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Ordu Cad. No: 16, Beyazıt, Fatih 34134, İstanbul, Türkiye
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İÇİNDEKİLER / CONTENTS

Misafir Editörün Sunuşu / Guest Editor's Preface

Olena Bachynska VIII

Araştırma Makaleleri / Research Articles

Spatial Representation of the Frontier as one of the Components of Historical Geography
Viktorii Nikichuk 1

The Great Steppe Frontier of Ukraine as A Contributing Factor to the Formation of the Cossack Raids in the 16th and 17th Centuries
Oksana Amelina..... 9

Osmanlı-Ukrayna Serhattinde Özi Bozkır
Ozi Steppe on the Ottoman-Ukraine Border
Oleksandr Sereda17

Frontier on the Water: Conflict and Interaction of Balkan-Black Sea Shipbuilding Traditions of the 16th and 18th Centuries
Viacheslav Sarychev35

The Frontier Person and the Border: in Search of the Native (Southern Ukraine of the 18th and Early 19th Centuries)
Svitlana Kaiuk43

The Northwestern European Frontier of the Ottoman State: The Steppe of Budjak in the Late 18th and the Early 19th Centuries
Olena Bachynska59

Slavic-Turkic Relations in the Steppe Frontier in Local Historiography in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries
Liudmyla Novikova73

Vienna Letter to Sultan Mehmed IV Avji from Ukrainian Cossaks in Chyhyryn
Taras Chuhlib89

Carlopolis: Sketches of Everyday Life of A Swedish-Cossack Camp on the Frontier (1709 – 1713)
Volodymyr Milchev97

The Warriors of the Frontier: the Osavul Office (Aide-De-Camp) in the Military Structure of Ukrainian Cossack and Turkic Armies
Oleksii Sokyрко..... 119

Marriage-Family Relations on the Frontier of South-Ukrainian Lands in the 17th and 18th Centuries



İÇİNDEKİLER / CONTENTS

Iryna Petrenko..... 137

Prussian Consuls on the Southern Ukrainian Frontier in the 19th Century
Igor Lyman, Victoria Konstantinova..... 145

Michal Czajkowski (Sadyk Pasha)'s Projects in The Ottoman Empire (1841-1872)
Volodymyr Poltorak 175

The Southern Bug - Dnister Interfluve During World War II: Administrative Organization, Staffing
and Statistics
Mykola Mykhailutsa, Igor Niculcea..... 189

Kitâbiyât Makaleleri / Book Reviews

Romanya'nın Eski Kraliyet Döneminde Osmanlı Diplomatları ve Osmanlı Topluluğu: 1878-1908
Yılları Arasında Osmanlı-Rumen İlişkileri
*Ottoman Diplomats and Turkish Community in the Romania Old Kingdom: Ottoman-Romanian
Relations between 1878 and 1908*
Mariana Budu 207



PREFACE

The concept of “Frontier” is increasingly attracting the attention of modern researchers and discussed in society. Interpretation of this phenomenon has different methodological and theoretical approaches, different concentrations. It first appeared to describe a kind of geographical area on the American continent, but today this term is increasingly used in Europe. One way or another, the Frontiers, as specific lines, pass through the entire globe and create specific conditions for the existence and development of peoples in their territory. Frontiers are not just lines on a map. They can be formed both by natural conditions and by the boundaries of different civilizations, cultures, religions, even mental differences. In the case of the American frontier, the advantage of the Europeans side was depressing and threatening to the local population, while the European frontier was the territory of the meeting of two equal forces, which led to the advantage of one or the other side. As a result, there was border mobility.

Political and cultural borders, which are formed during the historical development of mankind, can be both territories of contacts and of conflicts. In any case, a border gives rise to a new borderline way of life.

It was such a mobile frontier that passed through the territory of Ukraine that became the border between two very different ethnic and cultural worlds of East and West, the Slavic and the Turkic, the Christian and the Muslim.

In this territory of interaction a completely new third cultural type was formed - the Ukrainian Cossacks. It was that type of military corporation, a male alliance born in the circumstances of confrontation, contact, and interaction, developed similar to two worlds everyday practices and patterns of behavior, and at the same time features that were not inherent in any of the two interacting worlds.

For a long historical time the interests of the Ottoman state, Crimean Khanate and Ukraine met on such a complex frontier.

Given the above, the discussion on Frontier issues between Turkish and Ukrainian researchers is very relevant and important. As a result, this issue of *The Journal of South-Eastern European Studies* is devoted to the intertwined history of two peoples and cultures in different manifestations of frontline life. Its content includes the articles of Ukrainian researchers presented their publications on this problem under the topic: “Frontiers: territories of separation or contacts.” On their behalf, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my Turkish colleagues and, especially to the editorial board of *The Journal of South-Eastern European Studies*, for the given opportunity. I hope that the Ukrainian-Turkish scientific dialogue will have a fruitful continuation.

Olena Bachynska
Guest Editor



Spatial Representation of the Frontier as one of the Components of Historical Geography

Viktoriiia Nikichuk¹



Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:
Viktoriiia Nikichuk (PhD student),
İ.İ. Mechnikov Odessa National University,
Faculty of History and Philosophy,
Department of History of Ukraine, Odessa,
Ukraine.
E-mail: vnichuk@ukr.net
ORCID: 0000-0003-2761-02236

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ABSTRACT

The article considers the spatial representation of the frontier as one of the components of historical geography. The purpose of the study is to determine the affiliation of the concept of 'frontier' to the problem field of historical geography on the basis of scientific and cartographic studies of historians in the context of the formation of Ukrainian territories. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, and scientificity. The following general historical methods are used: historiographical analysis, terminological analysis, typological, comparative, and cartographic. The study found that the concept of the frontier as a border or border strip can be considered in the context of the problems of historical geography, and the Ukrainian lands are at the intersection of different border contact zones.
Keywords: Frontier, Historical Geography, Great Steppe Border, Ukraine

Introducing the Problem

The issue of the theory of 'frontier' is a very relevant topic today, because it can be traced at the intersection of problem fields of geography and humanities, including history, and historical geography. In its understanding, historical geography concretizes the idea of the historical process in spatial coordinates, connecting the latter with certain areas. And one of the directions of historical geography as a special historical discipline is actually historical political geography, whose research of aims at establishing and transforming state and administrative borders, defining regional centres, etc. Therefore, the concept of the frontier as a border or border strip can be considered in the context of the problems of historical geography.

The border is determined primarily by its geographical location, being a contact zone. This concept was first considered by the American historian F.J. Turner in the late 19th century on the history of the development of the empty spaces of the American continent and the impact of these events on the formation of state-building and nation-building processes. Later, this theory was considered by historians of other countries. According to frontier theory, a similar contact zone was considered on the European continent – the Great Border between West and East. In historical science, this topic has repeatedly been the subject of research by Ukrainian historians such as M. Hrushevsky, S. Rudnytsky, D. Yavornytsky, etc at different times. However, a significant contribution to the development of the theoretical basis of the concept of 'frontier' in the late 80's was made by J. Dashkevych. The issue of the 'Great Border (*frontier*)' occupied an important place in the oriental heritage of the historian. J. Dashkevych emphasized the "mobility of Ukrainian borders" and defined its phenomenon – the Cossacks. The historian developed a theory about the Great Border, inscribing the territory of Ukraine in its longevity. J. Dashkevych had no doubt about the location of Ukrainian lands in the past at the intersection of various natural and anthropogenic borders. In particular, the scientist identified several such borders: biological (ecological) – between the steppe and forest; hydrographic – European watershed between the Black and Baltic Seas; socio-economic – nomadic way of life and settled; ethno-confessional – Christianity and Islam; and ethno-cultural – the culture of the West and East. And based on such a set of borders, J. Dashkevych added the origin of the name 'Ukraine', which replaced the ancient name 'Russia' and is nothing more than the embodiment of the Great Border: Ukraine – the land, country, outskirts, outskirts of one world, opposed to another¹.

Of course, the research of this topic is intensifying for the Ukrainian territories, because almost the entire territory of Ukraine and its history can be considered as a zone of continuous historical-geographical and chronological front. Historian S. Lepyavko, in contrast to J. Dashkevych, considers the idea of forming the Great Steppe Border, pointing out that the line of the Great Border, in particular in the Northern Black Sea Coast, overlapped with the original

1 Ya. Dashkevich, "Ukrayina na mezhi mizh shodom i Zahodom (XIV-XVIII st.)" *Zapiski naukovogo tovaristva imeni Shevchenka*, Lviv, 1991, №222, pp.28-44

steppe border. And accordingly, the adjacent territories were a wide strip of “land on the border”, “countries on the border”. While for most European states the Turkish factor gradually lost its significance or remained an instrument of diplomatic intrigue, for the peoples on the Great Border it remained decisive not only in the political but also in all other spheres of society. According to the historian, the Ukrainian lands were at the forefront of this border from the 16th century and some confrontation of these lands in the future². Historian T. Chukhlib who in one of his articles explores the use of the political identification phrases ‘side of Ukraine’, and ‘otherworldly Ukraine’, among others, touches on the topic of belonging to Ukrainian lands. Chukhlib claims that similar terms in the 17th century were reflected in the diplomatic correspondence of European states³.

‘Ukraine’ – Border Land, Border

This article discusses several aspects of the spatial representation of the frontier. First, the concept of ‘Ukraine’ is represented by the term, *frontier*, because from the very beginning of its existence, since the days of Kievan Rus, it was identified with the peripheral land. In addition, the representation of the frontier was reflected both in the scientific works of historians and in cartographic works. Already in the early 20th century, Ukrainian historians have interpreted the concept of the front in the name “Ukraine” – border land, border. One of them was the geographer and geopolitician S. Rudnytsky, who saw the peculiarity of the geographical position in its “outskirts”. Geopolitically, Ukraine has become a certain border between the Mediterranean and Central Asian world⁴.

The same opinion was held by the historian M. Hrushevsky, who pointed to the “old name Ukraine, Ukrainian, used in Old Russian times in the general sense of the border, and in the 16th century specialized in application to the middle Dnieper, which at the end of the 15th century becomes so dangerous. It was placed in exceptional circumstances, exposed to eternal Tatar attacks by the frontier, acquires special significance from the 17th century, when that eastern Ukraine becomes the centre and representative of the new Ukrainian life and desires, dreams and hopes of modern Ukraine”⁵.

Secondly, the concept of the front is considered as an integral part of the Ukrainian lands; the Black Sea, the Wild Field, Sloboda Ukraine, etc. At one time, the Black Sea acted as a contact zone and a certain frontier for obvious geopolitical reasons. Therefore, it is not surprising that at different times all state formations on Ukrainian lands naturally sought to establish control

2 S. Lep'yavko, “Velikij kordon Yevropi yak faktor stanovlennya ukrayinskogo kozactva (XVI st.)”, *Zaporizka spadshina, Zaporizhzhya*, 2001, №12. pp. 53-59

3 T. Chukhlib “Uzhivannya politiko-identifikacijnih spoluchen”storona Ukrayini”, “tobogichna Ukrayina”, “oboh storin Dnipra”, “toj bik Dnipra”, “Zanipryanska storona” (1673-1686 rr.)”, *Chornomors'ka mynushyna*, 2019, №14, pp.20-29

4 S. Rudnickij, “Ukrayinska sprava zi stanovisha politichnoyi geografii” *Rudnickij S. Chomu mi hochemo samostijnoyi Ukrayini?*, Lviv, 1994, pp. 94-208

5 M. Grushevskij, “*Istoriya Ukrayini Rusi*”, Kiyiv, 1913, T.1, p. 648

over the northern coast of the Black Sea. The very logic of historical circumstances forced Ukrainians to enter the sphere of Black Sea relations and influences, what M. Hrushevsky defined as “Black Sea orientation”. In his opinion, “historical living conditions oriented Ukraine to the West, geographically oriented to the South, to the Black Sea... When the circumstances were favourable, Ukraine went so far as to widely take over the Black Sea coast and become a strong foot here”⁶. That is why historians have already represented Ukraine in the context of the contact zone in the political aspect.

Contact Frontline Zones - Wild Field, Black Sea, Budzhak

However, both the territory of Ukraine as a whole and its individual regions can be characterized as a separate border, where the Wild Field region is a clear example of this. Even based on the dictionary interpretation of the term “frontier”, which is a wide strip of uninhabited lands, which for a long time unable to put under its reliable control, neither society located on either side clearly fits into the idea of the Wild Field region. The difference between the front line and the usual state border may be the actual lack of clear demarcation – lines of demarcation and delimitation. In most cases, the territorial boundaries of the front are quite conditional and are formed spontaneously, and therefore can change dynamically depending on the balance of forces of the surrounding communities. Usually the frontier is also understood as a contact zone of cultures, civilizations, etc⁷. Indeed, the concept of frontier includes in its interpretation and not only territorial affiliation, but also the contact zone in the context of colonization processes, the development of previously uninhabited areas, which in any case leads to certain assimilation processes in neighbouring nations.

The wild field as a region in its general sense clearly fits into the concept of such a contact frontline zone as it is the traditional name of the Black Sea steppes in the 16th and 17th centuries. Historically, this region surrounded Rus'-Ukraine from the south, and in the Middle Ages no neighbouring state controlled it completely. And only with the advent of such a phenomenon as the Cossacks, we can talk about the beginnings of development and colonization in the future of this region.

The historian M. Hrushevsky also pointed out the peculiarity of this region in his *History of Ukraine-Russia*, emphasizing the uncontrolled border, which began with the middle Dniester valley. “The Russian state of the 11-13th centuries actually ended here, followed by the steppe, the ‘field’, which already lived in completely different circumstances, completely outside the influence of Russian state life, or only in a weaker dependence on it”, he noted⁸.

According to S. Rudnytsky, the geographical position of our country “is the most important natural element in the political life of Ukraine since ancient times”. He divides Ukrainian lands into three groups: central, border and Ukrainian colonies in Eurasia. As a contact zone or

6 M. Grushevskij, “*Na porozi novoyi Ukrayini: gadki i mriyi*”, Kiyiv, 1918, p.120

7 V. Brehunenکو, “Frontir”, Enciklopediya istoriyi Ukrayini, Kiyiv, 2013, T.10. pp.335

8 M. Grushevskij, “*Istoriya Ukrayini Rusi*”, Lviv, 1905, T.2, p. 634

border, he defines the Black Sea steppes, pointing to the catalyst for political and geographical relations – the Tatars. The geopolitician outlined this region, which separated the Turkish-Tatar territories from the Polish-Lithuanian and Moscow ‘outskirts’, which later became the region of settlement of the Ukrainian Cossacks. In addition, he stressed out that this region had important political significance, calling the Cossacks a product of the unfortunate political and geographical situation of Ukraine, S. Rudnytsky emphasized the role of the Cossacks in this context. It was the Cossacks who managed to create an independent strong political and military organization here. And from the end of the 18th century the decline of the Tatar state led to colonization processes and the expansion of the Ukrainian national territory to the shores of the Black Sea⁹.

Historian and Cossack scholar D. Yavornytsky is of the opinion that the Cossacks mastered the steppes “began to settle spontaneously near the Dnieper River, below the rapids, in empty places and wild fields”. In addition, the researcher clearly delineated the borders. On the eve of the fall of the Sich, the boundaries of the liberties of the Zaporozhian Cossacks were defined as follows: From the Bakhmut River below the ‘old’ Ukrainian line, built in 1733, which stretched from the mouth of the Eagle to the top of the Seversky Donets, to the river Bug, 600 miles long, from the mouth of the Byrd to the ‘old’ Ukrainian line, 350 miles long; in the east with the land of the Don Cossacks; in the south and the west by the Turkish lands – Ochakov and Crimea, and opposite to Kuban – to Azov Sea.¹⁰

Actually, with the development of the steppes by the Cossacks up to the Black Sea, the concept of the *Wild Field* gradually became obsolete, which was reflected in the cartographic aspect. In the scientific research of A. Baitsar, the reflection of the Wild Field on the maps of Dutch, French and German cartographers during the 17th and 18th centuries is studied. The historian notes that it was the Dutch cartographer Isaac Massa who introduced into European science the Ukrainian name of the southern Dnieper steppes *Wild field*, which began to be marked on the maps as ‘Wild field’. However, having studied the map in detail, you can see a certain bias in the region, because on the map the Moscow Ryazan region is shown as Ocraina, south of which is Dikoia Pole (Wild Field)¹¹.

Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century, M. Hrushevsky in his map, which was included in the *Short History of Ukraine* gave the Ukrainian ethnic lands, but signed the region as the Black Sea lowlands¹². Geopolitician and cartographer S. Rudnytsky in his *Ethnographic Overview Map of Ukraine* also points to Chem Saporogebiet¹³. So actually in the early 20th century, on

9 S. Rudnickij «Chomu mi hochemo samostijnoyi Ukrayini?», Lviv, 1994, p.416

10 D. Yavornickij, «Istoriya zaporozkikh kozakiv», Kiyiv, 1990, pp. 596

11 A. Bajcar, «Nazvi «Okraina» ta «Dike Pole» na kartah gollandskogo kartografa Isaaka Abrahamsona Massa (persha pol. XVII st.)», 2018, <http://baitsar.blogspot.com/2018/01/xvii.html>

12 M. Grushevskij, „Ukrayinski etnichni zemli“, 1915, 1 karta

13 S. Rudnickij, „Etnografichna ogyadova karta Ukrayini“, *Visnik geodeziyi ta kartografiji*, Kiyiv, 2010, № 5 (68), p. 46

Ukrainian maps of the Black Sea or the South of the Ukrainian lands it is in scientific use and means exactly the same territories as the Wild Field.

