building in Greece and Bulgaria. The subject of research is the transfer of knowledge, information, resources and ideas between the diasporas and nation-states at the stage when national self-determination were being achieved in Greece and Bulgaria.

The present article was written on the basis of extensive research that has been conducted by the author since 2000 during the annual ethnographic expeditions to the southern Ukraine in cooperation with the Department of Archaeology and Ethnology of Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University in Ukraine. The gathering of field and archival materials focused on the examination of the social and cultural processes in the cultural and political borderland. Research papers that described geopolitical (Koch 2012) and functional (Koch 2015) features of the region were published as a result. These works reveal the features of Bessarabia as a transit and contact region situated between several geopolitical centres. The research on social processes in the borderland continued within the research program "Social Transformations in Borderland: Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova" in 2013–2014. This program examined the conditions under which diasporas were compelled to adopt social practices that allowed them to lobby for their interests (Koch 2014a). A number of publications examined different aspects of the diasporas in southern Ukraine, such as: features of the linguistic environment (Koch 2008), analysis of adaptation strategies in compact settlement areas (Koch and Samaritaki 2005–2006) and in cities (Koch 2012c; Koch 2016a), features of behavioural strategies and identification practices of local ethnic diasporas (Koch 2011). These works focused on the regional practices of adaptation that are specific to local diasporas.

During the international research program "The Greeks of Ukraine: History and Culture" that was conducted in cooperation with Odessa branch of the Hellenic Foundation for Culture, the author conducted research into the compact settlements of Greeks in southern Ukraine and in urban communities of Greeks (Koch 2014b). This research was designed to analyse the features of local identity in a crisis situation (Koch 2012b). The identified features of the Greek and Bulgarian diasporas in southern Ukraine were the social practices of ethnic group presentation (Koch 2013), the ability to change identity as an adaptation tactic (Koch 2016b), and the ability to lobby for common interests (Koch 2014a). Thus, the research on Greek and Bulgarian diasporas, as agents of nation-building in their states, flows organically from previous works. The analysis of connections between the activities of diaspora communities and political events in Greece and Bulgaria between the 1820s and 1870s was conducted by the following researchers: Ivan Zabunov (Zabunov 1981), Boris Bilunov (Bilunov 1986), Lidiia Stepanova (Stepanova 1981), Iuriĭ Priakhin (Priakhin 1994, 130) et al. However, in most of these works, the ethnic groups were viewed as objects of state policies implemented by political centres.

The role played by ethnic diasporas during the revival periods of their nations led to the gradual development of an integrated network of transnational and national institutions. The grounding of diasporas on such system of connections allowed them to act as independent parties to political processes. This is why the present article is focused on research into the system of interactions between diasporas and nation states, with the supposition that the subjectivity of these diasporas preceded the appearance of their nation-states.

The loss of independent development by the Balkan nations in the 14th–15th centuries interrupted the natural development of their nations and introduced a number of variables to this process. The interruption of the nation-building process is usually connected to a change in vectors of national memory, together with the construction and "appending" of lost and broken informational links under circumstances characterized by the loss of independent development. The national revival processes that were activated in the Balkans in the 18th century, as well as the struggle for self-determination, required recovering the history of the oppressed nations and ensuring succession from preceding generations.

Reconstruction of the system of traditional connections seemed, on the one hand, appealing to the most archaic parts of social culture and, on the other hand, required the "reconstruction" of lost knowledge on the integrity of social and cultural systems (Koch and Prigarin 2013).

The revival of independence and statehood for both Greece and Bulgaria began with the actualization of ethnic culture and the formation of national self-identification of these nations within the largest diaspora that had grown in the North Black Sea Region in the 18th century. These ethnic groups acted as custodians of the full ethnocultural complex that provided a "return" to the beginning (religion, language, household priorities). Initially, the formation of Bulgarian and Greek diasporas coincided with the period of their national revival and made it possible to organize national liberation movements in their mother countries.

The Black Sea Region including Bessarabia is a political and cultural borderland. Until the 17th century, these territories were marked on medieval maps as '*Loca Deserta*' (empty space; see Koch 2015). A disputed territory that did not see any stable state borders after the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia, it became an arena for long-term conflicts between the major empires: the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*), the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire. The idea of a nation-state and its sovereignty within a national territory, as established by the Westphalian system, encouraged empires to expand. Competing political centres implemented geopolitical and cultural projects with regard to these disputed peripheral territories. They had to legalize their right to be present and rule there. The related ethnic groups that were able to satisfy the political interests of these geopolitical actors served as the objects of such a 'patronage' policy.

The wars of the 17th–19th centuries radically changed the ethnic and social structures of the North Black Sea Region. Although Bessarabia in this period was a territory ravaged by wars and had a thinly dispersed population, the weakness of the state made it a refuge for serfdom and absolutism, a destination of escape from the West (the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia), East and North (Russia, Poland, Austria). Christians from the Ottoman Empire (Greeks, Bulgarians, Gagauz), Germans, Swiss and Jews from the Duchy of Warsaw and South-west Germany readily moved there. At the end of the 18th century, Bessarabia in fact was divided into areas under Moldavian, Turkish and Nogai rule (Palamarchuk 2005, 6–9).

As a result of several Russo-Ottoman wars, these territories became part of the Russian Empire and the Orthodox world. After acquiring the North Black Sea region, Russia needed a loyal and culturally similar population that would be able to develop these virgin lands. Thus, state protectionism had the following aims: economic development of the territory, settlement of the borderland by groups that were loyal to the authorities and organization of a geopolitical corridor to the Balkans. After the formation of large cultural groups of Greeks, Bulgarians, Gagauz and Albanians, this region was often called a part of the 'Greater Balkans'.

The majority of the diasporic groups may be characterized as labour-mobilized diasporas, historically, and diasporas of 'cataclysm'. With regard to the Greeks and the Bulgarians, the specific aspects of their development in the Black Sea Region and dynamic of their social statuses allowed them to be represented in different roles: 1) as *indigenous people,* whose ethnogenesis was inextricably connected with the Black Sea Region, provided that ethnogenesis is understood as a long-term process of acquisition of ethnocultural patterns, rather than the fact of complete formation; 2) as an *ethnic group* (diaspora of 'cataclysm') that, as a result of socio-political processes – separation from a coherent ethnic territory by state borders – emerged within the frameworks of "other" states. An example of this is the fact of existence of 'Greater Bulgaria', which included Bessarabia, Dobrudja and Macedonia, or the 'Hellenic World', which comprised all lands that previously had been part of the political and cultural sphere of the Eastern Roman Empire; 3) as an *ethnic minority* that was formed as a result of agrarian colonization (labour migration) driven by economic factors, so that, as a consequence, the group's identity became closely linked to the colonized territories. This is possible if group formation is considered the result of the confessional and economic influence of the Ottoman Empire and Russia's protectionist policy; 4) as a *group of emigrants* who, in the course of repeated waves of migration, transformed into a *multi-genealogical diaspora* by assuming organizational forms from the individual communities and developing national-cultural and political institutions.

Russia's protectionist policy toward foreign colonists was set forth in a dozen of manifestos and resolutions. The beginning of this process was marked by the Manifesto of 1762 issued by Catherine II, *Vyzyvnoĭ Manifest Ekateriny II* (On inviting foreign immigration), and the Manifesto of 1763, *Manifest o daruemykh inostrannym pereselencam avantazhakh i privilegiiakh* (On Granting Privileges to Foreign Migrants; see Manifest ot 22 iiulia, 313–16). Henceforth, the state policy of protectionism was stipulated by the following documents: Resolution on Establishment of the Chancellery of Guardianship of Foreigners (1763); Regulations for "Invited" City Settlers, who were Greeks and Bulgarians by nationality, from the Archipelago and Other Foreign Places to Odessa (1795); Resolution on the Privileges of Settlers to the Novorossiia Gubernia from Turkey (1802); Resolution on Rules of Acceptance and Settlement of Foreign Colonists (1804); Regulations on the Government of the South-Russia Colonies (1818); Resolution on Settlement in the Bessarabian Region by Bulgarians and Other Migrants from Transdanubia (1819); Regulation on Restrictions on Further Migration of Foreigners to Russia (1819); Resolution on Supervision and Settlement of Bulgarian Migrants and Other 'One Faith Believers' to Russia (1830) (see Polnoe sobranie zakonov). The provisions of common law were herewith preserved for a long

time in order to implement internal regulation of ethnic communities (Dzherela 2013, n.p.).

Thus, after 1812, the idea of broad autonomy was propagated in the region. Through the Resolution of 23 July 1812, Alexander I declared that "residents from the Bessarabian region are vested with their laws", i.e. the right to broad self-government under the rule of Russian laws. So the colonists, to whom the group of Bulgarians and Greeks belonged, were a privileged sector of the Empire's population. The benefits granted to them led to an influx of migrants and assured their loyalty to the government.

The collective right to a social and cultural space, "positive" discrimination by the state, became one of the conditions for the preservation of an active ethnic identity in these groups. Apart from that, this was facilitated by: group adaptation (the majority of the agrarian settlers preserved the community structure), significant social and demographic resources and enclave resettlement.

In general, the creation of the Greek and Bulgarian diasporas had a pragmatic character. They perceived resettlement as "internal" migration within their "own" cultural area. Thus, both groups were connected to this territory historically. For the Greeks, these territories had been familiar since the seventh century BC (the period of Greek colonization of the North Black Sea Region). For Bulgarians, They were the territories of their early ethnogenesis in the seventh century AD (the history of Kubrat's Bulgaria and the First Bulgarian Empire are directly connected to the historical roots of this nation). Such a position made it possible, in course of formation of the national concept, to appeal to origins, to select the "high-demand" elements for the construction of a positive image of the nation, without which its "revival" seemed impossible.

Both groups had vast experience and historical connections in 'hosting culture'. The common religion and, connected to that fact, significant impact of Greeks and Bulgarians as representatives of the Church, education, literature (since the ninth century) and political doctrine of the 'third Rome' were fundamental to the high status of *Edinovertsy* (co-religionists) in Russia. From the perspective of perception of their own place in the history of the region, it is interesting to evaluate the contribution of Bulgarians to the development of the steppe territory of the Black Sea Region during the Kievan Rus' period that was represented in a letter written by the Bulgarian communities in Ukraine to the Ukrainian Minister of Education in 2010. The letter stated the following:

> We find it necessary […] to refer to you with the proposal […] to objectively highlight the role of the ancient Bulgarians in the formation of the Old Russian nation and the foundation of the Old Russian state called

the Kievan Khaganate, and then its successor – Kievan Rus' (Obrash-chenie 2012, n.p.; translation from the Russian by the author).

The process of national revival among the Bulgarians and Greeks definitely aligned with the national interests of Russia, which sought support from the *Edinovertsy* in the fight for the Balkans. In contrast to the 'Philhellenism' (the socio-cultural movement that appeared in Western Europe), in Russia, the ideological justification for 'patronage' became a significant part of its foreign policy. Russia, as the only state with a common religion, intended to gain international recognition of its right act as a patron to the Orthodox nations. The Russian policy of 'patronage' presumed that as '*inorodets*', literally meaning "of different nations", they obtained the status of 'colonists' as of 1819 and economic benefits (exemption from taxation, welfare assistance, land plots, etc.), as 'co-religionists', they acquired the same status as the 'majority' and thus ceased being the 'minority'. That allowed them to engage in trade, join the merchant class and purchase land. The Transdanubian colonists gained access to social mobility and right to promotion in the army and state bodies.

During the period of Phanariot rule (1711–1821) in Bessarabia, the Greeks were a socially privileged group of landowners and merchants. That was a period of romantic hopes in the revival of the Byzantine Empire in its previous form as a Christian Orthodox Kingdom or the formation of a 'New Byzantium', as reflected in the Hellenization of Church, education and law. Thus, the legislation on the Greek language had been preserved in Bessarabia until 1825 (see Grossmann 1904). It is a well-known fact that it was not difficult to obtain Russian allegiance, as noted by the English consul in Odessa in 1850 (Harlaftis 1996, 55). The representatives of a number of Phanariot families, who held official positions, were granted Russian *dvorianstvo* (nobility). Among them were such well-known families as Mavrocordat, Lascaris, Ypsilantis, Panagioti, Mourouzi, Mavrogeni, Soutzos, Karadzha, Khandzherlii, Cantacuzino, Callimachi and Marazli. However, the Greeks intended to preserve the 'dual allegiance' that was vital to international trade and became conducive to the organization of a network of secret societies.

The Greeks mostly settled in the cities. There were large communities in Odessa, Ismail, Kiliya and Akkerman. They included merchants who were involved in large financial operations, exporting and brokerage. In the urban population census in the beginning of the 19th century, they were counted as 'indigenous people'. In Odessa, Greek assets predominated until the elimination of 'Porto Franco' status in 1858. Odessa became the largest cultural centre of the 'Greek world'. There was a specially appointed 'Guardian' for the Greeks – Colonel Afanasii Kes-Oglu, who managed state funds in order to build and develop

the Holy Trinity Church. Apart from that, in 1805 Apollon Skal'kovskiĭ (1837) mentioned that the Odessa Greek Community presented to the Duc de Richelieu an act that stipulated the promise to contribute a sum of money from each unit of wheat that was sold abroad for two and half *kopeyks* (cents) to build the Greek Church (Ukaz ob usroenii, n.p.).

In 1795, according to data provided by Simon Bernshteĭn, Greeks accounted for approximately ten percent of the city's population (2,349 people) (Bernshteĭn 1881, 23). According to the materials accompanying the statement of the Ekaterinoslavsk military *gubernator*, Lt. General Nikolaĭ Berdiaev, submitted to the Emperor in April 1797, Greeks were over 15 percent of the city's population (Priakhin 1994, 130).

The specific feature of this diaspora was its economic sustainability. During the period of the 'Porto Franco' regime, Odessa was a convenient offshore centre where the largest Phanariot families accumulated their assets. Thus, the Greeks of Odessa were recognized as the "fathers" of the economic miracle, when in five years the ten year-old city ranked fourth in wealth in the Empire, after Moscow, St. Petersburg and Warsaw.

In order to ensure the safety of trade transactions, the Greeks founded two insurance companies in the city: the Greek-Russian Insurance Company, managed by Ioannis Destunis and Theodore Serafinos, and the Company of Greek-Insurers, founded by Ioannis Amvrosios and Ilias Manesis. There were several dozen influential entrepreneurs in this ethnic group. In the first third of the 19th century, the most significant trade transactions were conducted by Alexandros Mavros, Dimitrios Inglesis, Vasilios Yannopoulos, Ilias Manesis, Alexandros Koumbares, Chiriacos Papachatzis, Ioannis Amvrosios, Dimitrios Palaiologos, Gregorios Marazli and Theodore Serahpinos. By the end of the second decade, their total assets were ten million roubles, so that they were considered the wealthiest merchants in the Russian Empire (Morozan 2009, 45–53). The companies owned by Theodoros Rodoconachi, Stephanos Ralli and Konstantinos Papudov handled one fifth part of all foreign transactions in the city between 1833 and 1860 (Kardasis 2001, 155–59).

Economic influence gave the Greeks significant lobbying power before state bodies; they formed a cultural group inside the city community that "voted with money" for the development of their own culture and the revival of their lost state. The affluent settlers donated their funds to the construction of schools and hospitals, churches and residential houses in Odessa, book publishing, and the establishment of libraries and museums. In the 19th century, Greeks served as the mayors of Odessa six times (for a total of 33 years): Ioan Kafedzhi (in 1800–

1803); Ioannis Amvrosios (in 1806–1809 and again in 1821–1824); Dimitrios Inglesis (in 1818–1821); Konstantinos Papudov (in 1842–1845); and Gregorios Marazli (in 1878–1896). For the wealthy Greek families from former Byzantium, the revival of Byzantium in the lands of Wallachia, Moldova and Bessarabia was a strategic mission that successfully aligned with the 'Greek project' of Catherine II (Markova 1958, 52–78). That is why organization of the Greek revolution in general was conducted at the initiative of reputable Greek families that held official positions in various states of Europe and Russia (Dimitrios Inglesis, Ioannis Kapodistrias, Gregorios Marazli, Ioannis Gorgolis, Alexander Ypsilantis, etc.) (Arsh 1959, 142).

The second aspect of the Greek diaspora was the widespread resettlement of farmers. Agrarian colonization took place during the period 1775–1812. 47 Greek colonies had appeared in a period of just eight years, from 1801 to 1809. Seven of them were Greek-Bulgarian (Kalmakan 2002, 15). Such settlements with a "binary identity" are present in the Odessa region to this day. Preservation of the dual culture was dictated by the ethno-political events of the mid-20th century, when manipulating the "choice" of accessible identities inside families eased socio-political restrictions with regard to "troubled" nations (Koch and Samaritaki 2005–2006).

The Bulgarian colonization of Bessarabia had a mostly agricultural character. It took effect after the Russo-Ottoman Wars of 1806–1812 and 1828–1829. Between 60 and 80 thousand Bulgarians were living in Bessarabia by 1825. 57 Bulgarian colonies were integrated into four districts (Bernshteĭn 1952, 5–20). These districts were incorporated in the Bessarabian Office of Foreign Settlers of the Guardianship Committee (Popechitel'nyĭ Komitet, n.p.). Founded in 1818, this was the first state institution of Transdanubian colonists (Fedorov 1974, 69–73). In the official documents of this period, these lands were called 'New Bulgaria' or '*Malka* (Little) Bulgaria', which had its own cultural capital, Bolgrad (*Tabaki*), the centre of Bessarabian Bulgarian settlement.

The economic specialization of the settlers allowed them to secure for their group the "right to be present", the collective right to social space, which has been reflected in regional iconography and the group's commemorative practices. This, together with collective activity in the state social sphere, transformed the group into an active participant in regional policy. The result of the first collective 'Request of the Bulgarians' was the appointment of Ivan Inzov to the post of chairman of the Guardianship Committee for Foreign Settlers in South Russia (Popechitel'nyĭ Komitet, n.p.).

By the beginning of the 19th century, the Greeks and the Bulgarians formed a multifurcated system of meaningful spaces: churches, cemeteries, memorials, etc. Despite the fact that they had a common religion, each group had its "own" sacred centre. The Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church, founded in Odessa in 1795, was recognized as the centre of the Greek group. Consecrations of the Hetoerists were conducted in front of the chancel of this church. The sacred centre of the Bessarabian Bulgarians was the Transfiguration Cathedral in Bolgrad. The day of its consecration, 29 October 1838, became the Day of the Bessarabian Bulgarians.

Thus, both groups created the conditions for the preservation of ethnocultural communication systems by establishing Greek and Bulgarian theatres, printing shops, educational centres for diaspora children and hospitals. In fact, the Greek theatre became the first theatre in the 'Greek world' that was opened after the loss of independence (Pro dramaturgiiu 2009, 51–52).

The full cycle of education from preschool to secondary school (gymnasium) was provided in the diaspora communities. Among the Greek citizens, the literacy rate reached 70 percent and was one of the highest in the region. For example, 23 educational institutions with Greek as the language of education functioned in Odessa. The 'Greek Commercial School', which applied innovative educational methods, was opened with funding provided by Greek Maecenas in 1816. That was part of the project to create the Modern Greek School (Kumas 2009, 46–47).

The similar situation prevailed among the Bulgarian settlers. The new Bulgarian Gymnasium (now named after Georgi Rakovski) was opened in Bolgrad in 1858; the first Bulgarian theatre and printing shop were founded in this Gymnasium. The education of children was financed by philanthropic organizations and state scholarships. With regard to Bulgarians, the 'patronage' policy included broad educational and social support. In the political circles of Russia, projects of massive support to Bulgarians (to the extent that the Russian ambassador in Constantinople, Nikolaĭ Ignat'ev, even proposed resettling all Bulgarians to Russia) were repeatedly discussed during the crucial years of the war with the Ottoman Empire (Khevrolina 2006, 99–119).

In the early 1860s, a significant number of Bulgarian youth was enrolled at educational institutions in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Since 1869, the Asian Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs annually allocated 5,000 roubles for scholarships for Bulgarian students and transferred significant amounts for the maintenance of educational institutions on the Slavic outskirts of the Ottoman Empire (in 1862–1864, 45,000 roubles were allocated for these purposes)

(Bilunov 1986, 8). In 1862, the boarding school for Balkan Slavs, headed by Te-odor Minkov (a Bulgarian pedagogue and enlightener), was established in Niko-laev (Mykolaïv). Between 1867 and 1892, the South Slavic Boarding School functioned as a private educational institution in which over 800 people – natives of the Ottoman Empire's South Slavic provinces – were educated (Stepanova 1981, 186). Minkov felt obliged to provide an education that would foster the revival of the Bulgarian nationality. During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878, the South Slavic Boarding School became a meeting place for volunteers who intended to serve on the Balkan front. Minkov acted as a coordinator for this movement (Bondarenko n.d.). Known students in the schools in southern Russia included Hristo Botev, Naĭden Gerov, Dobri Chintulov, Semen Vankov, Georgi Stamatov, Panaĭot Volov, Ekaterina Karavelova, Aleksandar Malinov, etc. Con-sequently, the activities of Nikolaĭ Palauzov, Spiridon Palauzov, Vasil Aprilov, Naĭden Gerov and Teodor Minkov became the basis for the formation of secular Bulgarian education and the modern Bulgarian school.

However, the Bulgarian group of South Russia, unlike the Greeks, had no lob-bying power in state administrative bodies. That was, however, compensated by the creation of a number of ethnocultural and philanthropic organizations that assisted in fundraising for refugees, supporting schools and churches, publishing Bulgarian literature, sending weapons to and preparing volunteers for the Balkan front.

In Odessa the first Bulgarian organization that officially propagated a program on the fight for the revival of the Bulgarian nation was the 'Nastojatel'stvo odesskikh bolgar, sobirajushchikh pozhertvovanie po imperii dlia bednykh bol-garskikh pravoslavnikh tserkveĭ i uchilishch' (Bulgarian board of trustees of Odessa for raising contributions in the empire for poor Bulgarian Orthodox churches and colleges) acted in 1854–1899 under the leadership of Nikolaĭ Pa-lauzov (Grebtsova 1999, 162–64). Twelve schools, following the example of the first secular school in Gabrovo founded by Nikolaĭ Palauzov and Vasil Aprilov, were established with the help of funds raised by the 'Board of Trustees'. By 1845, 53 Bulgarian popular schools had already been established. The Commis-sion charged with the production of clothing for impoverished Bulgarians, which operated through the Embassy in Constantinople, worked under the aegis of the 'Board of Trustees'.

The following institutions also functioned: the Holy Cross Community of the Sisters of Charity as a department of the Red Cross Administration in Odessa in 1868 (where the volunteers for the Balkan front were trained); the Odessa Cyril and Methodius Slavic Philanthropic Society in 1870 (Rostislav Fadeev was rec-ognized as the person who developed the idea of involving Bulgarian volunteers

in military action); the Bulgarian Philanthropic Society in Chisinau in 1876; and the Philanthropic Committees in Bessarabia in 1876–1878. The Greek Philanthropic Society was only founded in 1871.

The development of a new intelligentsia in the diaspora proceeded along with an awareness about the future of state government. The favourable circumstance of being in Russia to engage in national and patriotic activity led to the formation of the basis for national-liberation movements by Greek and Bulgarian communities (Arsh 1969, 94).

As a result of resettlement to the territories of Bessarabia and Tauri, the active part of the Bulgarian and Greek national elite was given the opportunity to reconsider their national strategies and plans. These plans coincided with the geopolitical interests of Russia in the Balkans. The successful Greek Revolution in 1821–1832 and the Liberation War in Bulgaria in 1876–1877 became possible due to the focused actions of ethnic diasporas and mobilization of their resources in southern Russia – in Odessa and Bessarabia.

The organization of the Greek revolution was conducted at the initiative of the Greek noble families who had nurtured this idea for several centuries. Historical memory was an important component of Greek self-identification and it preserved Greek national identity during the period under Ottoman rule (1453–1821). Phanariot Greeks served in various states in Europe and intended to use their influence for the restoration of their Motherland's independence. These families in Russia included the Kapodistrias, Gorgolis, Marazli, Ypsilantis, etc.

However, ideas about the form which the revival should assume differed. Aristocratic Phanariot families of the former Byzantine Empire had devised a plan for the gradual overthrow of the Ottomans and the revival of Byzantium as a multi-national Christian Empire in its former borders. Such an idea was rejected by the ideologists of the Bulgarian revival, who advocated for the creation of an independent Bulgarian nation-state and cultivated the idea of establishing a national church. Another part of the Greek elite absorbed the ideas of the French Revolution and saw the revived Greece as a nation-state. Such a vision of development for Greece also became relevant because of the rapid progress toward national self-determination among the Balkan nations.

That became a reason for the emergence of a network of organizations throughout Europe that promoted national self-determination. The majority had been established on the principle of Masonic lodges: the Love for the Nation (Ionian Islands), Benefaction and Love of the People (London), Eteria Rigas (Vienna), Athens (Moscow), Hellenophone ('Greek-speaking') Hotel (Paris), Phoenix Lodge (Ionian Islands), etc.

If Filomousos Eteria in Vienna acted as the 'legitimate payment office' for the needs of the revolution and the Ovidius Lodge in Chisinau worked on the Constitution of the Republic of Greece, the Filiki Eteria Lodge established in Odessa had to form the revolutionary army. The founders of the Odessa lodge (its public representatives) were Nikolaĭ Skufas, Emmanuil Xanthos and Afanasiĭ Zakalov, who had immigrated to Odessa and conducted their business among the Greek communities in the cities of the Russian Black Sea Region since 1814. The members of this society were almost all business leaders and merchants in Odessa (Muzeĭ 2009, 45).

The Eteria encouraged its members with the ideals of the French Revolution, and moulded their worldview under the influence of Enlightenment ideas. The Orthodox Byzantine identity was moved to the background. That became one of the reasons why, at the beginning of 1818, Filiki Eteria received support from neither Ioannis Kapodistrias (Chancellor of the Septinsular Republic and Foreign Minister of Russia from 1808), nor from the Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory V.

The society was not numerous, but it had followers among the Greek communities in the cities of the Russian Black Sea Region. The majority of the society's members were merchants, politicians and military men. The fewest among its representatives consisted of farmers. The *Eforia* (specific administrative institution) of the Filiki Eteria guided the activity of other *Eforias* in the organization of securing of reinforcements and equipment to Alexander Ypsilantis' army and to Greece.

Apart from financial support for warfare, the Greek diaspora became a source for the creation of a militia (volunteer troops) that was led by Ypsilantis (who was an heir to the renowned Phanariot family that ruled Moldova and Wallachia until 1806). The rebellion, launched in Bessarabian February 1821, became the signal for the national liberation of Greece that began on 25 March. This day is celebrated as Independence Day in modern Greece. Noteworthy is that the rebellion began after the Ottomans executed the Patriarch of Constantinople's Orthodox Church in Istanbul, whose body was delivered to Odessa; for 50 years, from 1821 to 1871, Gregory's body was kept in the Holy Trinity Church in Odessa. Odessa thus gained the status of 'cradle of Greek independence'.

The rebellion was crushed, but it served as the beginning to a nine-year struggle, which resulted in the birth of a nation-state. In January 1822, the Constitution of the Revolution, known as the 'Provisional Regime of Greece', was adopted by the First National Assembly of Epidaurus. Alexander Mavrocordatos was elected as President of the Executive. He was a representative of one of the most powerful

Phanariot families of Wallachia. In March 1827, the National Assembly elected Ioannis Kapodistrias as Governor of the Greek Hellenic State for the next seven years. On 24 April 1830, Greek independence was declared.

The Odessa Greek Philanthropic Society, founded on the model of the Filiki Eteria, functioned in Odessa during this entire arduous period of the struggle for independence from 1821 to 1832. It legally aided refugees and participants in the rebellion.

For the Bulgarians, the idea of the statehood creation coincided with the formation of their national ideology, church and self-identification. Russia's interest in the Balkans became a catalyst for this process, although the revival of the Bulgarians during the initial stages was closely linked to the revolutionary rise of the Greeks. On the one hand, a significant portion of Greek '*buditelia*' (national revival activists) was closely connected to the Phanariots and Eterias, and saw the Bulgarian revival as an integral part of the revival of the Balkan nations: Sofroniĭ Vrachanski, Spiridon Palauzov. On the other hand, a portion of the Bulgarian intelligentsia opposed Greek domination in culture and religion and advocated for the autonomy of the Bulgarian church and education. These ideas were developed by the following leaders: Paìsiĭ Hilendàrski, Petar Beron, Neofit Rilski, Iuriĭ Venelin, Vasil Aprilov and Naĭden Gerov.

Thus, the national-liberation movement of the Bulgarians from the 1820s through the 1850s was focused on education and the formation of Bulgarian national self-determination. In 1839, after the promulgation of the Sultan's edict on the equality of Ottoman subjects, Bulgarians were granted the right to claim for the replacement of Greek Episcopalians with Bulgarians. The establishment of the independent Bulgarian church, i.e. the foundation the Bulgarian Exarchate, free from Phanariot control, became a political focus for the organization of the Bulgarian nation. The development of the Bulgarian nationalist ideology turned out to be closely connected not only to ideas of liberation from the Ottoman Empire, but also to the desire to create the Bulgarian national church. The Ottoman government intended to use the Greek-Bulgarian conflict to weaken the centrifugal movements in the Empire. The official policy of the Russian Empire in this field was controversial. On the one hand, the government tried to restrain the Bulgarians from "needless" demands to avoid souring relations with the Greeks. On the other hand, the separation of a part of the congregation from the Patriarchate of Constantinople suited the Russian Empire (Zabunov 1981, 148). Fearing the strength of the Uniates in Bulgaria, the Russian ambassador in Constantinople, General Nikolaĭ Ignat'ev, supported the Bulgarians and requested a positive decision on the Bulgarian church issue from the Ottoman Porte. Until the end of

the 1860s, the Patriarchate of Constantinople in fact lost any genuine authority in the Bulgarian lands.

As in Greece, the national-liberation movement in Bulgaria began with the foundation of the secret societies, *zaveras*. The most popular society was Velchova Zavera in Tŭrnovo, which directed its activities against the Turks beginning in 1833–1835.

In the 1860s–70s, the national-liberation movement of Bulgarians assumed an organised revolutionary form. The completion of the Chetnik period in the national-liberation movement was associated with the name of Georgi Rakovski. Parallel to the activities of the group around Rakovski, who headed the 'People's Committee' in 1866, the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee was established. These organizations drafted the first program documents. Vasil Levski established the Internal Revolutionary Organisation and Provisional Government in Bulgaria only in 1869. The fundraising, preparation of materials and demographic basis for the rebellion and the activities of secret societies were closely linked to Bessarabia and Odessa. The life paths of the famous activists of the Bulgarian revival were intimately tied to the region; noteworthy among them were: Nikolaĭ Palauzov, Vasil Aprilov, Raĭko Zhinzifov, Hristo Botev, Ivan Vasov, Liuben Karavelov, Georgi Rakovski, etc.

The suppression of rebellion in June 1876 provoked an international reaction and became the basis for the political recognition of the right of the Bulgarian nation to independence, which became possible only after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878. The Bulgarians were active participants in military campaigns. A number of officers of Bulgarian nationality who were trained in Russia served in the Russian army, among them: Colonel Konstantin Kesiakov, Captain Rumen Nikolov, Lieutenant Dimitr Filov, Avram Gudzhev, Pencho Shyvarov, Danail Nikolaev, etc. Bulgarian physicians who had been professionally trained in Russia also participated in the rebellion: Konstantin Bonev, Aleksander Bogdanov, Iakov Petkov, Ivan Panov, Konstantin Viazankov and Savva Mirkov. During the military campaigns of 1877–1878, many of them led the rebellion.

In general, the armed military units formed on an ethnic basis in southern Russia and Bessarabia during the turn of the 18th into the 19th century, including the preparation of military and political personnel with the prospect of deploying them to the Balkans, consisted of: the Sparta Legion led by Stefan Mavromichali, formed on the Peloponnese in 1770 (Arsh 2004, 435), it became a part of the Greek infantry in 1779 that participated in defending the Black Sea coast (as of 1787 the Greek Battalion of Balaklava); in 1795, the Odessa Greek Division was formed from the fleet of Lambros Katsonis. The first commander of the Division

was Major Constantinos Bitsyli (Teokharidi 1930, 11–16). The following forms
of militia had significance: the Greek Sacred Band led by Ypsilantis in 1821; the
Bulgarian militia led by Ivan Liprandi in 1829; Bulgarian volunteers in 1853–
1856; the Bulgarian Legions led by Georgi Rakovski in 1861–1862 and 1867–
1868; Chetnik Detachments led by Stefan Karadzha, Hadzhi Dimitar and Hristo
Botev in 1867–1868; and the Honourable Dismounted Convey/Bulgarian Militia
in 1877–1878. The military skills and experience acquired by such organized
Bessarabian militia units made it possible for them to become the basis for na-
tional armies after independence was gained. For example, the reorganized Sa-
cred Band of Ypsilantis became a regular military unit in the new Greek army,
just as the Bulgarian Militia of 1877–1878 became the basis for the regular army
of the independent state of Bulgaria.