The frontier plays a significant role in shaping the ethnic composition of the population as the contact zone of different ethnic groups is usually formed in such frontline or border areas. A peculiar phenomenon in the context of this concept is part of the southern Ukrainian territory, *Budzhak*. This name is translated from Turkish and reflects the concept of 'border' or 'corner'. Already in the early 19th century active migration processes took place in this territory, in particular the mass resettlement of the Bulgarian population from the right to the left bank of the Danube, as a result of which the Bulgarians became the largest ethnic group in the south of Ukraine, in particular in Budzhak. At the same time, ethnic maps of the territory of the Russian Empire began to be created, which depicted the peculiarities of the settlement of various ethnic groups, including the Bulgarian population. Quite often, it was depicted on maps as a separate ethnic community. One of the first ethnic maps where the author turned to the cartographic representation of the ethnic population is P. Keppen's. He was one of the founders of the *Russian Geographical Society*. His *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* (1851) was part of a larger *Ethnographic Atlas of European Russia* (1848)¹⁴. In Russia this is the first map of the ethnic composition of the state on the basis of 'tribal affiliation'. The map shows the areas of settlement of 38 ethnic groups, including the *Bulgarians*. According to the map, a significant number of Bulgarians lived in Ackerman County, Bessarabia Province. You can also find a small number of Bulgarians in the modern Zaporozhye region of Ukraine. Thus, the map gives a clear understanding of the population of the region and other ethnic groups, which in the future is a confirmation of the formation of contact zones.

Conclusion

Thus, the concept of 'frontier' first proposed by the American historian J. Turner in the late 19th century, quickly came into use by Ukrainian historians to study Ukrainian lands. Ukrainian historians have pointed out that the frontier is already directly reflected in the name 'Ukraine', which means outskirts. Other Ukrainian lands; the Black Sea, the Wild Field, Slobidska Ukraine, Budzhak are constantly at the intersection of several contact zones due to their territorial location. And the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks is the history of the frontier and frontier community, which clearly fits into the study of historical geography. Thus, the frontier is an integral part of historical geography as it by definition involves the study of territorial and ethnic aspects over a period of time.

14 P. Keppen, Etnograficheskaya karta Evropejskoj Rossii, Reprintnoe izdanie 1851 g., SPb.: Alfaret, 2008., 18 l.: 1 k.

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- S. Rudnickij «*Chomu mi hochemo samostijnoyi Ukrayini?*», Lviv, 1994, p.416.
- S. Rudnickij, «Etnografichna ogyadova karta Ukrayini», *Visnik geodeziyi ta kartografiji*, Kiyiv, 2010, №5(68), p. 46.
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The Great Steppe Frontier of Ukraine as A Contributing Factor to the Formation of the Cossack Raids in the 16th and 17th Centuries

Oksana Amelina¹



Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:
Oksana Amelina (Post graduate student),
I. I. Mechnikov Odessa National University,
Faculty of History and Philosophy,
Department of History of Ukraine,
Odessa, Ukraine.
E-posta: sunkiss2017@ukr.net
ORCID: 0000-0002-2450-7848

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ABSTRACT

The article considers the influence of the Great Steppe Frontier of Ukraine substantiating that the influence of the Great Steppe Frontier of Ukraine was not a line of demarcation between West and East, nor between other aspects of human life. The result was the emergence of a frontier way of life that included local traditions and borrowed elements of other cultures. In early modern European history, the Ukrainian Frontier witnessed the political rise of the Ukrainian Cossacks. One of the manifestations of the Cossacks' frontier life of was the tradition of prey - traditional Cossack activities aimed at collecting booty, mainly in border struggles and skirmishes with the Turks, Tatars, Nogai.

The article also contains a brief analysis of historiography on the issue. It studies the formative period of Cossack raids in search of spoils. The article offers an analysis of the components of Cossack raiding activity in the studied period and hints at the influence of these activities on the Steppe Frontier of Ukraine. It also emphasizes the geographical and chronological boundaries of the Great Ukrainian Steppe Frontier and their impact on the border life of Ukrainian Cossacks.

Keywords: Cossack Raiding, Ukrainian Steppe Frontier, "Cossack Bread", Socio-Cultural Interaction



In the 16th and the first half of the 17th century was laid the foundations of domestic and military Cossack culture and the worldview attached to it. This period became a turning point in the socio-cultural transformation of the Ukrainian Cossacks in which not only a notion of frontier understanding formed but also several ideas emerged that influenced subsequent historical research. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Ukrainian Cossacks appeared in the pages of national history as the “chivalry” of the steppe frontier. Historical studies commonly underlined the fact that the Ukrainian lands were protected by the Cossacks from Turkish-Tatar attacks. However, the Cossack campaigns against the Turks, Tatars, and Nogai have not been the focus of historians. Only in recent decades, have researchers begun to discuss the Cossack campaigns against Turkic societies and their impact on the socio-cultural features of the Ukrainian Cossacks. As V. Brekhunenko remarked: “At the turn of the 20th-21st centuries the problem of the consequences of Cossack campaigns in Turkey and the Crimea was fruitfully conceptualized”¹. In Western European and domestic historiography, this trend has become relevant in the context of studying the influence of the Great Steppe Frontier, which passed through the territory of Ukraine in the eighteenth century. Mining became one of the components of the Cossack military interaction with the Turkic world, which was reflected in all the specifics of the Cossacks’ frontier way of life.

Historiography on this issue includes works both by domestic and foreign researchers and historians. It is true that, since the late 19th and early 20th century historians and researchers have begun to focus on the influence of the Great Steppe Frontier on the military culture of the Ukrainian Cossacks. M. Hrushevsky was one of the first to note in his multi-volume work “History of Ukraine-Russia” the influence of the Ukrainian border between the West and the East on the peculiar, specific economic activity and the culture of the Cossacks, as well as the formation of the tradition of Cossack raiding². The research of the Soviet scholars V. Holobutsky, V. Dovnar-Zapolsky, O. Apanovych, and I. Krypyakevych is quite fundamental in studying the subject of Cossack raiding within the Ukrainian Frontier, since the topic was “banned” in Soviet times. It is worth noting that the works of I. Lysyak-Rudnytsky also focused on the issue of the cross-border lifestyle of Ukrainians. The topic drew special attention during the years of Ukraine independence: J. Dashkevych, S. Lepyavka, V. Hrybovsky and V. Brekhunenko, all examined the problem of Cossack-Tatar cooperation in the context of the Great Steppe Frontier.

It should be noted that in the works of Alan Fischer, Frederick Turner, and Maria Bar-mava, various aspects of the Steppe Frontier are mentioned as historical research areas, including the Ukrainian aspect. Without going into theoretical and methodological discussions on the interpretation of the concept of “borders” and “frontiers”, it is sufficing to note that

1 Brekhunenko V. Cossack yasir and trade in it in the XVI- first half of the XVII century. / V. Brekhnenko // History of trade, taxes and duties. - 2010. - № 1. - C.96.

2 Hrushevsky M. History of Ukraine-Rus / M. Hrushevsky. - T. VII. - K.: Naukova dumka, 1995. - 624 c.

the concept of “Great Frontiers”, which run across the globe and create specific conditions for the existence and development of nationalities in their territories, is not new. However, it has mostly been developed and researched by American scholars. In particular, the main ideologue of this concept - F. Turner - noted: “Much has been written about the frontier from the point of view of border warfare and the chase, but as a field for the serious study of the economist and the historian it has been neglected”³. In this statement, he emphasizes the importance of the border or frontier not only as a line of demarcation on the map or terrain, but also as a zone of interaction of two different cultures, a zone that provides the basis for a new frontier way of life.

This thesis can be applied to the study of the national frontiers. The main idea of the Ukrainian Steppe Frontier is that the border zone between two very different ethnic and cultural worlds of East and West passes through the territory of the Ukrainian state. In this zone of interaction of the two worlds, a third completely new element of culture is formed, the features of which are not inherent in either of the two interacting ones.

It is worth noting that the large American and European (of which the Ukrainian border was a part) borders had a significant difference. In the case of the American Great Frontier, the European side's advantage was damaging and threatening to the local population, while the European Great Frontier was a zone of confrontation between two equal forces, leading to the swaying and dominance of one side or the other⁴. As a result, there was border mobility. Therefore, contemporaries characterize the Ukrainian Steppe Border as a Frontier - a mobile zone of interaction of different cultures.

I. Lysyak-Rudnytsky was one of the first to transfer the theory of the Great Frontier to the territory of Ukrainian history and noted that in methodological terms the use of this theory, especially in the study of Cossacks, was quite appropriate. Transferring the theories of American scholars to Ukraine, Lysyak-Rudnytsky noted that “... the Ukrainian man of the frontier was a Cossack... In essence, the Cossacks were an organization of military self-defense of the endangered frontier lands... it also borrowed many tactical tools and customs from its Tatar enemies”⁵.

Ukrainian Steppe Frontiers existed until the 18th century and depended on the military-political interaction between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and later the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire and its vassal, the Crimean Khanate and the Nogai hordes, and became the territory of the formation of the Ukrainian Cossacks. According to the

3 Frederick J. Turner *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (1894) [Digital resource] // Access mode: <https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/archives/the-significance-of-the-frontier-in-american-history> (06.03.2020).

4 Dashkevych J. *Cossacks on the Great Border* / J. Dashkevych // *Ukrainian Historical Journal*. - K., 1990. - № 12. - P. 20.

5 Lysyak-Rudnytsky I. *Ukraine between East and West* / I. Lysyak-Rudnytsky. - Kyiv: PJSC “Ukrainian Press Group”, 2012. - P. 13-14.

Ukrainian historian V. Brekhunenko, the “classical” or “heroic” era of the Ukrainian Cossacks took place on the Frontier in the 16th and 17th centuries, because this period was key in the institutionalization, formation of their own Cossack identities and representations in the world⁶.

Natural or politico-cultural boundaries that are formed during the historical development of mankind have zones of conflicts. Sociocultural phenomena are also formed in the border areas, which are the result of the interaction of different cultures and worldviews which are opposed to each other⁷. Thus, the Ukrainian Cossacks as a phenomenon of contemporary Europe were formed within the Great Steppe Frontier, and directly influenced the peculiarities of Cossack culture, and at the same time, the formation and booty collecting as one of elements of the military culture of the Cossacks.

The main form of raiding was the border clashes of the Cossacks against the Turks and Tatars, the main purpose of which was to capture the prey⁸. However, spoils, like the Cossacks themselves, went through stages of formation, becoming and transformation. It brought not only material benefits, but also reflected the border type of life, thinking, culture, which in turn combined the socio-cultural elements of East and West.

Using methodological principles, our contemporaries highlight the boundaries of the steppe of Ukraine Frontier. Between the 16th and 18th centuries the northern Black Sea coast was the centre of the Great Frontier, a clearly blurred boundary between the agricultural and nomadic worlds, which periodically shifted from the forest-steppe strip to the steppe boundary and gravitated toward the Black Sea coast itself. Its obvious vagueness, width of hundreds of kilometers, and in the political sense, its amorphous quality and lack of clear documentary definition are the characteristics which do not allow us to compare the marked border with any other borders of the late Middle Ages and early modern times⁹.

It should be noted that despite the concentration of the Steppe Frontier in the Black Sea steppes, it stretches to “a vast expanse of steppe and forest space, focused through a system of forested, the Black, Azov and Caspian Seas and open to invasions from both the East and the north”.¹⁰ Therefore, the Ukrainian Steppe Frontier was part of the Great Frontier, which stretches “... from the Dniester to the Volga and Yaik.”¹¹

6 Brekhunenko V. Cossacks on the Steppe Border of Europe. Typology of Cossack communities of the XVI- first half of the XVII century. / V. Brekhnenko - K., 2011. - P. 11.

7 Barmova M. Europe, the Danube and the Ottomans (1396 - 1541). - University Publishing House “St. Clement of Ohrid”. - Sofia, 2014. - P. 27.

8 Pletsky SF Mining. - Ukrainian Cossacks: Small Encyclopedia. - Kyiv: Genesis; Zaporozhye: Premier, 2002. - P. 172.

9 Hrybovsky V. Zaporozhye-Nogai borderland in the XVI-XVIII centuries / V. Hrybovsky. [Electronic resource]. - Access mode: http://www.cossackdom.com/articles/g/gribovskiy_zaporozhpobuzh02081.htm (20.02.2020).

10 Brekhunenko V. Cossacks on the Steppe Border of Europe. Typology of Cossack communities of the XVI- first half of the XVII century. / V. Brekhnenko - K., 2011. - P. 24.

11 Brekhunenko V. Cossacks on the Steppe Border of Europe. Typology of Cossack communities of the XVI- first half of the XVII century. / V. Brekhnenko - K., 2011. - P. 26.

Each region of the Great Steppe Frontier had its own civilizational factor, which influenced the ethno-cultural features of the local population. In the region of the Great Steppe Frontier, as noted above, which was concentrated in the Black Sea steppes, a special factor was the Cossack-Tatar-Nogai interaction. The inhabitants of the steppe frontier, whether on one side or the other, became the first subjects of interaction. Therefore, in the cultural and later ideological aspects of Cossack life, we can trace a kind of symbiosis of two civilizations - nomadic and settled worlds - which actually resulted in the phenomenon of Cossack raiding.

It should be noted that the Ukrainian Frontier was an unstable, mobile zone of interaction not only of socio-cultural aspects, but also of geopolitical interests. Thus, these territories were of interest to the Crimean Khanate (which was a vassal of the Ottoman Empire), the Polish-Lithuanian state, as well as the Moscow principality.¹² Therefore, the Ukrainian Frontier was mobile and changed its borders in accordance with military and political circumstances.

Based on the above, we can talk about certain parallels between the Tatar yasir and Cossack booty¹³. Whereas the Tatars based their military hunting on horses and human captives, the Cossacks in the 16th century concentrated on sheep, oxen and cattle. This was due to the fact that the animals could be used on their own farms or sold in the markets to locals. In the Black Sea region, the Crimean Tatars were engaged in cattle grazing and sheep breeding. Therefore, sheep herds were the single most captured items in the region. In 1516, for instance, the Cossacks in the vicinity of Belgorod and Ochakovo attacked shepherds and took about a thousand sheep¹⁴. According to reports from the Polish guard Stanislaw Gulski to the Polish king from December 1582, the Cossacks from Pryluky and Nemyriv took several thousand sheep from the Turks¹⁵.

In the second half of the 16th century the Ukrainian Cossacks were institutionalized in Zaporizhzhya Sich and the registered Cossacks - this directly influenced on the transformation of Cossack production and the emergence of such a concept as "Cossack bread" - which included not only economic benefits but also ideological justification.

During this period, a certain Cossack ideology and an individual worldview began to emerge in the Sich environment, and as a result, the attitude to raiding changed. These moments are reflected in this action of Cossacks taking captives as booty. Whereas at the end of the 15th century human captivity was not entirely acceptable to the Cossack battalions, and the sources mentioned only isolated cases of enslaved people in order to obtain ransom

12 Fisher Alan. The Crimean Tatar Khanate. Stanford University. – 1978. Stanford, P.13, 41.

13 Hrybovsky V. Zaporozhye-Nogai borderland in the XVI-XVIII centuries / V. Hrybovsky. [Electronic resource]. - Access mode: http://www.cossackdom.com/articles/g/gribovskiyi_zaporozhpobuzh02081.htm (20.02.2020).

14 Cherkasy B. Ukrainian Cossacks in the late XV - in the first half of the XVI century. / B. Cherkasy // History of the Ukrainian Cossacks: Essays in two volumes / Resp. ed. Smoliy V. A. - Kyiv: Publishing House "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy", 2006. - Vol. 1. -P. 57.

15 Lepyavko S. Cossacks and Tatars in the early 1580s / S. Lepyavko // Scientific notes. Collection of works of scientists and graduate students. - T. 6. - K., 2001. - P. 30.

for them, from the middle of the 16th century onwards we encounter more and more complaints from the Crimean khan and the Turkish sultan about the Cossacks' capture of the local people. One of the factors that influenced such changes was purely psychological and moral. The Cossacks, who had entered the stage of their institutionalization and begun to take shape in a kind of military-political organization, turned to human booty to create the possibility of exchanging these prisoners with their fellow Cossacks and the local non-Muslim population which the Tatars took during skirmishes or raids on the territories of modern Ukraine. However, the leading place was occupied by economic aspects of Cossack mining.

According to P. Sas, in the late 16th and the first half of the 17th century the Ukrainian Cossacks perceived themselves as knights, that is, personally free people, whose way of life was determined by military craft and belonging to a separate, usually enclosed military community¹⁶. According to scholars, the main knightly virtues that were inherent in the Cossack environment included: courage, bravery, loyalty, dignity, honor, ability to self-sacrifice, and service to high ideals¹⁷. The latter had ideological features, which were directly influenced by the positioning of the Cossacks themselves as defenders of the Orthodox faith against the Muslim threat.

Sources allow us to claim that the Cossacks called themselves "knightly people"¹⁸. As noted in the letters of the Cossack hetmans to the Polish king: "to us, as people of chivalry..."¹⁹, or "all chivalry", "all chivalry of Zaporozhye..."²⁰.

Obviously, one of the factors in the transformation of raiding was religious. From the very beginning, the Cossacks have constantly opposed the Turkish-Tatar forces of Muslim faith who considered it their duty to wage a "Holy War" against infidel Christians²¹. In the process of forming their own identity and worldview, the Cossacks placed themselves as the main defender of the Christian world against Muslim aggression, a fact that allowed Ukrainian knights to wage a kind of holy war against Turkish-Tatar incursions.

16 Sas P. Military fishing of the Zaporozhian Cossacks (first half of the XVII century) / P. Sas // Ukraine in Central and Eastern Europe (from ancient times to the end of the XVIII century). - Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2007. - Issue. 7. - P.187.

17 Sas P. Military fishing of the Zaporozhian Cossacks (first half of the XVII century) / P. Sas // Ukraine in Central and Eastern Europe (from ancient times to the end of the XVIII century). - Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2007. - Issue. 7. - P.178.

18 Letter of Hetman of the Zaporozhian Army Kryshyt Kosynsky to the King of the Commonwealth Zygmunt III, September 1592 (Document № 20) // Documents of the Ukrainian Cossacks of the XVI- first half of the XVII century: universals, correspondence, agreements, oaths / Emphasis. V. Brekhunenko. - K., 2016. - P. 58-60.

19 Letter of the Senior Zaporozhian Army Hryhorii Loboda to the Grand Crown Hetman Jan Zamojsky, January 1596 (Document № 42) // Documents of the Ukrainian Cossacks of the 16th - first half of the 17th centuries: universals, correspondence, agreements, oaths / Emphasis. V. Brekhunenko. - K., 2016. - P. 89-90.

20 Letter of the senior army of Zaporozhia Prokop Sarapovych to the King of the Commonwealth Zygmunt III, March 1600 (Document № 61) // Documents of the Ukrainian Cossacks of the XVIth and first half of the XVIIth century: universals, correspondence, agreements, oaths / Emphasis. V. Brekhunenko. - K., 2016. - P. 106-108.

21 Chukhlib T. Cossacks and Janissaries: Ukraine in the Christian-Muslim wars of 1500 - 1700 years / T. Chukhlib. - Smolij V.A. - Kyiv: Publishing House "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy", 2010. - P. 43-44.

In short, the Great Ukrainian Steppe Frontier had its own geographical and chronological boundaries. The zone of concentration of the steppe border, and as a consequence, the zone of interaction for the 16th and 17th centuries became the Black Sea steppes. The Frontier did not act as a barrier. First of all, it was a zone of socio-cultural and military interaction, the result of which - the formation and becoming of the Ukrainian Cossacks - was a separate state of the military border population, "border knights." One of the aspects of the frontier way of life was the Cossack raiding. In fact, Cossack troops copied booty collecting practices from the Turkic peoples, but under the influence of their own traditions, it acquired a number of sociocultural features and became a phenomenon of the Ukrainian Cossacks.

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Osmanlı-Ukrayna Serhattinde Özi Bozkır

Ozi Steppe on the Ottoman-Ukraine Border

Oleksandr Sereda¹



Öz

Ukrayna tarihi ve Türkiye tarihi karşılıklı ve çelişkili münasebetler içinde uzun yüzyıllara dayanan bir geçmişe sahiptir. Güney Ukrayna bozkırlarında Osmanlı ve Kırım-Tatar egemenliği zamanında özellikle bölgenin yönetim sistemi, yerleşme şebekesi ve yaşam şartları incelenmeye muhtaç konuların başında gelir. Bu uzun zaman döneminde Osmanlı devleti tarafından bölgenin yönetimi ve idarî taksimatı kurulmuş, aynı zamanda Kırım Hanlığı bölgesinde de önemli ekonomik faaliyetler geliştirilmiştir. XVIII. yüzyılda Osmanlı hâkimiyetinde Özi Kır'ına dair en münakaşalı mesele Kuzeybatı Karadeniz toprağında Ukraynalıların yerleşimi, Rusya tarafından Osmanlı toprağının işgali ve sınır bölgelerindeki insanların yerlerini terk ederek burasının şenliksiz kalıp çöle çevrilmesidir. Çeşitli etnik ve dinsel farklılıklar arz eden halkları bünyesinde barındıran bir imparatorluk olarak Osmanlı devleti için Kuzey sınırlarında aynı anlamda farklılıklar gösteren Ukrayna toprakları büyük bir sınır ülkesi olarak iki devletin karşılıklı ilişkilerinde önemli bir rol oynadı. Özellikle Kuzeybatı Karadeniz bölgesi Ukrayna ve Türkiye tarihinde üçyüz seneden fazla süren bir zaman dilimini paylaşmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Özi Kır, Güney Ukrayna, Yönetim, Yerleşim, Osmanlıca Kaynaklar

ABSTRACT

Ukrainian history and the Ottoman history has a history of opposing and contradictory relations based on many centuries. Especially Northwest Black Sea region have more than three hundred years united period. During this long period, the administration and administrative divisions of the region were established by the Ottoman state. During the Ottoman and Crimean-Tatar sovereignty in the southern Ukrainian steppes, especially the administrative system of the region, the settlement network and living conditions are among the issues that need to be examined. The most controversial issue regarding Özi Kır during the Ottoman rule in the 18th century is the settlement of Ukrainians in the land of the Northwest Black Sea, the occupation of the Ottoman land by Russia and the people in the border regions leaving their

Sorumlu yazar/Corresponding author:

Oleksandr Sereda (Doç. Dr.),

Agatangel Kırımskiy Şarkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, Ukrayna Milli Bilim Akademisi, Ukrayna.

E-posta: hocabey.odesa@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0002-5921-8907

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places and important economic activities were also developed in the Crimean Khanate controlled region. As an empire that includes peoples with various ethnic and religious differences, the Ukrainian lands, which differ in the same sense in the northern borders Ottoman state, played an important role in the mutual relations of the two states as a large border region.

Keywords: Özi Kırı, South Ukraine, Administration, Settlement, Ottoman Sources

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The Ukrainian Black Sea coast in the Turkic historical and geographical area occupies the westernmost part of the «Great Steppe» – Deşt-i Kıpçak, which is bordered by the rivers Danube, Dniester, Southern Bug, Dnieper and Don. Within these Black Sea lands, historical and geographical regions are formed - Budzhak, Ochakiv steppe, Priazovya. According to the Ottoman terminology, the historical and geographical region of Ochakiv *vilayet* (Ozi *vilayeti*) is formed in the North-Western Black Sea region. The territorial boundaries of the Ochakiv *vilayet* are fixed in the west by the Dniester River, in the east by the Bug River, in the north by the Kodyma and Yahorlyk rivers, and in the south by the Black Sea. In Ottoman sources, the name of the Bug-Dniester interfluvium is more common as: «Ochakiv land» (Ozi kırı), «Land of Ochakiv Tatars» (Ozi tatarlarının toprağı) or «Desert of Ochakiv Tatars» (Ozi tatarları çölü). In Slavic-language sources, the most common names of the region are: «Ochakiv land», «Ochakiv steppe» or «Ochakiv region».

Crimean Khanate in the second half of the 15th century expands its power on the land to the Dniester where it establishes the fortification of Tegin-keçi (Teginekyaçı - the future fortress of Bender). A fortification Dashkov or Dashov (Dassowa), known in Russian sources as Ochakov existed since 1431 and located at the mouth of the river Dnieper entering the Black Sea. The establishment of khan's power in 1494 over the city and the fortress was marked by giving them a new Tatar name – Dzan-Kerman (Can-kerman or Cankerman).

From 1484 part of the lands of Budzhak along the Danube to the Dniester came under the rule of the Ottoman state. Ackerman and Kiliya with their surrounding areas became part of the Silistra Sandzak of Beylerbeylik Rumelia. The Ottoman administration of the North-Western Black Sea region began with the creation of judicial-administrative districts – *kazâ* with centers in Ackerman and Kiliya. Over time, the fortress city of Dzan-Kerman became the center of a separate judicial-administrative district – *kazâ* Dzan-kerman (*kazâ-i* Can-kerman) as part of the Silistra and later Ackerman *Sandzak*.

The beginning of the Ottoman rule in Dzan-Kerman from 1510-1512, from the time of Yavuz Selim Sultan's visit to the Ackerman lands. There was a formal streamlining of ownership of these lands and the consolidation of Ottoman taxation in the territories long mastered by the Crimean Tatars. Namely, the Sultan's *Hass* became *mukataa* Tombasar – Khan's Ukraine.

Finally taking control of the region, the Ottomans in 1538 established direct control over

the fortress city, making it the main stronghold of the Ottomans in the North-Western Black Sea coast. The Ottomans renamed the completed fortress of Dzan-Kerman in the Turkish style - Ozi or Özi kalesi.

Also after the annexation to the Ottoman state in 1538 of the Dniester crossing of Tegin-keçi (Teginekyaçı, Tyaginya) with the surrounding lands, the city was renamed Bender and the Bender *kazası* was created. The controlled lands of the Bender Goat include the territories from the Dniester to Kuchurgan. On the basis of the judicial-administrative districts - *kazâ* Ackerman, Dzhankerman and Bender formed Ackerman *Sandzak*, which included all the Ottoman lands of the Bug-Dniester interfluvium and Budzhak.

In 1593, the lands of the Ackerman and Silistra *sandzak* were separated from the Rumelia *eyalet*, which became the basis for the newly created Silistra-Ochakiv *eyalet* or Ozi *eyalet*. The administrative center of *eyalet* was located mainly in Silistra and Ochakiv.

The North-Western Black Sea coast occupied a special place in the economic space of the Ottoman state as a region-supplier of grain and livestock products. The agrarian factor of the region's development in the Ottoman economic space increased significantly by the end of the 17th and especially during the 18th century. Grain production, in turn, encourages the development of logistics systems with the capital of the Ottoman state. In the North-Western Black Sea region, an extensive transport network of land routes has been formed, which was primarily directed to the commercial ports-piers of the Black Sea coast. Most of the grain was transported by sea to Istanbul and other Ottoman ports. In this sense, the Crimean Khanate acted more as a guarantor of providing the capital with supplies of necessary products.

In the Black Sea basin of the North-West coast there have long been such trade and transport hubs as Ackerman, Kiliya, Ochakiv and Bender. The steppe areas of Ochakiv land were increasingly populated by more settlers at the turn of the 17-18th centuries facilitating an increase in commodity production, which prompted the restoration of ports and piers, which have long been functionally unused. In order to improve logistic, the Ottoman authorities built a new grain harbor Adzidere in 1756 opposite to Ackerman and rebuilt the long-existing port of Khodzabey, which was mentioned back in 1415 as a port for grain transshipment. The ports and piers of Khodzabey and Adzidere in the economic sector of the North-Western Black Sea coast played a key role in the relationship between the Ottoman and Crimean authorities. Given that the Nogai Tatars were subjects of the Crimean Khanate and were on Ottoman lands given by the sultan as a ransom to the Khan's family, the Crimean authorities tried to appoint their protégés to places where the economic interests of Porta and Crimea were intertwined. Often such double jurisdiction led to confrontations between local Ottoman rulers and Crimean representatives. In the middle of the 18th century Adzidere as a bread harbor or transshipment base functioned chronologically before the capacity of Khodzabey was restored. Grain production and export were the main factor of economic development of the region throughout the whole period of Ottoman rule.

The administrative subordination of the lands of the Bug-Dniester interfluvium underwent significant changes in the second half of the 18th century, related to the Russo-Turkish war of 1768–1774 and the signing of the Kyuchyuk-Kaynardzhy Treaty of 1774 and the Aynali-Kavak Convention of 1779. The Russian government recognized Ochakiv land as the exclusive property of the Ottoman state. Ottoman direct administration in the Ochakiv land continued until 1791, until the time of the complete annexation of the Bug-Dniester interfluvium by the Russian Empire. As a result of the war waged by Russia, the Ochakiv *vilayet*, which had four cities and more than 150 villages during the Ottoman era, was deserted by the local population and turned into wilderness.

Ukrayna'nın Karadeniz bölgesi Türk tarihî-coğrafya enginliğinde Deşt-i Kıpçak bozkırın en batıda bulunan kısmıdır¹. Güney Ukrayna geniş bozkır sahası Tuna, Turla, Aksu, Özi ve Don nehirleriyle sınırlanan bölge parçalarından oluşmaktadır. Bunun Karadeniz bölgesi parçalarında Bucak, Özi bozkırı (Oçakiv stepi), Azak bölgesi (Nogay stepi) gibi tarihî-coğrafya toprakları yer almaktadır. Osmanlı terminolojisinde bu tip bölünmüş tarihî-coğrafya topraklarını isimlendirmek için *vilayet* terimi kullanılır.

Osmanlı idarî taksimatında *vilayet* terimi dışında genelde farklı dönemlerde ama aynı anlamda olmak üzere *beylerbeylik* ve *eyalet* terimleri kullanılmıştır. Fakat 17-18. yüzyıllarda idarî taksimat için sadece *eyalet* terimi kullanılıp, *vilayet* ayrıca tarihî-coğrafya topraklarını isimlendirmek için istimal edilir. Bunun istisnası *vilayetlerin* vergi bölgesi olarak vergi defterlerindeki kayıtlarda kazalar arasında gösterilmeleridir. Genel olarak tarihî-coğrafya anlamındaki *vilayet* sınırlarının belirlenmesi nehirler, dağlar, ormanlar ve diğer doğal engellerin işaretlemesiyle olur. Osmanlı idarî taksimatından bağımsız olarak doğal sınırlara işaret eden tarihsel isimler o vilayetin de isimlendirilmesi için kullanılır: Deliorman *vilayeti*, Dobruca *vilayeti*, Bucak *vilayeti* gibi.

Kuzeybatı Karadeniz'in aynı şekildeki tarihî-coğrafi bölgesini *اوزى ولايتى* [Ozi vilayeti] oluşturmaktadır. Vilayet toprağının sınırlarını batıda Turla nehri, doğuda Aksu nehri, kuzeyde Kodima ve Yahorlık nehirleri ve güneyde Özi nehri ve Karadeniz kıyıları teşkil eder. Bazı kaynaklarda Aksu ve Özi nehirleri arasındaki topraklar ve Özi nehri öte kıyısında Kırım Hanlığına ait olan topraklar da Özi vilayetine bağlı olarak gösterilir.

Aksu-Turla nehirleri arasındaki toprağın da bir vilayet ismi olarak meydana çıkması doğrudan Türk-göçebeleri ile bağlantılıdır. Tarih ve coğrafyacı Ebu'l-Fidâ (1273-1331) Karadeniz çevresine dair de bilgiler verdiği büyük coğrafya eserinde (Takvîmü'l-Büldân) Dnipro nehrini Türk isimli olarak "Ozen"² veya "Özi"³ olarak işaretlemiştir. Dnipro nehrinin denize döküldüğü yeri kontrol etmek için Osmanlılar burada nehir ağzında bir kale inşa etmişlerdir. Bu yeni kale-şehrini isimlendirmek için nehrin Türk isminden hareketle "Özi kalesi" denmiştir. Aynı zamanda kale ismi bütün bölgenin tesmiyesinde kullanılır olmuştur. Aksu-Turla nehirleri arası toprağı Osmanlıca kaynaklarda daha çok *اوزى قيرى* [Ozi Kırısı]⁴, *اوزى تاتارلرينك طيراغى* [Ozi Tatarlarının toprağı]⁵ veya *اوزى تاتارلرى چولو* [Ozi Tatarları Çölü]⁶ olarak belirtilmektedir.

- 1 Зайончковский, А. Летопись Кипчакской степи (Теварих-и Дешт-и Кипчак) как источник по истории Крыма. // *Восточные источники по истории народов Юго-Восточной Европы*. Т. II, Москва, 1969, С.15-17.
- 2 Брун, Ф. *Крым в половине XVIII столетия*. Одесса, 1867, С. 2-5.
- 3 Абрагамович, З. Старая турецкая карта Украины с планом взрыва Днепровских порогов и атаки турецкого флота на Киев. // *Восточные источники по истории народов Юго-Восточной Европы*. Т. II, М., 1969, С.79.
- 4 BOA. Fon ad: "HRT.h.", Harita № 37.
- 5 Ricci-Zannoni. *Carte de la Pologne divisée par palatinats et subdivisée par district construite d'après quantité d'Arpentages d'Observations et de Mesures prises sur les Lieux*. Paris, 1772, карта № 24.
- 6 *ممالك عثمانیه نك اقطار شماليه سى حريطه سيدر / Турецкие владения. (Бассейн Черного моря). 1780-е года.*

İslavca kaynaklarda en çok kullanan ismi “Oçakov Kırı”⁷ ile daha “Oçakov Stepi”⁸, “Oçakov Bölgesi”⁹ isimleri kullanılmıştır.

Kırım-Osmanlı İdarî Sisteminin Kurulması.

Kuzey Karadeniz bölgesi doğudan gelen yüzlerce göçebe halkların yerleşimi altındaydı. Bunlar bu topraklarda zamanla kendi devlet yapılarını geliştirdiler. Bozkır serhaddinde, göçebe Türk milletleri ve yerli İslav nüfusunun medeniyet ve kültürel sahada temasta bulunduğu havzada Kırım-Tatar devletinin temelleri atılmıştır.¹⁰ 15. yüzyılda Kuzeybatı Karadeniz bölgesine, buralara mücavir olan devletler tarafından ilgi gösterilmiştir. Uzun dönemde bu topraklarda etkin gücü Kırım Hanlığı oluşturmuştur. Hanlık hâkimiyeti Kırım yarımadasına ve bazı Azak bölgesinin steplerine ve Aksu-Turla arası Kuzey Karadeniz toprağına doğru genişleme imkânı bulmuştur.

15. yüzyılda Aksu-Turla arası toprağı Hanlık yarlıklarına¹¹ göre Litvanya prensliğine ait idi. Fakat 15. yüzyıl sonundan itibaren buraları tamimiyle Kırım-Tatar kontrolüne geçmiş bulunuyordu. Kırım Hanlığının Batıya doğru genişlemesi Litvanya-Polonya devletine ve Moldova prensliğine karşı askerî mücadelelerle geçti. 15. yüzyıl ortasından sonra Nogay-Tatarları yardımıyla Turla nehrine kadar Hanlık toprakları genişletilip, sınır bölgesinde Karaul (Kalaur), Yahorlık, Kara-Kerman mevziileri ele geçirilmiştir.¹² Turla nehrinin en uygun yerinde geçit kurulurken, karşı kıyısında Tegin-Keçi (Teginekaçu)¹³ istihkâmı oluşturulmaktaydı. Diğer kaynaklara göre Kırım hâkimiyeti altında Besarabya Kodru tepeleri ile Prut¹⁴ nehrine kadar olan toprakları içine almış ve burada Hanların yeni karargâhı Kışla-Noua (Yeni Kışla / Kişinev)¹⁵ kurulmuştur.

Tatarlar daha önemli bir stratejik atılım olarak, Karadeniz kıyısında bulunan Litvanya ticaret şehir-limanlarını kendi yönetimlerine tâbi etmeğı planlamaktaydılar. Ayrıca kaynaklarda 1415 yılında Litvanya limanı Koçubeyiv ve 1431 yılında Dnipro (Özi) nehri ağzında Karadeniz’e kavuştuğı yerinde **Daşkov**¹⁶ istihkâmı belirtilmektedir. Son isimlerden, Kırım Hanına verilmiş

7 Деволант. Карта географическая изображающая Область Озу или Едизанъ иначе называемую Очаковскую землю и присоединенную ныне к Российскому государству в силу заключенного в Яссах мирного договора. 1791.