The modern memorial policy of Bulgaria and Greece with regard to Bessara-
bia and the North Black Sea Region has been directed at maintaining the memory
of the significant role this territory has played in national history. The diasporas
of these ethnic groups in Ukraine preserve and retransmit the memory of partici-
pation in the process of securing the independence of their states, as shown by a
number of new memorial complexes in Ukraine devoted to this period of history,
e.g. the Filiki Eteria Museum in Odessa, monuments to the Greeks Maecenas in
Odessa, the monument to the Bulgarian militia in Bolgrad that includes 225
names inscribed on the memorial stone, commemorative plaques to Hristo Botev,
Ivan Vazov, Vasil Aprilov, etc.

Modern processes demonstrate the cultural significance of these diasporas to
the modern Republics of Bulgaria and Greece. Thus, for example, Bulgaria dy-
namically transformed its national doctrine to include all Bulgarians who live
abroad, initiating the right of Bulgarians from foreign countries to participate in
the state's political life. Greece encourages its citizens to make charitable contri-
butions in the Black Sea Region (to contribute to Hellenic development and the
implementation of Hellenic values).

The important thing is that the ethnic diasporas of Bulgarians and Greeks in
Bessarabia and Odessa continue to be recognized by the metropoles in periods of
crisis as "ethnic nests", where the nation's culture can find its impetus for the
next stage of development.

The analysis of the influence of the diasporas of Greeks and Bulgarians of
Bessarabia on nation-building processes in Greece and Bulgaria allowed for the
presentation of several key aspects. Firstly, in both cases, the diasporas of these
ethnic groups had been created prior to the nation-states. In particular, the nation-
states became places for the formation of the ideology of national rebirth by using

historic and ethnographic arguments for this purpose. Secondly, the diasporas presented an opportunity for the intellectual elite to rely on their resources (demographic and financial). During the period of preparation of the national-liberation rebellions, the diasporas became a place for the preparation of human resources required by the nascent states, especially lawyers, scientists, military men and civil servants. Thirdly, diasporas became a place for the creation of a network of kindred solidarity, upon which business and trade had relied. This afforded the diasporic structures, through which the liberation movement was financed, with relative financial independence.

The ability of the diasporas to accumulate resources (intellectual, financial, demographic, diplomatic) and direct them to support the realization of the idea of national self-determination testifies to the social and political capacity of these groups. This fact allows for the assertion that the diasporas of Greeks and Bulgarians of Bessarabia, acting as parties to political developments, should be deemed a part of the integrated national systems of their states, within which unified mechanisms of the exchange of knowledge, sensibilities and resources functioned.

Works Cited

Arsh, Grigoriĭ. "Grecheskaia ėmigratsiia v Russia v kontse XVIII–nachale XIX v." *Sovetskaia ėtnografiia*, no. 3. 1969, pp. 85–95.

--- *Eteristskoe dvizhenie v Rossia.* Nauka, 1970.

--- "Greece: Torgovlia. Prosveshchenie. Voĭna 1768–1774. Vosstanie v Moree." *Istoriia Balkan: Vek vosemnadtsatyĭ*, edited by Vladlen N. Vinogradov, Nauka, 2004, pp. 422–44.

Bernshteĭn, Simon. *Istoricheskiĭ i torgovo-ėkonomicheskiĭ ocherk Odessy.* L. Nitche, 1881.

--- "Bolgarskie govory iuzhnogo Budzhaka." *Stat'i i materialy po bolgarskoĭ dialektologii*, vol. 2, 1952, pp. 5–20.

Bilunov, Boris. *Bolgaro-rossiĭskie obshchestvenno-politicheskie sviazi, 50–70-e gg. XIX v.* Shtiintsa, 1986.

Bondarenko, Viacheslav, and Ekaterina Chestnova. "Za mnoĭ ostaetsia tol'ko trud…": zhizn' i sud'ba velikogo slavianskogo pedagoga Todora Minkova (1830–1906). *Al'manakh VIA EVRASIA*, n.d. http://www.viaevrasia.com/ru/za-mnoĭ-ostaetsia-tolʹko-trud-zhiznʹ-i-sud'ba-velikogo-slavianskogo-pedagoga-todora-minkova-1830-1906-viacheslav-bondarenko-katerina-chestnova.html. Accessed 29 November 2017.

Fedorov, Grigoriĭ. *Gosudarstvenno-administrativnoe ustroĭstvo i mestnoe pravo Bessarabii (1812–1917).* Ministerstvo nar. obrazovaniia Moldavskoĭ SSR, 1974.

Grebtsova, Irena. "Bulgarian nastoiatel'stvo v sisteme natsional'nykh blagotvoritel'nykh obshchestv Odessa 2-ĭ poloviny 19 v.: sravnitel'naia kharakteristika istochnikovoĭ bazy." *Ukraïna i Bolgariia: vikhi istorichnoï druzhbi*, edited by Vladimir N. Stanko, Druk, 1999, pp. 161–68.

Grossmann, S. M., editor. *Mestnye zakony Bessarabii: Polnyĭ sistematicheskiĭ sbornik mestnykh bessarabskikh zakonov Armenopula, Donicha, Sobornoĭ Gramoty Mavrokordato i ruchnoĭ knigi o brakakh, s pozdneĭshimi uzakoneniiami i raz"iasneniiami.* Rozen (Landau), 1904.

Harlaftis, Gelina. *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping. The Making of an international Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day.* Routledge, 1996.

Kalmakan, Nikolaĭ. *Malobuialykskie greki. 200 let na Odesshchine. Vvedenie v istoriiu, imennye spiski po dannym metricheskikh knig Ioanno-Predtechenskoĭ tserkvi za 1814–1833 gg., 1881–1917 gg.* Rumeliĭskoe natsional'no-kul'turnoe obshchestvo "Malyĭ Buialyk", 2002.

Kardasis, Vassilis. *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea. The Greeks in Southern Russia, 1775–1861.* Lexington Books, 2001.

Khevrolina, Viktoriia. "Russian diplomat graf N.P. Ignat'ev: lichnost', programm, taktika." *Trudy instituta Russian istorii*, no. 6, 2006, pp. 99–119.

Koch, Svetlana. "Dinamika etnomovnoï situatsiï na teritoriï Pivdnia Besarabiï v 18–20 st." *Evropeĭs'ka Khartiia regional'nikh mov menshin: perspektivi realizatsiï v Ukraïni*, edited by Iaroslava Reznikova, Drukars'kiĭ Dim, 2008, pp. 145–57.

--- "Sotsial'no-ėkonomicheskie modeli adaptatsii ėtnicheskikh grupp (na primere "starykh" i "novykh" diaspor iugo-zapadnogo regiona Ukraine)." *Preduprezhdenie nasil'stvennikh konfliktov v mul'tikul'turnykh soobshchestvakh i formirovanie kul'tury mira: Sb. nauchn. trudov*, edited by Margarita A. Aradzhioni, CHP "Zoloti Vorota", 2011, pp. 61–71.

--- "Diaspory Iuga Ukraine v sisteme regional'nykh geopoliticheskikh otnosheniĭ." *Naukoviĭ visnik mizhnarodnogo gumanitarnogo universitetu. Seriia: Istoriia, Filosofiia. Politologiia. Zbirnik naukovikh prats'*, vol. 4, 2012a, pp. 139–48.

--- "Lokal'naia identichnost' v krizisnoĭ situatsii (na materialakh istorii grecheskoĭ diaspory Ukraine)." *Chelovek v istorii i kul'ture. Memorial'nyĭ sbornik materialov i issledovaniĭ v pamiat' laureata gosudarstvennoĭ premii*

Ukraine akademika RAEN, professora Vladimir N. Stanko, edited by Aleksandr A. Progarin, Druk, 2012b, pp. 374–83.

--- "Metodologicheskie problemy ėtnograficheskikh issledovniĭ v gorode: na primere izucheniia grekov Izmaila." *Ėtnografiia Kryma XIX–XXI vv. i sovremennye ėtnokul'turnye protsessy: materialy i issledovaniia*, vol. 2, edited by Margarita A. Aradzhioni and Iuriĭ N. Laptev, VAT Simferopol'ska Mis'ka Drukartnia, 2012c, pp. 76–87.

--- "Mekhanizm sotsial'noĭ prezentatsii diaspor: ėtnicheskie lobbi i gruppy davleniia (na primere Odesskoĭ oblasti)." *Postfaktum: istoriko-antropologichni studiĭ. Ėtnichne, sotsial'ne, politichne: perekhrestia prostoriv*, no. 3, 2013, pp. 31–46.

--- "Ėtnicheskoe lobbirovanie kak sotsial'naia praktika v pogranich'e (na materialakh issledovaniia Bessarabii)." *Perekrëstki. Zhurnal issledovaniĭ vostochnoevropeĭskogo Pogranich'ia*, no. 1–2, 2014a, pp. 46–65.

--- "Greeks. Budzhak: istoriko-ėtnograficheskie ocherki narodov iugo-zapadnykh raĭonov Odesshchiny." *PostScriptUm*, edited by Anton I. Kisse et al., SMIL, 2014b, pp. 329–88.

--- "Sub"ektno-ob"ektnye otnosheniia v protsesakh strukturirovaniia pogranich'ia (na materialakh issledovaniia Bessarabii)." *Perekrëstki. Zhurnal issledovaniĭ vostochnoevropeĭskogo Pogranich'ia*, no. 1, 2015, pp. 11–32.

--- "Bulgarian etnokul'turna grupa Odesi: dosvid sotsiokul'turnoï adaptatsiï." *Drinovs'kiĭ zbirnik*, vol. 9, 2016a, pp. 128–35.

--- "Strategies of Identitfication of the Bulgarians in Ukraine." *Bulgarian etnologiia*, vol. XLII/2016, no. 4, 2016b, pp. 520–37.

Koch, Svetlana, and Aleksandr Prigarin. "Material'noe voploshchenie ėtnicheskogo i problema dvizheniia traditsii." *Tvorchestvo v arkheologicheskom i ėtnograficheskom izmerenii: sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, edited by Mikhail A. Korusenko et al., Omsk Izdatel'skiĭ dom 'Nauka', 2013, pp. 89–94.

Koch, Svetlana, and Elena Samaritaki. "Ėkspeditsionnye issledovaniia v byvshikh "greko-bolgarskikh" koloniiakh Iug-zapadnoĭ Ukraine: predvaritel'naia publikatsiia." *Odes'ka bolgaristika. Naukoviĭ shchorichnik*, no. 3–4, 2005–2006, pp. 49–53.

Kumas, Konstatinos. "Miĭ druzhe, K. Ikonomu! (Perepiska direktora grecheskoĭ shkoly v g. Smirna)." *Muzeĭ "Filiki Eteriia" (Odessa). Istorichni narisi.*

Katalog, edited by G. Tolias, Hellenic Foundation for Culture in Odessa, 2009, pp. 46–51.

Lebedenko, Aleksandr, et al., editors. *Dzherela istoriï Pivdennoï Bessarabiï (z davnikh chasiv do kintsia XIX st.)*. RVV IDGU, 2013.

Manifest ot 22 iiulia 1763 g. "O dozvolenii vsem inostrantsam, v Russia v"ezzhaiushchim, poseliat'sia v kotorykh Guberniiakh oni pozhelaiut i o darovannykh im pravakh." *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Russian imperii s 1649 g*, vol. XVI, 1830.

Markova, Ol'ga. "O proiskhozhdenii tak nazyvaemogo grecheskogo proekta (80-e gg. XVIII v.)." *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 4, 1958, pp. 52–78.

Morozan, Vladimir. "Kupecheskaia dinastiia Rallli v Rossii." *Visnik Odes'kogo istoriko-kraèznavchogo muzeiu*, vol. 7, 2009, pp. 45–53.

Muzeĭ "Filiki Eteriia" (Odessa). *Istorichni narisi. Katalog*, edited by G. Tolias, Hellenic Foundation for Culture in Odessa, 2009.

Obrashchenie k Ministru obrazovaniia i nauki, molodezhi i sporta Ukraine Tabachniku D.V. 2012. *Vestnik Kambana. Izdanie na Druzhestvo na bessarabskite bol"gare "Sv. sv. Kilil i Metodiĭ"*, no. 4, http://bessarabbolgar.narod.ru/kambana4-12.html. Accessed 29 November 2017.

Palamarchuk, Svitlana. *Teritorial'ni strukturi Dunaĭ-Dnistrovs'kogo mezhirichchia (kinets' XIV–seredina XVII st.)*. 2005. Odessa I. I. Mechnikov University, PhD thesis.

Polnoe sobranie zakonov Russian Empire s 1649 g. Vol. XVI. Tipografiia Vtorogo otdeleniia Sobstvennoĭ Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva kantseliarii, 1830.

Popechitel'nyĭ Komitet ob inostrannykh poselentsakh Iuzhnogo kraia Rossia, 1799–1876. *Annotirovannaia opis' del 1818–1826 gg*. Vol. 2. TES, 1999.

Priakhin, Iuriĭ. "Greek voinskie formirovaniia v istorii Odessa: prichiny sozdaniia, struktura, reshaemye zadachi." *Odesi – 200. Materialy mizhnarodnoï naukovo-teoretychnoï konferentsii, 6–8 veresnia 1994 roku*, edited by Vladimir P. Vashchenko, Odes'ke tovarystvo kraieznavtsiv, 1994, pp. 129–31.

Pro dramatrugiiu v Odesse (iz entsiklopedichnoï khroniki, opublikovanoï panom Millinom u Parizhi). Lipen', 1818. *Muzeĭ "Filiki Eteriia" (Odessa). Istorichni narisi. Katalog*, edited by G. Tolias, Hellenic Foundation for Culture in Odessa. 2009, pp. 51–52.

Skal'kovskiĭ, Apollon. *Pervoe tridtsatiletie goroda Odessa. 1793–1823*. Odessa Horodskaia tipohrafiia, 1837.

Stepanova, Lidiia. *Vklad Rossia v podgotovku bolgarskoĭ intelligentsii v 50–70-e gg. XIX v*. Shtiintsa, 1981.

Teokharidi, Teokhariĭ. "Grets'ka Viĭs'kova kolonizatsiia na Pivdni Ukraine naprikintsi XVIII ta pochatku XIX st.: (poselennia poblizu m. Odessa)." *Visnik Odessa Komisiï kraeznavstva pri UA*, vol. 4–5, no. 1, 1930.

Ukaz Ob ustroenii seleniia edinovernykh narodov v gorode Odessa i okrestnostiakh onogo. *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossian imperii*, sobr. I, vol. XXXIII, no. 17320, dd. 19.04.1795, 1830, pp. 686–88.

Zabunov, Ivan. *Bulgarians Iuga Rossia i natsional'noe bulgarian vozrozhdenie v 50–70-e gg. XX v*. Shtiintsa, 1981.

IV. Institutionalizing Exchange

Academic Studies of the Black Sea Region and the Northwest Caucasus
(Second Half of the 18th to the Early 19th Century)

Stavris Parastatov and Alla Kondrasheva

Abstract: The 18th century was marked by the tremendous development of the Russian state, resulting in the proclamation of Russia as an empire, ambitious geopolitical projects and the intensification of research activity due to the establishment of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences in 1724. The priority areas were the Black Sea region and the Balkans. This drive for expansion led to the numerous Russo-Ottoman wars, scientific expeditions to the Caucasus and Crimea, and the systematization and dissemination of newly acquired knowledge. The contribution of Western European scientists, who were invited to participate in these expeditions and generated an exchange of knowledge about the Black Sea region, was of utmost importance.

The 'scientific revolution' of the 16th and 17th centuries was an essential stage in the development of scientific knowledge in Europe. It marked an entirely new step in the evolution of a rationalist worldview: a real breakthrough in the development of a whole range of sciences and primarily natural science. The scientific image of the world was formed on the basis of theoretical and applied research and acquired particular significance by virtue of the study and description of important geopolitical regions. One of these was undoubtedly the Black Sea region including the Caucasus.

The territory of the Caucasus, located between the Black Sea and the Caspian on important trade routes and rich in natural resources, had for many centuries attracted the attention of ancient Greek and Roman, Byzantine and Arab writers and travellers. Episodic information about the region in Russian sources (chronicles and official documents) began to appear in the 16th and 17th centuries due to Russia's successful Caucasus policy, which enabled it to strengthen its positions on the northern Black Sea coast and take control of a significant part of the silk trade.

During the 18th century, a new chapter in the history of Russo-Caucasus relations was opened along with research into the region's territories, giving impetus to the growing fascination of Russia and young Russian science with 'its own East'. In this period, the scientific foundations of the imperial school of Caucasus studies began to be laid. Unique ethnographic, linguistic, archaeological, geo-

graphical and other information about the Caucasus region was collected and presented in the works of the first Russian Caucasiologists – representatives of positivist science. On the other hand, the multifaceted scientific study of previously unknown territories and peoples contributed to recognition of the value of the cultures of the Caucasus peoples, thus assigning them a place in the rich palette of cultural diversity of the Russian Empire. This tradition was continued by the Soviet school of Caucasus studies. However, according to research by historians at the North Caucasus Research Centre of the Southern Federal University, there are no unified post-Soviet Caucasus studies in contemporary Russia (Tsibenko 2014, 69). We propose considering a radical change in relations between domestic and foreign Caucasus studies – a shift from isolation to openness, characteristic also for other aspects of post-Soviet science. This has led to two extremes: the rejection of foreign scientific traditions on the one hand, and uncritical borrowing on the other.

In this connection, it is especially worth noting the attempt by a handful of contemporary Russian Caucasiologists to transfer the concept of Orientalism developed by the American scientist Edward Said (Said 2006, 638) to Russian Caucasus studies. Said believed that the study of Oriental cultures was based on a systematic scientific tradition supported by powerful colonial political and economic practices exercised by the leading European empires. This cast doubt on the impartiality and academic character of both the researchers of the history of the East and their work. The publication of the book *Orientalism* by Said (1978) provoked stormy criticism of his ideas by prominent scientists – Bernard Lewis (1982, 46–58), Maxime Rodinson (1987, 184), Malcolm Kerr (1980, 211) and others. Prior to the publication of Said's book in Russian in 2006, it practically did not figure in Russian scientific discourse, with the exception of several articles in which the authors subjected the concept of Orientalism and its significance for historiography to analysis and criticism (Ashkerov 2002, 25–29). The cautious attitude on the part of Russian scholars towards the concept of Orientalism, which has a clear political connotation (as recognized by most researchers), is due to a degree of unease about mixing science with politics and ideology.

Since the 2000s, foreign scholars have initiated discussions about whether Russian Oriental studies should be regarded as 'orientalist' or as a separate and unique phenomenon of its own. Numerous Caucasiologists have studied this question. Vera Tol'ts (Vera Tolz), on the one hand, has affirmed the ambiguity of Said's thesis about the existence of a direct link between colonialism and European knowledge of the East, and on the other, claimed its inseparability from the overarching European traditions (Tol'ts 2010, 266–307). She notes that from the middle of the 18th century in Europe, as in Russia, there was an increased interest

in Oriental cultures and their influence on European cultures. She concludes that Orientalism as a cultural and political trend in Russia was not specifically Russian, but part of a pan-European phenomenon (Tol'ts 2015). Another scholar of Caucasus studies, Austin Lee Jersild, has adopted Said's attention to the significance of Europe's (Russia's) interest in the sacred antiquity of the East (the North Caucasus) in contrast to the 'degenerate' present (Jersild 2002, 6).

The concept of Orientalism as an imperial discursive practice, within the paradigm of 'friend and foe', has been transferred into Russian scientific discourse not only by foreign scholars. A number of Russian historians studying the Caucasus have been keen to emphasize the colonial, imperialist, exploitative policy of the Russian Empire in this region (Bobrovnikov 2008, 501–19). They view the history of the Caucasus within the Russian state as a process of colonization characterized by the defensive struggle of the mountain peoples. The colonialists (exploiters) and the oppressed are divided along ethnic lines. Thus, a confrontation unfolds between the Russian and Caucasus peoples. It is obvious that the application of such an approach to Caucasus history inevitably reinforces interethnic conflicts.

The question arises as to whether a scholar should tread on this unsteady ground of 'universal relativity' and what kind of subjective history can be obtained as a result? The future of Russian Caucasiology largely depends on the answer to this question. Caucasus studies can continue to borrow from 'Western' ideas, or may begin to develop its own approaches and concepts suited to modern conditions, tasks and goals. Hence, a contemporary analysis of the complex scientific research carried out in the Black Sea region and the Caucasus from the second half of the 18th until the mid-19th century is relevant and important. The large scientific expeditions of that period, pursuing the economic, naval, political, administrative and scientific interests of the Russian Empire, generated a quantum leap in scientific knowledge, and as representatives of positivist science, their participants contributed to form the basis for a new quality of Caucasus studies.

The Black Sea and the Northwestern Caucasus were assumed into the trajectory of Russia's foreign policy that reached to the Black Sea and the Balkans. In the second half of the 18th century, the military-political confrontation of the two powers in the Black Sea region – the Russian and the Ottoman empires – ended in the victory of Catherine II. The most important consequences of the Russian victories (the annexation of the territories of Kabardia, Ossetia and the Crimean Khanate in 1774, the transfer of Eastern Georgia to the Russian protectorate in 1783 and the annexation of the entire northern Black Sea coast in 1791) were access to the Black Sea and fundamental changes in both the political and socio-

economic situation in the territories of that region. From then on, the region became the object of particular domestic and foreign policies implemented by the Russian government. On the one hand, the territories of the area provided abundant opportunities for the exploitation of natural resources: chernozem soils, the steppe, forests, rich flora and fauna, mineral deposits (iron, lead, polymetals, zinc, etc.), mineral waters and healing mud. On the other hand, access to the Black Sea enabled the creation of Russian naval bases, and the region's geopolitical location provided favourable conditions for the active participation of the empire in European politics.

From the end of the 18th to the middle of the 19th centuries, the Russian government pursued two parallel directions in its policies relating to the newly acquired territories. Firstly, it began an active process to formalize administrative measures and strategies of government in the Black Sea and Caucasus region: the subordination of public administration to military control and the centralization of power, ensuring loyalty on the part of the highland feudal elite (Nevskaia and Kondrashëva 2011, 29). Secondly, significant steps were taken to initiate studies of the way of life and customs of the local peoples, as well as investigation of the precious natural resources of the new lands and the possibilities for their economic development.

In this regard, the leading role in coordinating scientific research efforts in the Black Sea and Caucasus regions belonged to the St. Petersburg Imperial Academy of Sciences – the predecessor of today's Russian Academy of Sciences – founded in 1724 by a decree of Emperor Peter I, whose aim was to provide Russia with access to progressive developments in world science and culture. To this end, the process of establishing intensive scientific ties with the advanced countries of Europe was initiated, as well as the training of a national scientific elite. Today's scientists appreciate Peter's Academy not only as a milestone in national history but also as a significant contribution to the enlightenment of the Russian nation, as well as to European science and education (Dzhokhadze 2015, 21).

From the second half of the 18th to the middle of the 19th centuries, the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences organized significant scientific expeditions with the goal of exploring and conducting comprehensive studies of the natural resources of the territories that had recently joined the Russian Empire. Analysis of the expeditionary activity of the Academy of Sciences in the specified period allows us to distinguish the following stages:

1. The period from 1750 until the beginning of the 1790s saw active, systematic and comprehensive research of the northern and south-eastern outskirts of the Russian Empire, including the territories of the Black Sea and the Caucasus.

According to the nature of this stage of exploration, the expeditions were divided into a) astronomical and geographical expeditions contributing to the study of the territories for cartographic purposes, and b) 'physical' (academic) expeditions, which carried out biological, zoological, physiographic, ethnographic, archaeological, linguistic and other studies and observations.

2. The period from the beginning of the 1790s until 1850 was marked by thematic research expeditions (geological, mineralogical, botanical, zoological, linguistic, archaeological, etc.) undertaken by prominent scientists and members of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.

From 1768 until 1774, the Academy of Sciences conducted its famous 'physical expeditions' – better known as *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs* (Travels through the Provinces of the Russian Empire) – which in terms of concept and results were among the most exceptional events in the scientific life of the time. The leading Russian geographer Lev S. Berg (1876–1950) noted that between 1768 and 1774 the Academy discovered and introduced a new continent to the rest of the world: Russia (Berg 1962, 275). Because in this period science in Russia was only in its beginnings, the Imperial Academy of Sciences lacked experienced scientific staff.

Numerous highly qualified foreign scientists with education in the natural sciences, predominantly Germans, were invited to participate in the scientific expeditions. In those days, the Academy had no experienced specialists of its own, while foreign scientists regarded Russia as a land of unlimited opportunity that fostered science and culture since "there was no burden of Cartesian dogmatism here, like in France, that would have equalled the authority of Christian Wolff (1679–1754), as in Germany, or Isaac Newton (1643–1727), as in England" (Osipov 1991, 5–6). As a result, until almost the 1840s most academicians at the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences were foreigners who made a significant contribution to the development of young Russian science and the education of Russian scientists. One of the crucial factors in scientific exchange between Europe and Russia at that time was the need for talented young Russian scholars to obtain higher education in leading European universities, opening up vast prospects for later research in the field upon their return to Russia.

A prominent role in the organization of academic expeditions belonged to Mikhail V. Lomonosov (1711–1765), who headed the Geographical Department at the Academy between 1758 and 1765. He worked on a number of guidelines, research plans and programmes for the exploratory campaigns (Lomonosov 2011, 6488), setting tasks for the study of the flora and fauna of the new territories,

mineral deposits, agriculture, viticulture, mineral springs, as well as trade (Kolesnikova 2011, 101). The academic guidelines obliged expedition members to collect information on local peoples, their customs, way of life, languages and culture, and to record folklore, conduct archaeological excavations, make sketches of ancient monuments and establish contacts with local rulers (Gnucheva 1940, 310). Thus, for the first time, scientific expeditions were charged with the task of undertaking the comprehensive study of the new and unfamiliar territories including their natural, historical, geographical, ethnographic and linguistic aspects.

The study of the Black Sea and North Caucasus territories in the second half of the 18th to the middle of the 19th centuries was carried out under the conditions of sophisticated military, political and economic operations and subject to specific socio-cultural factors associated with the colonization of these territories and the accompanying wars (the Russo-Ottoman Wars of 1768–1774 and 1787–1791, and the Caucasus War of 1817–1864). Hence, scientists were often exposed to danger, and an armed escort accompanied most expeditions. Soviet academician Vladimir A. Komarov (1930–2006) described how a trip to the Crimea could last for months, endangering the health of its participants, and even end in tragedy (for example, in captivity after confrontation with nomads, and so forth). Cultural differences, hostility and the distrust of authorities by the local population, along with their bewilderment concerning the purposes of research, created a whole range of hardships hardly comprehensible in present times (Volkova 1974, 78). Nevertheless, the academic expeditions managed to collect substantial information for scientific research. Moreover, this scientific knowledge became an object of active exchange between scientists in Russia and their counterparts in Western Europe, who showed great interest in studying the little-known territories of the Caucasus and the Black Sea region.

The academic expeditions of 1768–1774 pursued two main directions: the Orenburg expedition explored the Urals, Siberia and the Far East, while the Astrakhan' expedition examined the southern territories of the empire, including the North Caucasus, the Azov Sea and its adjacent areas, and the eastern coast of the Black Sea. It should be noted that the names of the expeditions were provisory, as the actual areas of investigation were much broader.

The general leadership of the expeditions was entrusted to a young but already recognized European scholar, Peter Simon Pallas (1741–1811), who had been educated at the universities of Halle, Göttingen and Leiden. He came to Russia from Germany in 1767 at the invitation of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. The next year, he was elected a full member of the Academy and appointed professor of natural history. His principal expedition staff included three to four

students from educational institutions administered by the Academy, an illustrator, a laboratory assistant, a hunter and a geodesist. The supporting staff included porters, wagoners, etc.

The news that the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences had organized two groups for the Astrakhan' expedition came along with that of the beginning of war against the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, the work continued. The first expedition was headed by Iogann Anton Giul'denshtedt (Johann Anton Güldenstädt, 1745–1781), a young doctor of medicine with a degree from the University of Frankfurt an der Oder. In 1768, he was invited by the Imperial Academy to St Petersburg where he became a full Academy member and professor of natural science. In 1771, his expedition reached Kizliar (Dagestan), which later became the main base for exploration of the North Caucasus. Despite the unstable situation in the region, the field studies encompassed Great and Lesser Kabardia, Ossetia, lands inhabited by the Chechens and Ingush, as well as by the Linear Cossacks (troops formed for the conquest of the North Caucasus). The route taken by the first detachment of the Astrakhan' expedition crossed the interfluve between the Sunzha and Terek Rivers and followed the Kuma River through the area known as Piatigor'e. Throughout 1772, Güldenstädt's team, on the instructions of the Russian government, studied the natural resources, history and culture of the peoples of Georgia, which had entered the war against the Ottoman Empire on the side of Russia. The expedition reached Tiflis, where it explored the territories of Kakheti, Imereti and Mingrelia. During the journey, the Güldenstädt expedition accumulated a considerable amount of valuable material concerning the natural conditions, animals and plants, minerals and other resources of the Caucasus and Ciscaucasia, as well as documented the peoples inhabiting these areas, their ways of life, cultures, and economic and trade activities. The expedition made a valuable contribution to biology, geology, geography, history and particularly linguistics, since Güldenstädt took detailed notes on the languages of the region.

The information gathered by the expedition is still considered an essential and unique source concerning the settlement of various population groups in the 18th century and the toponymy of Kabardia, Ossetia, Ingushetia, Chechnya, Georgia and Dagestan. Güldenstädt's notes on the lexis of fifteen languages and dialects of the Caucasus peoples represent a significant source for modern linguists (Ataev 1982, 29). It is noteworthy that despite not being a linguist, he was able to distinguish similarities between the languages of the Adyghe and Abkhazians, Chechens and the Ingush, and deduced that many languages of the peoples of Dagestan had a common origin (Kosven and Khashaev 1958, 111).

The expedition explored sweet water rivers and lakes, as well as the saline and mineral waters of the Northeast Caucasus. The scientists collected several hundred plant species in a herbarium and conducted analyses of the area's crops and the agricultural methods used there, and studied forestry activities. Of paramount importance to the Russian authorities were the detailed manuscript maps of Lesser Kabardia, a map of hot mineral springs along the Terek River, the *Neue Carte des Caucasus* (New Map of the Caucasus), as well as numerous engravings depicting the Caucasus peoples. Noting Güldenstädt's merits, the renowned Caucasiologist Mikhail A. Polievktov (1872–1942) wrote that this hugely significant work had no parallels in either Russian or Western European science of the 18th century, and that its quality surpassed later descriptions of the Caucasus.

Having returned from the expedition, Güldenstädt practised medicine, analysed the amassed material and worked on scientific articles. One of his most prominent publications, *Geographische, historische und statistische Nachrichten von der neuen Gränzlinie des rußischen Reichs, zwischen dem Terekfluß und dem asowischen Meer* (A geographical, historical and statistical report on the new border of the Russian Empire between the Terek River and the Azov Sea), was published both in Russian and in German (Giul'denshtedt 2002, 384). Unfortunately, Güldenstädt did not live long enough either to complete his comprehensive analysis of the work already done or to implement his new expeditionary project to compile a geographical and historical description of the Black Sea coast and the Crimean Peninsula. The scientist died of typhoid in 1781.

His two-volume journal *Reisen durch Rußland und im Caucasischen Gebürge* (Travels across Russia and the Caucasus Mountains)*,* embracing extensive material compiled during his expeditions, was later edited and published in German by Pallas (1787, 1791) (Güldenstädt 1791, 552). Separate excerpts relating to the Caucasus were published twice in German with additional comments by academician Genrikh Iulius Klaprot (Heinrich Julius Klaproth, 1783–1835) (Güldenstädt 1815, 305). Klaproth criticized the Pallas edition for numerous inaccuracies and misprints. In 1809, a professor at St. Petersburg University, Karl Hermann, translated selected fragments of *Reisen durch Rußland* into Russian to be used as reference material by Russian administrative officials in the Caucasus (Giul'denshtedt 1809, 384).