8 Материалы для истории южнорусского края в XVIII столетии. (1715-1774). Извлеченные из старых дел Киевского губернского архива А. А. Андриевским. Одесса, 1886, С. 268.

9 Русов, А. А. Осада и взятие Очакова. (1788). // Киевская старина (отдельный оттиск). Киев, С.589;

Дружинина Е.И. Кочук-Кайнарджийский мир 1774 года, его подготовка и заключение. Москва, 1955, С.363.

10 Зайончковский, А. Летопись Кипчакской степи (Теварих-и Дешт-и Кипчак) как источник по истории Крыма. // Восточные источники по истории народов Юго-Восточной Европы. Т. II, Москва, 1969, С.15-17.

11 Петрунь Ф. Е. Ханські ярлики на українські землі // Східний світ. 1929, № 2, С. 182-183.

12 Петрунь Ф. Нове про татарську старовину Бозько-Дністрянського степу.// Східний світ. 1928, №6, С.158.

13 Аствацатуров, Г. Бендерская крепость. Бендеры, 1997, С.19.

14 Мохов Н. А. Молдавский торговый путь в XIV-XV в.в. // Польша и Русь. Сборник статей. Москва, 1974, С.301; Spiney V. Moldova in secolule XI-XIV. Bucureşti, 1982, С.331.

15 Петрунь Ф. Нове про татарську старовину Бозько-Дністрянського степу. // Східний світ. 1928, №6, С.156.

16 Skarbiec dyplomatów papieskich, królewskich, książęcych; uchwał narodowych, postanowień różnych władz i urzędów postępujących do krytycznego wyjaśnienia dziejów Litwy, Rusi Litewskiej i ościennych im krajów. Zebrał i w treści opisał Ignacy Daniłowicz. Tom II, Wilno, 1862, P. 123-126, Dok. № 1562. Rok 1431.

Polonya kaleleri hakkındaki bir defterde **Daşov** (Dassowa)¹⁷ isimli kaleye de yer verilmektedir. Rus kaynaklarında burası kuruluşu anından itibaren **Oçakov**¹⁸ olarak geçmektedir. Bazı eserlerde bu ismin Tatarca'dan gelme olduğu ileri sürülür ve **Açık-kale** isimden özdeşleşme yapılır. Fakat Türkiyeli Türkologlara göre Rusça bir kelime olduğu ileri sürülen **Oçakov** aslında Türkçe **Ocak-Ova**'dan gelmektedir.

15. yüzyıl sonunda Kırım'ın topraklarını büyük ölçüde genişlettiği dönemde, Litvanya-Polonya devleti Daşov kalesi ve civarındaki topraklar üzerindeki kontrolü kesin olarak kaybetmiş bulunuyordu. Artık 1494 yılında Kırım Hanlığı serhad istihkâmından olmak üzere yeni bir şehir-kale kurulur.¹⁹ Hanlık hâkimiyetini devamlı kılmak üzere oluşturulan bu şehir-kale Tatarca **جان کرمان** [Can-Kerman] veya **جانکرمان** [Cankerman]²⁰ olarak isimlendirilmiştir. Tatarca ismi tercüme edecek olursak, bu "Yeni kale" veya "Yenişehir" anlamına gelir. Bu yüzden bazı Rusça kaynaklarda Kırım Hanı Mengli-Giray'ın 1492 yılında Daşov şehrinin bulunduğu yerde "Yeni şehir Oçakov"²¹ kurduğunu belirtilmektedir.

15. yüzyılda Osmanlı yayılması Dobruca alanından kuzey istikametine doğru açılmıştır. 1484 yılından beri Bucak *vilayetinde* Turla ve Tuna nehirleri boyunca bazı topraklar Osmanlı devletinin hâkimiyeti altına geçmiştir. Akkerman ve Kili şehirleri onların çevresi bölgeleri Rumeli beylerbeyinin Silistre sancağına dâhil edilmiştir. Tuna-Turla nehirler arası Karadeniz kıyılarında Osmanlı idaresinde Akkerman'da ve Kili'de kaza kurulmasına başlanır. Ayrıca Akkerman'a kadı ve Kili'ye nazır tayin edilmiştir.

Kili nazırlığına dâhil edilen Tuna ve Özi nehirlerinde, ayrıca Can-Kerman kalesi ve civarındaki topraklarında, gümrük ve vergi ödemelerini toplamak görevi Kili Nazırı'na aittir²². Zamanla Silistre sancağı içinde ve sonra kurulmuş Akkerman sancağında Cankerman şehri kaza merkezi olmuş ve buraya kaynaklarda **قضاء جان کرمان** [kazâ-i Can-Kerman]²³ olarak müstakilen yer verilmiştir. Karadeniz bölgesinde Osmanlı dönemi başlarından sonuna kadar Oçakov Tatarca ismiyle Cankerman olarak daha çok defterdarlığın maliye evraklarında, kadı hüccetlerinde geçmekte ve kaza bu adı ile isimlendirilmekteydi.

Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'dan Polonya kralı Sigizmund'a gönderilen bir mektupta Cankerman kalesi ve ona ait topraklar Osmanlı-Polonya sınırlarının belirlenmesi anlamında dile

17 Сборник князя Оболенского. №1, М., 1838, С.88.; *Skarbiec dyplomatów...*, P. 330-331., Dok. № 746. Rok 1402 [1431].

18 Русов А. А. Осада и взятие Очакова. (1788). // *Киевская старина* (отдельный оттиск). Киев, С.589.

19 СБРИИО. Т.41, СПб, 1884, с. 210.

20 *Материалы для истории Крымского ханства, извлеченные по распоряжению Императорской Академии Наук, из Московского Главного Архива Министерства Иностранных Дел.* Издал В. В. Вельяминов-Зернов. СПб, 1864, С. 256-260, 494-496, 774-777, 886-888; BOA. Fon adı: "С.МЛ.", Dosya № 13, Gömlek № 599, [1127 Za 06 / 03.11.1715]

21 СБРИИО. Т.41. СПб, 1884, С.156-157, 261.

22 BOA. Fon adı: "ТТ.д". Defter № 701, S. 112-115.

23 *Katalog dokumentów tureckich. Dokumenty do dziejów polski i krajów ościennych w latach 1455-1672.* Opracował Zygmunt Abrahamowicz. / *Katalog rękopisów orientalnych ze zbiorów polskich.* Tom I. Część 1. Warszawa, 1959, P. 113.

getirilmiştir²⁴. 1542 yılın Kasım ayı ortasında yazılmış olan bu mektupta “Cankirman kal’asının sınırıyle Leh vilayetinin sınırı ta’yin” olunmak için hem Osmanlı hem Polonya taraflarından iki heyet gönderilmiştir. Aksu-Turla nehirleri arasında sınırlama Kodıma veya Savran nehirleri üzerinde yapılacakmış. Ona göre Cankerman kalesi eskiden beri Osmanlı mülkiyetinde olmuştur ve Cankerman toprağından Kodıma nehrine kadar olan yerleri, “otuz kırk yıldan ziyâde Tatar hânları zabt idüp, anda koyunları yürüyenlerin resm-i otlağın ve beytü’l-mâlin ve sâir bâd-i hevâsın hânlar alup gayr-i ağnâmları hassa-i hümayûnum cânibinden zabt olunur”²⁵ imiş.

Söz konusu kaynaklara göre Cankerman’da ve Özi Kırını’nda Osmanlı mülkiyeti 1502-1512 yıllarda başlamış görünüyor. Daha açık bir şekilde Yavuz Selim’in şehzadeligi zamanında Akkerman toprağında bulunduğu sıralarda (1510-1512) Cankerman ve etraflarında Osmanlı hâkimiyetinin genişlemeye başlaması kuvvetle muhtemeldir. Yavuz Selim tahta çıktıktan sonra Kırım hanı ile vardığı anlaşmalar uyarınca Özi Kırını’na has statüsünde Osmanlı devletine bağlamıştır. Aynı zamanda, Özi Kırını sultan hası olarak Kırım hanına ekonomik getirisi olan faaliyetlerde kullanmak üzere verilmiştir. Bunun karşılığında Kırım hanı her sene devlet hazinesine belirli bir vergi vermeyi taahhüt etmiş bulunuyordu. Özi bölgesi böylece Kırım Tatarları tarafından şenlendirildikten sonra Osmanlı yönetimi ve vergi sistemi buraya yerleşmiştir. Bu dönemdeki sultan hası toprağı üzerinde ilerideki Tombasar Mukataası ve Hanlık Ukrayna’sının kurulmasının temelleri atılmıştır.

1538 yılında, Suçava seferinden sonra, Kuzeybatı Karadeniz bölgesi Osmanlı idaresine kesin olarak geçip, bölgenin baş şehir-kalesinde güçlü bir askeri temsiliyet sağlanmıştır. Osmanlılar, Cankerman kalesi inşasını bitirdikten sonra, buraya Kıpçak-Tatarca’sından Oğuzca-Türkçesi’ndeki yeni adı ile *اوزی* [Ozi]²⁶ ismi verilmiştir. Şehir-kale, Dnipro nehri Karadeniz’e kavuşmuş yerinde kurulduğu için, nehir Türk-göçebelerince kullanılmış olan *اوزی صوی* [Ozi suyu] (Ozen²⁷~ Ozi²⁸) adıyla isimlendirilmiştir.

Bu şehir-kalesi *اوزی قلعه سسی* [Özi kalesi/Özü kalesi]²⁹ ismini taşımış olarak Rus işgaline kadar Osmanlı idaresinde kalmıştır. Bu şekilde nehrinin ismi şehrine verilmesi “Özi nehrinden kalesine” kadar Kuzey Karadeniz toprağıının Osmanlı idaresi altında olduğunun da bir göstergesiydi.

17 ve 18. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı devletinin kuzey sınırlarının savunması için Oçakov-Özi

24 Hacer Topaktaş, H. Ahmet Arslantürk. *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Dönemi Osmanlı-Leh İlişkilerine Dair Belgeler (1520-1566)*. İstanbul, 2014, S. 106-108, 227-228.

25 AGAD. Arch.Kor., Dz.turecki, teczka 78, nr 165.

26 Абрагамович, З. Старая турецкая карта Украины с планом взрыва Днепровских порогов и атаки турецкого флота на Киев. – В: *Восточные источники по истории народов Юго-Восточной Европы*. Т. II. М., 1969, С.79.

27 Брун, Ф. *Крым в половине XVIII столетия*. Одесса, 1867, С. 2-5.

28 Абрагамович, З. Старая турецкая карта Украины с планом взрыва Днепровских порогов и атаки турецкого флота на Киев. // *Восточные источники по истории народов Юго-Восточной Европы*. Т. II, М., 1969, С.79.

29 BOA. Fon adı: “C.AS.”, Dosya №43, Gömlek №1994, [1110 Ş 14 / 15.02.1699]; BOA. Fon adı: “C.AS.”, Dosya №319, Gömlek № 13206, [1197 Ca 14 / 17.04.1783]; НБКМ, Ориенталски отдел, Фонд № 311А. Арх.ед. 73.Л.1.

kalesine büyük önem verilmiştir. Burada ve etrafındaki istihkâmlarda Osmanlı serhad askerleri toplamıştır. İdarî taksimata göre 17. yüzyılda Özi kalesi sancak merkezi idi. *اوزی سنجاغی* [Özi Sancağı]³⁰ Aksu-Turla nehirler arasında kalan topraklar Cankerman kazası ve sultan hasının temelini oluşturmuştur.

Aksu-Turla nehirleri arasındaki topraklar Osmanlı devletine farklı dönemlerde bağladıklarından dolayı bölgedeki idarî taksimat farklı şekilde oluşmuştur. Özi Kırî'nda Osmanlı yönetimine ilk önce Turla nehri ve Kuyalnik gölleri arasındaki topraklar katılmış ve Hocabey kalesi Akkerman kazasına bağlanarak ilk idare kurulmuştur. Cankerman kazası idaresine ise Kuyalnik göllerinden Aksu nehrine kadar uzanan topraklar ayrılmıştır. 1538 yılında Osmanlı devletine Turla nehrinin öte kıyısında Tegin-Keçi (Teginekaçu) kalesi ve onun yanında toprakları bağladıktan sonra kalesinin ismi Bender olarak değiştirilmiş ve bunun alanında Bender kazası kurulmuştur. Bender kazasına genel olarak Besarabya vilayetinden topraklar katılmış, fakat Özi vilayetinden de Turla ve Kuçurgan nehirler arasındaki topraklar kaza ile birleştirilmiştir. Akkerman, Kili, Cankerman ve Bender kazaları ve diğer Özi Kırî ve Bucak toprakları temelinde Akkerman sancağı oluşturmaktadır.

1593 yılında Rumeli eyaletinden Akkerman sancağı ve Silistre sancağı ayrıştırılınca yeni Özi beylerbeyliğinin³¹ temelleri yaratılmıştır. İslavca kaynaklarda bu beylerbeylik daha çok "Oçakov eyaleti" namı ile mâruftur. Fakat Osmanlıca arşiv dokümanlarında kesin olarak *اوزی ایالتی* [Özi eyaleti]³² şeklinde yazılmaktadır. Eyalet idaresi merkezi ve beylerbeyin konağı genel olarak Silistre'de ve Özi'de³³ mekân tutmuştur. 17. yüzyılda beylerbeyin konağı Silistre'den Babadağ'a geçip, sonra Akkerman'a yerleştirilmiş.³⁴ 18. yüzyıl başında Yusuf paşa vali olarak Bender kalesinde konaklamış³⁵ ve sonra eyaletin merkezi Özi kalesi olmuştur.³⁶

Eyalet adı "Özi" olduğu için kalesine ve Dnipro nehrine de Türk ismi verilmiştir. Bu şekilde Osmanlı devletinin toprağı Özi (Dnipro) nehrine kadar genişlemektedir. Sonuçta Özi eyaleti kurulmasıyla, kuzeye doğru Osmanlı yayılmasının önü açılmakta ve *Sağ kolunda* İstanbul'dan gelip Tuna'yı geçerek Akkerman'a, oradan da Özi'ye kadar giden ve devamla Kırım'a uzanan yolu³⁷ her zaman için elinde tutmak ve denetlemek imkânına sahip olmaktadır.

30 Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zillî. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*. V. Kitap. Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 307 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini. İstanbul, 2001, S.91.

31 Inalcık, H. *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300-1600*. London, 1994, P. 117; Tuncer, H. Aynî Ali Efendi // *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Eyalet Taksimatı*. Ankara 1964, S. 19.

32 Nejat Göyünc. Osmanlı Devleti'nde Taşra Teşkilatı (Tanzimat'a Kadar). // *Osmanlı*. Cilt.6, Ankara, 1999, C.77-78. Orhan Kılıç. *Beylerbeylikler/Eyaletler, Kapitanlıklar, Voyvodalıklar (1362-1799)*. // *TÜRKLER*. Cilt.9, Ankara, 2002, C. 887.

33 Kolodziejczyk D. *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim. Eyalet Kamenetskiy 1672-1699*. Warszawa, 1994, C.20.

34 Andreas Birken. *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*. Wiesbaden, 1976, C.50-51

35 Güler. M. 1150/1737 Osmanlı-İsveç Ticaret Anlaşması // *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. Cilt: IX, Sayı: 2, Aralık, 2007, C.103.

36 Борис Недков. *Османско-турска дипломатика и палеография*. Т. I, София, 1966, С.65.

37 Антонов А. Важен документ за Кримския път (Sağ kol) и неговите отклонения през XVII-XVIII в. // *Традиции и приемственост в България и на Балканите през средните векове*. Велико Търново, 2003, С.596-621.

Zamanla Özi eyaletinde nüfusun artması sebebiyle Bender kazası temelinde Bender sancağı ve Cankerman kazası temelinde Özi sancağı kurulmuştur. Böylece 17. yüzyılda Aksu-Turla nehirleri arasındaki topraklarda üç ayrı sancak görülmektedir.³⁸ Özi Kırınındaki sancakların sınırları önce Akkerman, Bender ve Cankerman kazalarının sınırlarına göre tespit edilmişti. Daha çok Özi Kırınında nüfus çoğalması 18. yüzyılda olurken, merkez steplere Yedisian Ordası'nın Nogayları göç edip, Turla ve Kuçurgan nehirleri arasındaki vadi Halil Paşa Yurdu'ndan gelen Bucak Nogaylarına verilmiştir. Özi Kırını'nın kuzey kısmına yakın bölgelerden Ukraynalılar ve Moldovalılar geçmektedir.

18. yüzyıl ortasından sonra Osmanlı-Rus savaşıdan dolayı ve Küçük-Kaynarca ve Aynalıkavak anlaşmalarına göre Aksu-Turla nehirler arası toprağının idarî taksimatta büyük değişimler yapmak zarureti hâsıl olmuştur. Buna göre Rusya hükümeti Özi Kırını Osmanlı toprağı olarak kabul ediyordu. Aksu-Turla nehirleri arasındaki topraklar ise iki parçaya bölünür: 1) kuzey parçası – tarafsız veya tampon bölgesi. Buradaki Osmanlı istihkâmlarının bulunmasına ve yapılmasına izin verilmez ve eskiden beri yaşayan nüfus dışında ayrıca yeni yerleşimlere müsaade edilmez. 2) güney parçası – Özi sancağı olarak doğrudan Osmanlı yönetimdedir. Bunun iki bölge arası sınırı, Bender kalesinden Kuyalnik ve Deligöl göllerini ve Berezen nehri havzasının yukarı bölgesini geçerek Aksu nehrinde Sokoli kasabasına kadar uzanan "Bender yolu" olacaktır. Ayrıca Aynalıkavak anlaşması göre, Osmanlı hükümeti "*sadece gerçek Türkler, Moldovalılar ve diğer Hristiyanlar ile eskiden beri oturulmakta olan*"³⁹ köylerin defterlerini hazırlayıp verecekti.

Özi kalesi muhafızı ve eyalet valisi Seyyid Hacı Mehmed paşa, Aynalıkavak anlaşmasına göre Özi bölgesinin sınırlarını belirlemek üzere bir ferman gönderilmiştir. Buna göre Nogay-Tatarlarının Özi bölgesinin bütün topraklarında yerleşebilmesi öngörülmekte savaştan önce kurulmuş Hristiyan köylerinin mahfuz tutulmaları istenmekteydi: "*Küçük-Kaynarca barış anlaşmada işaretlemiş Aksu-Turla nehirler arası olan yerleri ve Ozu-Kırını stepi Tatar millete verilmiştir... Yalnız, hâlihazır defterinde işaretmiş oradaki köyleri ayrıca yeni kurulmak ve yabancı yerleşimcisine kabul etmek yasaktır*"⁴⁰.

Özi Kırını ve Bucak'ta Kırım idaresi tümüyle tasfiye edilirken, daha önce bunun denetiminde olan topraklar Bender sancağına bağlanmış ve bunun temelinde Bender paşalığı kurulmuştur. Bender valisi Dağıstanlı Ali paşaya gelen fermana göre: "*Babiâli tarafından Besarabya'da yeni bir eyalet(paşalık) kurulmak için ferman gönderilmiştir. Fermana göre yeni paşalığa Kauşan, Balta, Dubosar ve diğer önce Kırım hanlara ait Aksu nehrine kadar toprakları ve köyleri eklemiştir. Aynı zamanda, Şahin-Giray'a can sıkıntısı vermek için, zikredilmiş yerlerden bütün Hanlığının yönetimcileri kovmak gerektir*"⁴¹. Bender paşalığına eklenmiş topraklarda kayma-

38 Бачинский А. Д., Добролюбовский А. О. Буджанская орда в XVI-XVII вв. (Историко-археологический очерк). // Социально-экономическая и политическая история Молдавии периода феодализма. Кишинев, 1988, С.86.

39 ПКР. Т.III, СП6, 1887, С. 79.

40 ПКР. Т.III, СП6, 1887, С. 286-287.

41 ПКР. Т.I, СП6, 1885, С.772-774.

kamlıklar Kırım idaresi yerine doğrudan Osmanlı kadılık sistemine geçirilerek yeni Tombasar kazası ve Kauşan kazası kurulmuştur.

İşgalinde bulunan Kırım'da yeni Rus idaresi Kırım Hanların aile fertleri arasındaki ilişkileri kullanırken, Özi Kırınında ve Bucak'ta olan Nogay orduları etkilemek için "Besarabya, Balta ve Turla nehri üzerindeki toprakların eskiden beri Kırım hanlarına ait olduğunu" ilan etmiştir. Kırım'ı işgal altında tutan Rus makamları bazı açıklamalar istemiştir. Genel olarak bunlar şu hususları içermekteydi: "Kızıkerman kalesi ve Hocabey kalesi ile ne yapmayı düşünüyorsunuz? İki devlet arasındaki anlaşmaya göre buraları Tatarlara bırakılmış olup, bu yüzden buraları hanın hâkimiyetinde olması gerekiyor. Fakat hâlâ oralarda Osmanlılar yaşıyorlar; Başka yerlerde, yani Turla nehri öte yakasında Kauşan yerinde Osmanlı hâkimiyetinde olarak reaya Tatarlar ile beraber yaşıyorlar. Anlaşmaya rağmen bunlar burada nasıl devamlı kalıyorlar?; Üçüncü olarak, Aksu, Turla ve Özi kalesi arasında yerleşmiş Rus reayası yolculara sıkıntılar veriyorlar"⁴².

Özi Kırını üzerinde Kırım'ın hak iddiasında bulunması sebebiyle, Osmanlı devleti Yavuz Selim döneminden başlayan hâkimiyetini öne çıkartmış ve bu husus Osmanlı hükümeti tarafından dile getirilmiştir: "Dubosarı kasabası ve onun kazası bize [Osmanlı] aittir. Bu durum Rusya ile yapılan anlaşmada açıklanmıştır. Zamanında bu toprak Kırım hanlara bizim yüksek lütüfkârlığımızdan ötürü mükâfatlandırma amacıyla verilmiştir. Halen buraları gene bize aittir ve burayı bizim hâkimiyetimize sokmak üzere tahtım tarafından saray ağalarından birisi tayin olunmuştur"⁴³.

Bucak'ta ve Özi Kırınında Kırım idaresinin tasfiyesinden dolayı, Kırım Hanlığı ve Nogay mirzaları ile mevcut ilişkiler kesin olarak koparılmıştır. Özi'de ve Bender'de Osmanlı idaresi ve Kırım temsilcileri arasında yapılan görüşmeler bu hususu gözler önüne serer ve münasebeti aksettiren bazı raporlarda bu durum açıkca takip edilir: "Kırım Hanı hazretlerinin emri ile Akkerman'a giderken, Hocabey mevkiine gelince Bender muhafıza Ali paşanın göndermiş olduğu ulaktan mektup aldım. Mektubunda bana olduğum yerinde durmam ve devam etmem emri yazılmıştır. Turla nehrinde "Mayak" isimli mevkiine gelince artık Babialı tarafından gönderilmiş ferman kopyası paşa tarafından bana verilmiş. Benim yolumu engellemek için nehir iskelesinden bütün kayıklar nehrin öte yakasına alınmıştı."

"Gelen haberlerde, Özi tarafında bizim milletler yaşıyor, öbür tarafta hanın milletleri yerleşmiş ve bizim adamlara sınırlarına girmelerini yasaklamıştır. Deligöl mevkiinde kalırken Akkermanlı milletlerden kötü sözleri çok duydum. Açıklama almak için onlar yanına Boğdıklı-murza, Hüseyin-gazi murza ve diğeri gönderdim. Cevabında "Kırım'da akrabamız yok ve biz Şahin-Girayı velinimet olarak tanımıyoruz ve ihtiram göstermiyoruz" demiştir. "Biz artık Babialı'nın ebedî kuluyuz" övünmektedir. Hazretleriniz tarafından daha fazla gönderilen olursa, hepsini öldüreceğiz, demişler"⁴⁴.

42 ПКР. Т.І, СПб, 1885, С.754-756.

43 ПКР. Т.І, СПб, 1885, С.771.

44 ПКР. Т.І., СПб, 1885, С.768-771.

1791 yılında Rusya Özi Kırını işgal etmiş olduğundan Osmanlı idare merkezi Özi'den Bender'e geçiyor. Osmanlı-Rus savaşından önce Özi Kırını dört şehir ve yüz elli köyleri varmış⁴⁵. Ruslar Özi Kırını geldikten sonra bölge milletsiz çöle çevrilmiş. Hristiyanlar Podolya'ya ve Moldova'ya kaçmak zorunda kaldılar, aynı zamanda Nogay-Tatarlarının bir kısmı Bucak'a geçmiş bir kısmını da Ruslar zorla Kuzey Kafkas'a göç ettirmiştir.

Özi Kırının idaresinde farklı din toplumları önemli yer tutuyorlardı. En kalabalık olanı Müslümanlardı, ayrıca Ortodoks Hristiyanlar kendilerine mahsus ayrı kilise idaresine sahiptiler. Kuzey Karadeniz bölgesi Osmanlı devletine bağladığı zaman Hristiyanları reaya olarak Fener Patrikhanesine bağlandılar. Özi Kırının Ortodoks nüfusu İbrail metropolitliği ile Akkerman ve İsmail kiliselerinin idarelerine dâhil oldular. "Prailav"⁴⁶ veya İbrail metropoliti ilk olarak 1590 yılında ortaya çıkar. 1641 yılında "İbrail ve İsmail metropolitliği"⁴⁷ resmi adı altında doğrudan Fener patrikliğine bağlanmıştır.

Özi Kırını ve özellikle Dubosar Hristiyan bölgesi (Hanlık Ukrayna'sı) İbrail metropolitliğinde ayrı bir piskoposluk dairesi oluşturmuştur. Bu Patrikhane Osmanlıca belgelere göre 1718 yılında İbrail metropoliti ünvanıyla Hanlık Ukrayna'sı toprağı olarak zikredilmiştir⁴⁸. Patrik Yere-miya tarafından İbrail, Maçın, İsakçı, Tolcu, İsmail, Kili, Akkerman, Bender, Özi ve Tigan Kalesi toprağında yaşayan papazlar, rahibeler ve bütün Hristiyan nüfusu başında metropolit olarak Yoanikios adında birisini tayin etmiştir. Kırk yıl sonra Fener patriği Kiril İbrail metropolitliğine Damian adında birisini tayin etmiştir. Bunun ünvanı, "Prailavi ve Akkerman ve Bender ve Kili ve Hotin vilayetlerinin metropoliti" olarak geçmektedir⁴⁹.

Özi Kırını Rus işgalinde olduğu için, Osmanlı idaresinin tasfiyesinden sonra Moskova patrikliği tarafından Aksu-Turla nehirler arasında ve sonra Bucak'taki bütün kiliseler de yeniden düzenlendi ve Rus idaresine uyum sağlandı. Böylece Fener patriğinin İbrail metropolitliğinden Güney Ukrayna Hristiyan nüfusu zorla uzaklaştırılmış oluyordu.

Özi Vilayetinin Ekonomik İdaresi

Kuzeybatı Karadeniz bölgesi Osmanlı devleti ekonomik enginliğinde hububatı ve hayvancılığı itibariyle çok önemli yer tutmuştur. Daha 18. yüzyılda Evliya Çelebi Seyahatname'sinde bölgenin ekonomik durumu hakkında bahsederken "*yerli ambarlarında saklanmış çeşitli hububat ve farklı erzakların miktarını saymak ve ölçmek imkânı yoktur*" şeklinde bir açıklamada bulunur. Bölgedeki şehirler ve köyler, "*beyaz ekmek, fenerler için yağ, kaliteli buğday ve arpa ile meşhur olmuşturlardır*". Bölgede yerleşmiş Tatarlar, "*İstanbul'a tereyağı ve bal sağlamaktadır*"⁵⁰.

Genel Osmanlı ekonomik enginliği için tarımsal alanda bölgenin gelişmesi daha çok

45 Григорович В. *Записка о пособиях к изучению южно-русской земли*. Одесса, 1876, С. 17.

46 Hurmuzaki, E. *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor, culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*. vol. XIV, București, 1915, P. 204.

47 Поповский, Н. *История Молдавской («бессарабской») церкви*. 1931, С. 31.

48 BOA. Fon adı: "C.ADL.", Dosya № 28., Gömlek № 1657. [1130 Z 29 / 23.11.1718]

49 BOA. Fon adı: "C.ADL.", Dosya № 36., Gömlek № 2150. [1170 Ra 19 / 12.12.1756]

50 Эвлия Челеби. *Книга путешествия*. Вып. 1 Земли Молдавии и Украины. М., 1961, С.36-40

17. yüzyıl sonunda ve 18. yüzyılda yükselme kaydeder. Buğday üretimi Osmanlı devletinin başkenti için hayati önem arz eder. Kuzevbatı Karadeniz bölgesinde bu dönemde geniş ve yaygın bir kara yolları sistemi oluşmuştur. Genel olarak bu kara yolları Özi Kırını'nın merkezinden ve kuzey ve batı sınırlarından Karadeniz kıyılarında Osmanlı limanlarına ve iskelelerine uzanmıştır. Bunlardan İstanbul'a ve başka Osmanlı limanlarına hububat ve hayvancılık erzakı gemilerle nakledilmekteydi. Bu anlamda Kırım Hanları başkente gereken erzakı bol miktarda sağlamakla mükellef tutulmaktaydılar.

Kuzevbatı Karadeniz kıyıları havzasında eskiden beri Akkerman, Kili, Özi ve Bender gibi ticaret-ulaştırma merkezleri bulunmaktaydı. 17 ve 18. yüzyıllarda Özi Kırını'nın steplerine çok sayılarda göç olduğu için hububat istihali çok yükselmiş bulunuyordu. Mahsulün geciktirilmemesi için satılması ve başkente nakli için eskiden kullanılmamış limanlar ve iskeleler yeniden ihya edilerek devreye girdiler. Bu şekilde lojistik bağlantıya katkıda bulunmak üzere Osmanlı hükümeti Kırım Hanlığı ile beraber Akkerman karşısında yeni bir hububat iskelesini Acidere kasabasında açmıştır. İhtiyaca göre yirmi yıl sonra Acidere'ye yakın mesafedeki Hocabey'de 1415 yılından beri bilinen hububat limanı yeniden çalıştırılmıştır. Osman devleti ile yaptığı anlaşmaya göre Polonya 18. yüzyıla kadar uzun bir süre "Koçubey iskelesi" ve yakınlarındaki tuz ocağını kullanmıştır.⁵¹

18. yüzyılın ortasında Acidere kasabasındaki yeni hububat iskelesi hakkında en açık şekilde gemilere yükleme defteri bilgi verir. Ona göre Muharrem 1170 (26.IX.1756) yılından beri آجی دره [Acidere] iskelesinden 23 gemi yüklenip İstanbul'un Kapan-ı dakik (Unkapanı) iskelesine gönderilmiştir⁵². Kapan-ı dakik iskelesine gelen yirmi üç kaptandan çoğu Akkerman iskelesine kayıtlıdır. Bunların dışında Varna, Trabzon ve Ünye limanlarından gelen gemiler bulunur. Genel olarak defterde hamule olarak buğday ve arpa kayıtlıdır. Toplam olarak 20.773 Akkerman kilesi (yaklaşık 70.850 İstanbul kilesi veya 1.771,25 ton) yüklenmiştir. Aynı zamanda 1756 yılında Akkerman limanından 57.150 Akkerman kilesi buğday ve arpa alınmıştır. Ekonomik potansiyelinden ötürü yeni hububat limanına daha büyük önem verilmektedir.

18. yüzyılın başında bölgenin en önde gelen hububat ambarları Akkerman ve Bender'deki ambarlardır.⁵³ Özi Kırını'ndan hububat daha ziyade Bender kalesine gönderilmektedir. Fakat Aksu-Turla nehirler arasındaki topraklar daha çok Akkerman idaresine ve Kırım Hanlığına bağlı olduğu için Bender'den bağımsız bir hububat limanı oluşturulmasına ihtiyaç duyuldu. Akkerman kazasına ait "Turla nehri öte yakasında Mayak mevkiinden"⁵⁴ yeni iskele kurulması ve Nogay-Tatarların mallarını Özi Kırını merkezinden getirilmesi için en uygun yer Acidere kasabası olmuştur. Aynı zamanda Kırım Hanlığı tarafından ticari yollarını ve mahsulün kaldırılmasını denetim altında tutmak için Acidere'ye özel bir idareci gönderilmiştir. 1758 yılında

51 *Хаджибей - Одеса та Українське Козацтво (1415-1797 роки)*. Одеса, 1999, С.21-22.

52 BOA. Fon adı: "D.MKF.d.". Defter № 29796-Y. [1170 sene / 26.09.1756-14.09.1757]

53 НБКМ, Ориенталски отдел., Фонд № 311А Арх.ед. 2.[1120 S 19 / 10.05.1708]

54 BOA. Fon adı: "TT.d.". Defter № 701. S.48 [980 / 1573]

Yedisian Nogayları ve Hanlık Ukrayna'sından hububat toplayıp İstanbul'a göndermek için Kırım hanı emriyle Acidere ve Akkerman baş ticaret limanları olmuştur⁵⁵. Rus ajanları göre de 1758 yılında bozkırda yaşayanlardan hububat alınıp, "*Belgorod (Akkerman) ve Gacidere mağazalarında [ambarlarında]*"⁵⁶ saklanılmaktadır.

Acidere'de hububat yükleme miktarı çok yükseldiği için hem Osmanlı idaresi hem de Kırım Hanlığı yöneticileri uyarılmaktaydı. Özellikle Osmanlı hükümeti, Acidere'deki potansiyeli görünce, 1764 yılında kendi kontrolünde olan Hocabey limanında yeni bir hububat iskelesi kurdu. 1765 yılında Hocabey emini olan Hafız Elhac Mehmed hububatları Acidere'den Hocabey'e gönderme konusuyla ilgili olarak Özi valisine, Akkerman kadısına ve Yeniçeri ocağı zabıtine mektup yazmıştır. Bu mektupta Mehmed Efendi Yedisian Ordu Nogayları mal getirirken muhtekirlerin onların yolunu keserek, fiyatları indirmeye zorladıklarını bildirmekteydi. Olayı öğrenen Selim Giray Han bizzat Acidere'ye gelmiş ve muhtekirlerin engellenmesine dair bir ferman isdarını talep etmiştir. Özi valisine gönderilen ferman meseleye bir çözüm getirmekteydi: "*ve zikr olunan yüz on dört mahzende olan hintayı kapalı tüccarları işbu seneye mezbure martı ibtidâsından ruz-î hızır gelince amade eyledikleri sefinelerine evvel-be-evvel Acidere'den tahmil ve Asitane-i Aliyye nakl ve teysîre tefrid ... mühtekir yedlerinde olan hinta ve sair ecnâs-ı zahârîr Hocabey iskelesine nakl ve si'r râici üzere kapalı tüccarına bey' olunmak*"⁵⁷. (17 Şubat 1765).

Acidere hakkında 6 Şubat 1765 tarihli sadrazam telhisinde, Kırım Hanının mektubu ele alınmakta ve gelişmeler özetlenmektedir: "*işbu seneyi amîmetü'l-meymenede küşadî ferman buyurulun Hocabey iskelesine hala fermân-fermây-ı iklim-i Kırım celadetlü Selim Geray Han hazretlerinin hin-i vürûdlarında Akkerman mukabilinde vaki' Acidere iskelesine dahi mu'temed-i aliye adam ta'yin edüp ... zikr olunan zahair Acidere iskelesinden Hocabey iskelesine nakl ve kapalı sefaini ruesasına si'r râici üzere evvel-be-evvel fûrûht olunması babında ferman-î ali-şan sadır olmağın*".