In the Soviet era, the archives of the Güldenstädt expedition were studied by Georgian researcher Giorgiĭ Gelashvili, who eventually published the two-volume work *Puteshestvie Giul'denshtedta po Kavkazu* (Güldenstädt's Travel in the Caucasus) (1962, 1964), containing the German text with a parallel translation into Georgian (Gelashvili 1964, 433). At the same time, further translations into Russian of material selected from the Pallas edition concerning Ossetia, Kabardia

and Balkaria were compiled (Giul'denshtedt 1974, 203–09). However, it was only in 2002 that the first Russian translation of the whole complex of Güldenstädt's historical, ethnographic and linguistic materials kept in the St. Petersburg branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences was published with the financial support of the Russian Humanist Fund (Güldenstädt 2002, 512).

The second detachment of the Astrakhan' expedition was headed by Samuil Gotlib Gmelin (Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin, 1744–1774), a young doctor of medicine and a botany professor educated at the University of Tübingen. It is worth mentioning that one of the participants in the expedition was Karl Ivanovich Gablitz (Carl Ludwig von Hablitz, 1752–1821), at that time a student at Moscow University who was later to become a prominent scientist and continue research into the Crimean and Astrakhan' territories. The route of the Gmelin mission crossed the Pridon steppes, taking the scientists to the western and eastern coasts of the Caspian Sea (Shafranovskiĭ 1958, 181–92).

During the trip, a wealth of ethnographic material on local peoples was collected. For the first time, fourteen Astrakhan' salt lakes were described and put on the map. Gmelin's diaries contained descriptions of the shores of the Caspian Sea, observations on the state of the fishing industry and specifics of navigation. The scientist collected detailed information about oil deposits around the Caspian, its flora and fauna, viticulture and horticulture practised by the inhabitants of the city of Derbent (Dagestan). He examined fortresses, ancient cemeteries and the water supply system. He also undertook a botanical excursion to the highest peaks of southern Dagestan (Temirbekov 2011).

The expedition, which took place under particularly difficult conditions due to a very complex political situation aggravated by the prolonged war with the Ottoman Empire, had an unfortunate end. In 1774, not far from Derbent, the expedition was captured by the Nogai Khan Usmey-Asmir-Amzy. Gmelin died in captivity of fever and starvation and was buried near the Dagestan settlement of Kayakent (Khabakov 1950, 169–70). Eighty-seven years later, academician B. Dorn managed to find Gmelin's grave while visiting Dagestan and erected a wooden cross over it. Later, the cross was replaced by a modest stone monument to the first researcher of Dagestan's natural environment. In 1903, it was restored at the expense of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Potto 1906, 21–25). Today, the monument to Gmelin belongs to the list of historical landmarks of the Kayakent region and is a tourist attraction on the Dagestan Caspian coast.

Gmelin's notes, published by the Russian Academy of Sciences in four parts as *Reise durch Russland zur Untersuchung der drey Naturreiche (*A Journey through Russia for the Study of the Three Realms of Nature) (1774–1783), were

systematized by Pallas and appeared in German and later Russian (Gmelin 2014, 359). The materials from this expedition are still of great interest, not only for Russian researchers (Fischer 2008, 169; Gmelin 2007, 381).

The Russian Empire began to strengthen its presence on the shores of the Black Sea after the conclusion of the Küçük Kaynarca Treaty (1774) and the Treaty of Aynalıkavak (1779). In 1879, Kherson was founded, the first Black Sea port and a political and economic centre of the newly acquired region of Novorossiya. The government of Catherine II turned increased attention to the Crimea and its natural resources. In 1781–1782, on the initiative of the government, the Academy of Sciences organized the first expedition to the Crimea and Kherson. It was headed by Vasiliĭ Zuev (1754–1794), an adjunct (assistant professor) at the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences and a well-known geographer and naturalist. He had gained experience of scientific research activity first during the famous Orenburg expedition (1768–1774) led by academician Pallas and then at the universities of Leiden and Strasbourg, to where he was sent by the Academy.

The expedition had not only scientific goals but also a practical one: to identify economic perspectives for the southern regions. The academic agenda consisted of 70 points and obliged the members of the expedition to study the quality of the land and its water resources, and thus the conditions for agricultural development, tobacco-growing, forestry, fishing, fur farming and industry (Kaushliev 2008, 17–20). Taking into consideration the great number of antique monuments on the territory of Novorossiya, the scientists were instructed to collect detailed descriptions of ancient settlements, burial sites, burial mounds and the skeletons found there. The members of the expedition were charged with recording the legends and folklore of the local peoples and buying artefacts for the 'Kunstkamera', including ancient Greek, Roman and Tartar coins (Tunkina 2002, 39, 43).

Following Zuev's expedition, the Academy of Sciences published several of his works including his final journal, *Puteshestvennye zapiski Vasil'ia Zueva ot Sankt-Peterburga do Khersona v 1781 i 1782 godu* (Notes on Travel from St. Petersburg to Kherson in 1781 and 1782) (Zuev 1787, 275), which was immediately translated into German. Thanks to Zuev's observations, the Crimean chernozem was described for the first time. He was also the first geographer to state the possibility of a geological connection between the Crimean Mountains and the Balkans and Caucasus (Sosnovskiĭ 1978, 45–46). However, the unstable political situation in the Crimea, the revolt against Shahin-Guiray in 1782 and a lack of funds, resulted in the suspension of fieldwork. In 1785, Zuev spoke at a meeting of the Academy of Sciences and delivered in French a report titled, *Réflexions sur le Territoire Taurique et ses environs* (Reflections on the Tauride region and

its surroundings) (Zuev 1788, 76–80), which contained recommendations for the future investigation of the peninsula.

The diversity of materials collected by Zuev, including comments and observations noted during the expedition to the Crimea and Novorossiya, represents a valuable source for the study of these lands. He is considered the first Russian scientist to have researched the natural resources of the Crimean Peninsula. It is noteworthy that in 1982 a karst cave discovered by a group of geography students from Simferopol' State University in the Crimean foothills (in the Burul'cha basin) was named in his honour. However, the first full reprint of Zuev's unique *Puteshestvennye zapiski* to appear in 200 years was published only in 2011 by the Grushevsky Institute of Ukrainian Archaeography and Source Studies at the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences (Zuev 2011, 394).

By the end of the 18th century, there was a significant reduction in the Academy's expeditionary activity. The scientific expeditions of this period were mostly initiated by government circles, which charged scientists with specific exploratory tasks. These expeditions were not interconnected; they employed a few talented scientists who conducted diverse monitoring and research assignments. However, the Imperial Academy of Sciences had no research monopoly but shared the right to explore the new territories and seas surrounding them with other agencies, especially military ones.

The annexation of the Crimean Khanate (1783) led to the intensification of research activities on the newly acquired territory. On the instructions of Prince Grigoriĭ Potëmkin, the scientific exploration of the Crimea and its *Three Realms of Nature* was entrusted to an honorary member of the Academy of Sciences, naturalist Hablitz. The scientist proposed to expand the range of fieldwork tasks to include history, numismatics, geography and the natural sciences, while Zuev's directives bound him to conduct archaeological excavations of the burial mounds on the Black Sea steppes, to collect ancient coins and so forth (Tunkina 2002, 44).

The outcome of Hablitz's expedition was the first historical, geological, botanical and biological description of the Crimea, *Fizicheskoe opisanie Tavricheskoĭ oblasti po eë mestopolozheniiu i po vsem trëm tsarstvam prirody (Physical Description of the Region of Tauris under Its Situation and under All Three Kingdoms of Nature)* (Gablits 1785), which was soon translated into French (1788), German and English (1789). Thus, information about the unique nature of the Crimean Peninsula had become available to European society. For the first time, Russian and European societies learnt about the oil deposits of the Kerch Peninsula, its mineral resources, the quality of salt in the Crimean lakes, and the

richness of Crimean flora and fauna. Hablitz's list of plant varieties, which is often called the 'first scientific botanical register of the Crimea', comprises 511 species (Berdnikov, n.p.). A cave, as well as a three-metre climbing plant – Caucasian spinach – were named after Hablitz.

As the Russian Empire strengthened its presence on the Black Sea, new ports were founded (Kherson – 1778, Nikolaev – 1789, Sevastopol' – 1783, Odessa – 1794). The government began to pay particular attention to the hydrographic research of the Black Sea basin. The first military scientific expedition to the shores of the Crimea (1785–1787), headed by a captain of the second rank, Ivan Mikhaĭlovich Bersenev (1750–1789), was organized by the Black Sea Admiralty Board with a view to obtaining a geographical description of the sea's southern and western coasts (from Sevastopol' to the Kerch Strait). Bersenev's log notes documented many coastal features including the geographical coordinates of bays, rivers, lakes, hills, villages and even trees. These and his nautical maps represent valuable material for the study of the history and geography of the Crimean Peninsula (Kurnikova 2013, 62–70).

Another military scientific expedition (1797–1799), headed by Joseph Billings (1758–1806), an Englishman by birth and a Russian naval officer and experienced scientist-hydrologist, deserves our attention. In 1786–1793, he led the famous exploration of the northern shores of Chukotka. He was subsequently instructed to conduct hydrographic measurements on the Black Sea and compile a description of its northern coast from the Kerch Strait to the mouth of the Dniester River (Isanin 1987, 79–80). A compilation of his nautical charts and plans was published in 1799 with the title, *Atlas Chërnogo moria* (An Atlas of the Black Sea).

In 1785, the Academy of Sciences sent a small astronomical expedition to the Crimea, consisting of two people: a geodesist from the Fëdor Chërnyĭ Geographical Department and his assistant. They established the geographical positions of the most important Crimean cities. In 1790, Chërnyĭ produced a new map of the Crimea as a result of these studies (Gnucheva 1946, 93–95).

The cartographic materials compiled by scientists in the course of the physical and astronomical expeditions to the territories of the Black Sea region and the Caucasus were used by the Geographical Department at the Academy of Sciences to produce and print new maps of the Caspian and Black Seas, as well as of the Caucasus lands.

Until the end of the 1780s, the Academy of Sciences was an acknowledged centre of geography and the production and publication of land surveys, ensuring the highest level of cartography in Russia. However, gradually and for various

reasons, including the increasingly strong role of the military in this area as well as a decree on cartography censorship (1798) issued by the new Emperor Paul I, the quality of Russian scientific cartography deteriorated considerably.

At the end of the 18th century, the southern provinces of the Russian Empire were explored once again by Pallas, this time funded personally. During this expedition (1793–1794), the scientist gathered rich material on the geography, geology, botany, zoology, climate and ethnography of the North Caucasus and Crimea. The valley of the Manych River, the eastern tributary of the Don with its salt lakes, clay soil and sands, became an object of his careful study. The scientist assumed that in ancient times the Manych River had been a strait between the Caspian and the Black Seas. The diaries and reports resulting from the expedition contained descriptions of Kabardia's mineral springs and information about the Adyghe, Kabardian, Abazin, Nogai, Ossetian, Ingush, Chechen and Svan peoples.

The expedition accumulated vast botanical collections from the Crimean steppe and studied the flora of the South Crimean Mountains (pine and beech forests), as well as the mud volcanoes of Taman. Pallas particularly focused his attention on the ancient and medieval monuments of the northern Black Sea coast. His historical observations are so significant that even today scientists turn to them as a reliable source of information about the no longer existing monuments, for they were either destroyed or lost (Tunkina 2002, 48).

The results of the expedition, which covered vast territories of the North Caucasus (up to Georgievsk) and the Crimea, were published in Pallas's renowned works: *Tableau physique et topographique de la Tauride* (A Brief Physical and Topographical Description of the Tauride Region) (1792) and his two-volume *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des Rußischen Reichs in den Jahren 1793 und 1794* (*Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire, in the years 1793 and 1794*) (1799–1801) (Pallas 1795, 257–320), originally written in German. Later they were translated into English and French, but a full Russian translation is still to be made. Since the 19th century, only a few fragments of the *Bemerkungen* concerning the Crimea and the North Caucasus have been published (Pallas 1999, 247).

Analysis of the academic study of the Caucasus territories and the Crimean Peninsula in the second half of the 18th century reveals the following:

1. As a result of the activities of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, a huge amount of geographical, ethnographic, archaeological and other types of information was accumulated.

2. Most of the scientists were foreigners and as highly qualified specialists were invited into Russian service (see the already mentioned Güldenstädt, Gmelin, Hablitz or Pallas, as well as Jan Potocki (1761–1815) and others).

3. In general, their expeditionary work was carried out within the framework of programmes and guidelines developed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

4. Thanks to the patronage of Catherine II, the results of the expeditions (notes, reports and travel diaries) were immediately published and translated into various European languages. This can be explained on the one hand by the ambitions of the Empress to gain European recognition, and on the other, by the huge interest of Enlightenment Europe in the 'exotic', little-known lands.

5. Unfortunately, not all works have been translated into Russian nor all materials been put into scientific circulation until today.

Due to the rapid development of Russian science in the first half of the 19th century, numerous independent scientific centres appeared: universities (Moscow, Kazan', Kharkov, etc.), as well as a number of scientific societies (for example, the Moscow Society of Naturalists). These challenged the monopoly of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences on conducting expeditions and cartographic works. However, during this period, the Academy of Sciences continued to conduct expeditionary activities in the newly acquired lands, including the North Caucasus and Crimea. Instead of being charged with a variety of complex scientific tasks like the academic expeditions of the second half of the 18th century, the episodic expeditions of the first half of the 19th century had more specific objectives related to certain branches of science – geography, mineralogy, archaeology, etc. As a rule, the direction and specifics of the fieldwork were set by the demands of the Russian Empire, in the process of defining its interests in the Caucasus and Crimea.

In the first half of the 19th century, the government intensified the process of political-administrative and economic reform in the North Caucasus. The reforms were being implemented in a difficult political situation caused by a series of Russo-Ottoman conflicts (1806–1812; 1828–1829) and war with Persia (1804–1813; 1826–1828), resulting in Russia's territorial acquisitions in the Caucasus. The new territory of the North Caucasus with its ethnic heterogeneity and different levels of socio-economic and political development demanded meticulous investigation, thus contributing to the continuation of research efforts in the Caucasus.

Among the first expeditions (1807–1808) was the ethnographic exploration organized by orientalist and academician Klaproth. He faced a wide range of tasks in the field of historical-philological and ethnographic research. The expedition's

path passed through Stavropol', Georgievsk, Piatigorsk, Kabardia and Georgia. Klaproth collected linguistic data and documented the folklore of the North Caucasus peoples, describing a number of ethnic groups including the Circassians (the Adyghe). The scientist recorded his observations in a two-volume work written between 1812 and 1814 and published in German in Halle and Berlin (1812 and 1814 respectively) and in English in London (1814) (Klaproth 1814, 421). A first Russian translation of the academician's work was partially published in Kabardino-Balkaria in the series, 'The World of the Circassians', only in 2008 (Klaproth 2008, 221). Klaproth's activity built on the Caucasus studies of Güldenstädt and Pallas and systematized ethnographic data on the peoples of the Caucasus.

A work compiled by the Caucasus expedition of the Academy of Sciences, *Geograficheskie, mineralogicheskie, zoologicheskie i botanicheskie issledovaniia raĭona Ėl'brusa* (Geographical, Mineralogical, Zoological and Botanical Studies of the El'brus Region) (1829–1830), is of particular interest. Information about the expedition is found among materials held by the Military Scientific Archives and was uncovered in 1935 by Soviet historian Konstantin Sivkov (1935, 61–66). It is interesting to note that the expedition, which took place during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829 and the ongoing Caucasus War (1817–1864), collected not only scientific data but also intelligence on the territories of Karachai, which was joined to the Russian Empire in 1828.

The expedition was initiated by the commander of the North Caucasus line of Russian forces, General Georgiĭ Ėmmanuėl' (George Emmanuel, 1775–1837), who used it as a ploy to camouflage the advance of military units and avoid resistance from the mountain peoples. The Academy of Sciences engaged four prominent scientists to take part: physicists Adolf Kupffer (1799–1865) and Emil Lenz (1804–1865), as well as Karl Meyer (1795–1855) and Édouard Ménétries (1802–1861). The expedition's achievements include measurements of Mount El'brus, the discovery of lead ore reserves (in the vicinity of Mount Must), the identification of early Muslim and Christian monuments (the Shoaninski Temple), and the compilation of valuable cartographic information concerning the mountainous Karachai lands (Kupffer 1830, 126).

However, one of the most important events of the El'brus expedition was the ascent to the summit of Mount El'brus on 11 July 1829 led by mountain guide Kiliar Khashirov, who was the first man to reach the eastern peak (5,621 metres above sea level). Academician Lenz also made an attempt to climb El'brus and reached one of the rocky outcrops located along the northern slope at a height of 5,100 metres. These rocks were named the 'Lenz Rocks' in his honour.

A description of these events is contained in the travel notes of another participant in the expedition, the Hungarian traveller János Károly Besha (better known in French transcription as Jean-Charles de Besse, 1765–?). He had joined the expedition during his travels to the southern periphery of Russia with the aim of conducting ethnographic observation. His book, *Voyage en Crimée, au Caucase, en Géorgie, en Arménie, en Asie-Mineure et à Constantinople en 1829 et 1830* (A Journey to the Crimea, the Caucasus, Georgia, Armenia, Asia Minor and Constantinople of 1829 and 1830), was published in French almost ten years later (de Besse 1838). Translations of some excerpts including descriptions of the Caucasus can be found in Soviet scientific literature (de Bess 1974, 329–52). Selected chapters of Besha's book concerning the El'brus expedition have been recently translated and published by ethnographers. The publication determines that "the date July 11, 1829, opened the annals of Russian mountaineering" (Gorislavskiĭ 2007, 4). In the El'brus region near the village of Upper Baksan from where climbers begin their ascent of the peak, a monument to Khashirov by the famous Kabardino-Balkarian sculptor Mikhail Tkhakumashev was erected in 1975.

In the first half of the 19th century, the Imperial Academy of Sciences continued its study of the ancient monuments of the Black Sea region and developed a series of measures to protect them. The most significant researcher of antiquity to first undertake such a trip was the eminent archaeologist Egor E. Këler (Heinrich Karl Ernst Köhler, 1765–1838), who led two academic expeditions to the Crimea (1804, 1821–1822) covering areas from Odessa to the Taman Peninsula (Gnucheva 1940, 307–09). The scientist gathered a collection of coins previously unknown to numismatics, described a number of archaeological monuments – some of which have not survived to the present day – excavated and described ancient burial mounds and sites, sketched medieval fortresses, mosques, temples, monasteries, cemeteries and so forth. Thanks to the archaeological expedition of 1821–1822 and the activities of the Academy scientists, state funds were allocated for the protection of monuments for the first time in the history of Russia (Tunkina 2013a).

The study of the monuments of the northern Black Sea coast in this period is connected with the name of another prominent scientist, academician Pëtr I. Këppen (Peter Köppen, 1793–1864), who was one of the founders of Russian archaeology and of the Russian Geographical Society. The scientist conducted research in the mountainous part of the Crimea (1833–1834), where he was the first to discover traces of ancient and Byzantine fortifications (Tunkina 2002, 96). Këppen described springs and water sources of the southern Crimea and conducted hydrometeorological observations. His research materials were published in the

seminal work, *Krymskiĭ sbornik* (The Crimean Collection) (1837). A detailed archaeological map of the South Crimea was attached (Këppen 1837, 409). *Krymskiĭ sbornik* still retains its historiographical significance.

Characteristic of the first half of the 19th century was the emergence of further studies by foreign scientists traveling in the Caucasus and Crimea (Johann Blaramberg (1800–1878), Karl Koch (1809–1879), Moritz Wagner (1813–1887), etc.). This was due to increased attention in Western Europe to the geography, history and ethnography of the little-known European regions. In this connection, the studies of Frederik Diubua de Monpere (Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux, 1798–1850), an outstanding scientist in the fields of geology, archaeology, ethnography and history, are of special interest. Dubois de Montpéreux undertook expeditions to the Crimea and Caucasus in 1831–1834 and expounded his detailed research in the fundamental six-volume work, *Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tscherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée* (A Journey around the Caucasus among the Circassians and Abkhazians, in Colchis, Georgia, Armenia and the Crimea) (1839–1843). The annex included a uniquely illustrated atlas with maps of the ancient geography of various parts of the Caucasus and Crimea, and descriptions and sketches of monuments, landscapes, etc. (Nebieridze 2014, n.p.). This work by Dubois was awarded the Gold Medal of the French Geographical Society. In Russia, the atlas is a bibliographic rarity: three copies of this edition are kept in Moscow (the Russian State Library), St. Petersburg (the library of the Russian Geographical Society) and Gelendzhik (the Local History Museum).

In 1903, the Imperial Academy of Sciences acquired materials by Dubois de Montpéreux relating to his descriptions of the Caucasus and Crimea. Several abridged translations of the first volume of *Voyage autour du Caucase* concerning geographical, historical and ethnographic descriptions of the Black Sea coast (the 'Circassian sea coast') were published in 1937 by the Nikolaĭ Marr Institute of Abkhaz Culture, and in 2002 – with some changes and additions – by the Kabardino-Balkarian publishing centre 'El'brus' in the series 'Caucasus Literary and Historical Olympus' (de Monpere 2009, 328). The first translation into Russian of the full text of the fifth and sixth volumes of *Voyage autour du Caucase* and their descriptions of the Crimean Peninsula was compiled only in 2009 by a historian and member of the Russian Geographical Society, Tat'iana Fadeeva (de Monpere 2009, 328). *Voyage autour du Caucase* is one of the most quoted works in Russian Caucasus studies. It is also often referred to by archaeologists of the Black Sea region as a primary source, since it describes a number of monuments that have not survived to the present day (Tunkina 2013b, 737).

It is important to note that the academic expeditions of this period lifted the process of knowledge exchange to a fundamentally new level as the natural and recreational resources of the new Russian territories under exploration attracted the attention of industrialists, entrepreneurs, travellers, missionaries, tourists etc. Already at the beginning of the 19th century, the first Russian mineral water bottling plant was created at the resorts of the Caucasian Mineral Waters (CMW) region in order to transport it around the country in exchange for the recommended foreign waters. Having become a region of major balneological resorts by the middle of the 19th century, the CMW region contributed to the development of the tourism industry: the owners of guesthouses and hotels, as well as restaurants, were generally the most affluent people in the region. Similarly, in the beginning of the 19th century wine-growing was developed in the Crimea (Magarach), while shipbuilding (Sevastopol') and road infrastructure were expanded. Under Prince Vorontsov, wealthy Russians began to settle in Yalta, the Vorontsov Palace was built, and the southern coast of the Crimea was transformed into a holiday destination.

In the period following the foundation of the Russian Geographical Society in 1845 until the Soviet era, the expeditionary activity of the Imperial Academy of Sciences was reduced (Berg 1935, 27). Nevertheless, in the second half of the 18th to the middle of the 19th century, the Academy retained its position as an acknowledged scientific centre responsible for the comprehensive investigation of the little-known territories of the Crimea and Caucasus, scientific analysis, and the publication of the amassed materials and observations both in Russia and a number of European countries.

By analysing the long initial period of scientific research in the context of knowledge exchange, focusing on the territory of the Caucasus and the Black Sea Region in the second half of the 18th and early 19th centuries, we come to the following conclusions:

1. This was a period of complex scientific expeditions organized by the Imperial Academy of Sciences, which brought together an exceptional group of talented scientists from various European countries. Foreign scholars entered the service of Russia and carried out specific tasks set by the authorities or Russian scientific institutions.

2. In a short time, Russian science made a rapid leap in its development. The close ties initiated and maintained by the Imperial Academy of Sciences with renowned Western European scientists not only had a positive impact on the

quality of research efforts in the Crimean and Caucasus lands but also contributed to the formation of a national scientific elite.

3. Most of the works by foreign and Russian scientists on the hitherto poorly studied territories that had entered the Russian Empire's orbit of interest were published in Europe first in German, as well as in English and French. This limited the popularization of scientific research in Russia. Today, these materials are increasingly becoming the subject of study and analysis, and the introduction of new historical and ethnographic sources into scientific discourse is contributing to weaken historiographical stereotypes. This trend may develop further in connection with intensified efforts to translate the works of the members of these expeditions into Russian.

4. Undoubtedly, the information collected by the expeditions sometimes required further investigation, but it was thanks to the academic expeditions that Russian and European science was enriched with valuable archaeological, ethnographic, historical, geographical and other materials, opening up opportunities for modern researchers to continue studying the peoples of the Caucasus and Crimea.

5. Thanks to the academic expeditions, knowledge about the eastern part of the Black Sea Region was brought to a new level. It was at that time that the recreational and balneological resorts of the Crimea and the North Caucasus were founded.

Works Cited

Ashkerov, Andreĭ. "Neorientalistskie motivy v zhizni i tvorchestve Edvarda Saida." *Sotsiologicheskoe obozrenie*, vol. 8, no. 4, November 2002, pp. 25–29.

Ataev, Boris. *Leksika khunzagskogo dialekta avarskogo iazyka v slovare I. A. Gil'denshtedta*. Izdatel'stvo Dagestanskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN, 1982.

Berdnikov, Lev. "Karl Gablits Tavricheskiĭ. K 190-letiiu so dnia smerti." *Novyĭ Bereg*, no. 31, 2011, http://magazines.russ.ru/bereg/2011/31/be20.html. Accessed 11 September 2017.

Berg, Lev. "Geograficheskie i ekspeditsionnye issledovaniia Akademii nauk." *Vestnik akademii nauk SSSR*, vol. 7, no. 5–6, November 1935, pp. 25–28.

--- *Istoriia russkikh geograficheskikh otkrytiĭ*. Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR. 1962.

Bobrovnikov, Vladimir. "Chto poluchilos' iz 'Severnogo Kavkaza v Rossiĭskoĭ imperii': posleslovie redaktora neskol'ko let spustia." *Ab Imperio*, vol. 9, no. 4, September 2008, pp. 501–19.

De Besse, Jean-Charles. *Voyage en Crimée, au Caucase, en Géorgie, en Arménie, en Asie-Mineure et à Constantinople en 1829 et 1830*. Delaunay, 1838.

--- = De Bess, Zhan-Sharl'. *Adygi, balkartsy i karachaevtsy v izvestiiakh evropeĭskikh avtorov XIII–XIX vv*. El'brus, 1974.

De Monpere, Diubua. *Puteshestvie po Cherkesii. Puteshestvie vokrug Kavkaza, u cherkesov i abkhazov, v Kolkhide, Gruziiu, Armeniiu i Krymu*. El'–Fa, 2002.

--- *Puteshestvie v Krym: Puteshestvie po Kavkazu, k cherkesam i abkhazam, v Gruziiu, Armeniiu i v Krym*. Biznes-inform, 2009.

Dzhokhadze, David. *Imperatorskaia Akademiia nauk i khudozhestv, Akademiia nauk SSS, Rossiĭskaia akademiia nauk – triedinaia akademiia*. Mir'', 2015.

Fischer, Dirk. *Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin (1744–1774): das Schicksal eines deutschen Arztes in Russland im Jahrhundert der Aufklärung*. Shaker, 2008.

Gablits, Karl. *Fizicheskoe opisanie Tavricheskoĭ oblasti po eë mestopolozheniiu i po vsem trëm tsarstvam prirody*. Tipografiia I. Veitbrekhta, 1785.

Gelashvili, Georgiĭ. *Puteshestvie Giul'denshtedta po Kavkazu*. Izdatel'stvo AN Gruzinskoĭ SSR, 1964.

Gmelin, Samuel Gottlieb. *Travels through Northern Persia*, 1770–1774. DC Mage Publishers, 2007.

--- = Gmelin, Samuil Gotlib. *Puteshestvie po Rossii dlia issledovaniia trëkh tsarstv prirody. Chast' 3. Pervaia polovina*. Directmedia, 2014.

Gnucheva, Vera. *Materialy dlia izucheniia istorii ekspeditsiĭ Akademii nauk v XVIII i XIX vekakh. Khronologicheskie obzory i opisanie arkhivnykh materialov*. Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1940.

--- *Geograficheskiĭ departament Akademii nauk XVII veka*. Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1946.

Gorislavskiĭ, Igor'. *Pervovoskhozhdeniia na El'brus. Leto 1829 goda, zima 1934 goda*. Izdatel'stvo Marii i Viktora Kotliarovykh, 2007.

Güldenstädt, Johann Anton. "Nachricht von der neuen Grenzlinie des russischen Reichs zwischen dem Terek und dem asowischen Meere, mit einer dieser Gegenden." *St. Petersburgisches Journal*, vol. VII, January 1779, pp. 3–30.

--- *Reisen durch Russland und im Caucasischen Gebürge auf Befehl der Russisch-Kayserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Russisch-Kayserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1791.

--- = Giul'denshtedt, Iogann Anton. *Geograficheskoe i statisticheskoe opisanie Gruzii i Kavkaza iz Puteshestviia g-na akademika I.A. Giul'denshtedta chrez Rossiiu i po Kavkazskim goram, v 1770, 71, 72 i 73 godakh.* Imperatorskaia Akademiia nauk, 1809.

--- *Reisen durch Georgien und Imerethi / Aus seinen Papieren gänzlich umgearbeitet und herausgegeben von J. von Klaproth*. Maurer, 1815.

--- *Beschreibung der Kaukasischen Länder*. Stuhr, 1834.

--- = Giul'denshtedt, Iogann Anton. *Adygi, balkartsy i karachaevtsy v izvestiiakh evropeĭskikh avtorov XIII–XVIII vv.* Èl'brus, 1974.

--- = Giul'denshtedt, Iogann Anton. *Puteshestvie po Kavkazu v 1770–1773 gg.* Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie, 2002.

Isanin, Nikolaĭ. *Morskoĭ entsiklopedicheskiĭ spravochnik*. Sudostroenie, 1987.

Jersild, Austin Lee. *Orientalism and Empire: North Caucasus Mountain Peoples and the Georgian Frontier, 1845–1917*. McGill-Queen's Press, 2002.

Kaushliev, Gennadiĭ. "Puteshestvie v Krym akademika V.F. Zueva v kontekste deiatelnosti Akademii nauk po izucheniiu novykh territoriĭ." *Uchënye zapiski Tavricheskogo natsional'nogo universiteta im. V.I. Vernaskogo*, vol. 21. no. 1, November 2008, pp. 17–20.

Këppen, Pëtr. *Krymskiĭ sbornik: o drevnostiakh iuzhnogo berega Kryma i gor Tavricheskikh*. Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1837.

Kerr, Malcolm. *Islamic Studies: A Tradition and Its Problems*. Undena Publications, 1980.

Khabakov, Aleksandr. "Puteshestvie po kaspiĭskim zemliam i tragicheskaia konchina S.G. Gmelina: Geologo-mineralogicheskie svedeniia o ego trudakh (Materialy dlia istorii geologii)." *Ocherki po istorii geologorazvedochnykh znaniĭ v Rossii*, vol. 3, no. 1, September 1950, pp. 169–70.

Klaproth, Heinrich J. *Travels in the Caucasus and Georgia performed in the years 1807 and 1808 by command of the Russian government*. Henry Colburn, 1814.

--- = Klaprot, Iulius. *Opisanie poezdok po Kavkazu i Gruzii v 1807 i 1808 godakh po prikazaniiu russkogo pravitel'stva Iuliusom fon Klaprotom, pridvornym sovetnikom Ego Velichestva imperatora Rossii*. El'–Fa, 2008.

Kolesnikova, Marina. *Severokavkazskaia istoriograficheskaia traditsiia: vtoraia polovina XVIII – nachalo XX veka*. Izdatel'stvo SGU, 2011.

Kosven, Mark, and Khadzhi-Murad Khashaev. *Istoriia, geografiia i etnografiia Dagestana XVIII–XIX vv.: akhivnye materialy*. Izdatel'stvo Vostochoi literatury, 1958.

Kupffer, Adolph. *Voyage dans les environs du mont Elbrouz dans le Caucase, entrepris par l'ordre de Sa Majeste l'Empereur en 1829: Rapport fait a l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*. Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1830.

Kurnikova, Oksana. "Ivan Mikhaĭlovich Bersenev i ego ekspeditsiia dlia izucheniia Krymskogo poluostrova v 1785–1787 gg." *Karadeniz (Black Sea-Çernoye More) Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, vol. 5, no. 18, September 2013, pp. 62–70.

Lewis, Bernard. "The Question of Orientalism." *New York Review of Books*, vol. 13, no. 29, November 1982, pp. 46–58.

Lomonosov, Mikhail. *Polnoe sobranie sochineniĭ v 10 tomakh*. Nauka, 2011.