Zikredilen belgelere göre Osmanlı devleti ve Kırım Hanlığı arasındaki ilişkilerde Kuzeybatı Karadeniz bölgesinde Hocabey ve Acidere limanları ekonomik faaliyetlerde kilit mevzii konumunda olduğu görülmektedir. Özellikle bu iki limanda Osmanlı ve Kırım çifte kontrolü için idareler bulunmaktadır. Bu yüzden Hocabey emini ve Kırım hanı taraflarından yazılmış mektuplara göre iki taraf faaliyetleri üzerinde kadı karar vermektedir: "*yirmi otuz sa'at mesafe mahalleden hinta ve şağır ve revgan-i sade ve gön nakl iden Yedisian kabilesi... Asitane-i Sa'adete sevk ve tesyir olunmak için Hocabey iskelesine nakl ve tahvil olunmak üzere*"⁵⁸.

Böylece, 18. yüzyılın ortasında yeni kurulmuş Hocabey iskelesinden daha önce Acidere limanında hububat iskelesi olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Hocabey limanının en önemli avantajı

55 Osmanlı belgelerinde Kırım Hanlığı/Crimean Khanate in Ottoman documents. – İstanbul.2013 – S.188.; BOA. Fon adı: "C.HR." Gömlek № 1087. [1172 R 21 / 22.12.1758].

56 Аргатюк С.С., Левчук В.В., Сапожников И.В. *Адждидер – Овидиополь: очерки по археологии и истории города и крепости*. Одесса - Овидиополь, 2014, С 62-67.

57 BOA. Fon adı: "C.BDL.". Dosya № 38, Gömlek № 1865. Sayfa 1 [1178 Ş 21 / 13.02.1765].

58 BOA. Fon adı: "C.BDL.". Dosya № 38, Gömlek № 1865. Sayfa 2 [1179 S 14 / 02.08.1765].

kış aylarında denizin buzlanmaması idi. Acidere limanı ise Turla nehrinin Karadeniz'e kavuştuğu yerde olduğu için seyrüseferler sadece Kasım ayı sonuna kadar yapılabilmekteydi. İlk zamanlar iki liman arasında rekabet söz konusu olmuş ise de, sonuçta Yedisan mahallerinde ve Hanlık Ukrayna'sında hububat rekoltesinin yükselmesi bu iki limanın da potansiyelini yetersiz bırakmıştır.

Fransız mühendis Lafitte-Klave 1784-1787 Osmanlı devleti hizmetinde olarak Özi (Oçakov) kalesine giderken özellikle Acidere hakkında bilgi vermiştir: "*Akkerman karşısında Turla nehri sol yakası limanında **Gacı-Dere** kasabası bulunmaktadır. Kasaba ortasında geçen küçük ırmağın ismiyle anılır. Eskiden Gacı-Dere kasabası Akkerman'dan daha büyük imiş. Fakat geçen savaşa [1768-1774] Ruslar tarafından komple yıkılmış ve hala evvelki duruma dönmemiş.*"⁵⁹.

1791 yılında Rusya tarafından gönderilmiş mühendis Devolan yörenin ekonomik potansiyeli hakkında bilgiler vermekte, Özi Kırı ve özellikle Acidere hakkında geniş açıklamalarda bulunmaktadır: "*Öyle görünüyor ki, gelişme zamanında Acidere'nin durumu çok cazip imiş. Şehrin bu günkü harabesinin genişliği 3,5 km.ye varmaktadır. 5 kilometre mesafede Kalagliya köyünde yaşayan Moldovalılar Acidere'nin sanki bir cennet gibi olduğunu söylüyorlar. Özellikle onun şarabı çok methedilmekte ve bütün Moldova ve Besarabya'da daha iyisinin bulunmadığı ifade edilmektedir. [Savaşlara kadar Özi] bölgesinde Oçakov(Özi) şehrinden sonra Acidere en büyük şehir idi. Oradan İstanbul'a buğday ve sığır (daha çok koyunlar) ihraç edilmiştir*"⁶⁰.

Rus işgalinden sonra Acidere daha uzun süre ticaret-lojistik statüsü ile bölgesinde önemli yerinde olunmaktadır. Oçakov (Özi) limanın arşive göre 1794 yılında "*Özi tüccarlardan birisi Georgi Vreta, Acidere'den Özi'ye serbestçe buğday alıp ve sonra bunu İstanbul'a göndermek için izin alınmıştır*"⁶¹.

Böylece, Osmanlı döneminde Özi vilayetinin ekonomik gelişmesinde hububat önemli bir faktör idi. Bunun önemini tekrar vurgulamak için bazı Osmanlıca belgelerde hububatla ilgili ciddi kontrol örneklemelerini gösterebiliriz: Tombasar ve Hotin kazalarında yaşayan Ukraynalılara buğday ve diğer hububattan "*müskirat cinsinden **horilka** tabir olunur bir nevi arak imal ve böylece taklîl-i zahire cesaret eyledikleri*" sebebiyle öngörülen yasaklamalarla ilgili olarak bir takım fermanlar isdar edilmiştir⁶².

59 [Лавитте-Клаве] *Описание пути от Константинополя до Очакова*. Санкт-Петербург, 1821, С. 82

60 Отчет относительно географического и топографического положения провинции Озу или Едисан, обычно называемой Очаковская степь, служащий пояснением к картам и планам, снятым по высочайшему указанию. 1792 г. // *Наследие Ф. П. Де-Волана. Из истории порта, города, края*. Одесса, 2002, С.99-101.

61 Державний архів Миколаївської області. – Ф. 414. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 35. – Арк. 1.; Головно Ю. І. Матеріали фонду Очаківської портової митниці Державного архіву Миколаївської області як джерело з історії зовнішньої торгівлі Південної України кінця XVIII – початку XIX ст.

62 BOA. Fon adı: "C.ZB." Dosya № 11. Gömlek № 501

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Frontier on the Water: Conflict and Interaction of Balkan-Black Sea Shipbuilding Traditions of the 16th and 18th Centuries

Viacheslav Sarychev¹ 



Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:
Viacheslav Sarychev (Senior Researcher),
Zaporizhzhia National University, Faculty
of History, Department of Source Studies,
Historiography and Special Historical
Disciplines, Khortytsia National Reserve,
Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine.
E-posta: svdsich@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0002-3176-878X

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ABSTRACT

The article considers the directions of mutual influence of shipbuilding traditions in the Black Sea basin and in the area of the European frontier of the 16th - 18th centuries, the process of evolution of specific shipbuilding forms. The article is based on written evidence of the 16th - 17th centuries, research results of documents of the Ottoman Empire, archival documents and printed documents on the history of the Russian fleet of the 18th century, archeological data, reference books on shipbuilding of the Age of Sail. It is proved that as a result of mutual influence, the Ottoman Empire increased the use of small river and sea vessels. In particular, these were Ottoman chaikas that protected the mouths of the Danube and Dnipro against the Cossacks raids. On the other hand, the Danube saikas and Cossacks chaikas evolved in the direction of increasing their artillery power and versatility due to the confrontation with Ottoman ships. This mutual influence took place in the conditions of permanent militarization of the life of the European frontier. However, it was positive, because it stimulated the development of various sectors of the economy of the countries and peoples of the European frontier.
Keywords: Frontier, Chaika, Cossacks, Evolution of Shipbuilding, Mutual Influence of Shipbuilding Traditions



Introduction

The reverse side of the growth of power of the Ottoman Empire in the 15th-16th centuries was a permanent military tension at the borders, in particular in the area of the Eastern European frontier. Moreover, the confrontation of different societies continued on land and on water. Sporadic attacks of Zaporozhzhya Cossacks on vessels in the territories controlled by the Crimea and the Ottoman Empire took place in the 15th century. In particular, the clash near Tyagin in 1492. The attacks had intensified in 1538, when the Ottomans captured the lower reaches of the Dniester and Dnipro. A similar situation had developed on the Danube border, where military confrontation had also taken place with the use of ships. Gradually, the militarization of border life had become one of the factors in the development of shipbuilding from the Danube to the eastern shores of the Black and Azov Seas.

The history of this frontier has been widely covered in the scientific literature of various countries. The issues of shipbuilding in the frontier are covered in some way in the works of V. Ostapchuk (USA), R. Gradeva (Bulgaria), V. Milchev (Ukraine) and others. However, the available data need to be supplemented and systematized. The purpose of this study is to outline the mutual influence of shipbuilding traditions in the Black Sea basin during the military confrontations of the 16th - 18th centuries. To do this, it is necessary to determine the signs of such an impact on the evolution of shipbuilding of the Countries of the Danube River Basin, the Ottoman Empire and the Zaporozhzhya Cossacks by descriptive and comparative methods.

The relevance of this is due to the place of shipbuilding in the history of any country. It has always been the most modern way of transportation for its time which embodied the latest advances in materials processing, navigation, geography, labor organization, martial arts, security, logistics and more. Therefore, it can be considered one of the signs of the cultural level of society, which is provided by the experience of many generations, a kind of civilizational tradition. This study was carried out within the grant program of the Shevchenko Scientific Society on Ukrainian Studies in the United States.

The dominance of the Ottoman Empire in the Black Sea was ensured thanks to a powerful fleet. It consisted of two parts. The bases were galleys, kalyats, galleons, etc. They were used in battles at the sea and coast. However, this was not enough for further advance by land and to control the territories.

The second part of the fleet consisted of small vessels for reconnaissance, transportation of goods and participation in battles. These narrow and long sailing vessels of river and coastal navigation were generally inherent in the shipbuilding of the Mediterranean and Black Sea basins. Due to numerous tasks, they have acquired numerous variations - from a cargo river-sea vessel to a luxurious and expensive boat to serve the sultan's harem. One of such boats is on display at Istanbul's Maritime Museum. Despite the functional diversity, these vessels had a single name. This is probably due to the general similarity of the design. The

name of these vessels “saika” (Turk. “sayqa”) was used in different languages with a specific pronunciation for each of them.

Danube Front Line

In particular, that was the Danube saika, or shaika (hun. “sajka”). These boats evolved significantly, as the militarization of the Danube border had led to the development of military shipbuilding. The forerunner of saika can be considered the Hungarian river pinas (hun. “naszad”) – a light warship, which probably originated under German influence in the late 15th century. It had an oblique sail and towing straps. Together with the bowsprit and steering wheel, its length reached 24 meters. A special feature were two storage cabins – on the bow for the gunner with a light gun, and on the stern for the skipper ¹.

Undecked saikas (8 – 15 m long) were used by the Ottoman army on the Danube and the Black Sea for transportation of goods and in military affairs during the 16th – 18th centuries ². There were also larger saikas up to 25 m long. Their garrison consisted of 18-24 rowers, twenty soldiers, and a skipper ³. At the beginning of the Austro-Turkish War of 1566 – 1568, the armed shallow rowing clinker built saikas with a capacity of 35-40 soldiers, were used in the attack of Suleiman the Magnificent’s army of 100,000. For the same purpose, a number of shipbuilding centers were established on the Danube and its tributaries. About 400 ships were built in the Serbian town of Smederevo, Bulgarian Vidin and Ruse. In addition to these transport saikas, the other transport vessels were built, including palandaria. The ships were also built in other cities controlled by the empire – Krusevac (Serbia), Zvorin (Bosnia), Pozega (Slovenia), Nikopol (Greece) ⁴. The active use of small river transport vessels, according to the Bulgarian researcher R. Gradeva, actualizes the question of local shipbuilding traditions, which the empire inherited with the advent in the Balkans ⁵.

This is evidenced, in particular, by the clinker fastening of the planking on these saikas, which is typical of medieval technology. At the same time, the researcher emphasizes the Ottoman Empire’s repercussions on the peoples of the peninsula: “The river also brought war and borders closer to the Balkans, helping to militarize the local society, which mostly lived according to border laws, always ready to defend and attack. During the war with the Holy League at the end of the 17th century, this proximity strongly influenced the local population” ⁶.

1 László Veres, Richard Woodman, *Unter Segeln, Vom Einbaum zum Hightech-Segler*, Delius Klasing 2002, s. 125.

2 Victor Ostapchuk, Olexander Galenko. “Kozacki chornomorski pohody u morskij istorii Kiatiba Chelebi “Dar velykyh muzhiv u vouvanni moriv”, *Mappa Mundi, Lviv - Kyiv - New York* 1996, s. 354.

3 İdris Bostan. “Gemi Yapımcılığı ve Osmanlı Donanmasında Gemiler”. *Türk Denizcilik Tarihi 1. Başlangıçtan XVII. Yüzyılın Sonuna Kadar!*, İstanbul 2009, s. 334.

4 Rossitsa Gradeva, “War and Peace along the Danube: Vidin at the End of the 17th Century”, *Oriente Moderno. Nuova serie*, 2001, Anno 20 (81), № 1, p. 163.

5 Gradeva, *ibid.*, p. 162 – 164.

6 Gradeva, *ibid.*, p. 174.

This affected all areas of its life and, in particular, shipbuilding. In the 17th century the traditional Danube pinas became longer, lower and received the Turkish name “saika”. However, the renaming could have taken place under the influence of the Italian “sajetta” or the Ukrainian “chaika”. In the 18th century, as a result of specialization, the half-saika, full saika, double saika and other varieties appeared. The 12m half-saika had low freeboard, shallow draft, two light half-pound guns on the bow and stern, slanted sail, protective shield, towing straps, and up to nine pairs of oars. The double-saika reached 27.5 m, had towing straps, two masts with a square sails, which were used as auxiliary, one gun at the bow and six in the sides with gunports⁷.

Since the 60's of the 18th century the saika evolved into the Serbian sailing and rowing vessels. During the fight against the Ottoman Empire, they were used by Serbian border guards and Zaporozhzhya Cossacks, who served the Austrian Empire. These ships were characterized by the peculiar naval architecture of that period (transom, bowsprit). This direction of evolution had a distinct universality. Their purpose was to transport soldiers and cargo, guide and protect crossings, patrol, fight with small enemy vessels with the help of 6 - 8 light guns on “big chaikas” or 2 - 4 guns on “half-chaikas”⁸. The universality is also emphasized by the development of sailing rigging.

Black Sea Frontier Zone

Perhaps the first mention of a Cossack ship under its classic name is recorded in the Polish “Chronicle of Martin Bielski” of the 16th century. It describes the overcoming of the Dnipro rapids by the Cossack “The Cossacks usually overcome the rapids in their leather boats, which they call chaikas (pol. czajki) by taking them downstream and upstream with ropes. According to Greek historian Zonara, the Rus harmed the Greek Caesars in such boats reaching Constantinople from time to time”⁹. Given that the author died in 1576, this information should be attributed to the date of his death or even to the middle of the century. This is confirmed by the Austrian historian Engel, who connects the beginning of the construction of leather chaikas with the Cossack leader Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky¹⁰ who built a fortification of the Cossack headquarters on the Dnipro island of Mala Khortytsia in 1554.

Thus, the very first mention of the chaika indicates a characteristic feature of Cossack shipbuilding - the creation of universal river and sea vessels with features of succession from ancient Rus times. The occasional use of light leather vessels at sea in the coastal strip cannot be completely ruled out. However, long naval campaigns required stronger vessels. These were the chaikas described in later sources.

7 Veres, Woodman, *ibid.*, s. 125.

8 Volodymyr Milchev, *Zaporozhcy na Viyskovomu Kordonii Avstrijskoi Imperii, 1785 – 1790*, Zaporizhzhia: Tandem-U 2007, s. 41, 61, 62, 74, 76.

9 *Kronika Marcina Bielskiego*, III, Sanok 1856, s. 1359.

10 Iogan-Hristian Engel, *Istoria Ukrainy ta ukrainskih kozakiv*, Harkiv: Fakt 2014, s. 106.

In the 30's of the 17th century d'Ascoli wrote about long hollowed and well-armed chaikas (saiche): "long chaikas, like frigates"¹¹. Beauplan described in detail the process of constructing such boats by hollowing-out of the wood and clinker planking. The Cossacks inherited this method of attachment from the Vikings. In contrast, the Ottoman ships used carvel planking (the planks were laid edge to edge). The Cossack boat had an equally pointed bow and stern, two oars for control on the bow and stern, a layer of brushwood on the sides, 10 - 15 pairs of oars, 4 - 6 guns, length up to 20 m. The ratio of length and width reached a value about 5 - 6 times. The garrison consisted of more than 50 soldiers. The sail played a supporting role¹². Thus, the Cossack chaika was a universal transport and combat vessel for transporting troops, conducting landings, boarding, raids and more. Flotillas of chaikas comprising several dozen and hundreds of ships began to operate in the Black Sea. The Ottomans often used the name "şayka" for them, which could be the name of similar vessels used by the Turks in particular on the Danube¹³.

The superiority of the Cossacks chaikas over the galleys in speed, maneuvering ability and action on river and sea shoals was the reason for combat use of such vessels in the Ottoman fleet. Their widespread use was carried out in areas that were dangerous because of the Cossacks threat. It is known about 60 vessels that gathered to defend the Danube and the sea coast in 1614-1615, and the flotilla of "Kiliya" and "Ackerman" chaikas that defended the mouth of the Dnipro in 1621¹⁴. It was significant that these were not only captured from the Cossacks, but also specially built vessels. Regarding their characteristics, V. Ostapchuk and O. Galenko wrote: "We can assume that the Ottoman chaika was an imitation of a Cossack chaika (or at least they borrowed a lot of its combat features from the Cossacks), with some of its advantages - maneuverability and ability to float in shallow waters of rivers and sea coasts, and by the sea (but there is no evidence that the Ottomans tied their chaikas with reeds for buoyancy, as did the Cossacks...)"¹⁵. Taking into account the high level of shipbuilding of the Ottoman Empire, probably the "Ottoman chaikas" for the Black Sea had planked framing and were fastened edge to edge. This, in turn, could not remain unnoticed by the Cossacks, who at that time made their boats on the basis of dugouts with clinker planking.

At the end of the 17th century the Moscow Empire gradually joined the competition for supremacy at the Black Sea. In the 30's of the 18th century Russian Field Marshal Burkhard Christoph Graf von Münnich recognized the Cossack boat called "dub" as the most suitable for sailing across the rapids. His schematic drawing depicted a keel at the base of the ship instead of the dug-out known from d'Ascoli and Beauplan descriptions¹⁶.

11 "Opisanie Chernogo moria i Tatarii, sostavil dominikanec Emiddio Dortelli d' Askoli, prefect Kaffy, Tatarii i proch. 1634", *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, Odessa 1902, v. XXIV, ch. 2, Materialy, s. 97 – 98.

12 Giliom Lavasser de Boplan, *Opisanie Ukrainy*, Moskva: Drevlehranilishe 2004, s. 257 – 259.

13 Victor Ostapchuk, "Five documents from the Topkapi palace archive on the Ottoman defense of the Black Sea against the Cossacks", *Journal of the Turkish Studies*, Washington 1987, V. XI, s. 49.

14 Ostapchuk, Galenko, *ibid.*, p. 351, 357.

15 Ostapchuk, Galenko, *ibid.*, p. 354.

16 RGADA, f. 248 Pravitelstvuushi senat, op. 1, d. 558.

This testifies in favor of the spread of planked ships building in Zaporozhzhya. Its beginning can be attributed to the last decades of the 17th century. This period is considered to be the time of the appearance of the Cossack boat “dub” (after the material dub (eng. oak)¹⁷. The quality of this wood allowed it to replace the hollowed wood in its base with a lighter keel without reducing the strength of the boat.

During the 18th century Zaporozhzhya Cossacks worked in state-owned shipyards and constructed the planked ships. In particular, the “novomanirna Cossack boats” built at the Zaporozhzhya shipyard during the Russian-Turkish War of 1736-1739. The underwater archeological research and reconstruction of one of such boats raised from the Dnipro bottom near the island of Khortytsia in 1999 prove its resemblance with the Cossack chaikas of the previous century¹⁸. Another example are the “Zaporozhzhya boats” of the Kremenchug shipyard of 1787 - 1791¹⁹. They are also identical in size, proportions, purpose and even names. However, due to the increase of combat missions, “Zaporozhzhya boats” took a separate place. To counter the Ottoman fleet of battleships, they were equipped with 18 - 30 pounder guns.²⁰ As a result, the Cossack variety of gunboat appeared, which became the first such ship in the fleet of the Russian Empire.

Thus, the interaction of different shipbuilding traditions was inherent in the initial stage of creation of the Russian Black Sea Fleet. However, it was not limited to the participation of Ukrainians. This is proved in particular by the data about the construction of Kirlangichs - sailing-rowing artillery vessels of Mediterranean origin 25-30 m long at the Kremenchug shipyard. They were built by other bearers of shipbuilding traditions who arrived from Kherson, namely 19 Greek carpenters, 11 Turkish carpenters, 6 Turkish blacksmiths and 20 other Turkish workers commanded by an ensign of Greek descent²¹.

Conclusion

In general, one may argue for various forms of mutual influence of shipbuilding traditions. The main direction of evolution of the Danube saika of the 16th-18th centuries was the development of cannon armament. It arose as a result of the Ottoman Empire's advance up the river and the creation of its shipbuilding infrastructure there. In fact, the answer was the Danube specialized ships with heavy and light guns such as Ottoman galleys. Also, the universal multitask transport and combat boats with 6-8 light guns became widespread.

The confrontation highlighted the need for small vessels such as saika for various purposes of the Ottoman fleet. On the Danube, such vessels of local origin began to be

17 Tatiana Zhavzharova, “Nazvy richkovo-morskykh suden Zaporzkykh kozakiv”, *Visnyk Zaporizkogo Derzhavnogo Universitetu: Zbirnyk naukovykh statei. Filologichni nauky*, Zaporizhzhya 1999, № 1, s. 45.

18 Dmitry Kobalia, Valery Nefiodov, “Zaporozka chaika”: *istoria odniei znahidky*, Zaporizhzhia: Dyke pole 2005, s. 138.

19 DAMO, f. 243 Fond stroenia goroda Nikolaeva, op. 1, spr. 2.

20 *Materialy dlia istorii russkogo flota*, XV, Sankt-Peterburg 1901, s. 86, 123, 213, 228.

21 DAMO, f. 243 Fond stroenia goroda Nikolaeva, op. 1, spr. 29.

traditionally used for transportation. On the other hand, the need for military action prompted the Sultan's administration to construct a number of new shipbuilding centers on the Danube, specializing in transport ships. In the Northern Black Sea region, the superiority of the Zaporozhzhya chaikas in maneuverability and speed stimulated the emergence of similar chaika fighters, or "Ottoman chaikas".

The clash of the Zaporozhzhya Cossacks with the Ottoman fleet stimulated the improvement of chaikas. They received cannon armament, plank construction, means of protection and stabilization on sea waves, etc. This allowed to expand the geography of the use of chaika flotillas, which became a powerful naval force. In the 18th century The Ottoman battle fleet directly influenced the further development of chaikas, resulting in the appearance of the "Zaporozhzhya boat" of the Black Sea Cossacks, in fact the Kozak version of the gunboat.

Thus, the mutual influence affected the shipbuilding of almost all major participants of the conflict on the European frontier. Unfortunately, this took place in a fierce and destructive struggle. However, the development of shipbuilding stimulated related industries, required new knowledge, advanced training for workers and more. One way or another, it contributed to the general development of the countries and peoples of the European frontier. These examples are also the guidelines for determining areas for further research.

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The Frontier Person and the Border: in Search of the Native (Southern Ukraine of the 18th and Early 19th Centuries)

Svitlana Kaiuk¹



Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:
Svitlana Kaiuk (Assoc. Prof.), Oles Honchar
Dnipro National University, Candidate of
Historical Sciences, Department of History,
Dnipro, Ukraine.
E-posta: skaiuk22@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0002-2452-2642

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ABSTRACT

The article explores the development of the frontier population's daily practices along the officially established state borders. The Zaporozhian Cossacks were found amidst the endless Eurasian Steppe and closely interacted with the Turkic community. Since the very beginning, the frontier corporations have built their own lifestyle, which they associate with the freedom of choice and movement not limited either by religion, language, or social identity. The establishment of state borders as lines intended for separation and opposition actually emphasized the frontier population's desire to look for common ground, to easily change religion, language, citizenship in order to preserve the native, which is associated with free life.

Keywords: Frontier, Frontier Population, Zaporozhian Cossacks, Tatars, Crimean Khanate, Ottoman Empire, Russian Empire, The Russo-Turkish Treaties



The period covering the late 20th – early 21st centuries proved to be surprisingly productive for Ukrainian historians. Shaking themselves off the ideologies and history-based stereotypes nurtured in the Soviet past, Ukrainian historians had an opportunity to create their own national narrative expanding the sources of research, the scope of questions and themes via applying new methodological guidelines. The task undertaken by a new generation of historians was not only to build a new historical narrative of Ukraine purged of colonial influences, but also to close the methodological gap that occurred within the last decades. Frontier studies has offered an opportunity in this respect. The idea that the Frontier thesis, advanced by the American historian F. Turner in the late 19th century, should be applied to the Eurasian Steppe was suggested in the middle of the 20th century by O. Lattimore and W. McNeill.¹ Y. Dashkevich, a well-respected domestic historian widely-known among Ukrainian scholars, was the first (1989–1991) to highlight the possibility and importance of applying the thesis to the South-Ukrainian steppes, which for centuries have been a home for the representatives of Slavic and Turkic ethnic groups.² These remarks were pursued vigorously by a group of researchers, primarily those involved with exploring the history of Ukrainian Cossacks which led to noteworthy works by S. Lepiavka, V. Brekhunenko, V. Grybovsky, B. Milchev and several others.³ Ukrainian historians perceive the Frontier thesis as a great tool to enforce the main message that the Cossacks played a crucial role in Ukrainian history. For it is a well-established fact that the “Cossack Myth”, peculiar both to nation idealization, largely depicted in folklore, and of academic works by many generations of researchers, occupies a predominant position in Ukrainian historiography.⁴

The Eurasian Steppe has embraced the history of numerous border military corporations similar to the Cossacks – men’s unions.⁵ The Frontier thesis makes it possible to clarify several

- 1 ¹Owen Lattimore, “Inner Asian Frontiers: Chinese and Russian Margins of Expansion”. *Studies in Frontier History. Collected Papers*. Paris, 1962. P. 138–152. 6. Owen Lattimore, “The Nomads and South Russia”. *Archeion Pontou*. 1979. Vol. 35. P. 193–200.; William N. McNeill, *Europe’s Steppe Frontier, 1500–1800*. Chicago, 1964.
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- 3 Viktor Brekhunenko, “Kozaky na Stepovomu Kordonu Yevropy. Typolohiya kozats’kykh spil’not XVI – pershoji polovyny XVII st.”. Kyiv, 2011.; Serhiy Lep’yavko, “Velykyy Kordon Yevropy yak faktor stanovlennya ukraiyins’koho kozatstva (XVI st.)”. Zaporizhzhya, 2001; Serhiy Lep’yavko, “Ukrayins’ke kozatstvo i teoriya Velykoho Kordonu” *Kozats’ka spadshchyna*. 2005. №2. S. 14–18; Volodymyr Mil’chev, “Narys z istoriyi zaporoz’koho kozatstva 18th st.”. Zaporizhzhya, 2009. Vladislav Gribovskiy, Dmitriy Sen’, “Frontirnyye elity i problema stabilizatsii granits Rossyiskoy i Osmanskoy imperiy v pervoy treti 18th v.: deyatel’nost’ kubanskogo seraskera Bakhty-Gireya”. *Ukraina v Tsentral’no-Skhidnyy Evropi*. Vip.9-10. Kyiv: IJU NANU. 2010. S. 193–226; Svitlana Mohul’ova-Kaiuk, “Zaporoz’ke kozatstvo i Velykyy Stepovyy kordon”. *Istoriya: Dopovid i ta povidomlennya Chetvertoho Mizhnarodnoho konhresu ukraiyinistiv*. Odesa, Kyiv, L’viv. 1999. Ch. 1. S. 241.
- 4 Serhiy Plokhiiy, “Brama Yevropy. Istoriya Ukrayiny vid skifs’kykh voyen do nezalezhnosti”. Kharkiv, 2016.; Serhiy Plokhiiy, “Kozats’kyy mif. Istoriya ta natsiyetvorennya v epokhu imperiy”. K., 2014.; «Poverkh kordonu»: kontseptsiya prykordonnyia yak ob’yekt doslidzhennya. Forum” *Ukrayina moderna*. 2011. №18.
- 5 Vladyslav Hrybovskyy, “Zaporoz’ke kozatstvo i cholovichi soyuzy Kavkazu ta Tsentral’n’oyi Azii v komparatyvnyi perspektyvi”. *Hileya: naukovyy visnyk: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats*. K., 2011. Vyp. 52. S. 116–130.

issues related to the contemporary history of Ukraine and Russia. However, while Ukrainian researchers found it necessary to use this thesis for their practical needs and to generally emphasize the frontier's positive role in the South-Ukrainian steppe reclamation, Russian historians, on the contrary, left the Frontier thesis in the history of Cossack communities on the margins, highlighting solely the "frontier complex" or "social/cultural trauma" in poor reclamation of the vast Asian, primarily Siberian, land.^{6*} Modern Ukrainian researches go hand-in-hand with the reflections of their Western colleagues A. Rieber and A. Kappeler upon the vision of the Eurasian Steppe frontier.⁷ Thus, the South-Ukrainian frontier serves as a zone of interaction, mutual impacts, simultaneous confrontations and mutual understanding.⁸

The Ukrainian Cossack community was built amidst the frontier and Turkic neighbourhood. The Tatar nomadic hordes bordering the Cossack settlements (who were no settlers at all), the emergence of the Crimean Khanate and the rise of the Cossacks, which was officially recognized by the Polish government in the second half of the 16th century, and their enclaves by the Dnieper steeps determined the history of the South-Ukrainian Steppe for centuries to come. This is the history of confrontation and interaction, as well as development of similar daily practices and behavioural patterns. Yet, it was the frontier setting that built its own identity, which further framed the image of Cossack as a frontiersman.⁹ The image of the Tatars is still waiting for its unprejudiced researchers.

The frontier develops its own types of social arrangement. The unique nature of the South-Ukrainian frontier compared to Central and East-Ukrainian lands, which also gave room for border military corporations, lies in a quite long "withdrawal", uncontrollability and inability of the central government to influence the affairs initiated by the border communities. At the same time, an attempt to reclaim the Ukrainian part of the frontier was made by people sharing the political ideas of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, following which they believed in

6 Vladimir Maslak, "Otsiya stepnogo frontira Evropy v sovremennom rossiyskom i ukrainskom kazakovedenii". *Rossiyskiy gumanitarnyy zhurnal*. 2014. T. 3. №4. S. 297-304; Irina Basalayeva, "Sotsial'naya dinamika v lokal'nom sotsiokul'turnom prostranstve". Avtoreferat dissertatsii na soiskaniye uchenoy stepeni kandidata filosofskikh nauk. Kemerovo. 2013.

* A good exception are the works by Russian scholar D. Sen', who frequently participates in joint Ukrainian-and-Russian research projects exploring the Eurasian Steppe frontier and Cossack organizations: Dmitriy Sen', "Vzaimootnosheniya kalmukov i kubanskogo sultana Bakhty-Gireya: taktika i strategiya pogranychnogo sotrudnichestva (seredina – vtoraya polovina 1720-kh gg.)" *Magna adurgit: historia studiorum*. Elista: KalmNTS RAN. 2019. №1. S.125–161.

7 Andreas Kappeler, "Yuzhnyy i vostochnyy frontir Rossii v XVI-18th vekakh". *Ab Imperio*. 2003. №1. S. 47–63; Alfred Rieber. "Menyayushchiesya kontseptsii i konstruktssii frontira: sravnitel'no-istoricheskii podkhod". *Novaya imperskaya istoriya postsovetского prostranstva*. Kazan', 2004. S. 108–219; Alfred Rieber, "The Struggle for the Eurasian Border-lands: From the Rise of Early Modern Empires to the End of the First World War". New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

8 Viktor Brekhunenko, Vladyslav Hrybovs'kyi, Yuriy Mytsyk, Valentyna Piskun, Ivan Synyak, Ina Tarasenko, Mizh konfrontatsiyeyu ta vzyemodiyeyu: ukrayies'ko-kryms'ki ta ukrayins'ko-nohays'ki stosunky v XVII – pershyi polovyni XX st. Za red. V. Brekhunenka. K.: IUAD. 2018.

9 Svitlana Kaiuk, "Frontyrna identychnist". *Etnonatsional'nyy svit Prydniprov'ya: kolektyvna monohrafiya*. Kharkiv. 2018. S. 153-163.

the exclusiveness and superiority of armed man with ability to fight, in their right for legal recognition by government officials of the frontier-neighbouring states. At that point, the Ukrainian Cossacks were found amidst constant interaction with the Turks and encountered the practices of a steppe lifestyle.

Tough frontier conditions cultivated forms of self-organization within the representatives of traditional culture (whether agricultural or cattle-breeding) that perceive democracy in its original, “barbaric” meaning, i.e., the power of the strongest and the most agile – those who have the best survival skills. If someone with even better survival skills appears the next day, they were to be chosen for yielding authority. An adverse option would seriously hamper the surviving capability of the entire group of self-sufficient individuals who solely recognized a prime form of power. A frontier leader should not so much meet physical requirements, as be able to interpret socio cultural environment, apply extra-frontier life experience to skilfully resolving disputes with neighbouring countries and their politicians. It was namely frontier leaders who would often change a political map of their region via building new state-like formations through conquests. For the South-Ukrainian frontier, such a leader was Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who was fully aware of the political situation both in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and in the Ottoman Empire, and thus managed to expand the territory of the Zaporozhian Army far beyond its original domains. Initially, the frontier was multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multilingual and diverse, yet it adhered to its inner laws of existence.

The frontier’s daily practices shaped individual characteristics, out of which belligerence predominates, as otherwise it is impossible to survive in an area with no law enforcement; other traits include proactive attitude, confidence, cunningness, agility, early intervention, which entails leadership and consequently, permanent changeability. The natural conditions of the Steppe as an open space give rise to mobility and dynamism. As a result, we encounter a prototype ahead of its time, a person of the New age. This entails a conflict that cannot easily be detected inside the frontier (although its daily life is full of routine, yet non-constant clashes), but outside its borders – a conflict with the so-called Hinterland, which has over time become hostile.

The South-Ukrainian frontier personality was shaped via the image of the territory, which had become a place of permanent residence – *Own land / unique Place* – endless Eurasian Steppes, *illimitable*, immense area – the one that does not limit either freedom of movement, or freedom of action, on the contrary, grants a right of choice, with the condition that one has to accept self-responsibility. Such a frontiersman is not burdened or bound by state rules, but has to elaborate on a set of survival laws. In the course of time, these norms turned into traditions zealously protected by frontier corporations as being life-essential. This explains the desire to stick to their customary law, to look for new territories to enjoy this right, even when linear borders were supposed to contain human activity and the frontier was about to disappear.

The South-Ukrainian frontier was formed between two political bodies – the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire, which at different times tried first to interact, and then to conquer and reclaim these areas. Yet, the integrity of frontier practices appeared to be more effective than the empires' desires. It was particularly effort-consuming for the Russian Empire, who, in their effort to seize the Northern Black Sea coast in the second half of the 18th century, had to cope with Ukrainian-Turkic (Tatar and Turkish) confrontation. Self-sufficient frontier life of long centuries free of government intervention cultivated into a behavioural consistency within the frontier communities (Cossacks and Tatars intensively interacting with the Ottoman Turks which ensured the defeat of the Novorossiia Russian project and gave rise to Southern Ukraine. This also surprisingly happened at a time when the frontier line was under constant pressure from central governments that preferred an abolishment of uncontrolled border areas.

The time when state borders had emerged was determinant for the South-Ukrainian frontier, as it tested the stability of everyday life practices and communities' ability to defend themselves, adjust to new conditions and elaborate new survival patterns. The emergence of new borders means gradual vanishing of the frontier setting. Hence, it was possible to trace back for what exactly represented the greatest value for people who for a long time had been building their own lifestyle; what exactly they wished to preserve and what they were ready to give up. This period can vividly demonstrate the frontier people's nature and, consequently, answer the question whether the South-Ukrainian frontier was separating or uniting.