Nebieridze, Tamilla. *Sokrovishcha iz fondov Gelendzhikskogo istoroko-kraevedcheskogo muzeia*. Gelendzhik State Museum, 29 May 2014, http://гелмузей.рф/index.php/stati-publikatsii/73-sokrovishcha-iz-fondov-gelendzhikskogo-istoriko-kraevedcheskogo-muzeya. Accessed 14 September 2017.

Nevskaia, Tat'iana, and Alla Kondrashëva. *Vlast' i reformy na Severnom Kavkaze*. Izdatel'stvo SGU, 2011.

Nikitin, Mikhail. "'Orientalizm' E. Saida. Teoriia kolonial'nogo diskursa i vzaimodeistvie Vostoka i Zapada: k vyrabotke novogo ponimaniia problemy." *Novaia i noveĭshaia istoriia*, vol. 21, no. 1, May 2003, pp. 32–42.

Osipov, Valeriĭ. *Peterburgskaia Akademiia Nauk i russko-nemetskie nauchnye sviazi v posledneĭ treti XVIII veka*. 1991. Institut istorii SSSR, PhD thesis.

Pallas, Peter Simon. *Puteshestvie po raznym provintsiiam Rossiĭskogo Gosudarstva*. Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1773–1788.

--- *Tableau physique et topographique de la Tauride*. Nova Acta, 1795.

--- *Nabliudeniia, sdelannye vo vremia puteshestviia po iuzhnym namestnichestvam Russkogo gosudarstva*. Nauka, 1999.

Potto, Vasiliĭ. *Pamiatniki vremën utverzhdeniia russkogo*. Tipografiia Shtaba Kavkazskogo voennogo okruga, 1906.

Rodinson, Maxime. *Europe and the Mystique of Islam*. University of Washington Press, 1987.

Said, Edvard. *Orientalizm*. Russkiĭ mir", 2006

Shafranovskiĭ, Konstantin, and Tamara Shafranovskaia. "Samuil Gotlib Gmelin i ego ekspeditsiia 1768–1774 gg." *Trudy Turkmenskogo geograficheskogo obshchestva Akademii Nauk Turkmenskoĭ SSR*, vol. 5, no. 1, May 1958, pp. 181–92.

Sivkov, Konstantin. "Kavkazskaia ekspeditsiia Akademii Nauk v 1829 godu." *Vestnik akademii nauk SSSR*, vol. 1, no. 7–8, May 1935, pp. 61–66.

Sosnina, Ekaterina. *Frantsuzy na Kavkaze. Istoricheskie i zhivopisnye puteshestviia XIII–XIX vv*. Tvorcheskaia masterskaia BLG, 2015.

Sosnovskiĭ, Sviatoslav, and Anatoliĭ Stolbunov. *Sputnik kraeveda*. Tavriia, 1978.

Temirbekov, Magomed. "Akademik Samuel' Gmelin v Dagestane." *Kumykskiy mir*, 12 July 2011, http://kumukia.ru/?id=749. Accessed 9 September 2017.

Tol'ts, Vera. "Rossiĭskie vostokovedy i obshcheevropeĭskie tendentsii v razmyshleniiakh ob imperiiakh kontsa XIX–nachala XX veka." *Imperium inter pares: Rol' transferov v istorii Rossiĭskoĭ imperii (1700–1917)*, edited by Martin Aust, Rikarda Vul'pius, Aleksei Miller, NLO, 2010, pp. 266–307.

--- *Russkoe vostochnichestvo imeet evropeiskoe proiskhozhdenie*. Russkaia ideia, 26 August 2015, https://politconservatism.ru/interview/russkoe-vostochnichestvo-imeet-evropeyskoe-proiskhozhdenie. Accessed 15 February 2018.

Tsibenko, Veronika. "Mezhdu orientalizmom i orientologieĭ: nauchnye podkhody k izucheniiu Kavkaza." *Nauchnaia mysl' Kavkaza*, vol. 1, no. 1 (77), May 2014, pp. 69–77.

Tunkina, Irina. *Russkaia nauka o klassicheskikh drevnostiakh iuga Rossii (XVIII – seredina XIX v.)*. Nauka, 2002.

--- "Akademicheskaia arkheologicheskaia ekspeditsiia v novorossiĭskiĭ kraĭ 1821 g. pod rukovodstvom akademika E.E. Këllera." *Vestnik Drevneĭ Istorii*, vol. 284, no. 1, May 2013a, pp. 197–214.

--- *F. Diubua de Monpere – issledovatel' pozdneskifskikh gorodishch Kryma*. Nestor-Istoriia, 2013b.

Volkova, Nataliia. *Etnicheskiĭ sostav naseleniia Severnogo Kavkaza v XVIII – nachale XX vekov*. Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1974.

Zuev, Vasiliĭ. *Réflexions sur le Territoire Taurique et ses environs*. Academia Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae, 1788.

--- *Puteshestvennye zapiski Vasil'ia Zueva ot Sankt-Peterburga do Khersona v 1781 i 1782 godu.* Gerda, 2011.

'The Russian Saint-Cyr' and the Beginning of Female Education in Russia: Institutes for Noble Maidens (1764–1796)[1]

Anastasiya Pashova and Petar Vodenicharov

Abstract: The main focus of this paper is the influence of the French Saint-Cyr school of Madam Maintenon, the Maison Royale de Saint-Louis (1686) over the Educational Society for Noble Maidens, known as the Smol'nyĭ Institute, in Russia (1764). The two institutions shared the educational idealism of the Enlightenment and were based mainly on the pedagogical theory of François Fénelon. Since they existed in different socio-political and cultural contexts, they presented different uses of common ideas. If the Saint-Cyr school was part of the democratisation of social life in pre-revolutionary France and was rooted in the Counter-Reformation educational agitation, the Smol'nyĭ Institute was a much more elitist and centralised initiative. This paper attempts to follow the influence of western pedagogical ideas in Russia and also to voice the personal experience of women involved in the pedagogical experiment.

In Europe, the 18th century is known as the époque of Enlightenment – François-Marie Voltaire,[2] Charles-Louis de Montesquieu[3] and Denis Diderot[4] considered ignorance and superstitions the main reasons for human misfortune. In education, they envisioned the freedom of thought, philosophy, and science as the only way to cultural and social progress. The main thesis of the reformist pedagogical ideas of the Enlightenment is that education is "everything needed for human fortune" (Dochev 1926, 117).

---

[1] Our research addresses the history of the Smol'nyĭ Institute during the reign of Catherine II – from the year of its establishment to the year of the Tsarina's death. Reformed, the school continued to exist until the revolution of 1917.

[2] François-Marie Voltaire (1694–1778), up to the end of his life, was a monarchist and supported the idea of 'enlightened absolutism'. The monarch should rely on the educated part of society – intelligence and philosophers.

[3] Charles-Louis de Montesquieu (1689–1755) was one of the founders of the French Enlightenment. He trusted in science and rationality and opposed wars and intolerance but supported the idea of inherited aristocracy. To preserve the freedom of the citizens, he recommended division of power into legislative, executive, and judicial.

[4] Denis Diderot (1713–1784) was a French philosopher who considered a society governed by a monarch enlightened in science and philosophy as the ideal social order. In 1773, he was invited as a guest of Empress Catherine and was elected as member of Petersburg's Academy of Science. Catherine was sceptical about his ideas of avoiding splendour in the court and his concern about the needs of the common people and free education for everybody.

As is known from specialised literature (Cherepnin 1914; Madar'iaga 2002; Miliukov 1897; Zinchenko 1901), Russia in the 18th century was marked by the wide influence of western and specifically of French models. The Russian nobility was pressed by Peter the Great to acquire a French style of life. Hundreds of French books were translated, French plays were staged, and Russian specialists studied in France. The Empress Catherine (1729–1796) maintained an active correspondence with Denis Diderot, François-Marie Voltaire, and – especially intensive – Friedrich Melchior Baron von Grimm. Under their influence, the Empress of Russia formed her conception of governing. The idea of the omnipotence of a wise legislator, one of the basic notions of the Enlightenment, served as a fundament of her unlimited power. "What could oppose the unlimited power of an absolute monarch ruling a militant nation?" she wrote. Catherine used some of the ideas of the Enlightenment, selectively, to promote in Europe the image of herself as a civilised ruler. Nevertheless, she trusted much more the power of weapons than the power of words. Her belief in the power of Enlightenment ideals executed by an omnipotent monarch was connected with a belief in herself; in her strength, energy, rationality, and persistence. She underscored that it is necessary to "desire passionately in order for the desired to be realised" and "to be firm in one's own decisions" (Cherepnin 1914, 8).

Amongst Catherine's reforms, the most important were the reforms in education. Above all, the Empress philosopher contemplated the tasks of a more unified education, including moral, physical, and classical disciplines. If Peter the Great emphasised the needs of professional training to provide the needed specialists to the state, Catherine aimed at "benevolence rooted in the hearts".

Influenced by the philosophy of the Enlightenment, her plans were very ambitious. They determined the historical tasks of the Russian Enlightenment: to prepare not only professional workers but "good people and citizens", to uproot any "malignity" in children and adolescents by rational education and humanistic pedagogy – not by disciplinary measures taken from the criminal code; to spread the notion that the state bears responsibility for the education of women; and "[t]o provide to all girls not only skills to read and write, but to think rationally and to be enlightened by knowledge how to be useful for citizen life" (Rozhdestvenskiĭ 1902, 11). Previously, education – according to Catherine II – provided only instruction, but the new school should form moral character. The first new state schools in Russia were designed to be a substitute for education in the family.

It was not only Catherine II who was engaged with the question of the need for reforms in the upbringing and education of women – it was Peter I who first considered this problem. Peter the Great had visited Saint-Cyr. A researcher in

the Smol'nyĭ Institute, Nikolai Cherepnin (1914, 26), noted that "it was not adequate for the wild country he was trying to civilise". A contemporary of Peter I, Fëdor Saltykov, who was in charge of the education of the whole nation, elaborated a plan for female education. He wrote:

> For our female people to be equal to those in European countries, in all districts female schools should be opened, in the districts where rich female monasteries are not present, the male monasteries to accommodate female schools where the fathers should bring their daughters from the age of six to study there to the age of 15. In each district two female schools should be opened with 500 maidens in each of them. In these schools the 'female disciplines' should be divided in four groups: about housework (reading, writing, mathematics); about refinement of language (French and German languages); about amusement (painting); about amusement and social life (instrumental and vocal music and dances). The schools will contribute for the better socialisation of the girls. By living together, the girls will become clever and sociable, not like in the houses of their fathers where until their marriage they don't see and don't talk to any other people (cited in Cherepnin 1914, 27; all translations from the Russian by the authors).

This plan was influenced by Saltykov's stay in Britain and his knowledge of the school curricula in different European countries. Despite the interest of Peter I, who was engaged by that time in other important reforms, there was no attempt to realise his plan.

Empress Catherine II considered a wide perspective for state-educational reforms and defined the way to reach the ideal: renovation of Russian life and cultural revival of the Russian nation. Such ways, according to the Empress, were three – good legislation, educating society through good literature, and intellectual and moral revival of society by especially established schools. She considered education to be the most important tool. The Empress understood the close correlation between the condition of family life and the general cultural level of the nation. She was confident that, through schooling, a new kind of family would be created, and the final result of her pedagogical reform would be a gift for her subjects. It would provide a "new existence" and even a "new race of Russian people – prudent, fair, and happy" (Cherepnin 1914, 24).

The reforms of Catherine in the sphere of education have been the subject of research of many pedagogues and historians (Cherepnin 1914; Fedotova 2013; Miliukov 1897; Petrigina 2009; Rozhdestvenskiĭ 1909; Starodubtsev 2012). In 1764, she established the first state female school in Russia, following the pattern

of the Saint-Cyr school of Madam Maintenon (1635–1719) for impoverished aristocratic daughters and daughters of killed officers of noble origin.

The main focus of this research is how the idea of establishing such a school was provoked by Western Enlightenment ideas and more specifically by the first female state school in Europe, in Saint-Cyr. This paper will try to prove that Russian state policy from the early government of Catherine concerning education was fully under French influence – combining on one side the idea of Claude Helvétius about the omnipotence of education and on the other side the idea of Denis Diderot that a new race of fathers and mothers could be created only in educational establishments of a closed type, to avoid the spoiling influences of both families and society.

A prototype of the Smol'nyĭ Institute was the famous female school in Saint-Cyr, open from 1686 to 1692; after it was closed, it was turned into a monastery (Cullen 1971). In Europe, prior to 1686, there was no state support for high schools for girls. Born into an impoverished noble family with low reputation, Françoise d'Aubigné, later Marquise de Maintenon, found her way to success in her good education – her intellectual training was her most valuable asset. She became the most influential figure in the court of Louis XIV, being his second unofficial wife. The establishment and the management of the Saint-Cyr school was her most important mission. She was interested in moral philosophy and educational theories. In 1686, she met the theologian and pedagogue François Fénelon (1651–1715), whose ideas about girls' education, elaborated in his book *Traite de l'education des filles* (*Po vŭzpitanieto na momichetata*; translated from the French by Atanas Shopov and published in Bulgarian in 1874), she implemented in practice. Fénelon criticised the existing private and monastery education of girls as inefficient, since it made them unfit for real life. He emphasised that the good or bad education of girls depends on the good or bad life people live, since mothers educate good or bad sons. The duties of women as the core of the family and their duties of managing their households and estates require the development of their intellect. Good education requires two elements – a good teacher and a desiring pupil. The education should be pleasant and natural, to include games and to be shaped in interesting stories. Following Jesuit educational principles, he introduced both competition and the basic rule 'understand before apprehend'. The reverse side of the Jesuits' use of competition as a spur to good conduct in school was their disapproval of physical punishment. "We should allow the child to play and to mix lesson with play since wisdom should not be introduced to them unless in indirect manner and with cheerful face" (Fénelon 1874, 24). Education should start from a very early age since the child's

brain is most flexible then, and the first impressions are the deepest. Good personal examples are the most influential means of teaching. Fénelon insisted on good hygiene and diet as important for the physical development of the child.

In Saint-Cyr, the girls were divided into classes according to their age – those with red uniforms from 7 to 11, green ones to 14, yellow ones to 17, and blue ones to 20. The subdivision of the classroom according to levels of achievement, joined in time to the general use of uniform textbooks, laid the foundation for simultaneous instruction, one of the great pedagogical achievements of the century. The basic principle of the teaching was Christianity and Reason – how a woman could become useful, satisfied, industrious, and accepted by God in the world of her activities. The pupils were introduced to the basics of the Christian faith, to the necessary intellectual tools, and to some aesthetic pursuits. Madam Maintenon underscored her recognition of individual needs and abilities in students. She instructed the teachers to design their rewards and punishments according to the personality of each individual girl. She believed that education is a value for all children, regardless of their age and social class. Her 'conversations' were brief morality plays that defined and illustrated the major virtues the student must learn. Maintenon's approach to ethics was gendered inasmuch as she redefined virtues and vices, originally defined in terms of male experience, in the framework of typical female experience. Her approach was also class conscious, since she attempted to redefine the virtues in the perspective of women who were aristocratic but impoverished. After the death of Maintenon in 1719, a similar educational establishment opened in Paris – The Institute of the Infants of Jesus, under the protection of Maria Leszczyńska (1703–1768), Queen consort of France, for 40 girls of poor noble families. Similar attempts were made in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland. After the death of Maintenon, none of the graduates was able to continue her mission in Saint-Cyr.

Elena Likhachëva (1899, 92) wrote: "It is obvious that Saint-Cyr existed only because of the personality of Madam Maintenon, she was its spirit, not only because of her strong position as a person close to the king, but also as ideal tutor, pedagogue by vocation – such personality that was dreamt about by Fénelon." Rousseau commented on her personality: "She possesses all the qualities for a good tutor: keenness of observation, intelligence to draw conclusions, organising skills, source of authority, order, tenderness provoking attraction to her" (cited in Cherepnin 1914, 64).

Until the middle of the 18th century, there was no high school of the type of Saint-Cyr. Still, among the educated people of the west, the inefficiency of the female family and monastery education was acknowledged. They expected the state to take care of the education of all classes. This idea inspired Abbé de Saint-

Pierre (1658–1743) to develop his 1730 *projet pour perfectionner l'éducation des filles* (A project about the improvement of female education).

The research on the history of the first Russian school for girls, up to the end of the 19th century, is scarce, with the exception of a book by Vasiliĭ Liadov, who was a teacher of geography at the Smol'nyĭ Institute. The first and leading researcher of the history of female education is Elena Likhachëva (1836–1904). Her four-volume fundamental work *Materialy dlia istorii zhenskago obrazovaniia v Rossii, 1086–1856* (Materials about the History of the Female Education in Russia, 1086–1818), published in 1899, takes in an immense period of 732 years over nine centuries, and is fully based on archival documentation.[5] Another researcher of Russian female education of similar rank is Nikolaĭ Cherepnin. He focused his research on the first Russian female school for noble maidens. He published three volumes of 2,082 pages, the last volume containing archival documents. He followed and analysed the history of this institution from the year of its establishment up until 1914. The two authors acknowledged that serious achievements in female education are associated with the reign of Catherine II. During the Soviet period, there was not much interest in the history of female education in the pre-revolutionary period. In current Russian historiography, the research of Nataliia Pushkareva and her students Ėduard Dneprov and Raisa Usacheva is most important.

The beginning of the new educational system of Catherine was based on *General'noe uchrezhdenie o vospitanii oboego pola iunoshestva* (General Arrangement of the Education of Adolescents of Two Genders), elaborated by Ivan Betskoĭ, who was personal secretary to Catherine II. He initiated several reforms in the sphere of education. He was the founder and tutor at educational houses (for orphans) in Moscow and St. Petersburg, as well as tutor at the Smol'nyĭ Institute and other educational establishments. He was also president of the Art Academy (1763–1795). Betskoĭ was born on 14 February 1704 in Stockholm. He received his primary education in the Copenhagen Cadet Corps; later, he studied in Paris, where he became secretary of the Russian diplomatic office. In 1726, Betskoĭ moved to Petersburg, where he worked in the Collegium of Foreign Affairs and, later, in the court of the Great Prince Pavel Fëdorovich. In 1747, he was

---

[5] The first volume was published in 1899 in the most reputable St. Petersburg publishing house (Typography of M. M. Stasiulovich). It covers a period of nine centuries (1086–1856) in 895 pages. The first part of the volume comprises the period from 1086 to the death of Empress Catherine II; the second part, from 1796 to 1828, during the reign of Empress Maria Fëdorovna. Even before the work was published, it was granted honoured review by the Imperial Academy, which means that the work was probably ordered by the Academy on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the establishment of the first female state school in Russia.

dismissed, and in 1756 he went abroad. His stay in Europe was very fruitful: he visited Italy, France, Holland, Austria, and Germany, where he became acquainted with the intellectual elite of Europe and the Enlightenment pedagogical ideas of John Locke, Claude Helvétius, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. During his travels, he noticed the delicate relationship between female education and the level of culture of the country. It is supposed that during his stay in Paris he investigated the experience of female education in Saint-Cyr.

The *General'noe uchrezhdenie* of Betskoĭ was approved as a legal act on 12 March 1764. The decree reflected the new educational concept of bringing up and educating Russian adolescents. Betskoĭ's concept was not an original one, since it followed strictly already known principles and models of the European Enlightenment. The main task of an up-bringing and education is to build proper character, attracting students to virtues. Morality is superior to cognitive achievements; the up-bringing and education should be based on reason and on the understanding of the child's personality. Education should be natural, real, pleasant, and experienced as relaxation, not as difficult work. Further, the task of education is not only to instruct the child but to provoke their curiosity and independence of thought – this way, it should be illustrative and voluntary. It should form optimistic attitudes, and any physical punishments should be avoided.

In Russia, the Educational Society for Noble Maidens opened on 28 July 1764 in Novodevichiĭ Monastery, called Smol'nyĭ, and became the first state high school for girls of a closed type. It had strict class character – a noble origin of four generations on the father's side had to be claimed. Catherine – then still Princess Catherine – wrote:

The establishment of Saint-Cyr. Good and convenient means which deserves to be imitated. It will be of use to invite tutors and receive the statute and the documents of the institution directly from the French court since the madams of Saint Ludwig are obliged to keep them in secret. A proper building and funds will be found easily. And to prevent the ignorant ones from shouting against the French nuns and their heresies we should offer education to one or two orphans in the form of private education, who could be then assigned to the school. This way year by year enough Russian graduates will be prepared as teachers and maybe there will be no need of French ones (Ekaterina II 2010, 61).

Catherine was the only one in Russia, with the exception of Betskoĭ, who thought about the up-bringing and education of girls. Likhachëva wrote:

Which way she came to this thought we do not know. About the existence of Saint-Cyr Catherine could have heard by the time she was still living in Germany and then from Betskoĭ who during the reign of Queen

Elisaveta several times travelled abroad to get acquainted with the educational establishments there. It is not known whether the statute and the books of Saint-Cyr have been made available to Catherine. After her enthronement Catherine enlarged the perspectives of the idea of female education. It was not limited to the task of Saint-Cyr – to provide state education to women, but to introduce female education in the common system of educating Russian youth. Catherine was led by a raison d'état – by providing of humane and rational education for the younger generation – to improve the race of Russian fathers and mothers, to provide personal happiness and this way to increase the prosperity of the whole state (Ibid., 100).

Catherine II made public her intention immediately after she ascended to the throne. The important state task was ascribed to Ivan Betskoĭ, who published his educational concept as *General'noe uchrezhdenie o vospitanii oboego pola iunoshestva* (General Arrangement of the Education of Adolescents of Two Genders). Betskoĭ's report was signed by Catherine on 12 May 1764. Betskoĭ became founder and main trustee of the Educational Society for Noble Maidens – Smol'nyĭ Institute. He wrote about his educational project:

Everybody knows that the roots of every evil and good are in education… By education a new race of people will be created, new fathers and mothers, who will raise their children by following strict and reasonable rules, by which they have been raised and this way from generation to generation in the future. Schools for children of the two sexes have to be opened which have to embrace them fully in closed settlements from 6 to 18–20 years; they should not be allowed to have contact with their relatives except on certain days in the school under the supervision of their school master. The first aim in all educational establishments is fear of God, good heart, respect of rules, diligence, fear of indolence as a source of all evil and delusion, decent reasonable behaviour and conversations, politeness and compassion to poor and unhappy ones, disgust of all prejudices, capability of taking care of home and everything related to it, especially aptitude to pureness to be rooted in them in respect to themselves and in their attitude to others. Generally speaking all these virtues and qualities of a good education, allowing them to be good citizens and useful members of society as jewels of society. The education in science and arts to consider the nature, gender, and individual aptitudes of the students and to be their independent choice. They should be educated in optimism and fun, in fresh air by

innocent games and amusements […] The choice of teachers is extremely important and cautious – proved honesty, moral behaviour, patience, solid and just character so the adolescents to respect and love them and to follow them by way of example (Betskoĭ 1789, 1–11).

The *General'noe uchrezhdenie* served as the basis for the statutes of the 'Educational Society of Noble Maidens' (2 May 1764), the 'Academy of Arts with the School of Education' (October 1764), the 'Novodevichiĭ Monastery School for Educating Young Girls from the Merchants' Class' (31 January 1765), and the 'General Plan of the Moscow Educational Home' (13 August 1767). One system laid down the statutes for all educational establishments in Russia. The education of all Russian youth was subordinated to the same rules (Likhachëva 1899, 105).

The new educational system in Russia and particularly the Smol'nyĭ Institute was introduced by the will of the Empress and under her own management. Catherine shared the educational idealism of the Enlightenment – that only education by itself could improve society without any considerable social and political reforms. She opposed the suggestion of Voltaire to abolish serfdom in Russia. For Catherine, reading books was key to good education and happiness. This could explain the significant role she ascribed to books in the up-bringing of young people. For her, education had two interdependent sides: moral education and cognitive capacity. Educating by providing knowledge in history, geography, mathematics, literature, languages, and arts was related to developing the moral qualities of the students. The main object of education was the development of human personality (Likhachëva 1899, 123).

The rules for the internal order and the subjects studied by girls were deliberately chosen. Catherine did not consider the girls as having professional vocation or any important social or political role. The main task of their education was to produce good people who could be useful for themselves and society. At that time, women only had to have an important role within the family and to serve more or less as decoration for high society. Despite the humanistic spirit of the time, a religious upbringing was strictly observed. The regulations considered any violation of prayers or religious service as a serious fault, and these were sanctioned. The main virtues for the girls were considered to be obedience, politeness, mildness, continence, purity, a good heart, and generosity.

All Russian historians working in the field of female education in Russia try to distance the Smol'nyĭ Institute from Saint-Cyr. Elena Likhachëva (1899, 111) wrote:

It is still a common opinion that Smol'nyĭ Monastery as was named the Educational Society for Noble Maidens when founded is a copy of Saint-Cyr. But this is a wrong opinion. In addition to the difference in the aims of the two female educational establishments, there are also big differences in other aspects. Taking as example the external organisation of Saint-Cyr, Catherine created what Voltaire called 'Plus Saint-Cyr'. Some similarities in the regulations of Smol'nyĭ Institute to the rules which were personally created by Maintenon should be explained not by imitation on the side of Catherine, but rather by the similarity of her ideas with the ideas of Madam Maintenon, since the two of them used the same sources of inspiration.

More balanced is the opinion of Nikolaĭ Cherepnin. In 1914, he was ordered by His Imperial Highness Nikolaĭ Aleksandrovich, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the school, to write the history of the school. The author elaborated on the similarities between the two schools. The differences between the two schools he explained by the half-century distance between them and by the differences in the views, the personalities, and the tastes of the two women. The impact of their strong personalities on the institutions they founded is evident. Saint-Cyr *is* Madam Maintenon. The same could be said about Catherine, who personally managed the education in the Institute according to the spirit of its regulations.

On 5 May 1764, the Decree of the Empress Catherine *O vospitanii blago-rodnykh devits v Sankt-Peterburge pri Voskresenskom monastyre* (About the Education of the Noble Maidens in St. Petersburg in the Voskresenskiĭ Monastery) was announced. A regulation for the statute and the staff was attached to the decree, which concerned the "whole educational society" (Betskoĭ 1774). Commenting on the statute of the female high school in Russia, the first expert in its history, Elena Likhachëva (1899, 144), pointed to the more democratic spirit of Saint-Cyr:

Our statute obviously took as example the first brilliant period of Saint-Cyr, but it has been elaborated in more aristocratic spirit than the regulations of Madam Maintenon. In the statute it is permanently mentioned the 'noble origin' of the 'race' of the students. Only after 12 years they are obliged to dress and to comb themselves. After 12 years they are supposed to knit socks and sew dresses for themselves, but there is no word about sweeping the floor or other hard manual work as it was in Saint-Cyr. The graduates were allowed some luxury: the tablecloths were changed daily, for older ones twice a day – for lunch and dinner.

Graduates had one dress for school days and a silk one for Sundays and feasts.

Further on, the same author wrote: "Comparing our programme to the programme of Saint-Cyr, ours is more ambitious, but as it turned out later, half of it was realised in practice" (Ibid.). One year after the opening of the school, in 1773, Sof'ia de Lafon (Sophie de Lafont), the French widow of a state counsellor, was appointed as chief of the school, and she served in this capacity for 30 years. De Lafon was invited by Betskoĭ as a graduate of Saint-Cyr. Likhachëva (1899, 146) wrote: "It is obvious that Lafon fully met the expectations of Catherine since in one of her letters she mentioned: 'If she is not young, not Catholic, her origin does not matter but better to be noble, person unemployed and independent – thus she will be perfect for me'." In her memoirs, Glafira Rzhevskaia,[6] a graduate of the first class of the Educational Society, shared details about the first years of life in Smol'nyĭ Monastery and the personality of Lafon:

> Madam Lafon governed the establishment for 30 years with exceptional intellect, affirming in practice the accepted educational system. She was fully dedicated to her work. She observed the common regulations and undertook enormous work in the organisation of our life in the institution with remarkable prescience. She forewarned and warned of possible abysses which were typical of her power of observation. Firmly and vigilantly, she monitored all persons responsible for the success of her enterprise to fulfil their duties. Her special care was evident in the way she selected the staff who played an important role in an establishment in which the purity of morals was considered as guarantee of all virtues.

> Madam Lafon was born to a good family, which was compelled to leave France to seek refuge in Russia due to religious dissent. They settled in Petersburg where they continued their wine trade and opened the first hotel in the city, which was frequented by aristocracy. They made a fortune and invested a lot in the education of their only daughter who was born when her mother was at the age of 50. Beautiful and rich, she had many suitors and at the age of 15 she married a Frenchman, a major general on Russian service. She was unhappy in her marriage, yet still she sacrificed her wealth and kindness for her husband, who went crazy and many times threatened to kill her and their two daughters. In his

---

[6] Her memoirs were first published in *Russian Archive,* 1871, 1, vol. 1. These are the only preserved memoirs about the first years of the school.

madness he wanted her and her children to convert to Catholicism, while he himself was not a Catholic. He considered this act as necessary for them in order to receive heritage from his parents who lived in France. At all costs he insisted on returning to his motherland. His wife took him abroad for medical treatment and spent all her fortune. Nothing helped and he died. Madam Lafon was left with her children in extreme needs in a foreign country. She decided to return to Russia to collect the money her father-in-law had loaned to several persons. She addressed our ambassador in Paris, for help. Here she became acquainted with Mr. Betskoĭ and he started to rely on her as a person suitable of realising his plan.

Coming back to Russia, Madam Lafon continued to see her old friends and lived in high society loved and respected by everyone. Especially attached to her was Mr. Betskoĭ. He appreciated the communication with her since she was able to profit from her misfortune and to remain optimistic, and was deserving of common respect because of her decent behaviour. Her knowledge of the French language was precious for him, since he was fond of French language and culture and he often consulted with her. She was fully prepared when she was asked to establish the Institute and to finalise the carefully conceived plan. At the beginning, when she was vice director every one of her initiatives met the opposition of the director. After the latter's retirement Madame Lafon became director. Under her leadership the institution was blossoming. It could be compared to the Saint-Cyr establishment in France.[7]

In the beginning, a prominent noble person was appointed as the director of the school in order to enthuse more confidence in the newly established society. The Empress Catherine granted the director her portrait to emphasise her special attitude. But this choice impressed only those who sought superficial splendour, not the essence of the work. The reasonable persons deeply concerned with the success of the enterprise and its social effect clearly realised the superiority of Madame Lafon and considered that there was not a special need for prominent noble origin. Finally, she won the deserved grace of the Empress and was presented with a portrait of her and a 'St. Catherine' medal for her service. She

---

[7] In the notes to the published text of Rzhevskaia, there is a remark. The school in Saint-Cyr where Sofia de Lafon graduated served as a model to the Smol'nyĭ Institute and then to other educational establishments in Russia.

died in poverty and nothing was left to her daughters[8] (Bokova and Sakharova 2008, 40–43).

The supervisors and the teachers from the early years of the school were foreigners and mainly French – part of the staff, as well (Likhachëva 1899, 151). By the end of the reign of Catherine, the statute was no longer adhered to. The admission of students for 1794 was the last of Catherine's époque. By her death in November 1796 503 noble maidens graduated from the Society. Elena Likhachëva, the leading specialist in the history of the Smol'nyĭ Institute, repudiating the influence of Saint-Cyr, wrote with pride: "Up to the 1880s in respect to female education, high school and university, we stood ahead in comparison to all European countries. Russia owes this to Empress Catherine, who laid the foundations of high education for Russian women; her mission was continued by Empress Maria Fëdorovna" (Ibid., 3). The first part of this statement is not true, but the role of the Smol'nyĭ Institute as the first state female school should not be underestimated. Likhachëva (1899, 5) wrote:

> Whatever the faults of this education in the pre-reformist period (namely up to 1856) it played an important role in the Russian Enlightenment. The educational establishments to a certain extent fulfilled the mission assigned to them by Catherine – to contribute to civilise Russian society and introduce new culture in Russian life. They provided a new type of female teacher to the Russian schools and prepared the ground for reforms in female education. In the spirit of the époque the views of Russian society on the meaning of the strictly closed system of female education would change. The institutions underwent reforms and changes to open to the needs of real life. The strictly closed system sustained for 100 years lost its dominating aim. By the foundation in 1856 of open female educational institutions a new era in the Russian Enlightenment began: up to this year it was available for a limited number of girls mainly of noble origin. Now it became available for many girls of all classes of Russia.

Comparing the two schools, this paper has outlined similarities, but there are differences due to the different socio-political contexts and different pedagogical cultures. The regulations of the Smol'nyĭ Institute were more aristocratic than those of Saint-Cyr. Different also were the legacies of the two schools. In pre-revolutionary France, Saint-Cyr contributed to a wave of female activism and

---

[8] After her death, a street in St. Petersburg was named after her: Lafonskaia. The name was changed after 1952.

democratisation of education and society, while in Russia it was part of a central-ised and hierarchical system of education. In France, the enforcement of the 1724 royal ordinance that imposed compulsory universal primary education was in-spired by the 17th century treatises by Madame de Maintenon and François Féne-lon. In the Revolutionary context, Madame de Maintenon's ideas were used by local officials and philanthropists, who successfully established neighbourhood primary schools that accepted many young poor girls. Her work also had a lasting impact on the original feminist movement, aimed at promoting educational equal-ity between the sexes and helping lower-class women to escape their living con-ditions, especially prostitution (Cullen 1971).

Elizabeth Rapley pointed out that the idea that girls ought to attend school was not only an elitist initiative but that it developed in the collective mind of Counter-Reformation society. By 1687, when Fénelon's book first appeared, urban France was already well supplied with girls' schools. Rapley (1987, 308) argues that:

> [t]he best education available for girls benefited not the upper classes but the lesser nobility and the bourgeoisie; and that it was as likely to be found in provincial towns as in Paris. The Catholic Counter-Refor-mation had opened floodgates of feminine activism. Thousands of women poured into the new teaching congregations. The Rules stipu-lated that all children who applied (presented themselves), as long as they were not of evil reputation, or sick, or scrofulous, were to be ac-cepted. From mid-century, many such schools had begun to appear. They were intended specifically to carry education to poor girls, in the quarters where they lived. These were created, in the first place, by the parish charity societies.

The two institutions shared the same disadvantages. Since they were of the closed type, the girls were isolated from their families, and they saw people from the court more often than their relatives. Much more than they would admit, stu-dents were detached from real life and problems. They usually had no idea what was happening beyond the walls of the monasteries. Society did not influence their way of living. Designed as humanistic, class-oriented and closed state schools gradually turned into disciplinary institutions. Since society still consid-ered the basic role of women to be housewives, the main role in the curriculum was played by the elaboration of skills necessary for court life.

Keeping in mind that most of the girls were from impoverished noble families, their social adaptation after attending the Institute was very complicated and dif-ficult. The specific conditions of education did not create a 'new race of women' – rather, they created an original female type that was denoted in Russian by the

word *institutka*, used not only for graduates of female institutes but as a metaphor for all women whose character could be described as enthusiastic, naïve, and inexperienced. In the beginning of the 1780s, the Empress Catherine lost interest in the pedagogical experiment, removed Betskoĭ from the management of the Smol'nyĭ Institute, and underscored the leading role of the professional education to the moral education.

In such a way, the Western Enlightenment idea of humanistic and free education, realised at the first stage of the development of the Imperial Society at the Smol'nyĭ Institute, turned out to be a utopian experiment unfit for Russian society and culture of the time. It was not only that the Russian educational system had become more centralised, unified, and hierarchical but that Russian social and political life was much more conservative and unreactive to any considerable changes that could have contributed to real modernisation and humanistic progress in Russia. With basic reforms, the Smol'nyĭ Institute and other institutions established on the same model continued to exist until the revolution of 1917. These schools prepared the ground for a new model of female education imposed in 1860 – not closed and not class-oriented, but open to the influences of both family and society. The new model of female schools served as a basis for the organisation of university female courses in Russia in 1870.

Works Cited

Betskoĭ, Ivan, editor. *Uchrezhdeniia i ustavy kasaiushchiyesia do vospitaniia i obucheniia v Rossii iunoshestva oboego pola*. Vol. 1. Bibliotechniĭ fond, 1774.

---. *Sobranie uchrezhdeniĭ i predpisaniĭ kasatel'no vospitaniia v Rossii oboego pola blagorodnago i meshchanskago iunoshestva*. Vol. 1. Bibliotechniĭ fond, 1789.

Bokova, Vera, and Liudmila Sakharova, editors. *Institutki: Vospominania vospitannits institutov blagorodnykh devits*. Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2008.

Cherepnin, Nikolaĭ. *Imperatorskoe Vospitatel'noe obshchestvo blagorodnykh devits. Istoricheskiĭ ocherk 1764–1914*. Vol. 1. Gosudarstvennaia tipografiia, 1914.

Cullen, Celine. Madame de Maintenon and the Foundation of Saint-Cyr (1684–1715). 1971. Ohio State University, MA thesis.

Dneprov, Ėduard, and Raisa Usacheva. *Zhenskoe obrazovanie v Rossii*. Drofa, 2009.

Dochev, Georgi. "Pedagogicheskata misŭl i uchilishtnoto delo v Evropa predi 100 godini vŭv vrŭzka s deloto na d-r Petŭr Beron." *Sbornik d-r Petŭr Beron po sluchaĭ stogodishninata na Ribniia Bukvar 1824–1924*, Dŭrzhavna pechatnitsa, 1926.

Ekaterina II. *Zapiski Ekateriny II*. Azbuka, 2010.

Fedotova, Irina. "Istoriia i prosveshchenia i pedagogicheskie mysli v trudakh S. V. Rozhdenstvenskogo." *Problemy sovremennogo obrazovaniia*, no. 6, 2013, pp. 45–58.

Fenelon, Fransoa. *Po vŭzpitanieto na momichetata*. Tsarigradska tipografiia, 1874.

Liadov, Vasiliĭ. *Istoricheskiĭ ocherk stoletneĭ zhizni Imperatorskago Vospitatel'nago Obshchestva blagorodnykh devits i Sanktpeterburgskago Aleksandrovskago uchilishcha.* Gosudarstvennaia tipografiia, 1864.

Likhachëva, Elena. *Materialy dlia istorii zhenskago obrazovaniia v Rossii (1086–1856)*. Vol. 1. Tipografiia M. M. Stasiulevicha, 1899.

Madar'iaga, Izabel' de. *Rossiia v èpokhu Ekateriny*. Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2002.

Miliukov, Pavel. *Ocherki po istorii russkoĭ kul'tury*. Vol. 2. Tipografiia I. N. Skorokhodova, 1897.

Petrigina, Veronika. "Vospitanie 'novoĭ porody liudeĭ' v prosvetitel'skoĭ politike Ekateriny II." *Istoriia pedagogiki*, no. 4, 2009, pp. 63–75.

Pushkareva, Nataliia. *Chastnaia zhizn' russkoĭ zhenshchiny: nevesta, zhena, liubovnitsa (X–nachalo XIX)*. Ladomir, 1997.

Rapley, Elizabeth. "Fénelon Revisited: A Review of Girls' Education in Seventeenth Century France." *Histoire sociale*, vol. 20, no. 40, 1987, pp. 299–318.

Rozhdestvenskiĭ, Sergeĭ. *Istoricheskiĭ obzor' deiatel'nosti Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniia 1802–1902*. Gosudarstvennaia tipografiia, 1902.

---. *Iz istorii uchebnykh reform imperatritsy Ekateriny II*. Gosudarstvennaia tipografiia, 1909.

Starodubtsev, Mikhail. "Reformy sistemy obrazovaniia provodimye Ekaterinoĭ II." *Ėkonomika obrazovaniia*, no. 2, 2012, pp. 36–40.

Zinchenko, Nikolaĭ. *Zhenskoe obrazovanie v Rossii. Istoricheskiĭ ocherk*. Gosudarstvennaia tipografiia, 1901.

The Birth of the Archive in Bulgarian Society in the Framework of the Ottoman Empire (late 18th century – end of the 1860s)

Mariyana Piskova

Abstract: The Bulgarian Historical Archive was established in the 19th century when Western European, Russian and Balkan centres, societies and museum archives had already been formed and were in operation. The preferred model was the Czech National Museum, which was built in 1818 in order to awaken national sentiment. In 1869, as a result of the efforts of the Bulgarian Revival Society and the activities of emigrant communities, an institution was established that could be described as the prototype of the earliest historical archive in Bulgaria and as a national centre for collecting archival documents before 1878. The archive was headquartered in Braila, outside the Ottoman Empire, and was established by the Bulgarian Literary Society.

The Revival[1] is the era in which Bulgarians became interested in locating and preserving antiquities and manuscripts that served them and the world as convincing evidence of their ancient historical past and supported their aspirations for independence. Since Bulgaria was not an independent state, there were no conditions for establishing a Bulgarian historical archive as a *state* institution. With varying intensity and levels of activity, a number of scholars and researchers, as well as different social groups, showed interest in Bulgarian historical documents and traces from the past. In many cases, the identification and collection of valuable historical documents was initiated by foreign scholars with an interest in Slavic studies, as well as by travellers. Supported and sent by the Bulgarian emigrant communities, teachers, clergymen and others participated in numerous initiatives to collect historical documents. They sent the gathered documents for storage to foreign libraries, museums, collections or academies, or to the Bulgarian emigrant communities and their organizations. Compared to the classic archive, there were differences not only in the ways in which the documents were located and collected, but also in the access to them and their use. Instead of being available in the reading rooms of libraries, the historical documents collected in Bulgaria and taken abroad were published in the scientific works of specialists in

---

[1] The beginning of the 18th century is considered as the starting point of the Bulgarian Revival, ending with the liberation of Bulgaria in 1878.

Slavic studies and of foreign scholars, or in the Revival periodical press, which was how they reached the Bulgarian readership.

During the Bulgarian Revival, various archival collections were compiled based on their contents and purpose; the documents were connected mainly to the work of merchants and scholars. For example, during the second half of the 18th and the whole of the 19th century, Bulgarian merchants compiled commercial documents freely and independently: they prepared and used them, and stored them as part of the family legacy for future generations. In this way, they created and preserved the archives of their family firms and trading houses, such as the archive of Evlogi and Hristo Georgievi (about 80,000 documents spanning the period 1817–1944) or of the trading house of Hristo P. Tapchileshtov (1836–1891) and others (Rusev 2015, 27–28).

Another example is the personal archive of Konstantin Fotinov (1785–1858), one of the most outstanding representatives of the Bulgarian secular intelligentsia during the 19th century. Besides being a merchant, he was a teacher, translator and scholar. His greatest contribution to the intellectual development of society was his founding of the first Bulgarian periodical journal, *Liuboslovie* (Love of the word), which he published in 1842 and in the period 1844–1846. Fotinov's archive consisted of documents related to the issues of *Liuboslovie,* as well as to his travels, and contained translations, business and trade documents, and more than 600 letters (Danova 2005, 19).

The two examples given above are indicative of the attitude of prosperous members of the Revival society; they looked after and preserved their own archives (personal and institutional). The high self-esteem of the Revival-era Bulgarians gradually encouraged them to realize their responsibility regarding the documentation of historical heritage. Endeavours were made to preserve the archives of municipalities, church and school boards, guilds and other organizations. The first private collections appeared, as well as the collections of some community centres (*chitalishta*) and schools.

First ideas to establish a central Bulgarian historical archive emerged. Emigrant communities discussed the suggestion 'to collect the entirety of manuscripts in personal possession in one central place, in one museum' (Anchova et al. 2003, 65; Arkhiv f. 14, a.e. 345, 2–5). Naturally, the methods of preserving personal and public archives were developed in interrelation with and under the influence of archive models abroad. This is why before outlining the origins of the Bulgarian Historical Archive during the Revival period, some of the examples of archival institutions and models followed in Bulgarian practice will be presented.

It must be pointed out here that several investigations on the history of the Bulgarian archives shed light on various issues related to interest in collecting and preserving historical documents and archives during the Revival (Donkov 1993, 113–44; Kuzmanova 1966, 16–24; Neĭkova 2007, 187–99; Petkova 2011, 57–66; Radkov 1963, 43–65; Savov 1990, 13–81). However, the present text focuses on tracing possible foreign influences and on interrelations with archival institutions abroad that contributed to the formation of the idea of a Bulgarian archive during the Revival.

The Empire: A Model and Example of a Modern Archive

Despite European stereotypes of 'backwardness' regarding the Ottoman Empire, the state archive of Constantinople *Hazine-i Evrak* (treasury of records/documents) was founded in 1846 in the spirit of the Tanzimat reforms (1839) and following the example of France and its organization of modern archives. The name referred to the French *Trésor des Chartes* (treasury of charters). This was the idea and merit of the vizier Mustafa Reşid Pasha, a former ambassador to France and England who was closely familiar with the European practice of archiving. The justification accompanying the initial decree noted: "All registers, records and files found in all important institutions demonstrate the power of memory and of the style of each great state. This is why one of the most important tasks of the state is to adopt the necessary safeguards to preserve them from loss and destruction" (Binark 1996, 121).

As the central historical archive of the Ottoman Empire, *Hazine-i Evrak* had a clearly defined profile and status. It held the archival documents of the central bodies of authority. In addition, archives were built in separate regions and *vilayets*. Special buildings were constructed for this purpose in Bitola in 1847, in Russe (Rusçuk), the centre of the Danube *vilayet*, and in Ankara in 1868 (Ibid., 121). The inscription on a building in the Bulgarian town of Veliko Tarnovo notes that an archive depot was constructed there from 3 April 1870 to 22 March 1871 on the order of Sultan Abdülaziz (1830–1876) (Petkova 2009, 16). Although the Ottoman Empire provided a model for a modern historical archive, Bulgarian society chose another course: the archive located outside the borders of the Empire.

Greece: The Closest and Earliest Transmitter of Western Influence

Neighbouring Greece played a leading role for the Bulgarians until the 1830s, and through the schools it became one of the transmission channels for Bulgarians for knowledge about 'Europe' and for spreading the new ideas and discoveries of modernity in the Ottoman Empire (Mishkova 2006, 240). The European influence

that extended through Greece was facilitated by the widespread use of the Greek language within the Bulgarian territories. It was the language of Christianization, of the Greek high clergy of the Eastern Orthodox Church and of the Phanariotes who participated in the Ottoman administration. Last but not least, due to the leading role of the Greek merchants and bourgeoisie on the Balkans, the Greek language had become the language of commerce, together with Ottoman Turkish, the official language of communication among the peoples who inhabited the Empire. Despite the constructed national myths in Bulgarian romantic historiography concerning the Hellenistic policy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the negative role of Greek culture, the powerful influence of the Greek language on the spiritual life of the Bulgarians has recently been demonstrated. According to Nadya Danova (2008, 55), the Greek language achieved this influence through "the representatives of the Greek commercial bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia connected to it who had access to the European economic and cultural centres such as Paris, Vienna, London and Amsterdam that were centres of the ideas of the Enlightenment as well."

Certainly, the language facilitated the dissemination of Greek literature, which, together with educational institutions, communicated the achievements of Enlightenment Europe to the Balkan populations. All books published in Bulgaria until the 1830s, especially those by Western authors, were translated or compiled from Greek sources (Mishkova 2006, 240). It was not directly from the 'West,' but through Greece at the beginning of the 19th century that one of the earliest models (norms) for writing letters appeared – the Greek letters.

The 1840s saw a turning point in the history of Bulgarian relations with their neighbours in the south and west. This was the decade when the movement for a Bulgarian national church began, leading to a serious conflict with the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The deterioration of Bulgarian-Greek relations resulting from the Bulgarian claims in regard to the issue of a national church further tarnished the image of the Greeks. Gradually, the negative features attributed to Bulgaria's Greek neighbours by Bulgarian Revival ideology were transferred to the issue of document preservation, and consequently, destruction. One of the most sustained myths – which in the course of time turned into a national stereotype in Bulgaria – held that the metropolitan bishop Ilarion Kritski initiated the burning of old Bulgarian books and manuscripts from the Library of Tarnovo (Aretov 2006, 277–99; Mircheva 2001, 334). The key works that created and spread this myth were written by Hristo Daskalov and appeared among the Russian public (1858 and 1859; Mircheva 2001, 364–90). Although Iurdan Trifonov already deconstructed and refuted this legend in 1917, the *auto-da-fé* of Tarnovo continued to be presented as an authentic event, and the legend of the destruction

of the Bulgarian Patriarchal library turned into a refrain in anti-Greek propaganda (Mircheva 2011, 364). The myth of the destroyed books can be explained by looking at the processes of national identity construction when Bulgarians rejected one part of their cultural heritage – the Byzantine – in order to re-establish their Slavic origin (Ibid., 389).

The Russian Influence: Between Patronage, Expansion and Slavism

The dominant Greek influence was gradually replaced by a Russian one, while the Bulgarians themselves made active efforts, too. Aiming to 'denounce the ideology and the world view of Hellenism,' the leaders of the Bulgarian national movement transferred their hopes and aspirations to Russian education, support, culture and cultural production. Until the Crimean War (1853–1856), the Bulgarian Revivalists were active in financing initiatives for Bulgarian national education under the control of Russia. The number of people who completed their education in Russia gradually grew, and by the third quarter of the 19th century, two-thirds of educated Bulgarians were Russian alumni. They introduced the Russian influence during the Bulgarian Revival and provided direct access to it (Genchev 2002, 40–99).

Orthodoxy was another channel of influence connected to Russia's patronizing policy towards those Balkan countries belonging to the Ottoman Empire. Having taken the role of a civilizing 'metropolis' regarding the Balkans, Russia conducted a typically imperial policy in searching for documents and manuscripts from these lands and preserving them in its archives and other institutions.

The development of Slavic studies at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries gave a strong impetus to the organization of expeditions with the goal of collecting antiquities. During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, an 'archaeographic expedition' was undertaken by Russia to review, classify and precisely describe all manuscripts kept in monasteries, churches, schools, seminaries and other collections in the Balkans. An archaeographic commission (1834), specially established for this purpose and managed by the public education administration, began to publish the more than 3,000 documents with historical and juridical content that had been collected. Subsequently, archaeographic commissions were founded in Lithuania, in the Caucasus and in Kiev, and the archives collected there were published. In 1835, the first four departments of Slavic studies were opened at the universities of Moscow, Petersburg, Kazan' and Khar'kov. Not only universities, but diverse groups, associations, bibliophiles and patrons of cultural initiatives pursued Slavic studies, too.

The inception of modern archives in Russia is connected to the era of Peter the Great and his reforms, which included reforms regarding the preservation of historically valuable documents. The General Regulation from 1720 used the word 'archive' for the first time in the administrative language of the Russian state. The employment of certain clerks, called 'arhivarius', who would be responsible for preserving and processing the archival materials, was planned (Duĭchev 1993, 260–61). The reforms were of paramount importance for the preservation of archival documents in Russia. Also, the collection of historical archives began. The earliest historical archive was the Moscow Archive of the Collegium of Foreign Cases (1724). At that time, the missions of the first 'emissaries' charged with collecting manuscripts from the East and Siberia (e.g. Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt, 1685–1735) and the first and second Kamchatka expeditions (1725–1730, 1733–1741) got underway. A chain of historical archives was built in St. Petersburg and Moscow by the end of the 18th century.

Though Russia already had well-established historical archives, its influence on the formation of the Bulgarian archive during the Revival was particularly noticeable in the typically imperial policy it developed when locating and dispatching documents to its archives, libraries, collections and museums for permanent conservation. As its active intermediaries and proponents, a number of Revival Bulgarians contributed to this expedient policy.

The Czech National Museum in Prague: A Dream and Model for a Bulgarian Archive during the Revival

In the middle of the 19th century, the West Slavic influence on cultural transfer became increasingly discernible. The dominance of the Russian Slavists weakened; they were replaced by professional 'western' Slavists (Czech, Polish, Slovak, Slovenian) from the Habsburg territories (Mishkova 2006, 247). At that time, the Czech National Museum became an example for the Bulgarian communities abroad. In 1869, an editorial in *Narodnost* (Nationality), a newspaper published by Bulgarian emigrants in Bucharest, reminded readers of the museum's establishment. The editorial suggested the idea of founding a museum based on the Czech model – a 'focal point' of 'Bulgarian precious antiquities' in the 'Bratska Liubov' (Brotherly love) community centre in Bucharest:

> Let us take a look at the Czech people. At the beginning of this new century these were Czech-Slovak lands covered in darkness. The Czech language had to be hidden in the low village huts. The foreigners, the Germans, sold their Enlightenment in the towns. The Jesuits had burned all Czech books and tortured people, just like the cunning and sold-to-

the-Asian-despot Phanariotes did in our country. Then a few noble persons appeared: they established a national museum that became a focal point of all the Czech strengths of the soul of their common fatherland. The national museum gathered the people's antiquities, historical documents and other historical artefacts; its aim was to promote the Czech language, to support literature and to disseminate enlightenment and sciences as a whole. […] Now the Czechs are leading into the Enlightenment ahead of all Slavic peoples; the Czech state has surpassed even its masters, the Germans, in the Enlightenment.

Why can our community centre not be what the Czech 'National Museum' has been? How many precious Bulgarian antiquities lie forgotten in the dust! How many books are in the hands of irresponsible people! (*Narodnost*, no. 15, 8 March 1869, 60; cited in Anchova et al. 2003, 71–73; all translations from the Bulgarian by the author)

Initially, the Czech National Museum was established in 1818 as an institution for collecting documents on the history of Bohemia (today, the Czech Republic) with the purpose of awakening national feeling. Two outstanding figures are connected with its founding: Kaspar Maria Count von Sternberg (1761–1838), a descendent of one of the oldest aristocratic families in Bohemia, and František Palacký[2] (1798–1876), one of the three 'fathers of the nation'. The museum's establishment was related to the opening of private art collections to the public that started after the French Revolution of 1789. On the other hand, the beginning of the 19th century saw a period of fruitful development of science and culture under the rule of Franz I of Austria (1792–1835), not only for the Germans but also for the other peoples of the Empire. Under this policy, Kaspar Sternberg started to make efforts to establish a Bohemian national museum in 1814.

Initially, the nationalists – to whom the larger part of the Bohemian intelligentsia belonged – did not accept Sternberg's idea of a museum, considering it an enterprise of the nobility that would herald the end of the Czech people. František Palacký was appointed to mediate between them; as a compromise, Sternberg made him editor of the museum's two quarterly journals issued in two languages – German and Czech. A further compromise was struck with the nationalists; namely, in 1830, Palacký proposed to establish a commission 'Matica česká' (a publishing house and cultural institution) that would publish the Czech

---

[2]A Czech historian, philosopher, political figure, journalist and ideologist of the Czech National Revival, Palacký is considered one of the three 'fathers of the nation'. The first is the King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, the second is František Palacký, and the third Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, the first president of Czechoslovakia.

encyclopaedia and other books in the Czech language. In this way, the museum and the commission became centres of the study of Czech history and culture, and membership was considered a public duty. In his effort to support the museum, Sternberg donated his personal library (more than 4,000 volumes), herbariums, collections of minerals and fossils as well as plant specimens – about 5,000. These formed the basis of the museum collection (Ignatiev 2011, 21). Gradually, ethnographic materials, libraries comprising 1.3 million volumes, more than 8,000 manuscripts and other documents and exhibits were collected. The Czech museum, founded during the Czech National Revival with its romantic cult of antiquities aimed at awakening Czech national feeling, thus closely resembled the Bulgarian idea of a treasury of the national memory and culture, as well as the concept of a Bulgarian historical archive that emerged during the Revival.

The Archives of Wallachia and Moldova

The two Danubian principalities had enjoyed considerable autonomy even before the 19th century, as was confirmed in 1826, and extensive modernization in Wallachia and Moldova started in the 1830s. The Treaty of Adrianople (1829) further extended the vassal rights of the principalities, and the period after it can be considered an era of modernization (Europeanization), still within the Ottoman Empire but under immensely increasing Russian influence. The constitutional law of Muntenia (Greater Wallachia) was adopted in July 1831, and Moldova received its law in January 1832. The regulations for the two principalities were the result of Russian instructions and kept as closely to them as possible, with the fewest differences in the establishment of new institutions. The idea of the future unification of the principalities was explicitly stated in the statutes of the two constitutional laws; however, unification was achieved as one of the consequences of the Crimean War (1853–1856). At the beginning of 1862, the first general legislative meeting was convened and the first general government formed. Despite its mandate being valid only for the period of its administration, forming only one administrative system, the meeting in fact laid the foundations of the united Romanian national state, though the name 'United Principalities of Wallachia and Moldova' was retained (Parusheva 2008, 36–56).

The idea of forming an archive as a state institution belonged to Pavel Dmitrievich Kiselëv,[3] who in 1829 persuaded the Divan (the Ottoman Imperial Council) to reorganize its offices in Wallachia and Moldova in order to preserve

[3] Pavel Dmitrievich Kiselëv (1788–1872) was a Russian general and statesman who was assigned to the administration of the Moldovan and Walachian provinces under the Russian Protectorate from 1829 to 1834.

documents (Velichkova 1996, 127). The modern organization of archives in Wallachia and Moldova began in 1831–1832, and after the unification of the two principalities the Directorate of State Archives was established, headquartered in Bucharest and affiliated to the city of Iasi under the order of the Ministry of Justice, Religions and Public Education. The new organization of the archives was implemented by separating those documents of historical value from documents of practical value. The National Archives Act was drafted in 1870, and a statute regulating the state archives was in force from 1872 to 1925 (Dobrota 2007, 56). However, the Romanian model was not suitable for a Bulgarian archive. Instead, Romania was to host the first Bulgarian historical archive in the framework of the Bulgarian Literary Society in Braila (Brăila).

The Bulgarian Case

Interest in manuscripts and material records, as part of wider interest in the past and traditions of the people of a country, was a unique phenomenon of the 18th century. The Bulgarian Revival was not an exception; it was in this era that Bulgarians became interested in locating and preserving antiquities. From the second half of the 18th century onwards, sporadic cases are noted of writers and historiographers searching out and collecting sources. The ancient literary tradition was maintained mainly through the reproduction and the publication of supplements to Old Bulgarian literary works.

Between the 1820s and 1850s, interest in documentary traces from the past increasingly grew and extended to wider groups among Revival society. Teachers, clergymen and other individuals received special instruction and were sent by emigrant groups to certain regions in Bulgaria in order to collect historical documents; research schedules were drawn up. Apart from manuscripts and other historical sources, there was interest in oral traditions and Bulgarian folklore. Fairy tales, songs and legends were added to the range of investigated traces from the past. Discovered manuscripts and historical documents were dispatched to emigrant communities where they were published in periodicals printed abroad. The first Bulgarian magazines, *Liuboslovie* and *Bŭlgarski Orel* (Bulgarian eagle, 1846), as well as subsequent newspapers and magazines,[4] published not only manuscripts and documents but also articles about newly discovered antiquities,

---

[4] *Tsarigradski vestnik* (Tsarigrad herald) (1848–1862) in Constantinople, *Mirozrenie* (Worldview) in Vienna, *Bŭlgarska dnevnitsa* (Bulgarian diary) in Novi Sad (1857), *Dunavski lebed* (Danubian swan) in Belgrade (1850), *Bŭlgarski knizhnitsi* (Bulgarian booklets) in Bolgrad (1858), *Turtsia* (Turkey) in Constantinople (1862–1875), and so forth.

appeals for their preservation and rules for copying documents. Most of the emigrant newspapers and magazines included appeals for the conservation of antiquities in their introductory columns.

In order to accelerate and intensify the collection and preservation of documents during the Bulgarian Revival, some of the first collectors contributed their private collections. Wars in general, and in particular the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829 (which took place during the period of this study), were accompanied by specially organized expeditions aimed at collecting documents from the Bulgarian lands (Vŭzharova 1960, 5–8).

The development of Slavic studies in the early decades of the 19th century was another strong external factor in the intensive search for and investigation of Bulgarian manuscripts and especially of records of Old Bulgarian literature. The first Slavists sent by Russia to the Bulgarian lands were Iuriĭ Venelin (1802–1839) and Viktor Grigorovich (1815–1876); in Socialist as well as in recent historiography, their expeditions have been described as significant for the further development of the idea of a Bulgarian archive during the Revival period. With financial support from the Russian Academy in St. Petersburg, Iuriĭ Venelin[5] was sent to Wallachia, Moldova and northern Bulgaria from April 1830 to October 1831. For a year and a half, he was expected:

> to conduct research of all printed books and manuscripts in Slavic dialects, in the Wallachian, Moldavian and Greek languages that were stored in the monasteries there and in other libraries; to collect records of oral lore, to search for unknown chronicles, to copy the most valuable manuscripts, and to learn Bulgarian in order to write a grammar book and a small dictionary (Tsanev 1981, 79).

He managed to discover 66 diplomas and 22 illustrations, some of which he found in the archives and library collections in Bucharest. He presented the whole collection to the Russian Academy. Venelin's greatest merit was that he encouraged Bulgarians to actively search for written documents and folk testimonies. In a letter to Vasil Aprilov dated 27 September 1837, this Ukrainian Slavist with Habsburg schooling formulated an appeal to scholars searching for documentary records of Bulgarian life and culture, and set out a programme for folklore and ethnographic research. What remained obscure and was not commented on in historiography was Venelin's explanation of Russian policy on the export of Bulgarian antiquities:

---

[5] His real name was Georgi Hutsa.

It seems to me, sir, I do not need to prove to you the truth of my thought that Bulgarian written records should not remain in Bulgaria. […] I know from experience that the Bulgarians appreciate their manuscripts and reluctantly give them away. This feeling, in itself, must be highly appreciated, but what would be the consequence of this: permanent destruction of the Bulgarian domestic historical sources! It seems to me that it is time the educated Bulgarians felt what I have said and tried to supply the Russian scientists with all possible materials. This sacrifice will not exactly be for the Russian scientists, but for the sake of the Bulgarians. Moreover, there is neither a public archive nor a printing house in Bulgaria. It is up to you, dear sir, and your fellow countrymen, to let us know whether there are any Old Bulgarian manuscripts, to find them and save them in Russia. In this way, the more important of them can be immediately printed (Venelin 1942, 106–24; cited in Anchova et al. 2003, 17–18).

Copied and sent to writers and scholars in Bulgaria and to Bulgarian emigrants, Venelin's appeal led to a chain reaction as the letter was republished and popularized in Bulgarian society. It is generally accepted that the letter led to significant activity and contributed to transform individual interest in documentary traces from the past into a broad movement during the late 1840s. Russian scientists declared that the export of Bulgarian antiquities to Russian collections, libraries and museums represented the only guarantee for their preservation, i.e. the only viable form of archival storage was in archives, museums and collections located abroad.

The appeal's multiplying effect was noted again 52 years after its writing. In 1889, two of Venelin's letters were used to relaunch an appeal for collecting antiquities, once again through their publication in the journal *Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniia, nauka i knizhnina* (Collection of folk art, science and literature). An editorial note stated that the letters had been discovered in the archive of Neofit Rilski, and thus called on readers to send in any discovered letters or other documents by prominent literary and political activists to be published in the same collection. After their publication, the collected originals were to be sent to the national library, which was recognized as an archival institution at that time.

The Russian scholar and Slavist Viktor Grigorovich was also recognized by Revival Bulgarians as an eminent figure. Grigorovich managed to attract numerous collaborators during his mission to European Turkey (1844–1845) and to publicize his findings: the passionals of St. Kliment Ohridski and of St. Ivan Rilski, chrysobulls from the 13th century and a diploma issued by Tsar Ivan Alexander. Consequently, his Bulgarian collaborators initiated new research. These

efforts were supported by a number of Bulgarian Revivalists from inside the country and abroad. At the same time, some Bulgarians hesitated to give up items from their collections and tried to conceal and preserve them privately.

The active work of the Russian Slavists coincided with a transition period during the 1840s when instead of passively glorifying relics from the past, the Bulgarian Revival intelligentsia showed intense activity. Its interest in historical monuments and records grew, also reaching to members of different social classes. Moreover, a movement was founded in order to locate and investigate antiquities. This massive social movement was involved in discovering, collecting, copying and publishing Bulgarian manuscripts, preserving the originals and introducing the findings to fellow Bulgarians, and through purposeful efforts to publish them. Some scholars have proposed that the goals of this expanding investigation were focused on the task of gaining national, spiritual and cultural independence and of proving the continuity of the medieval Bulgarian state and its culture (Mazhdrakova-Chavdarova 1994, 216).

The first Bulgarian public museum collections appeared in the 1850s, demonstrating that the process had entered a new phase through the institutionalized gathering of documents (see ibid., 214). However, until the end of the 1860s, without a historical archive as an established institution, the Bulgarian Revival Society performed those activities. The collected documents were exported for storage to emigrant community centres, foreign archives and museums. The dissemination of the documents was organized mainly through their publication in the Revival periodical press.

The Bulgarian Literary Society in Braila: A Crossroad of Influences and a Prototype for the Bulgarian Historical Archive

In 1869, as a result of the efforts of emigrant members of the Bulgarian Revival Society, an institution was established that might be described as the prototype of the earliest historical archive in Bulgaria and as a national centre for the collection of archival documents before Liberation in 1878. The seat of this archive was in Braila, outside the Ottoman Empire, and it was formed as part of the Bulgarian Literary Society (BLS).

The Society's purpose was to unite the Bulgarian scientists working in Wallachia, Moldavia, and the southern Russian Empire. The literary society is an illustrative example of the intertwined influences that underlay the establishment of the archive and its further operation. The conditions under which the Society was founded were not imposed by any state policy, nor were they centralized,

directed or dominated. The idea of establishing a Bulgarian educational and scientific society spanning several countries went through several stages for almost half a century and was developed and maintained in Bulgarian circles and emigrant centres in Brașov, Constantinople, Odessa, Bucharest, Galați, Braila, Prague and Vienna. Hence, the establishment of the Society as well as its future function were influenced by foreign models and practices. In the 1820s, efforts to establish a common educational centre, spanning various social classes, led to the foundation of a circle of educated Bulgarian activists in Brașov. There were also projects for an 'academic scientific institution', for 'a small academy in a decent place', for 'a learned society' as well as for a Bulgarian '*Matitsa*' in Constantinople. The latter project was sent for approval to Prague, Vienna, Istanbul and Odessa. In 1861, the Bulgarians in Odessa attempted to form a purely Bulgarian scholarly society, a 'literary society'. This was meant to provide a platform for scientific topics of national interest and achievements of world science, according to the first issues of the *Dunavski Lebed* (Danubian swan, 1859–1861). Immediately before the establishment of the BLS in Braila in 1867, the activity of the 'Bratska Liubov' Bulgarian cultural centre got underway in Bucharest. This was taken as a sign that the time had come for the establishment of a purely Bulgarian institution (Savov 1994, 10).

The next step was the founding of a literary society in Braila. However, the Society was actually initiated in Prague, where in the autumn of 1867, two of its founders met: Vasil Stoianov, then a student at the Faculty of Law of Prague University, and Marin Drinov, who had recently graduated from the Faculty of History and Philology of Moscow University and lived in Prague until the beginning of November 1869 (Ibid., 11). The third particularly active participant in the Society's foundation and management, and responsible for the publication of its periodical, the *Periodichesko spisanie* (Periodical Magazine), was Vasil Drumev. In Prague, Marin Drinov got into exchange with František Palacký. Drinov also became acquainted and worked together with Adolf Patera, an assistant at the Czech National Museum who arranged free access for Drinov to Prague's museums and libraries (Velichkova 1984, 52). The statute of the Bulgarian Literary Society was drafted in Prague. Immediately after its establishment, texts borrowed from the statutes of the Belgrade, Zagreb, Prague and Krakow academies of sciences and which were considered most appropriate to the goals of the Bulgarian Literary Society, were added to its statute (Ibid., 53). Meanwhile, Bulgarians in Odessa and Braila started to provide funds for the Society. Intense communication was maintained, and negotiations were conducted with the Bulgarian communities in Bucharest, Galați and Odessa.

The initially difficult and slow development of the Society's activity can be explained by the lack of a Bulgarian state, a material base, a printing house in Braila and, above all, of funds. Other obstacles to its work included the fact that the Society had emerged and developed on foreign territory; relations with the fatherland were rather limited due to increased Ottoman censorship and political vigilance in the 1870s. In addition, its chairman, Marin Drinov, lived abroad and failed to appear regularly at the annual general meetings. The negative attitude of the revolutionary part of the Bulgarian emigrant community must also be mentioned (Solenkova 2011, 479–94). Still, the BLS developed lasting relations with scientific societies and individual scientists in Russia, Austria, Hungary, Croatia, France, Italy, England, and Prussia. This helped to establish it among the scientific and educational milieus in Europe and to promote the Bulgarian cause.

The founders of the Bulgarian Literary Society and their contemporaries saw it as a centre committed to collecting archival documents. In the Bulgarian magazine *Chitalishte*, published in Constantinople (1870–1875), the BLS was designated as the institution under whose auspices a museum for the preservation of Bulgarian and foreign antiquities should be established (Chitalishte 1871, 634–36). This was supported by Konstantin Jireček's letter to the Braila Society, in which he suggested: "There should be another museum of the Society, where the Bulgarian antiquities shall be collected and paid special attention to and shall serve the new generation as a memory of their ancestors and be promoted all over the world" (Miatev 1953, 57–63). In fact, the founding statute of the BLS presupposed activities that resembled basic archival functions: "the collection of different types of information necessary to study the whole Bulgarian homeland", and the compilation of "collections of various Old Bulgarian and foreign books, manuscripts, coins, and other similar artefacts which will form the antiques room" – a section of the archive (Anchova et al. 2003, 79; Ustavite 1989, 13–31).

In the very beginning, the collection of documents held in the BLS archive was mainly accomplished in two ways: 1) through donations made by individuals, organizations and public institutions, and 2) through records that arrived following Society initiatives for the collection and preservation of valuable archival documents (Savov 1994, 19). It is also known that the salary of the Society's chairman, Marin Drinov, was used to purchase historical documents (Ibid.).

In order to reach readers, the documents collected and kept by the Literary Society were published in *Periodicheskoto spisanie na Bŭlgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo* (Periodical magazine of the Bulgarian Literary Society). Thus, the Society carried out the second main function of a historical archive: the provision of opportunity to use the stored archival material. The Literary Society played a further significant role in the history of the Bulgarian archives because it installed

its own archive, making it one of the earliest pre-Liberation institutions to foresee the establishment of such a resource. At a meeting on 7 December 1868, the Bulgarians in Odessa initiated a discussion on the necessity of such an archive.

Although the original documents containing written evidence of the establishment of the Society were not preserved, information on the idea and process of founding the Society were discovered in letters exchanged between Bulgarian emigrants in Bucharest, Braila, Odessa and Chișinău in 1868, as well as in the minutes of the preliminary meetings of 1869. The well-kept *kondika* (chronicle) of the BLS, compiled by the Bulgarians from Odessa, was preserved. Later, the Society's clerk, Todor Peev, made copies of all important protocols, such as the minutes of the annual meetings and the meetings of the management board (Savov 1990, 68).

After Liberation in 1878, the Society moved to Sofia together with its archive, which until then had been kept in the house of Nikola Tsenov[6] – a chairman of the board of trustees and an honorary member of the BLS since 1884. Originally, his home had hosted the headquarters of the society, and after 1876 accommodated the archives, the library and the treasury of the Society; from here, these were transferred to Sofia. Bearing in mind that the Society was established through the efforts of Bulgarian emigrants in different cities and countries (Prague, Bucharest, Braila, Odessa, Chișinău), the archive of the institution itself obtained even greater importance, since it contained documentary evidence of its formation.

Without hesitation, the BLS can be described as the first Bulgarian National Revival archive to maintain an institutional and a historical collection. It was a unique 'exported' archive, operating outside the Bulgarian territories, and was the result of the activities and concerted efforts of Revival society in the Bulgarian lands and emigrant communities.

In Conclusion

Until the middle of the 19th century, it was assumed that "for financial, organizational, political and educational reasons, no one in Bulgaria was able to organize large public libraries or book collections" (K'osev 1998, 41). The fact that there

---

[6] Nikola Tsenov was a merchant, banker and public figure. After the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, his family moved to Braila. He supported the publication of numerous newspapers, as well as Bulgarian social, educational and cultural organizations in Romania and in Sliven, his town of birth.

was no independent Bulgarian state made the establishment of a state historical archive nearly impossible. Establishing an archive is a state obligation; therefore, the initial condition for the creation of an archive, even in ancient societies, was the existence of a state organization – an authority that, through an institution, would ensure the preservation of documents and permit their use.

This is why the inception of the Bulgarian Historical Archive during the Revival did not take place with the establishment of a state institution in the Bulgarian lands. Its formation was the result of intertwined influences and the policies of foreign powers, with reference to various European, Russian and Balkan models, scholarly societies and institutions created to preserve archival documents. Although many of the Bulgarian educational activists of the Revival era were familiar with the modern historical archive in France as well as with the archive founded in Constantinople in 1846 influenced by the French model, and also knew of the new archives in Wallachia and Moldova, they chose the Czech National Museum as the most appropriate institution applicable to Bulgarian conditions, i.e. an archive of historical documents that emerged from the Czech Revival and its aspiration to awaken the national spirit. However, unlike the Czech museum, the Bulgarian historical archive of the Revival period was not and could not be a state institution situated in the Bulgarian lands. The Bulgarian archival model was built by a Revival society and took the form of an 'exported' archive (a collection of documents) in Braila. In the Bulgarian case, due to the lack of an independent state during the Revival, the correlation 'state–society–archives' was replaced by the correlation 'society–archives.'

The other form of historical archive from the age of the Bulgarian Revival, and also exported outside Bulgaria's borders, constituted written historical records discovered and sent abroad, either to foreign archives and collections or to the emigrant communities in Braila, Odessa and Constantinople for both preservation and publishing in periodicals. This might also be described as a 'virtual archive' in that it reached beyond the territories of the Bulgarian lands and represented the efforts of both the Bulgarians living in the Ottoman Empire and the Bulgarian diaspora. Here it is possible to outline at least the contours of the processes of collecting and storing historical sources and to trace the attempts to publish and popularize them.

The models of archive typical for the 19th century were introduced to Bulgaria through knowledge transfer. This process was not the result of foreign domination or imposed imperial policy. It was the result of coincidental causes in connection with the activities of the agents of knowledge transfer: Bulgarians who graduated from foreign universities, Bulgarian emigrants and foreign emissaries, scientists and Slavists. If the transfer of knowledge from neighbouring Greece was realized

mainly by the merchant class and was limited to the adaptation of Greek models, leading some Bulgarian merchants to form their own personal archives, the model for the Bulgarian historical archive chosen and preferred by the Bulgarian emigrants was that of the Czech National Museum. Based on the Czech model, they foresaw an archive centre exported from the Ottoman Empire, where documents were to be collected and stored as part of efforts to assert national independence. For the purposes and needs of Bulgarian society during the Revival, this was the only possible archive. Since the *Hazine-i Evrak* state archive in Constantinople was the central organization of the Ottoman Empire charged with preserving the documents of state institutions, it was not considered of relevance to the Bulgarian case of statehood that had been interrupted for centuries.

Works Cited

Anchova, Kalinka, et al., editors. *Arkhiv na bŭlgarskite arkhivi*. Universitetsko izdatelstvo Neofit Rilski, 2003.

Aretov, Nikolaĭ. *Natsionalna mitologiia i natsionalna literatura.* Kralitsa Mab, 2006.

Arkhiv na Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite (ABAN; Archives of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), f. 14, a.e. 345, 2–5; f. 1K, op. 1, a.e. 1.

Binark, Ismet. "Kratka istoriia na turskite arkhivi i deĭnostta na Generalnata direktsiia na dŭrzhavnite arkhivi." *Arkhiven pregled*, no. 1–2, 1996, pp. 117–28.

Danova, Nadia, editor. *Arkhiv na Konstantin Georgiev Fotinov. Vol. 1. Grŭtska korespondentsiia*. Izdatelstvo Gutenberg, 2005.

---. *Ivan Dobrivski v perspektivata na bŭlgarskia XIX vek*. Izdatelstvo Valentin Traianov, 2008.

Dobrota, Karmen-Elena. "Dŭrzhavnite arkhivi v Rumŭniia." *Izvestiia na dŭrzhavnite arkhivi*, no. 93, 2007, pp. 52–62.

Donkov, Rumen. "Archeografski motivi vŭv vŭzrozhdenskiia pechat." *Izvestiia na dŭrzhavnite arkhivi,* no. 66, 1993, pp. 113–44.

Duĭchev, Ivan. *Lektsii po arkhivistika*. Universitetsko izdatelstvo Sv. Kliment Okhridski, 1993.

Genchev, Nikolaĭ. *Bŭlgaro-ruski kulturni obshtuvaniia prez Vŭzrazhdaneto*. Izdatelstvo Lik, 2002.

Ignat'ev, Igor Anatol'evich. "Kaspar Shternberg (1761–1838): kanonik, ministr, paleobotanik." *Lethaea rossica*, no. 5, 2011, pp. 1–24.

K'osev, Aleksandŭr. "Spisŭtsi na otsŭstvashtoto." *Bŭlgarskiiat kanon? Krizata na literaturnoto nasledstvo*, edited by Aleksandŭr K'osev, Izdatelstvo Aleksandŭr Panov, 1998, pp. 5–49.

Kuzmanova, Mariia. "Interesŭt kŭm bŭlgarskite pismeni pametnitsi, otrazen vŭv vŭzrozhdenskiia periodichen pechat." *Izvestiia na dŭrzhavnite arkhivi*, no. 11, 1966, pp. 16–24.

Mazhdrakova-Chavdarova, Ogniana. "Zasilvane interesa na bŭlgarskoto vŭzrozhdensko obshtestvo kŭm rodnite starini (30-te–50-te godini na XIX vek)." *Studiia balkanica*, vol. 22, no. 2, 1994, pp. 212–30.

Miatev, Petŭr. *Iz arkhiva na Konstantin Irechek. Prepiska s bŭlgari. Dokumenti za obshtestveno-politicheskata i kulturnata istoriia na Bŭlgariia ot 1871 do 1915 godina.* Bŭlgarska akademiia na naukite, 1953.

Mircheva, Keta. "Unishtozhavane na knigi – bŭlgarski praktiki i mitove ot XIX vek." *Balkanite. Modernizatsiia, identichnosti, idei. Sbornik v chest na Nadia Danova*, edited by Iura Konstantinova, Institut po balkanistika, 2011, pp. 364–90.

Mishkova, Diana. "V tŭrsene na balkanskiia oksidentalizŭm." *Balkanskiat XIX vek. Drugi prochiti*, edited by Diana Mishkova, Izdatelstvo Riva, 2006, pp. 238–47.

Neĭkova, Andriana. *Arkhivi i obshtestvo*. Izdatelska kŭshta Sofi-R, 2007.

Parusheva, Dobrinka. *Pravitelstveniat elit v Rumŭniia i Bŭlgariia vtorata polovina na XIX i nachaloto na XX vek. Sotsialna istoriia*. Institut po balkanistika, 2008.

Petkova, Stefka. "Shtrihi kŭm istoriiata na bŭlgarskite arkhivi. Chast 1." *Arkhiven pregled,* no. 3–4, 2009, pp. 15–29.

--- *Uvod v arkhivoznanieto*. Universitetsko izdatelstvo Sv. Kiril i Metodiĭ, 2011.

Radkov, Mladen. "Iz istoriiata na arkhiva na Vŭzrazhdaneto v Bŭlgariia." *Izvestiia na dŭrzhavnite arkhivi*, no. 7, 1963, pp. 43–65.

Rusev, Ivan. *Tŭrgovskata modernost na Bŭlgarskoto vŭzrazhdane kato kultura i praktika. Izsledvane i izvori*. Izdatelstvo Rovita, 2015.

Savov, Nikolaĭ. *Kŭm istoriiata na bŭlgarskata arkhivistika. Bŭlgarskata obshtestvenost i dokumentalnoto nasledstvo*. Bŭlgarska akademiia na naukite, 1990.

--- "Vŭznikvane i utvŭrzhdavane na Bŭlgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo." *Iz istoriiata na Bŭlgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo,* edited by Mihail Bŭchvarov, Akademichno izdatelstvo Marin Drinov, 1994, pp. 7–23.

Solenkova, Liubomila. "Kakvo se sluchi s Bŭlgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo v Braila prez 1876? (Po danni ot korespondentsiata mezhdu Marin Drinov i Todor Peev)." *Sbornik v chest na 70-godishninata na prof. din Dimitŭr Ignatovski*, Faber, 2011, pp. 479–94.

Tsanev, Dimitŭr. *Za bŭlgarite. Chuzhdata istoricheska bŭlgaristika prez XVIII–XIX vek*. Izdatelstvo Septemvri, 1981.

Ustavite na Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite 1869–1984. Bŭlgarska akademiia na naukite, 1989, pp. 13–31.

Velichkova, Tsvetana. "Cheshkoto vliiaanie za sŭzdavaneto na Bŭlgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo v Braila." *Istoriia na dŭrzhavnite institutsii*, edited by Stefka Petkova, Glavno upravlenie na arkhivite, 1984, pp. 48–58.

--- "Arkhivite v Rumŭniia." *Arkhiven pregled*, no. 3–4, 1996, pp. 127–34.

Venelin, Iuriĭ. *Izbrani stranitsii*, edited by Petŭr Dinekov, Izdatelstvo Otets Paisii, 1938, pp. 10–24.

Vŭzharova, Zhivka. *Ruskite ucheni i bŭlgarskite starini. Izsledvane, materiali i dokumenti*. Bŭlgarska akademiia na naukite, 1960.

THE HABSBURGS AND THE BLACK SEA REGION:
A CONTINENTAL APPROACH

Harald Heppner

Abstract: This article analyses the development of knowledge about the Black Sea Region in the Habsburg Empire. Although the Empire did not border on the region, it was interested in connecting to it. First measures in this direction were taken at the beginning of the 18th century. In the middle of the 19th century, a significant body of knowledge was accumulated – not only by the government, but also by businessmen and the wider public. This knowledge about the Black Sea Region encompassed geographical, political, economic, social and cultural topics and was integrated into the Southeast European horizon.

Introduction

To understand the title it is necessary to reflect shortly on the development of the Habsburg Empire up to the 18th century. The core part of this European power, starting in the Middle Ages, consisted of some provinces of the Holy Roman Empire in the alpine and pre-alpine area. Although this area included the harbour town of Trieste, Venice as traditionally dominant maritime power prevented all alternative ambition in the Adriatic Sea to enter the sea traffic and to attain far markets. Based on a hereditary agreement with the Jagiellonian dynasty ruling Bohemia and Hungary, the Habsburgs achieved the right to rule over these two neighbouring kingdoms after the battle of Mohács (1526) which was fought between the armies of the Hungarian king Ludwig II and the Ottoman sultan Süleyman II. But the Viennese court was not able to make use of this power growth, because the Ottomans acquired the middle part of the Danube basin in the 1540s and bound a lot of military forces for generations. After the 'Great War' (1683–1699) between Constantinople and Vienna which was cooperating with Venice, Warszawa, Moscow, Malta and the Pope in Rome, the strategic positions in Central Europe changed, as most of the Hungarian territory came under the Habsburg rule. For a short time Venice belonged also to the winners because it was able to get the Peloponnese peninsula, but the Ottoman government ('High Porte') did not accept this new situation in the Aegean Sea and kicked the Venetians out of Greece in 1714/15. The Habsburgs, as their alliance partner, obliged to help, opened the war in southeastern Hungary: After a series of military successes, emperor Charles VI concluded in the Serbian village of Požarevac (1718) the better known peace treaty and the not so well known trade and sea traffic treaty with the representatives of sultan Ahmed III.

Just these circumstances allowed to focus on non-continental goals – to the Levant and to the Black Sea (Baramova 2013). Therefore, it must be underlined: Until the end of the 17th century the Habsburgs had no realistic chance to focus on the sea and to collect sea traffic experience, but the Treaty of Požarevac allowed, step by step, to gain some expertise in sea and river traffic. Therefore the membership of the Habsburg Empire among the community of sea powers started in the period after 1718, but a military navy was not existent before 1797 (Sondhaus 1989, 1–18).

For this subject the middle of the 19th century represents a historical ceasura because several factors indicated the begin of a new period. The impact of the industrialisation brought an increase of trade exchange and urbanisation along the Danube and the Black Sea Coast. Since the 1850s not only the traffic of goods but also the mobility of people was increasing. Another aspect concerns the national state building of Romania and Bulgaria during the second half of the 19th century. The medialisation of the Black Sea Region was also changing: On the one hand during the Crimean War some telegraphic lines reaching from Central Europe to the Black Sea Region were built, on the other hand the printed press of this region found more response in the West than before (Maag et al. 2010). The foundation of the universities in Iaşi and Bucharest in the 1860s symbolise the start of an academic network between the region and other European countries (the first generation of academics had studied in France, Italy, Germany or in Russia). In contrary, the middle of the 18th century does not represent an important element of periodisation; to analyse the subject it is necessary to start some decades before.

It is to underline that traditional historiography does not focus on interregional knowledge building and exchange. Three main interest fields may be pointed out: 1. The first one concerns the national approach: Each of the 'national' countries (not only, but also) within the Black Sea Region has been analysed and described as something single – surrounded by more or less enemies; 2. The second interest field is the result of a look from the outside: Terms as 'South-Eastern Europe', 'Eastern Europe' 'the Caucasus Region' or the 'Black Sea Region' do not correspond to a constellation of different smaller spaces in their changing relationship or non-relationship in a satisfying manner; 3. These two fields depend on a continental approach, and the the maritime dimension of the sea plays only an inferior role.

Steps of Knowledge Growth

Paragraph 13 of the Peace Treaty of Požarevac (Samardžić 2011; Strohmeyer 2013) contains only a general regulation: The imperial subjects should have the right to travel and to trade in all provinces of the Ottoman Empire – not only on land but also at sea. Paragraph 2 of the Trade and Sea Traffic Treaty specifies the relevance of this right for the Black Sea region: Merchants may travel along the whole Danube, to Constantinople, to the Crimean Khanate, to Trabzon and other Black Sea harbours (Matuschka 1891; Pešalj 2011). The only limitation consisted in the obligation that ships of the imperial subjects must not enter into the Black Sea; therefore the merchandise had to be transferred to 'Turkish' ships in the last Danubian harbours (Brăila, Isacea, Kilia).

Figure 1: Conference tents in Požarevac

In this period neither the administration in Vienna nor specialists could have any precise knowledge concerning the maritime aspects of the Black Sea area, the topographic details, the climate etc. at their disposal. The intention for putting their own commercial activities into this eastern neighbourhood already existed, but not any practical experience. Also, contemporary maps did not contain any qualified details of the region.

To reach the Black Sea coast it was necessary to know more about the Danube River, especially below Belgrade where the imperial army had operated since 1717. During the occupation time of the Western part of Wallachia (Oltenia, 1717–1739), which was one of the territorial profits fixed by the Peace Treaty of Požarevac, some specialists had to work out a province description including the Danube River below the so called Iron Gate gorge (Abrudan 2017). This initiative propagated the information about the Western part of the Lower Danube, but it remained limited.

Figure 2: The Danube in Oltenia

The contemporary interest in favour of the Danube is also reflected in a study published in Amsterdam 1726. Its author was the Italian Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1658–1730) who was one of the ruling officers in the imperial army in this time. The book with the title *Danubius Pannonico-mysicus* promises to give information also on the Lower Danube (*Mysicus*), but the majority of data and illustrations concern only some subjects being related to the Hungarian space (*Pannonicus*).

The next steps were made at about 1770, as a German trader tested the traffic conditions on the Danube and in the Black Sea (Barămova 2012). Some similar initiatives were made in the late 1770s and early 1780s and included, for the first time, the northern coast of the Black Sea, because in Kherson the first general consul was established (Heppner 1984, 19, 65–67). All these activities were made in cooperation with the Viennese court, therefore all reports to the courses and the results were analysed in the State Chancellery. As a background it is necessary to underline that the strategic position of the Habsburg monarchy had changed in the 1770s, because the southern part of the Polish Kingdom (Kingdom of Galicia

and Lodomeria) and the northwestern part of the principality of Moldavia (Buco-vina) were annexed; these two territories caused a new kind of neighbourhood to Russia.

Until the time of the last war between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans (1788–1791), the ideas of the Lower Danube area had been increasing but mapping knowledge on the Black Sea itself did not change fundamentally. The first part of an atlas edited by Franz Joseph von Reilly (1766–1820) in Vienna in 1789 concerned the Ottoman Empire and Hungary and consisted of the following pages: General map of Hungary and the Ottoman Empire in Europe (Nr. 1), Northern Moldavia (Nr. 9), Southern Moldavia (Nr. 10), Bessarabia (Nr. 11), Jedisan (Nr. 12), Wallachia (Nr. 13), Eastern Bulgaria (Nr. 14), Western Bulgaria (Nr. 15), Romania [Rumelia] (Nr. 16). This publication contains the same failures as earlier editions: The proportions are not right, the topographic dates are fuzzy and do not correspond with the spatial reality.
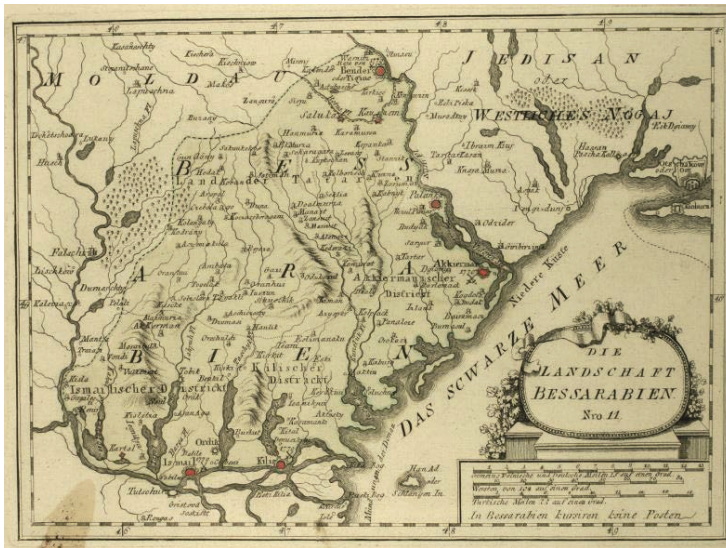
Figure 3: Bessarabia in the 'Reilly-Atlas'

A new era in favour of getting more diverse knowledge about Wallachia and Moldavia was opened after the Viennese court could establish two consular agen-cies in Bucharest and Iași in 1782 (Heppner 1984, 33–37). From these destina-tions the State Chancellery attained periodical reports concerning a lot of differ-ent subjects, while the agents got instructions for their work concerning the con-tacts to the princes and their administration, the help measures in favour of the

merchants, the representation need of the own state and the obligation to collect all relevant information. This information channel got higher relevance while the Russian army operated in Moldavia and Wallachia (1788–1792, 1806–1807, 1828–1829, 1848–1849, 1853–1854) and as the first modernisation steps in these two Ottoman vassal states were established (the so-called 'Organic Rules', 1834).
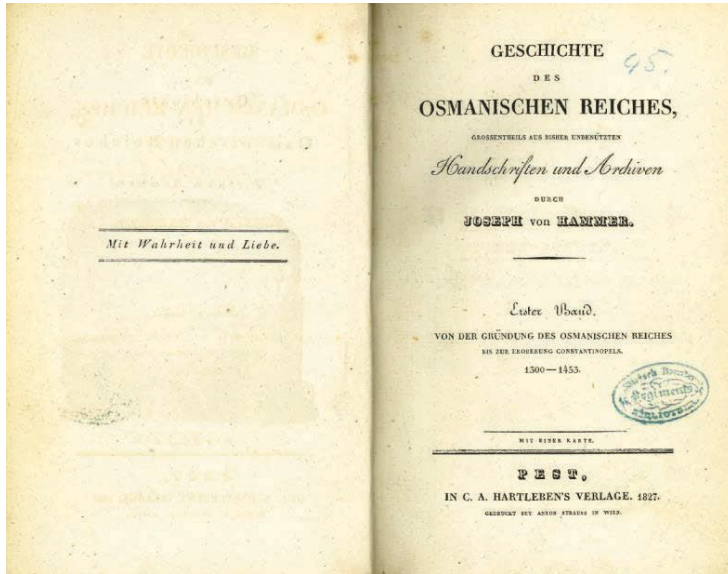
Figure 4: Cover of *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*

One of the imperial agents was Josef von Hammer (1774–1856), who stayed in Iaşi during 1806–1807 (Heppner 1981). After returning to Vienna, he was appointed imperial interpreter (*Hofdolmetsch*). Employed at the State Chancellery he had time enough to research the Viennese Archives and Libraries. His most well known work was published in 10 volumes between 1827 and 1833 under the title *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (History of the Ottoman Empire) (till 1774), giving information on the Black Sea Region with the Crimean Khanate too. Some years before he had published a survey about the capital city of the Ottoman Empire and its environment under the title *Konstantinopel und der Bosporus* (Constantinople and the Bosphorus). In 1840, Hammer published the study *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde von Kiptschak. Das ist der Mongolen in Rußland* (History of the Golden Horde of Kiptschak. This is of the Mongols in Russia), which was based on documents in the Viennese Archives and on some printed descriptions found in the Imperial Court Library. This ability did not only depend on his favourable job circumstances, but also on his education at the Oriental

Academy founded 1754 in Vienna. There, Hammer had learned the most important oriental languages and had had the chance to deepen his knowledge during his stay in Constantinople and in the Levant (1799–1806).

During the same period knowledge about the Danubian principalities grew confidentially in another direction. During the last 'Turkish' war (1788–1791) the imperial army occupied some part of Moldavia and Wallachia. Based on the ability of the Military Engineer Academy (founded in 1717 in Vienna and integrated into the 'Geniecorps' ('Genious Corps') in 1747) some specialists took a triangulated survey of the foreign territory (Dörflinger 2004, 76, 91).

Although official knowledge on the Black Sea Region increased step by step, knowledge amongst the larger public was confined to a limited horizon. One of the examples of this circumstance is a large series of Danube pictures which was published in three editions (Kunike 1826) and gave an idea of the whole Danube River. All details until the Iron Gate seem to be quite authentic but the scenery below remained at least half-fictional. The last picture of the series concerns the Danubian harbour Kilia and contains four errors.

Figure 5: Kilia (Kunike-Edition)

The settlement is not located on a rocky hill because the landscape is plain there. The architecture style of the church on the top corresponds to Bavarian or

Austrian Catholic churches but not to Orthodox ones typical for that region. The
open sea on the right side of the picture does not exist, because the Black Sea
border begins approx. 40 km east of Kilia. Finally, the sun is located in the front
of the observer, but the picture shows the perspective from south to north; from
there the sun does not shine.

Figure 6: Delta of the Danube (Map of the European Turkey, Vienna 1829)

How the qualification of geographical knowledge depended on military events
can be observed when it comes to mapping. For illustrating the campaigns be-
tween Russia and the Ottoman Empire in 1828/29, the 'Geniecorps' (cartography

department) in Vienna edited in 1829 a map with the title *Carte der europae-ischen Türkey nebst einem Theile von Kleinasien* (Map of the European Turkey with a part of Asia Minor) in 19 sheets. Some of them concern the Black Sea Region and reflect the, meanwhile developed, cartography and print technology.

During the first half of the 19th century the travel media was changing (several articles in Heppner 1996). As to the 1830s, the voyagers along the Danube and in the Black Sea depended on coaches and traditional ships, afterwards they were able to use the first generation of steam ships. In 1829, the Danube Steam Ship Line Company founded in Vienna was the first enterprise to manage transport along the Danube in a modernised manner. This development needed not only ships, but also harbours, hotels, supplies for men and engines, information material und state treaties and similar agreements. Technical achievement did not only change travel time and comfort fundamentally but also the number and the origin of travellers. Beginning with the 1840s, more and more people (not only merchants or officials) moved to the Black Sea, and from there mostly to Constantinople and the Levant as tourists to the capital city of the Ottoman Empire and the holy sites in Jerusalem.

A special aspect of the subject is the visit of some members of the Habsburg dynasty in the Black Sea region. The first one was emperor Joseph II who visited Catherine II of Russia twice – 1780 in Kiev, Moscow and St. Petersburg, 1787 in Kherson on the Crimea (Petrova 2011, 143–56, 322–46). The second example is emperor Francis I who made a visit in the Transcarpathian province Bucovina in 1817 and 1823 (Wagner 1979). The third example is archduke John, one of Francis' brothers: In 1837, he travelled from Styria to Russia, Turkey and Greece (Haan 1998). He was accompanied, among others, by Thomas Ender (1793–1875), one of the most famous Austrian painters in this period (Schröder and Sternath 2015, 214–39). His job was to collect impressions from Odessa, Sevastopol', Yalta and other destinations by painting or drawing. The Austrian team remained in the Crimea for one week and continued on 1 October to Constantinople. For planning official tours like these ones it needed a lot of detailed information about the routes, the climate conditions, the contact people etc. to guarantee the logistics and security of the participants.

Figure 7: Thomas Ender's 'Harbour of Sevastopol''

Figure 8: Thomas Ender's 'Court of Bakhchisaraï'

The last step of the Habsburgs in favour of knowledge growth on the Black Sea Region consisted also of some experiences during the Crimean War (1853–1856). As peace making measure Austrian troops occupied the territory of Wallachia in 1854, separating the Ottoman and the Russian armies. The connections with the Romanian inhabitants and the local authorities as well as the activities in favour of space evidence completed the knowledge about this country between the Southern Carpathians and the Lower Danube which had no direct part of the

Black Sea Coast (Wimpffen 1878). More impact for the further development of the Black Sea Region had the impact of the Congress in Paris (1856) as two commissions were founded – the European Danube Commission for the open access of the Danube, and the commission of the Danubian Coast neighbour states (see Donaukommission 2018).

Conclusion

To understand the Habsburg policy toward the Black Sea Region two factors must be taken into consideration. The first factor is the ambition to participate in maritime trade within the Mediterranean Sea which can be observed since the beginning of the 18th century as Venice had to give up its monopoly on the Adriatic Sea. As a logical consequence, the Lloyd Triestino – a transport enterprise of goods and people – was founded in the 1830s to follow this goal. At the end of the 19th century, the Lloyd operated not only along the Dalmatian coast to Constantinople and to the Near East (Alexandria), but also to some harbours of the Black Sea: Constanţa, Brăila, Odessa, Batum. Therefore the political steps concerning the Danube and the Black Sea Region on the one hand and the Mediterranean Sea on the other hand must be understood as common concept. The second factor was the growing political rivalry with Russia. The Habsburgs' engagement in and for the Black Sea Region was based not only on the motivation of neighbourhood, but also on the claim as a great European power to react to Russia which made a long series of activities in the area (1710–1711, 1737–1739, 1768–1774, 1783, 1787–1792, 1806–1812, 1828–1829, 1848–1849, 1853–1856).

Analysing the phenomena behind the presented knowledge growth in the Habsburg Empire with relevance for the Black Sea Region we have to focus on the knowledge owners, on the knowledge content, on the knowledge quality and on the exchange aspects. The knowledge owners have to be structured in the following two categories – logic and coincidental owners. The first category consists of all people who had to manage something concerning the relationship between Central Europe (including the Habsburg Empire) and the Black Sea Region. These were not only politicians and soldiers, but also all people involved in the bilateral trade and transportation (merchants, transport people); a special group were the merchants with Balkan origin who immigrated to the Central European countries and managed the 'Oriental trade' (Katsiardi-Hering 2012; Mantouvalos 2017). Other entrepreneurs lived in Transylvania and cultivated their traditional economic connections to Wallachia and the Ottoman Empire. The coincidental category concerns all travellers, migrants, refugees and other people: Someone

came from one of the Black Sea Region countries and moved to a different destination in Central Europe: One of the examples is the Wallachian noble Dinicu Golescu who travelled between 1824 and 1826 to Hungary, Austria, Italy and Switzerland and afterwards wrote a journey (Golescu 1973); others came from 'Western' directions and frequented different parts of the Black Sea Region.

The knowledge contents was related to different subjects – to geographical subjects (Danube area, Black Sea, Wallachia, Moldavia, Ottoman Empire, Southern Russia), to political subjects (courts in Bucharest and Iaşi, High Porte, resistance movements in the Ottoman provinces, diplomatic and consular locations, security questions), to military subjects (Russia, Turkey, Military Border subjects), to economic subjects (trade, markets, products, taxes, companies, rights, abuses) and to cultural subjects (landscapes, populations, languages, customs).

The other aspect concerns the knowledge quality. The whole of the 'Habsburg' knowledge on the Black Sea Region was characterised by a continental approach: The view was projected from the (continental) 'West' to the (maritime) 'East' and was influenced by the 'own' perspectives to the 'other' world of the 'Orient'. This kind of approach can be observed from a lot of travels and journeys up to the outbreak of World War I, but also visually within the work of the Viennese artist Rudolf von Alt (Schröder and Sternath 2005, 223–25). After working as a painter in Central Europe and Italy, he travelled to Dalmatia in 1840/41 and to the Crimea in 1863, interested, above all, in 'oriental' subjects.

Figure 9: The Village 'Yursuff' at the Crimea, 1863

Nevertheless, the growing empiric character of this knowledge is evident, based on visits and authentic perception. But each quality depends also on the completeness of a knowledge area. In this case this knowledge did not yet include the Eastern part of the Black Sea Region (Caucasus area). This phenomenon can be compared with a similar one – the perception history of the Balkans: Until the middle of the 19th century the Western look to the Balkans was focused on the 'oriental' face, and the diversity within the area of the Ottoman Empire was – at least for the majority of contemporary people – not present. Only in the course of the second half of the 19th century, the situation was changing, opening the richness of this world (Jezernik 2016, especially 195–224; Kaser 2011, 395–402).

As the observed growth was based more on 'Western' than 'Eastern' initiatives for acquiring knowledge, the management corresponds more with an information transfer from the 'East' to the 'West' than with a reciprocal exchange. In the same period as the Viennese court developed an increasing interest in the Black Sea Region there was no comparable authority in the region itself, excepted the Greek, Aromunian, Armenian and Jewish merchants who observed the situation in Central Europe and integrated some ideas and practices from their own life style (Ardeleanu 2017; Lyberatos 2012).

Works Cited

Abrudan, Mircea, editor. *Friedrich Schwantz von Springfeld. Descrierea Olteniei la 1723*. Academia Română/Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2017.

Ardeleanu, Constantin. "Foreign Migrant Communities in the Danubian Ports of Brăila and Galaţi (1829–1914)." *Across the Danube. Southeastern Europeans and their Travelling Identities (17th–19th c.)*, edited by Olga Katsiardi-Hering and Maria A. Stassinopoulou. Brill, 2017, pp. 253–74.

Barămova, Maria. "Nikolaus Ernst Kleemanns Reisen von Wien über Belgrad bis Kilianova und die Neuentdeckung des Donauraums in der Habsburgermonarchie." *Encounters in Europe's Southeast. The Habsburg Empire and the Orthoox World in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, edited by Harald Heppner and Eva Posch. Winkler, 2012, pp. 65–74.

--- "Did the Danube Exist in Habsburg Power Politics in South-Eastern Europe before 1699?" *Power and Influence in South-Eastern Europe 16th–19th century*, edited by Maria Baramova et al., LIT Verlag, 2013, pp. 25–36.

"Donaukommission." *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*, Wikipedia Foundation, 12 February 2018, 11:23 pm, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Donaukommission. Accessed 15 February 2018.

Dörflinger, Johannes. "Vom Aufstieg der Militärgeographie bis zum Wiener Kongress (1684 bis 1815)." *Österreichische Kartographie. Von den Anfängen im 15. Jahrhundert bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*, edited by Ingrid Kretschmer and Karel Kriz, Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung der Universität Wien, 2004, pp. 75–168. Wiener Schriften zur Geographie und Kartographie 15.

Galter, Hannes D., and Siegfried Haas, editors. *Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. Grenzgänger zwischen Orient und Okzident*. Leykam, 2008.

Golescu, Dinicu. *Aufzeichnung meiner Reise…* Translated from the Romanian by Kurt Haller. Kriterion Verlag, 1973.

Haan, Victoria, editor. *Erzherzog Johann, Leopold von Haan. Eine russisch-türkische Reise im Jahr 1837.* Karolinger, 1998.

Heppner, Harald. "Josef von Hammer in Jassy." *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark*, vol. LXXII, 1981, pp. 127–40.

--- *Österreich und die Donaufürstentümer 1774–1812. Ein Beitrag zur habsburgischen Südosteuropapolitik*. Institut für Geschichte der Universität Graz/Abt. Südosteuropäische Geschichte, 1984.

--- editor. *Der Weg führt über Österreich. Zur Geschichte des Verkehrs- und Nachrichtenwesens von und nach Südosteuropa (18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart)*. Böhlau, 1996. Zur Kunde Südosteuropas II/21.

Jezernik, Bozidar. *Das wilde Europa. Der Balkan in den Augen westlicher Reisender*. Böhlau 2016. Zur Kunde Südosteuropas II/42.

Kaser, Karl. *Balkan und Naher Osten. Einführung in eine gemeinsame Geschichte.* Böhlau 2011. Zur Kunde Südosteuropas II/40.

Katsiardi-Hering, Olga. "Southeastern European Migrant Groups between the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empire." *Encounters in Europe's Southeast. The Habsburg Empire and the Orthodox World in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, edited by Harald Heppner and Eva Posch. Winkler, 2012, pp. 135–62.

Kretschmer, Ingrid. "Von der Zweiten Landesaufnahme (1806) bis zur Gegenwart (2004)." *Österreichische Kartographie. Von den Anfängen im 15. Jahrhundert bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*, edited by Ingrid Kretschmer and Karel Kriz, Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung der Universität Wien, 2004, pp. 169–80. Wiener Schriften zur Geographie und Kartographie 15.

Kunike, Adolph, editor. *Zwey hundert vier und sechzig Donau = Ansichten nach dem Laufe des Donaustromes von seinem Ursprunge bis zu seinem Ausflusse in das schwarze Meer. Sammt einer Donaukarte*. 3rd ed. 1826.

Lyberatos, Andreas. "Clocks, Watches and Time Perception in the Balkans." *Encounters in Europe's Southeast. The Habsburg Empire and the Orthodox World in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, edited by Harald Heppner and Eva Posch. Winkler, 2012, pp. 231–54.

Maag, Georg, et al., editors. *Der Krimkrieg als erster europäischer Medienkrieg*. LIT-Verlag, 2010.

Mantouvalos, Ikaros. "Greek Immigrants in Central Europe: A Concise Study of Migration Routes from the Balkans to the Territories of the Hungarian Kingdom (from the late 17th to the early 19th centuries)." *Across the Danube. Southeastern Europeans and Their Travelling Identities (17th–19th c.)*, edited by Olga Katsiardi-Hering and Maria A. Stassinopoulou. Brill, 2017, pp. 25–53.

Matuschka, Ludwig. *Der Türken-Krieg 1716–1718*. Verlag des k. u. k. Generalstabes, 1891, pp. 477–83. Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen II/VIII.

Mitev, Plamen, et al., editors. *Empires and Peninsulas. Southeastern Europe between Karlowitz and The Peace of Adrianople, 1699–1829*. LIT, 2010.

Pešalj, Jovan. "Making a Prosperous Peace: Habsburgs Diplomacy and Economic Policy at Passarowitz." *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718*, edited by Charles Ingrao et al., Purdue University Press, 2011, pp. 141–58.

Petrova, Mariia A., *Ekaterina II i Iosif II. Formirovanie rossiĭsko-avstriĭskogo soiuza 1780–1790*, Nauka, 2011.

Reilly, Franz I. I. von, editor. *Schauplatz der fünf Theile der Welt. Erster Theil. Enthält Ungarn und das Osmanische Reich in Europa.* Albrecht, 1789.

Samardžić, Nikola. "The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718. An Introduction." *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718*, edited by Charles Ingrao et al., Purdue University Press, 2011, pp. 9–38.

Schröder, Klaus, and Maria Luise Sternath, editors. *Rudolf von Alt 1812–1905.* Brandstätter, 2005.

--- editors. *Von der Schönheit der Natur. Die Kammermaler Erzherzog Johanns*. Hirmer Verlag, 2015.

Sifneos, Evrydiki. *Imperial Odessa. Peoples, Spaces, Identities*. Brill, 2018. Eurasian Studies Library 8.

Sondhaus, Lawrence. *The Habsburg Empire and the Sea. Austrian Navy Policy, 1797–1866*, Purdue University Press, 1989.

Stassinopoulou, Maria. "Trading Places." *Encounters in Europe's Southeast. The Habsburg Empire and the Orthodox World in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, edited by Harald Heppner and Eva Posch. Winkler, 2012, pp. 163–74.

Strohmeyer, Arno. "Power and the Changing Face of Habsburg-Ottoman Friendship (Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries.)" *Power and Influence in South-Eastern Europe 16th–19th century*, edited by Maria Baramova et al., LIT Verlag, 2013, pp. 18–22.

Wagner, Rudolf. *Die Reisetagebücher von Kaiser Franz in die Bukowina (1817 und 1823)*. Der Südostdeutsche, 1979.

Wimpffen, Alfons. *Erinnerungen aus der Walachei während der Besetzung durch die österreichischen Truppen in den Jahren 1854–1856*, Gerold 1878.

Wolf, Josef. "Der Donauraum und Südosteuropa in der frühneuzeitlichen Kartografie." *Fliessende Räume. Karten des Donauraums 1650–1800*, edited by Josef Wolf and Wolfgang Zimmermann. Schnell+Steiner, 2017, pp. 71–96.

List of Figures

Ursprunge bis zu seinem Ausflusse in das schwarze Meer. Sammt einer Do-naukarte. 3rd ed. 1826, fig. 263.

Figure 6: Delta of the Danube (Map of the European Turkey, Vienna 1829). University of Graz Library, Southeast European History and Anthropology [no sig.].

Figure 7: Thomas Ender's 'Harbour of Sevastopol''. Private ownership of Franz Meran [Slg. EhJ 37/790], "Panorama des Hafens von Sewastopol".

Figure 8: Thomas Ender's 'Court of Bakhchisaraĭ'. Private ownership of Franz Meran [Slg. EhJ 37/802], "Ansicht des Serail-Hofes in dem Schlosse der Chane zu Baktischarai in der Krimm".

Figure 9: The Village Yursuff at the Crimea, 1863. Graphic collection Albertina, [Inv. 28346].

The Adaptation and Localization of Modern Intellectual Experience by the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople (second half of 18ᵀᴴ and first half of 19ᵀᴴ centuries[1])

Gayane Ayvazyan

Abstract: The Armenian Church has become a networking institution and acquired large organizational resources since the decline of Armenian state units in the Bagratid Kingdom of Armenia and in the Kingdom of Cilicia in 1045 and 1375 respectively. For quite a long time, one of the key hubs in this network was the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople, which initiated a series of changes in its internal structure starting in the 17th century. The Patriarchate became a leading power of the public educational movement. It occupied an important place with regard to the quantity of Armenian books published during the 18th and 19th centuries. In the 19th century, the Patriarchate was a huge centre for the organization of intellectual processes, where the early modern and late modern intellectual movements intersected.

The history of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire is a broken mirror that reflects countless dead and living shadows. It is hard to look at the infinite distortions of these images and try to see their true essence, to reveal the common history of the Armenians and Turks before its interruption. In this context, the period of the Rise of Western Armenian[2] life that started with the intellectual movement in the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople has become an oft-forgotten story. The purpose of this article is to determine the preconditions for strengthening the position of the Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople, which in turn contributed to the Western Armenian Rise. Another goal of this article is to show which areas of modern European knowledge were deemed worthy of being introduced to the Armenian sphere.

---

[1] Chronologically, the article covers the period up to 1839. Due to changes in the Tanzimat period, the situation differed somewhat and sometimes contradicts the period under consideration, so I preferred not to refer to the Tanzimat period.

[2] The Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire have long called themselves 'Roman Armenians', which is the same as 'Byzantine Armenians', and it was only in the 18th–19th centuries that they started to use the term 'Turkish Armenian'. Thus, I decided to use the term 'Western Armenian' (which is accepted in Armenian historiography) because the Armenians living in the Empire were actually called by two names: first, Greek-Armenian or Byzantine-Armenian, and later Turkish-Armenian.

The Character of the Patriarchate: Preconditions of Growing Power

The establishment of the Patriarchate was primarily an Ottoman political initiative. Its activities were always influenced by Ottoman domestic and foreign policy agendas. According to the accepted view, the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople was formed in 1461, and its following consisted of the Armenians in Istanbul and the surrounding areas (Ashch'yan 1998a, 201; Bardakjian 1982, 89–100; Khaṛatyan 2007, 125–225; Pērpērean 1964, 337–50). Later, thanks to immigration organized by the Ottoman government and an attempt to find the most favourable socio-economic conditions, the number of Armenians in the capital increased noticeably, which gave the Patriarchate more income and enhanced its influence.

Until the first decades of the 19th century, the Ottoman government had recognized only two patriarchates within its empire: Greek and Armenian. The influence of the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul encompassed all Monophysite Eastern Christians. As we know, the Ottoman Empire's governing system granted non-Muslim ethno-religious communities administrative autonomy, headed by a spiritual leader. Within the community, the Patriarch was endowed not only with religious, but also educational-cultural, fiscal-financial and legal authority (inheritance matters, marriage law and property relations). In the provinces, these powers were largely exercised by local religious leaders appointed by the Patriarch. The Patriarchate, therefore, had the status of an administrative unit with economic viability that was generated by permanent revenues. Until 1830 and 1846 respectively, when the Armenian Catholic and Armenian Protestant communities detached from the Patriarchate and gained separate status, being Armenian meant being a follower of the Armenian Apostolic Church, paying tithes to it and adhering to its ideology (see Eghiayean 1971).

The Church is probably the most successful of all Armenian institutions, in that it managed to accumulate Armenian capital and save it, with the exception of a few losses. At different times, the capital of Armenian royalty and merchants failed, and money was lost in a variety of circumstances. The Church remained the only stable stronghold of Armenian capital and outlasted all its rivals, perhaps because it was capable of providing an ideological base and strength for its material well-being. From the end of the 14th century, the political significance and influence of the Armenian Church widened even more and it attained a high status. Although some secular authorities still existed, especially in mountainous areas, it was no longer possible to find another political institution within Armenian society that was as influential as the Church. Thus, in this era, Armenians perceived their identity as intertwined with the Armenian Church. Aside from some nuances, the Armenians were henceforth only a religious community; they

were differed not only from the Muslim world around them, but as Monophysites also from most of the Christian world, whether eastern or western. The great Christian Churches and mainstream institutions considered the Armenian Church a sect, and both the non-Monophysite Eastern and the Western Christian Churches always tried to claim this outlier for themselves. Furthermore, Armenian leaders were more focused on preserving rather than changing this status of the Armenian Church between the Muslim and Christian worlds (see Ōrmanean 2001, vol. 1–3).

It is known that most Armenians lived under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, while some lived under Iranian rule. However, despite the relative scarcity of Armenians in Iran, Etchmiadzin – the Holy See of the Armenian Church, which was under the rule of Iran until 1827 and wielded Pan-Armenian power all over the world – did not hesitate to use its authority and govern its flock. The Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul had always been oppressed by Etchmiadzin's supremacy. There had been many attempts to separate from it, to create a separate Catholicosate and to prohibit the entrance of Etchmiadzin's delegates into the Ottoman Empire, which in other words meant a ban on the flow of Western Armenian revenues into Etchmiadzin (Anasyan 1961, 241–72; Ayvazyan 2016; Ch'amch'eants' 1984, 697–724; Hovhannisyan 1961, 235–48; Zulalyan 1980, 230–31).

In 1725, when the Ottoman army conquered Yerevan, the Catholicos of All Armenians was elected in Istanbul (Ch'amch'eants' 1984, 801). By electing a Catholicos in Istanbul, the Patriarchate had finally succeeded in the centuries-old aspiration of Western Armenians. Although Etchmiadzin maintained *de jure* superiority, Constantinople *de facto* assumed an extremely important and decisive role, representing the voice of all Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire, without which the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin hereafter could not be recognized as legitimate. After these events, the Patriarchate of Istanbul maintained its respected position for quite a long time (a hundred years), sometimes even acting as the driving force. The last decree of the Ottoman Sultan was conveyed to Ep'rem Dzorageghts'i, the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, through the intercession of the Constantinople Patriarchate in 1809 (Ōrmanean 2001, vol. 3, 21). However, in 1828–1829, as a result of the Russo-Ottoman War, the Patriarch was prohibited from mentioning the name of this Catholicos during the liturgy (which was a prerequisite for all Armenian Catholic centres and dioceses that accepted Etchmiadzin's supremacy); otherwise the Patriarchate could be perceived as a threat by the Sultan. This was the end of relations between the Catholicosate of Etchmiadzin and the Patriarchate, as otherwise the Patriarch could be suspected of having a relationship with a Russian official. After 1828, the Patriarch of Constantinople became the sole authority of the Armenians living throughout the Ottoman

Empire, whose authority could be measured by the powers of the assessor Catholicoses. Geographically, the Patriarch ruled a wide circle of believers (Ibid.). A protocol of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople shows that the number of church dioceses belonging to the Patriarchate reached 36 at this time (in 1834) (Alpōyachean 1908, 295).

Impulses for Modernization in the Patriarchate

The beginning of the Empire's decline was a turning point in the life of Istanbul's non-Muslims. The rapid flow of European capital into the empire changed their status. Because of religious prejudice, the Ottomans had for a long time avoided direct interaction with Europeans, preferring to trade through the mediation of minorities. Armenians also actively participated in these new economic relations through the provision of the so-called capitulations (Mantran 1990, 48–64; 117–78). On the other hand, at this time, Eastern-Armenian merchants gained significant influence and economic opportunities, and became key players in the trade from Iran and India to Europe, and vice versa. Thus, the western and eastern Armenian merchant class proved to be an active intermediary in Mediterranean trade, becoming the basis on which the Western Armenian Rise was founded (Leo 1934, 51–121).

Thus, a variety of relations and active shifts became the impetus for modernization processes to penetrate into the Armenian sphere and develop there. This phenomenon could not bypass an institution as dominant as the Armenian Church. However, the growth of commercial capital changed the hegemony of the church somewhat: the wealthy secular class began to take part in the public life of Armenian communities. Although the secular class did not create a separate institution, it started to cooperate with the church and imposed a great deal on the latter. From this point of view, an interesting and unique synthesis of power was created in the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople.

The Armenian community of Istanbul was originally divided into six districts. The representative body of these districts was known as the *altı cemaat* (six communities, groups of people, *cemaat* means also church; the term was also used for the community's Armenian population), which included 24 secular men. Together with the Patriarchate, they formed a confederacy that was endowed with community power. The activity of the National Assembly reached its peak in the late 18th and first half of 19th centuries, thanks to the large usurious capital of the class of *amiras* (members of a wealthy class of Armenian grandees in Constantinople in charge of Armenian matters in the Ottoman Empire). The Armenian

amiras began to play the role of bankers (in modern parlance). Although Armenians had begun to be appointed to public offices in 1839, at an informal level they held some steady positions. In addition to the *shroffs*, Armenian architects also achieved great influence (the *shroffs* and architects were later in conflict). There were also some Armenian craftsmen and inventors who made avital contribution to the establishment of Ottoman industry and enjoyed great respect from the political elite of the country, including the sultans. The rest of the community, in essence, was engaged in crafts and was organized in craft guilds (*esnaf*). Later, several well-known foremen were also included in the National Assembly and even attempted to break the power of the *Amiras* in the community, but they did not succeed – competing with the wealth of the *Amiras* was not easy (Ashch'yan 1998b, 104–13; Barsoumian 2013, 123–73).

Although the Ottoman political environment did not fully succeed in carrying out reforms and modernization throughout the Empire, it did take some significant steps in this direction, which, in turn, had a positive impact on the life of the Empire's non-Muslims. Particularly, the reigns of Selim III (1789–1807) and Mahmud II (1808–1839) are remarkable in this sense: their policy became a cornerstone for the modernization of Ottoman life, especially education (Alpōyachean 1910, 151–152; Inal 2011, 741).

However, even after the above-mentioned reforms, non-Muslims could not be full-fledged citizens of the Empire. They were deprived of the opportunity to hold posts in the state-administrative apparatus. It is for this reason that the Armenian community in the Empire, or at least in Istanbul, was a more withdrawn body, so the Ottoman spiritual and cultural environment did not affect it as much as it may have seemed. This separation continued virtually throughout the entire history of the Empire. Despite some shifts and exceptions, the divisions did not disappear. The programs for granting Ottoman citizenship and equal rights to all were not implemented. For example, in 1869, even after the Tanzimat reforms, schools were divided on an ethno-religious basis, and only orphans could study in the Ottoman schools without any discrimination (Inal 2011, 735–41). The fact that Armenians were still isolated on religious grounds impeded their potential from being fulfilled in the wider environment, so they had to organize their forces within the community, which became the impetus for the Patriarchate's modernization.

To sum up, on the one hand, the flow of European capital into the Ottoman Empire, particularly to Istanbul, and, on the other hand, Armenian commercial activity from Asia to Europe, generated great financial resources and a diversity of relations, altering the structure of the Church. The reforms that began in the Ottoman Empire influenced modernization processes in the Patriarchate.

The Beginning of the Rise: Foundations and Objectives

The new stage of the rise of Western Armenian life was marked in Istanbul from 1715–1741 with the reign of the renowned Hovhannēs IX Kolot (the Short) Baghishetsi, the 49th Patriarch of Constantinople. His activities not only laid the foundation for mastering modern knowledge, but also provided a systematic environment for its development. In addition to the intensive construction of churches, when a large number of Armenian churches were built or rebuilt in Istanbul at the initiative and patronage of Kolot, a strong intellectual movement started in several directions: translation, printing, and educational priorities. The translating traditions of the Armenian community in Istanbul also had an impact on the translation activities of Armenians in Western Europe, such as the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice, for many of the latter's translators were originally from Istanbul, where they had also been educated.

The translation enterprise was based primarily on the profound linguistic knowledge of Ghukas vardapet Gasparean, who had received a brilliant education in Italy and who brought a large amount of philosophical and religious literature in European languages, particularly Latin, to the Armenian sphere. While serving as Patriarch, Kolot also published 90–100 book copies. Beside this, he organized the copying of manuscripts from other Armenian centres in the Ottoman Empire, especially the valuable manuscripts of the renowned Armash (Izmit) Seminary and their transfer to Istanbul. The growing stock of printed books and manuscripts became the basis of the first Armenian Matenadaran (library in the old Armenian language) in Istanbul, which possessed 360 manuscripts (Kiwlēsērian 1904, 106; see also Siruni 1964, 16–25) 200 years after its foundation.[3]

The express purpose of these books was primarily to promote the formation and education of a generation of intellectuals, which was perhaps one of Kolot's principal aims. He set up a spiritual seminary under the patronage of the Patriarchate in Üsküdar. Many of its graduates[4] gradually continued to move in a direction that marked the rise of Western Armenian life (Ashch'yan 1995, 82–83). A great deal of translation work was done to provide the students with the necessary

---

[3] Kolot's biographer, historian B. Kiwlēsērean, is inclined to think that during this time the *matenadaran* suffered considerable losses. Because he found a manuscript numbered 601 from this *matenadaran*, the philologist believes that the number of manuscripts must have been over 600 at the time.

[4] There were 27 graduates of the school, 23 of whom were ordained as *vardapets* and 4 as deacons.

literature. However, the curriculum also included foreign language lessons, particularly Latin and Italian. These initiatives taken by Hovhannēs Kolot, meanwhile, became the main foundation for the further improvement of knowledge.

Printing as a Means and Purpose

Armenians rapidly pursued the idea of mastering and localizing typography. The Armenian Church, of course, dictated their preferences, and in the modern world, typography was a convenient tool that could work in the hands of the latter in pursuing its goals and interests. Due to this fact, ancient Armenian books have a mainly religious character, and the lion's share of Armenian books printed until the end of the 19th century consists of religious literature. In this sense, the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul was no exception: the first Armenian printing house in Istanbul was founded in 1565 and the second attempt was made there in 1676. But regular Armenian printing began in Istanbul in the late 17th century, making Istanbul one of the largest centres of Armenian typography in the 18th–19th centuries – a time when Armenian printing centres were widespread over the Eurasian landmasses, from Madras to Venice.

My observations on Armenian typography in Istanbul are based on the bibliographies published in Istanbul in 1750–1839, on the records (Davt'yan 1967; Oskanyan 1988)[5] provided by them and on my research into Armenian printing in 1750–1850. In the first fifty years of the 1750–1839 period, more than 27 per cent (102 out of 373) of printed Armenian books were published at the behest of the Patriarchate, and in the second half, 148 of 1,015 books were printed thanks to the Patriarchate[6] (more than 14 per cent). In total, about 1,388 books were published, of which 250 were commissioned by the Constantinople Patriarchate (more than 18 per cent, not including undated books). The Constantinople Patriarchate commissioned publishing mainly from the Armenian printing houses in

---

[5] The bibliographic guide *Hay girk'* is a valuable source of the Armenian printing environment and production. In this study, I used volumes I and II. My data are based on the information contained in these volumes.

[6] When ascribing the publications to the Patriarchate, I was guided by the titles of the printed books and data from colophons, which can be found mainly in almost all Armenian publications since the beginning of the 19th century. Then, due to the fact that it originally appeared in the context of the Armenian manuscript, there was a tendency to decrease printed colophons and, in many cases, they disappeared. The cover page is the main source of information about the book. Mainly the title pages of the patriarchs of Constantinople regarding the place of publishing served as my guides while presenting this brief information about the books printed under the patronage of the Patriarchate.

Istanbul, albeit with some minor exceptions in Venice and Smyrna (Izmir). According to my calculations, at various times about 250 book titles were printed in many printing houses[7] that actively cooperated with the Patriarchate (Ibid.). The printing houses were owned by individuals, but they had a great deal of contact with the Patriarchate, and often worked under the latter's auspices and patronage. Almost all printed books bear the names of the enthroned Patriarchs.

The Patriarchate itself had its own printing house, which opened in 1790 (Asatur 1901, 158). This printing house was called 'Mother Seminary' until 1817, when it was renamed after the Church – St. Astvatsatsin. The last books of this publishing house were published in 1823 (Davt'yan 1967, 111–13). During this period, the printing house called 'St. Jerusalem's Seminary' in Üsküdar, which was also under the administration of the Patriarchate, had more modest printing results.

The content of the books published by the Patriarchate in the above-mentioned period reveals interesting changes that were typical of the intellectual trends of the time. The lists of publications (publication indices) are certainly promising, and can tell much about the political goals of the Patriarchate, but they are also an interesting indicator for measuring the scale of dissemination of (non-religious) knowledge. Among the published books, there is a steady place for books regarding the church's needs: bibles, gospels, prayers of different hours and their meanings, religious songs, psalms, chapels, horologies and calendars.

Importance was accorded to religious-dogmatic propaganda aimed at maintaining the influence of the Church over its followers. And the Constantinople Patriarchate had much to do in this respect: on the one hand, for a long time it shared with Etchmiadzin the role of main advocate (defender) of the Armenian interpretation of Christianity and the role of its unyielding defender. On the other hand, it had to face the significant influence of Catholicism and Protestantism in the region. As a result, many publications were printed that justified and defended the doctrine of the Armenian Church. This series included dialectics, passionaries, anti-heretical treatises, and similar publications by the Patriarchate. However, this last group of publications, unlike the previous group (which was meant to cater to the clergy and the needs of believers) was published upon request, was not always up-to-date and could be more accurately described as intermittent editions. In the period under review, taking into consideration the number and the

---

[7] The publishing houses of Istanbul in this period were: Hōhannēs Astuatsaturean (Astuatsatur, Ch'nch'in), Martiros Sargsean, Barsēgh Kesarats'i, Hovhannēs and Hakob, Step'annos Petrosean, Hōhannis and Pōghos, Abraham T'erzean (Hōhanean), T'adē Tivit'chean, H. Miwhēntisean, Mahtesi Martiros, Pōghos Hōhannisean (Arapean), and Matt'ēos dpir.

impact of Armenian Catholic society in Istanbul, the Patriarchate made three attempts to reconcile, because it could not constantly boycott Catholicism and occasionally was mitigating or changing its rhetoric (Ōrmanean 2001, vol. 3, 38). During that period, publications entitled *Hravēr siroy'* (Invitation of Love) were common. Bilateral concessions, which were of an ideological confessional manner, did not result in unification. The intention of the Armenian Catholics to form national Catholicism in that region together with the Patriarchate of Istanbul did not become a reality.

The Patriarchate, as the hub of educational and cultural life of the Armenians in Istanbul, eventually opened to secular knowledge, too. In particular, at the initiative of the Patriarchs, a large number of educational manuals and grammar textbooks were printed.[8] A number of valuable dictionaries (see Palatets'i 1826; P'ēshtimalchean 1827), and medical (see for example Tēr-Petrosean 1832–1839) and philosophical books were released. A large number of translations, mainly from Greek, Latin, Italian and French, were published. Taking into account the prevalence of the Turkish language among the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, the Patriarchate also launched Turkish publications written with Armenian letters, which helped convey their ideas to Armenian believers who did not speak Armenian (on the phenomenon of foreign literature written in Armenian script see P'ap'azyan 1964, 209–24).

During the period under discussion, in the context of other Armenian printing centres, one can clearly outline the place and the inner content of Armenian typography in Istanbul. Istanbul had a stable place in Armenian printing activities, regardless of the amount of published literature at different times. In addition to Istanbul, the main centres[9] were Venice (i.e. the printing activities of the Mekhitarist congregation), Madras in India, St. Petersburg, Moscow, New Nakhichevan and Trieste[10] (Levonyan 1958, 137–216; T'ēodik 1912, 53–90; Zarphanalean 1895, 153–240). They had rather different visions, goals, sources of inspiration and a different audience. The general nature of the publications suggests that Armenian Catholic centres (mainly the Venetian Mekhitarist Congregation) had two primary priorities: spreading Catholic ideas and values, and the creation of his-

---

[8] According to my calculations, more than ten volumes of educational manuals were printed.

[9] The printing house founded by the famous Catholicos of All Armenians Simēon I Erevants'i in Etchmiadzin in 1771 also functioned for a time.

[10] In 1773, a group of Mekhitarists left St. Lazarus in Venice (see Greta Nikoghosyan's contribution in this volume). They moved to Trieste and created their centre there. After the capture of Trieste by the French army (1797–1805), the Mekhitarists found refuge in Vienna, where Vienna's Mekhitarists Congregation was founded in 1810.

torical and philological studies, thanks to which the published studies were important not only for their time, but also for the future of Armenology. The Mekhitarists' printing house in Trieste was mostly of a secular nature and basically started working at the request of the secular-merchant class of the time. The typography of Madras was considerably different from the above-mentioned; it can be considered the cradle of rising Armenian nationalism. While other Armenian printing centres were occupied with the religious identity of Armenians, Madras began to reveal the glorious pages of the distant past of Armenians, calling upon and encouraging Armenian youth to turn their faces toward their history, to learn it, and to take it as an example. Though the radicalism of Madras was not typical of Armenian printing houses operating under Russian domination, the idea of Armenian liberation was common there as well, as it was meant to happen under Russia's shield. Meanwhile, in the period in question, the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople had different printing imperatives, thanks to its status and authority. It was responsible for the Armenian community living in the Ottoman Empire, which, as I have already mentioned, was a significant portion of the Armenians. On the other hand, I suppose this Patriarchate for some time became the fortress of Armenian Christianity as a result of Etchmiadzin's isolation or crisis (Davt'yan 1967; Oskanyan 1988). Under these conditions, it first of all kept its focus on the religious identity of its followers, acting as their guarantor and tutor, and on the other hand, it was cautious about incendiary liberation sentiments.

The First Public Schools: The Emergence of Secular Education

The rise of printing was, in a way, intertwined with education. The first regular school in Istanbul, which was theological (religious), was founded in Üsküdar in 1715. There was a library attached to it, which was also the first one there to have an elaborate collection of books. Later, this school was moved to the Patriarchal Church of Kumkapı, where it functioned under the name 'Mother Seminary'. Many future intellectuals, even Catholicoses, were students of this school. Public education began to emerge, too. Before that, boys were educated in the room-pavilions of the markets,[11] parallel to schooling in the church (Asatur 1901, 159).

---

[11] The Vezir Ali Pasha coaching inns of Istanbul were known as Armenian teaching centres. The habit of renting classrooms in the caravanserais, however, did not immediately disappear and continued to exist even when some schools were already functioning.

Also noteworthy were the Armenian orphanages operating in Balat (Ibid.). Initially two of them functioned, one of which was named Srboy Hakobay Mtsbnay Hayrapetin (Catholicos St. Hakob of Nusaybin)[12] in Pera[13] (Zardarean 1910, 57).

In the beginning, however, these educational institutions were illegal, and it was not until 1789 that it became possible to obtain the sultan's permission for the establishment of Armenian schools. This initiative was implemented by Amira Shnorhk' Mkrtich' Mirichanean, an upper-class banker educated in Italy, so he was able to use his connections to establish this school. However, the first Armenian public school opened in Istanbul in 1790 on Fıçıcı Street in Kumkapı. Over time, schools were opened in Üsküdar (attached to St. Khach Church), Balat (1796),[14] Samatya, Üsküdar Selamsız (1797), Ortaköy, Kuruçeşme (1798), in Yenimahalle (founded after 1800 by tobacco-growers and Avrupa tüccarı), Galata, Kartal, Beykoz (founded in 1813 by tuğlacı Martiros agha), Pera (before 1818)[15] and in other districts (Alpōyachean 1910, 152–53). Sources indicate that schools were established in all or almost all Armenian districts of Istanbul.

The opening of schools continued in the 1830s. New schools were opened in the districts of Eyüp (Pēzchean, founded in 1832), Kumkapı (Lusavorch'ean, Poghosean and Vaṙvaṙean), Langa (Mother School, under the patronage of jewellers), Gedikpaşa (Mesropean), Fener, Kanlı kilise (St. Arak'elots', opened in 1832 under the patronage of vintners), and Topkapı (under the patronage of cheesecloth manufacturers) (Alpōyachean 1910, 156–57; Zardarean 1910, 108).

Istanbul was also famous for establishing traditions of female education. In 1820 a girls' atelier was opened there (Alpōyachean 1910, 153; Asatur 1901, 185). The first school for Istanbul's Armenian girls was founded in 1821 by the sister of a prominent Armenian *amira*. An embroidery school for girls was opened in 1826 (by Pēzchean Harut'iwn Amira). Before that, in 1825, two other schools opened in Topkapı and in Karagümrük. In 1830, the St. Hrip'simeants' ew Gayanieants' College opened under the patronage of Chanik Amira (Ibid., 193; Alpōyachean 1910, 153). Schools were also established for boys (the colleges named Surb Lusaworich' and Surb Ējmiatsin). The general character of schools shows that in most cases, vocational schools were opened for girls. Perhaps this was due to the mentality of the Armenian community, preferring that

---

[12] In 1773, Sargis Hovhannēsean (author of a number of historical-descriptive books) was teaching there. In 1799, Matt'ēos mentions himself as a teacher at this orphanage.

[13] It functioned under the direction of Tagwor Aslanean, the teacher.

[14] In 1816, the Khornean School was also opened here.

[15] It operated under the patronage of the Holy Trinity Church and Grigor Amira Ch'erezean. The Narekian School was also located there.

women receive a type of education that would eventually provide them with a suitable job or simply a hobby. There was, of course, education to promote literacy among women, but the scarcity of women in this area indicates that the steps in this direction were rather slow.[16] Narlıkapı's Girls'' School is also worth mentioning, sponsored by Dadean Amira (he founded another separate school for boys as well). In 1832, the Poghosean and Vaṛvaṛean School for boys and girls was opened in Kumkapı (under the patronage of Pēzchean Amira, who was the economic and personal adviser to the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II) (Asatur 1901, 201).

From 1828 to 1832, Pēzchean College (Istanbul's first high school) operated near the Patriarchate; it provided doctoral education and considerable attention was accorded to the teaching of foreign languages, particularly Italian (Ibid.).[17] Other subjects, such as Armenian, rhetoric and logic were also taught.[18]

Samatya's Sahakean and St. Nersisean Schools in Hasköy were particularly prominent. The latter functioned from 1836 to 1838 (19 months) under the patronage of Chezayirlean Mkrtich' and Nevruzean Harut'iwn) and had about 600 pupils. It was known to have a disciplined and secular education[19] that was accompanied by naturalist experiments.[20] In addition to Armenian and Turkish, Nersisean's students learned not only Italian, as was traditionally accepted, but also French (Ibid., 202). Schools in Istanbul had been teaching Italian for a very long time. This was partly due to commercial ties, but also to the activities of papal missionaries, so that the Italian language was widely used in this milieu.

---

[16] We could mention, for example, that Brabion the scrivener (1750–1835) was the first female educator in Istanbul, who also engaged in some printing activity.

[17] The teacher was Khach'atur Partizpanean.

[18] The school's head teacher was Grigor P'ēshtimalchean, a linguist, philosopher, and lexicographer.

[19] Prominent intellectuals of the Armenian-Turkish sphere taught at school, such as Hovhannēs Eghikean, Hovsēp' Vardanean (best known as Vardan Pasha, he is considered to be the author of the first Turkish novel by specialists in modern Turkish literature), and Pōghos (Fiziga) Melik'shahean, a philosopher and naturalist. He worked as a teacher in Istanbul, Jerusalem, Mush and Egypt. His philosophical views were published in the book *Tramabanut'iwn kam aruest* (Logic) in 1876), and T. Hovhannēs Sahakean. The inspector of the college was Tēr Gēorg Artsruni, who was also a teacher of Armenian studies and logic.

[20] According to the general view, this college was closed because it converted to Protestantism. In addition, the version suggested by Zardarean is interesting, which, I think, reached him orally: one day at Mkrtich' Amira's home, the students of the college, along with their other skills, presented a performance with magic lanterns. The *Amiras* complained about this under the pretence that the students were being taught magic in the school. A month later, they organized a meeting and called out the patron of the school, saying that the students were being taught "godlessness and foreign languages" (Zardarean 1910, 27). Zardarean did not present events objectively, but was satisfied with explaining the closure of the school by this episode and hoped for naivety on the part of his readers.

The presence of French capital broke the Italian monopoly in Istanbul, to the benefit of the French. I suppose that due to the above-mentioned circumstances, Armenian schools also attached great importance to French, replacing Italian.

In 1838, the Üsküdar Lyceum was opened, which operated in the St. Jerusalem Monastery with Jerusalem's benevolence (Ibid., 203). This was a boarding school where they sent the best pupils from the district colleges and took care of all their needs. Awetis Pērpērean was present at the opening of the seminary and described it thusly:

> The Jerusalem monastery, which was in Üsküdar, was donated to the nation and the nation renovated it, set up a three-story and multi-room school, preparing all necessary furnishings, and a kitchen and bedding, and selected teachers for the Armenian language, French language, arithmetic and mathematics, they named it 'Djemaran of St. Jerusalem', they decided to take [schoolchildren] from each neighbourhood to school, about fifty clever boys, and each of them was given a room, a supervisor, a servant and a guard, and they chose a director for [them] all, the first day of the classes was the 9th day of December, 1838 (Pērpērean 2009, 255).

This great wave of school construction continued into the 1840s (Beşiktaş School, Holy Cross (S. Khach') School). There were also some schools in private homes (for example, Otean's). The schools were funded by Armenian capital; they did not receive any support nor sustained patronage from the state. The exception was the donations from sultans or various officials to the students and teachers in Armenian schools. Pērpērean's interesting testimony shows that the sultans were accustomed to making donations to minority schools mainly on holidays. Here is how Pērpērean (who benefitted from the Sultan's above-mentioned habit more than once) described these events:

> During these days, the king took a walk to a place called Ortaköy Yıldız Sarayı [Köşkü– G.A.], and suddenly two hundred and ten students of Ortaköy's school came to meet him. They began to pray to God for the long life of the sultan, with the sweet music of poems and songs. When the sultan saw this, and he knew that the boys were from the Armenian nation, he told his Minister Ali Bey to give presents to everybody, a piece of gold to each of them, that they took cap in hand and left worshipping the king. I was with them there, the author of this story, when I was appointed schoolteacher, and I took eight gold pieces from his minister, and I wanted to write this as a memorial in my history (Ibid., 85).

> A few days later, the sultan sent gifts, and one of the elders went through all the schools of the Greeks, the Armenians, the Catholics, and all the Jewish schools in Constantinople, in Üsküdar and in all the villages of the strait, and handed the king's gifts to every one of them, three monets to each student, and twenty-five monets to each teacher, and fifty monets to senior teachers, and he wrote down all these accounts, and brought them to the sultan. I also took fifty monets for my position because I was practicing Armenian Studies at the Arak'elots School in Fener district of Constantinople (Ibid., 251–52).

Due to the growing number of schools, the Patriarchate began to take measures to address the issue of financing. Armenian education was mainly under the patronage of the *amiras*. I have already mentioned above a number of schools that were funded by craft organizations (*esnaf*). However, in addition to these groups, the pupils who could afford it paid a tuition fee. There were district coffers, which were also used for the needs of schools. Because the Patriarch was empowered to accept or reject any teacher's candidacy, his role was very decisive in the fate of the schools. The reputation of the National Assembly gradually increased in the sphere of education as well. Schools had a certain system of management that seemed to be more or less typical of them all. The council selected the school's 'overseer and mütevelli',[21] 'inspector and nazır', as well as the directors. As a result of meetings and gatherings aimed at school management, various laws were also developed to regulate the organization of education. A document from this series is a Patriarchal Order that includes 24 points and is entitled *Kanonakan patuirank' aṛ varzhapets ew aṛ varzhelis* (Canonical Commands to Teachers and Pupils) (5 June 1824), which was to regulate the organization of education.

Notably, the number of Istanbul Armenian students was high not only in the Mekhitarist congregation of Venice and Vienna. Large groups of Armenians were also educated in Paris, Venice and Crimea. After finishing primary school, a high number of young Armenians from Istanbul went abroad for secondary and higher education (Asatur 1901, 243).

Conclusion

The activities of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople and the role of this institution in the period of the 'New Armenian Rise' (some would call it the

---

[21] Later, some assistants were assigned to *mütevellis* in order to limit their monopolistic position.

'Western Armenian Renaissance') was due to a number of important circumstances. Despite its pan-Armenian significance, during this period, the Mother See of Etchmiadzin was in crisis. The Constantinople-Etchmiadzin conflict, which had a long history, reached a climax in this period, as the Patriarchate secured a key role and the right to vote in the selection of the Catholicos. After the Mother See of Etchmiadzin was subjugated to the Russian Empire, the Patriarchate, in the face of the Russian-Ottoman conflict, became the only system of administration and organization of Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire. Thanks to the privileges granted to Patriarchs by the Ottoman sultans and the immunity of the Patriarchate's possessions, and on the other hand, due to the active role of Armenian commercial capital in Mediterranean trade, mutual interests became the basis for cooperation between the church and merchants. During the period under discussion, the influence of the Armenian Amira class was great in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which played a decisive role in community affairs. Armenian businesses in the Ottoman Empire became successful thanks to the flow of European business into the Empire. Additionally, the pan-Armenian network covered a wide geographical range (from Eastern Asia to Northern and Western Europe), which further enabled their success. In addition to direct European influence, the aspirations of the Ottoman elite and some attempts to push the country toward modernization were also important in Istanbul. Non-Muslim communities had an acknowledged legal status in the Empire and their role in Istanbul began to grow. The Istanbul Patriarchate, in general, acted on this basis.

During the period under consideration, the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople held a leading position in the spread of modern knowledge and its localization in the Armenian sphere. It was interested in the characteristics of the modern world, especially in those areas that could be built in the Armenian sphere of the Ottoman Empire, relying on the legal-political status of that sphere in the empire. Traditions of printing and education were strengthened under the patronage of the Patriarchate; new trends were implemented and expanded. Formerly existing Armenian printing activities in Istanbul were replaced by organized and productive printing with a broad network and a number of centres that constantly expanded thematic interests, which, eventually, began to emerge from purely church-religious content and to serve wider needs. Armenian printing, which originated in Europe, developed there with some exceptions until the 18th century. Later, this practice and in some cases also the material property of the publishing houses was moved to the east, to the large Armenian centres. Istanbul was one of the first cities where Armenian printing activities penetrated and gained wide popularity. Although the Patriarchate used this tool mainly for its own needs, cir-

culating religious books, modern necessities were taken into account too: text-books, dictionaries, medical literature and translations from European languages were all published.

In this sense, the education issue was of utmost importance and often influenced the priorities of printing activities. Until the Tanzimat period, Armenian schools were established in all districts of Istanbul. Vocational education centres were also formed on their basis. Education was not exclusively male, though at the outset there was some discrimination against women. The Patriarch had a decisive voice in the governance of schools, although there was also a system that was meant to deal with school management issues. The preaching of the Armenian Church was a key element in schools. However, important steps were also taken to include secular and disciplinary education: foreign languages (in particular French and Italian), arithmetic, algebra, logic and in some cases natural sciences were included in the curriculum of many Armenian schools.

The Armenian Patriarchate represented a political structure with an agenda and priorities of its own. The European world exerted great influence on the Ottoman Empire and particularly on Istanbul, where religion was still a driving force. Constantinople held an important position in the Armenian Church system and was therefore interested in its doctrine. The dogmatic divergences between the Patriarchate and the churches of Europe did not prevent the Patriarchate from adopting and using European knowledge and tools according to its needs. Certainly, Armenian printing and the school system in Istanbul were not completely secular, but despite being under the domination of this spiritual body, they were still considerably influenced by the ever-changing world. Along with other Armenian intellectual centres outside of the historical region of Armenia, this institution knew how to function, combining balance and responsibility – responsibility for its structure, ideology and capital, as well as the safety of the life of its community (which included the majority of Armenians living in the world at that time). The Patriarchate was the ruler of the Armenian community and its intermediary before the political elite. Armenians in the Ottoman Empire were subordinate to it, and ultimately it was in turn subject to the Ottoman political system, since it was part of this system.

Works Cited

Alpōyachean, Arshak. "Aṛajnordakan vichakner." *Ĕndardzak Ōrats'oyts' S. P'rkch'ean Hiwandanots'i Hayots'*, editor unknown, Press of Y. Matt'ēosean, 1908, pp. 240–354.

--- "Azgayin Sahmanadrudrut'iwnĕ, ir tsagumĕ ew kiraṛut'iwnĕ." *Ĕndardzak Ōrats'oyts' S. P'rkch'ean Hiwandanots'i Hayots'*, editor unknown, Publishing of Y. Matt'ēosean, 1910, pp. 76–528.

Anasyan, Hakob. *XVII dari azatagrakan sharjumnern Arevmtyan Hayastanum*. ArmSSR Academy of Science Press, 1961.

Asatur, Hrant. "K. Polsoy hayerĕ ew irents' patriark'nerĕ." *Ĕndardzak Ōrats'oyts' S. P'rkch'ean Hiwandanots'i Hayots'*, editor unknown, Publishing of Y. Matt'ēosean, 1901, pp. 77–258.

Ashch'yan, Vardan. "Krt'ut'yunĕ K. Polsum 18-rd d. verjin ev 19-rd d. aṛajin kesin." *Ararat,* no. 2–3, February/March 1995, pp. 81–89.

--- "Amiraneri ev aṛevtraarhestavorakan khavi gortsuneut'yunĕ polsahay gaght'ōjakhum (XVIII d. Verj–XIX d. arajin kes)." *Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri*, no. 1, January/April 1998a, pp. 104–13.

--- "K. Polsi hayots' patriark'aranĕ XVIII daraverjin ev XIX dari aṛajin kesin." *Ejmiatsin,* no. 2–3, February/March 1998b, pp. 201–09.

Ayvazyan, Gayane. "Creation of the anti-catholicosate of Jerusalem as an episode of the Armenian dichotomy." *Episodes of Modern Period Experience, Theses of the Conference*, Ashot Johanissyan Research Institute in the Humanities, 2016.

Bardakjian, Kevork. "The Rise of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople." *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*, edited by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, vol. 1, Holmes and Meier, 1982, pp. 89–100.

Barsoumian, Hakop L. *İstanbul'un Ermeni Amiralar Sınıfı*. Aras, 2013.

Ch'amch'eants', Mik'ayēl. *Patmut'iwn Hayots'*. Vol. 3, Yerevan State University Press, 1984.

Davt'yan, Hayk. *Hay girk'ĕ 1800–1850 t'vakannerin*. ArmSSR State library named after Al. Myasnikyan, 1967.

Eghiayean, Biwzand. *Hay Kat'olik ew Awetaranakan yaranuanut'eants' bazhanumĕ ZhT' darun*. Antelias, 1971.

Hovhannisyan, Ashot. "H.S. Anasyan, XVII dari azatagrakan sharjumnern Arevmtyan Hayastanum, Erevan, 1961, 442 ej." *Patma-banasirakan handes*, no. 1, January/March 1963, pp. 235–48.

Khaṛatyan, Albert. *Kostandnupolsi hay gaght'ōjakhĕ (XV–XVII dd.)*.Yerevan State University Press, 2007.

Kiwlēsērean, Babgēn. *Kolot Yovhannēs patriark': Patmagrakan ew banasirakan usumnasirut'iwn*. Press of Vienna Mkhitarian Congregation, 1904.

Leo. *Khojayakan kapitalĕ yev nra k'aghak'akan-hasarakakan derĕ hayeri mej*. Pethrat, 1934.

Levonyan, Garegin. *Hay girk'ĕ ev tpagrut'yan arvestĕ*. Haypethrat, 1958.

Ōrmanean, Maghak'ia. *Azgapatum*. Vol. 1–3, Press of Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, 2001.

Oskanyan, Ninel, et al. *Hay girk'ĕ 1512–1800 t'vakannerin*. ArmSSR State library named after Al. Myasnikyan, 1988.

P'ap'azyan, Hakob. "Mesropataṛ aylalezu grakanut'yan masin." *Banber Matenadarani*, no. 7, 1964, pp. 209–24.

Pērpērean, Avetis. *Patmut'iwn hayots'*. Press of Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, 2009.

Pērpērean, Hayk. "K. Polsoy hay patriark'ut'ean himnarkut'iwnĕ." *Handēs amsōreay,* no. 7–9, June–September 1964, pp. 337–50.

Siruni, Hakob. "Polis ew ir derĕ." *Ējmiatsin*, 6, June 1964, pp. 16–25.

T'ēodik. *Tip u taṛ*. V. ev H. Tēr-Nersēsean, Constantinople, 1912.

Zardarean, Vahan. *Yishatakaran: Hay erewelineru kensagrutiwnnerē, lusankarnerē, dzeṛagirnerē ew ayln*. Vol. 1, Constantinople, 1910.

Zarphanalean, Garegin. *Patmut'iwn haykakan tpagrut'ean*. Venice Mekhitarist Press, 1895.

Zulalyan, Manvel. *Arevmtyan Hayastanĕ XVI–XVII dd*. ArmSSR Academy of Science Press, 1980.

CONTRIBUTORS

Gayane Ayvazyan is a senior researcher at the Medieval Source Studies Department of the Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts. Her professional interests include the transfer of Armenian knowledge in the Ottoman Empire. The early modern period of source criticism and historiography, particularly the life and works of Eremia Chelebi Komurjian, are in the focus of her professional interests.

Dragi Gjorgiev is full Professor at the Institute for National History in Skopje and works on the socio-economic and cultural history of the Balkans during Ottoman rule. He is the project coordinator of the Macedonian-Bulgarian project 'Balkan Traditional and Contemporary Destinations and Forms of Mobility' supported by the Macedonian and Bulgarian Academies of Sciences. He has published several books, articles and translations of Ottoman documents, most recently *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na Makedonija. Popisi od XIX v.* (2017).

Andreas Golob is a research fellow at the University of Graz where he directs the project 'Participatory Journalism in Michael Hermann Ambros' Periodical Media' supported by the Austrian Science Fund. He is also associated with the transdisciplinary doctoral programme 'Collecting, Classifying, Communicating. Cultures of Knowledge in the 18th Century' based at Graz University.

Ioannis N. Grigoriadis is Associate Professor and Jean Monnet Chair of European Studies at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Bilkent University. He has published the following books in English: *Trials of Europeanization: Turkish Political Culture and the European Union*, (2009), *Instilling Religion in Greek and Turkish Nationalism: A "Sacred Synthesis"* (2012), *Democratic Transition and the Rise of Populist Majoritarianism: Constitutional Reform in Greece and Turkey* (2018).

Dominik Gutmeyr is a historian at the Institute of History (Southeast European History and Anthropology) at the University of Graz, Austria. He is working on cultural representations and their visualization in both Southeastern Europe and the Caucasus region, with a particular interest in photography in imperial Russia. He is the author of *Borderlands Orientalism or How the Savage Lost His Nobility. The Russian Perception of the Caucasus between 1817 and 1878* (2017).

Zaur Hasanov is a senior research associate at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography at the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences. His work focuses on the history of the Cimmerians and Scythians and the archaeological cultures of their genetic predecessors. The topics of his interdisciplinary research cover archaeology, written sources, ethnography, mythology and language.

Harald Heppner has been Associate Professor of Southeast European History at the University of Graz since 1997. He obtained his PhD in 1983 and is *doctor honoris causa* of three universities abroad (Romania and Bulgaria). His main research interests are long-term topics, the history of the Danubian-Carpathian area and the 'saddle time' (transition from the 18th to the 19th century).

Vladimir Janev is Associate Professor at the Institute of National History in Skopje. The main focus of his research is the history of the Jewish community in Macedonia and the Balkans, their life, migrations, connections and various aspects of Judaism. His most recent publications include "Tax Obligations of Jews in Macedonia (1700–1912)", *Glasnik na Institutot za nacionalna istorija*, vol. 60, no. 1/2016, pp. 123–36, and "The Perception of Jacob in the Bible and his Significance in Judaism", *Macedonian Folklore*, XXXVII, vol. 71, 2016, pp. 173–80.

Karl Kaser has been full Professor of Southeast European History and Anthropology at the University of Graz, Austria, since 1996. His research focuses on historical-anthropological theories and methods and encompasses topics such as the history of the family, kinship and clientelism, gender relations in the Balkans and visual cultures. His most recent monographs are *Patriarchy after Patriarchy. Gender Relations in Turkey and in the Balkans* (2008), *The Balkans and the Near East. Introduction to a Shared History* (2011), *Andere Blicke. Religionen und visuelle Kulturen auf dem Balkan und im Nahen Osten* (2013) and *Hollywood auf dem Balkan. Die visuelle Moderne an der europäischen Peripherie (1900–1970)* (2018).

Svetlana V. Koch is Associate Professor of political sciences at the Department of History and World Politics at the Institute of Social Sciences, I. I. Mechnikov National University in Odessa, Ukraine. Her research interests include ethnic processes of modernity; culture, society, and politics; zones of crossing and interaction; the symbolization of space; and behavioural strategies of ethnic groups in different spaces and communication environments.

Alla Kondrasheva is Associate Professor at the Department of Historical Research at Pyatigorsk State University. Her main research interests are focused on geopolitical, economic and cultural processes in the Central and Eastern Caucasus. She is currently studying the traditional social organization of local ethnicities in the 18th and 19th centuries and the activities of the then Russian government aimed at including the Caucasus region into the economic and legal framework of the Russian Empire.

Greta Nikoghosyan is a translator and a PhD-student at the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran). She graduated from Yerevan State University and Malmö University. Her specialities are the research of Armenian scientific minds as translators of European values in the 18th and 19th centuries and the civilizational role of cultural contacts of the time.

Stavris Parastatov is full Professor of International Relations, Political Science and World Economy at Pyatigorsk State University. He is currently researching Balkan geopolitics, perspectives for EU-Russia relations, as well as the history of Greek-Russian relations.

Anastasiya Pashova is Associate Professor at the 'Neofit Rilski' South-West University in Blagoevgrad. She specialised in the History of Pedagogy at Moscow University (1986). She teaches Pedagogy, Intercultural Education, Family Pedagogy. Her main research areas are the history of pedagogical ideas, minority studies, feminist theories, female education.

Mariyana Piskova is Associate Professor of Archive Studies at the 'Neofit Rilski' South-West University in Blagoevgrad. Her main research interests are focused on archivology, archival science, records management and audio-visual records. Her most recent publication is *Geroite na Shipka. Arkhiven prochit na edin film za Rusko-turskata voǐna (1877–1878) ot vremeto na Studenata voǐna* (2015).

Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska is Professor, head of the Department for Cultural History and coordinator of the *Cultural History of Macedonia* Ph.D. programme in the Institute of National History. Her research interests are cultural history, migration studies, memory, identity, and historiography. She served as president of the Society of Historians of the Republic of Macedonia (2006–2008) and was a member of the editorial boards of the scholarly journals *Glasnik*, and *Philological Studies*. Her most recent (co-authored) monograph is *Macedonian Album.*

Documents from and about the Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society and the Macedonian Colony in St. Petersburg (2014).

Wojciech Sajkowski is Chair of Balkan Studies at the Faculty of History, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. He is director of the research project 'French Image of the Peoples Inhabiting the Illyrian Provinces' supported by the National Science Centre of Poland, and is a participant in the research project: vlachs-project.eu. He is also Secretary of the Commission of Balkan Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Petar Vodenicharov is Associate Professor at the 'Neofit Rilski' South-West University in Blagoevgrad. He specialised in Sociolinguistics at Bergen University (1990) and Gender Studies at Copenhagen University (1996). He teaches Sociolinguistics, Psycholinguistics and Social Anthropology at South-Western University. He has been a guest lecturer at the University of Oslo, Tromsø, Liverpool, Prague, and Graz. His main research is in Gender Studies, Minority Studies, Language policy and nationalism, Critical analysis of media, Memory policies. He is editor in chief of the journal *Balkanistic forum*.

Yana Volkova is a researcher at the Philological Department of the Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University. She has taught the Turkish language, intercultural communication and Bulgarian history since 2014. Her scientific interests include diasporas, migration, transnationalism, identity studies, nationalism and Muslim minorities in Europe.

Michaela Wolf is Associate Professor at the Department of Translation Studies, University of Graz. She is the author of *The Habsburg Monarchy's Many-Languaged Soul: Translating and Interpreting, 1848–1918* (2015), and the editor of *Interpreting in Nazi Concentration Camps* (2016). Areas of teaching and research interest include translation sociology, Cultural Studies and translation, translation history, and translation and visual anthropology.

Gor Yeranyan is a researcher at the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (the 'Matenadaran'). He graduated from Yerevan State University and received his Ph.D. from the Institute of History at the National Academy of Sciences for his thesis on the ethnic composition of medieval Armenia. His current research at the Matenadaran in Yerevan focuses on Kurdish manuscripts written in Armenian letters. His academic interests include the study of the Armenian-Kurdish and Armenian-Turkish ethnic and cultural spheres.

Studies on South East Europe

edited by Univ.-Prof. Dr. Karl Kaser (Graz)

Karl Kaser
The Balkans And The Near East
Introduction To A Shared History
vol. 12, 2011, 416 pp., 29,90 €, pb., ISBN 978-3-643-50190-5

Aleksandar R. Miletić
Journey under Surveillance
The Overseas Emigration Policy of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Global Context, 1918 – 1928
vol. 11, 2012, 192 pp., 19,90 €, pb., ISBN 978-3-643-90223-8

Sabine Rutar (Ed.)
Southeast Europe – Comparison, Entanglement, Transfer
Contributions to European Social History of the 19th and 20th Centuries
vol. 10, 2013, 504 pp., 49,90 €, pb., ISBN 978-3-643-10658-2

Andreas Hemming; Gentiana Kera; Enriketa Pandelejmoni (Eds.)
Albania
Family, Society and Culture in the 20th Century
vol. 9, 2012, 224 pp., 29,90 €, pb., ISBN 978-3-643-50144-8

Margit Rohringer
Der jugoslawische Film nach Tito
Konstruktionen von kollektiven Identitäten
Bd. 8, 2008, 344 S., 29,90 €, br., ISBN 978-3-8258-1289-8

Karl Kaser
Patriarchy after Patriarchy
Gender Relations in Turkey and in the Balkans, 1500 – 2000

Karin Taylor
Let's Twist Again: Youth and Leisure in Socialist Bulgaria

Christian Promitzer; Klaus-Jürgen Hermanik; Eduard Staudinger (eds.)
(Hidden) Minorities
Language and Ethnic Identity between Central Europe and the Balkans
vol. 5, 2009, 304 pp., 29,90 €, pb., ISBN 978-3-643-50096-0

Ulf Brunnbauer (ed.)
(Re)Writing History. Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism
vol. 4, 2004, 384 pp., 29,90 €, pb., ISBN 3-8258-7365-x

Miroslav Jovanović; Slobodan Naumović (Eds.)
Gender Relations in South Eastern Europe
Historical Perspectives on Womanhood and Manhood in 19th and 20th Century
vol. 3, 2004, 416 pp., 29,90 €, pb., ISBN 3-8258-6440-5

Slobodan Naumović; Miroslav Jovanović (Eds.)
Childhood in South East Europe
Historical Perspectives on Growing Up in the 19th and 20th Century
vol. 2, 2004, 304 pp., 29,90 €, br., ISBN 3-8258-6439-1

Miroslav Jovanović ; Karl Kaser; Slobodan Naumović (Eds.)
Between the archives and the field
A dialogue on historical anthropology of the Balkans
vol. 1, 2004, 280 pp., 29,90 €, br., ISBN 3-8258-6438-3

Studies on South East Europe

When the scientific study of the Black Sea Region began in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, initially commissioned by adjacent powers such as the Habsburg and the Russian empires, this *terra incognita* was not yet considered part of Europe. The eighteen chapters of this volume show a broad range of thematic foci and theoretical approaches – the result of the enormous richness of the European macrocosm and the BSR. The microcosms of the many different case studies under scrutiny, however, demonstrate the historical dimension of exchange between the allegedly opposite poles of 'East' and 'West' and underscore the importance of mutual influences in the development of Europe and the BSR.

Dominik Gutmeyr is a historian at the Institute of History (Southeast European History and Anthropology) at the University of Graz, Austria.
Karl Kaser is full Professor of Southeast European History and Anthropology at the University of Graz, Austria.

9 783643 802866