The first attempts to establish the border between the Ottoman Empire and the Tzardom of Muskovy were recorded in the 1700 treaty signed in Istanbul (Tzargorod, according to the Muskovy version) and called "peace in the form of a ceasefire".¹⁰ Yet, the treaty does not indicate a clear boundary between the states; on the contrary, it emphasizes the expansion of an empty area between the lands of the Zaporozhian Sich, Turkish Ochakiv and Tatar Perekop. Certain settlements along the Dnieper, such as Kizikermen, Sagin Kerment and others, were to be razed. The territorial landmark was a ten- or twelve-hour horse-ride from particular fortresses and cities. In other words, the treaty provided no clear information, but was highly beneficial to the Tatars and Turks whose horses were more agile. The major statement of the treaty encouraged the Tatars and the Cossacks not to attack each other and not to violate peace, but once borderline misunderstandings and conflicts arose, they were dealt with by border officials and khans. Yet, further attempts to meet peace requirements and, consequently, to remove fortifications or to build new ones, produced an opposite effect: the Zaporozhian Sich and the Crimean Khanate decided to unite forces against Moscow and Istanbul's attempts to invade the territory they considered their own. This initiative belonged to the Crimean khan Devlet Geray, who was unsatisfied with the changing status of the Crimean Khanate, since it now lacked the right to collect tribute from Moscow. Hence, the shift in political affairs

10 Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj imperii. T. 4. Sankt Peterburg. 1830. S. 66-72.

induced the Crimean khan towards laying claim to the Ottoman Porte and thinking over new alliances. The emergence of Moscow fortresses within the frontier was not appealing either to the Cossacks, or to the Tatars.¹¹ Thus, those who were defined by the Istanbul treaty as constant potential enemies decided to unite in order to defend the territory they considered their own. This alliance outlined the trend of events to come pertaining to the confrontation between the empires and the frontier communities. Faith, language, cultural and ethnic differences did not hinder this cooperation.

Istanbul and Moscow were even more deeply surprised by the frontier communities and their leaders' activity against land delimitation and border establishment carried out by government agents. Kost Gordienko, Kish otaman of the Zaporozhian Sich, clearly presented territorial claims and emphasized the Cossacks' awareness of the territory they believed to be their heritage.¹² In fact, notwithstanding the joint committee's delimitation effort, the line-shaped border appeared only on paper; the frontier life reality did not allow empire officials even to place any borderline signs or to declare state presence in this area.¹³

In another political episode of history, the alliance between Ukrainian Hetman I. Mazepa and the Swedish king against Muscovy tsar Peter I, which ended with a military defeat, led to the first wave of Ukrainian political immigration and Cossacks migration to the Ottoman Empire. The frontier communities that rather fought against each other than found common ground now had to compromise. For several decades, the Zaporozhian Sich became part of the Crimean Khanate and lived under the supreme sovereignty of the Crimean khan and the Turkish sultan. The Ochakiv steppe, the mouth of Dniester, some parts of Kuban and the Danube lowlands became new long-term Cossack settlements. Hence, their living area expanded, yet did not lose the frontier peculiarities. Environmental conditions were very similar to those at the Dnieper, and intermingling with the Muslim daily practices was not overwhelming. Thus, borderlines marked by Ottoman and Muscovy diplomats in the early 18th century proved invalid and laid the foundation for a new tradition, which is not to pay attention to delimitation marks intended for separation. In this case, state borders united communities that were supposedly dwelling on the opposite sides of an imaginary line. This union was by no means hindered by different religious identities – Christian and Muslim, which were referred to as confronting. This illustrates A. Rieber's view of the borders that are rather porous than impenetrable.¹⁴

11 Vladislav Gribovskiy, "Razgranicheniye stepnykh vladenyi Osmanskoj i Rossijskoj imperij v 1704 i 1705 gg." *Scriptorium nostrum*. 2014. № 1. S. 225-246.

12 Kordony Viys'ka Zaporoz'koho ta diyal'nist' rosijs'ko-turets'koyi mezhovoyi komisiji 1705 r. (za dokumentamy RDADA). [uporyadnyk V. Mil'chev].

13 Vladislav Gribovskiy, "Razgranicheniye stepnykh vladenyi Osmanskoj i Rossijskoj imperij v 1704 i 1705 gg." *Scriptorium nostrum*. 2014. № 1. S. 225-246.

14 Al'fred Riber. "Menyayushchiesya kontseptsii i konstruktsii frontira: sravnitel'no-istoricheskij podkhod". *Novaya imperskaya istoriya postsovet'skogo prostranstva*. Kazan', 2004. S. 108–219.

Further attempts to establish the Russo-Turkic border and to stabilize the borderline brought about the same results, i.e. they were fruitless. These attempts only underlined the formidable influence of the role of the frontier elites in the empires' attempt to arrange the frontier territory and to establish linear borders.¹⁵

The change in the geopolitical environment in the early 1730s and the Russian Empire's preparation for war with the Ottoman Empire caused the Zaporozhian Sich to return to their old Dnieper territory, under the patronage of the Russian emperor. However, the Kuban Nogai, who had settled in the area in the absence of the Zaporozhians, triggered a complicated confrontation within the frontier.¹⁶ The Russo-Turkish War of 1735-1739 led to bloody clashes on the stepped borderline and split the frontier communities apart, as the Budgak, Bilhorod and Nogai Tatars fought on the Ottoman side, and the Zaporozhian Cossacks fighting for the Russian Empire. The same line of events repeated during the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-1774, but it resulted not necessarily in an absolute confrontation between the frontier communities; on the contrary, it elaborated new practices better suited for the conditions of a great war between regular armies.¹⁷ The 1739 Treaty of Belgrad actually confirmed and specified the regulations of the Treaty of Karlowitz and the Peace of Istanbul.¹⁸ Just like in previous treaties, old borders were preserved. To establish the borderlines, however, the parties were to send selected commissioners that would legally be working under the authority of the Crimean khan (article 15). In order to understand the frontier situation, especially religion-wise, it was important to lean on those clauses of the treaty that kept record of and legalized religious conversion by those who would cross the border (articles 7,8). Only those captives who converted to Christianity in Russia and to Islam in the Ottoman Empire could return. Similarly, only those fugitives who wished to change religion were not to be delivered to the opposing parties. Thus, religious conversion within the frontier population crossing the imaginary border was frequent and was considered an obvious fact by the political authorities in these years. Consequently, Christianity and Islam as religion and lifestyle were equally plausible to the frontier population on both side of the border and did not serve as separating factors. The documents of the New Sich Kosh Archive (1734-1775) confirm this phenomenon at various times.¹⁹ Even with the emergence of borders as separating lines, the frontier remained multi-religious and multi-cultural. Sometimes it testifies to indifference to religion and all necessary

15 Vladislav Gribovskiy, Dmitriy Sen', "Frontirnyye elity i problema stabilizatsii granits Rossiyskoy i Osmanskoy imperiy v pervoy treti 18th v.: deyatelnost' kubanskogo seraskera Bakhty-Gireya". *Ukraina v Tsentral'no-Skhidniy Evropi*. Vip.9-10. Kyiv: IJU NANU. 2010. S. 193-226.

16 Dmitriy Evarnitskiy, *Istochniki dlya istorii zaporozhskikh kazakov*. Vladimir. 1908. T.2. S.1113-1114.

17 Svitlana Kaiuk, "Lyudy frontyru v umovakh viyny: pochatok rosiiys'ko-turets'koyi viyny 1806-1812 rr. u zhytti zaporoz'koho kozatstva". *Mizhdystsiplinarni humanitarni studiyi. Ser. : Istorychni nauky*. 2015. Vyp. 2. S. 64-72.

18 *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj imperii*. T. 10. S. 899-904.

19 *Arkhiv Kosha Novoyi Zaporoz'koyi Sichi. Korpus dokumentiv 1734-1775, T. 2 / Uporyad.: Histsova L. Z., Avtonomov D. L., Demchenko L. Ya., Drozd Ye. I. ta in. K., 2000.*

rituals as a mandatory life constituent, particularly from the Cossacks' side.²⁰ Survival and quick adjustment to new conditions, which under approximating empires becomes a constant component of the frontier line, remain predominant and the most motivating for the frontier people under the emergence of linear borders.

The mid-18th century, at a time when the New Sich emerged, was marked with qualitative changes in the life of the South-Ukrainian frontier population. Despite frequent migrations of the Tatar hordes (Попри часті міграції татарських орд (Edichkul, Yedisán etc), the proximity of their nomad camps to Zaporozhian settlements, frequent territorial misunderstandings and conflict, the situation at large was returning to normal. The steppe borderline population increased, trade relations were improved, and agriculture (on Cossacks' end) was gradually rising. New economic relations required the frontier lifestyle to encompass tranquillity and standardization. Yet, both the Cossacks, and the Tatars saw a possibility to establish contacts and control over the borderline life without any intervention on the part of the Empires' governmental institutions.²¹

The Northern Black Sea Coast experienced dramatic change upon the termination of the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774 and establishment of the new Russo-Turkish border. The Zaporozhian Cossacks' participation in the war on the Russian side clearly showed for a part of the Cossacks that it did not make sense to return to Russia. The empire was approaching the lands of the Zaporozhian Army, establishing its order and control, a fact that became apparent during the Cossacks' Danube expeditions led by Russian military leaders.²² Zaporozhians had a good knowledge of the Danubian lands since the early 18th century; their former stays in the Northern Black Sea area of the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire assured the Cossacks of the possibility to live a better life and to preserve their frontier traditions: the Cossack right, elective government, independence from the central government, freedom of movement etc.²³ During the war, the Old Ritualists, another frontier community of the Nekrasovites, migrated from Kuban to the Danube region and joined their co-religionists.²⁴ So, the frontier communities demonstrated proactive behaviour: they moved faster than the linear borders and sought to keep away from as far as possible. When choosing a route, their main concern was the possibility to preserve their own rights and traditions as well as to stay

20 Svitlana Kaiuk, "Relihiynist' frontyrnoho naseleण्या piddennoukrayins'koho rehionu v ostanniy chverti 18th – na pochatku 19th st." *Mizhdystyiplinarni humanitarni studiyi. Ser. : Istorychni nauky*. 2017. Vyp. 3. S. 146-155.

21 Svitlana Andryeyeva, "Dyplomatychni znosyny Zaporoz'koyi Novoyi Sichi z Kryms'kym khanstvom" *Naukovi pratsi istorychnoho fakul'tetu ZDU. Zaporizhzhya*. 2009. Vyp. 26. S. 104-108.

22 Olexandr Ryabinin-Sklyarevs'kyy, "Zaporiz'ki bunty dunaytsiv 1771–1774 rr. i pochatok Zadunays'koho Kosha". *Naukovyy zbirnyk UAN*. Kyiv. T. 26, 1927, S. 65–83.

23 Svitlana Kaiuk, "Zadunays'ka Sich: sproby zaporozhtsiv prodovzhyty svoyu istoriyu za mezhamy pervisnoyi terytoriyi". *Naukovi pratsi istorychnoho fakul'tetu ZDU*. Vyp. VIII. Zaporizhzhya. 1999. S.255- 259.

24 Dmitriy Sen', "Pereseleniye kubanskikh kazakov-nekrasovtsev v Osmanskuyu imperiyu v 18th v.: diskussiya, novyye istochniki, perspektivy izucheniya" *Lipovane: istoriya i kul'tura russkikh staroobryadtsev*. Red.-sost. A.A. Prigarin. Odessa. 2008. Vyp. 5. S.23-38.

away from the state border. Even the borders outlined in the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji were not able to impose any hindrances. Few government institutions appearing in this region (such as quarantine posts, border guards) did not limit the freedom of moving around the land of the Black Sea Coast. Government institutions dealt only with those who sought official recognition. Others kept living an ordinary life adjusting to Russia's stricter intervention and its attempt to establish control.²⁵

The Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji of 1774 is well-known for its acknowledgement of the Crimean Khanate's independence from the Ottoman Empire and, consequently, for paving the way for a possible incorporation by the Russian Empire; in addition, the treaty assigned Kerch and Enikale to Russia, while the lands between the Bug and the Dniester remained with the Crimean Khanate.²⁶ However, the treaty's major purpose was to outline a framework to be referred to by future generations for solving highly disputed, border-related problems. In this respect, the highest importance belongs to the repetition of the clauses that had already been included in all previous treaties of 1700. Particularly, not a single person (either a robber, or a deserter, or a fugitive peasant) crossing the border could return if they had clearly announced a shift in their religious identity: Islam in the Ottoman Empire and Christianity in the Russian Empire. Hence, for those who wished to change citizenship while crossing the border, the practice of religious conversion remained a key factor. Thus, the linear border proved to be conflict-resolving and uniting. It is noteworthy that all this was happening within the framework which became determinant for the Russian Empire, as since the second half of the 18th century, the supporters of Russian conquest in the region had clearly envisioned a justification for Russian military endeavours as the defence of the Orthodox Christian faith. In this regard, converting to Islam by those to whom Russia had commonly referred as the Christian chivalric order (the Cossacks) was highly significant.

The last quarter of the 18th century dramatically affected the lives of the frontier communities of Southern Ukraine: in 1775, the Zaporozhian Sich was destroyed and in 1783, the Crimean Khanate was occupied. They were the consequences of 1774 the "peace". A part of the Cossacks and the Tatars, who wished to stay in their accustomed frontier circumstances, preferred to move away from the Russian Empire and official state borders. This gave rise to a long-term immigration wave to the Ottoman Empire, along the Danube and farther. Obviously, Russian government officials did not like such a turn of events, for the frontier communities appeared to be disobedient, uncontrollable and actually forced the Empire to solve the so-called "Cossack Issue".

25 Svitlana Kaiuk, "Karantynni ustanovy yak instytutsiyi, abo frontyrne naselennya v novykh derzhavnykh umovakh". *Chornomors'ka mynushyna: Zapysky Viddilu istoriji kozatstva na pivdni Ukrayiny*, Odesa. Vyp. 11. 2016. S. 24–38.

26 Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj imperii. T.19. S. 957-967.

The correspondence between the borderline officials and the central government testifies to a close attention to Cossacks' and Tatars' migration on part of the Russian government. Reports from Russian spies on the whereabouts of the Cossack and Tatar fugitives were thoroughly analysed and transferred to supreme authorities. The correspondence, which is kept in the Military Science Archive (the MSA stock of the Russian State Military History Archive, hereinafter – RGVA), demonstrates that in the second half of the 1770s (i.e. in the first years after the Zaporozhian Sich destruction), some Cossack groups have settled in the Danubian region (around Kiliya, Vylkove, Izmail, Kaushan, Balta etc.)²⁷ The pasha of Bender allowed the Zaporozhians to freely settle in the areas they had arrived at, although Russian diplomats and the frontier administration deemed this permission as a violation of the peace treaty. Russian agents also reported that the Crimean khan wrote to the Ottoman sultan expressing his desire to re-enter his patronage.²⁸ The Bug River remained an imaginary, virtual border, which was duly neglected both by the Cossacks, and the Tatars, who crossed it seamlessly and sometimes committed robbery. Many Cossacks were involved in fishing at Tylihul, but the pasha gathered them on the Danube island (it was further documented as Karaurman as a place for settling the Sich).²⁹ Keeping in mind constant rumours of possible war with the Turks, Zaporozhians' stay in the Ottoman lands seemed dangerous for the Russian government officials. Yet, the Zaporozhians preferred the following option: belonging to other religion (Orthodox Christianity) in the Muslim territory did not limit or put pressure on the Cossacks. Violating the peace treaty of 1774 (the Zaporozhians did not massively convert to Islam, but stayed in the Turkish territory) neither hindered their relatively quiet residence and the desire to become Ottoman citizens.

It is noteworthy that the Zaporozhians tended to establish their temporary settlements close to the Russian Old Ritualists, the Nekrasovites, and there are no records of reciprocal miscommunication during the tough time of searching for a new *Land / Place*. However, this state of affairs did not last for a long time. In the future, narrowing of the frontier lands and the expansion of the state borders would lead not only to tension and confrontation between the Zaporozhians and the Nekrasovites, but to bloody clashes and actual war.³⁰ The Nekasovites adhered to completely different Orthodox Christianity compared to the Zaporozhians, and they spent centuries migrating in search of a place where their ancient rituals could have been preserved. Yet, "at the time of Christian-Muslim opposition", as it was presented by the Russian spokesmen, there seems to be evidence of Christian league against Muslims who

27 RGVA . F. VUA. Spr. 192.

28 RGVA. F. VUA. Spr. 192.T Ark. 4.

29 RGVA. F. VUA. Spr. 192.T Ark. 41.

30 Olena Bachyns'ka, *Kozatstvo v "pislyakozats'ku" dobu ukrayins'koyi istoriyi (kinets' 18th – 19th st.)*. Kyiv. 2011; Anatoliy Bachyns'kyi, Olena Bachyns'ka, *Kozatstvo na Pivdni Ukrayiny. 1775–1869*, Odesa. 1995; Anatoliy Bachyns'kyi, *Sich Zadunays'ka. 1775–1828. Istoryko-dokumental'nyy narys*, Odesa. 1994; Aleksandr Prigarin, *Russkiye staroobryadtsy na Dunaye: formirovaniye etnokonfessional'noy obshchnosti v kontse 18th – pervoy polovine 19th v.* Odessa, Izmail, Moskva. 2010.

were regarded as strangers and disbelievers. Nevertheless, we admit the possibility of the existence of different Orthodox denominations, their clashes and real war in the Muslims' lands.

In the late 18th – early 19th century, the Zaporozhian Cossacks took an active part in the suppression of a rather large-scale uprising led by the Vidin Pasha Osman Pazvantoğlu; therefore, they sided with the government troops of the Ottoman Porte under the command of Brailov Nazir.³¹ The Nekrasovites were on the side of Pazvantoğlu. The Porte acknowledged Zaporozhians' effort by allowing them to occupy the best lands around Kiliya and Akkerman, on the Danubian shores, closer to the Russian border (so that they could replenish their population with Russian refugees).³² The Nekrasovites were not satisfied with this concession and took advantage of the Russo-Turkish War of 1806 and the Ottoman government's inability to control the Danube region and waged war against the Zaporozhians.³³ Thus, we deal with the confrontation inside the frontier communities which support different political powers of the same state – in this case, the Ottoman Empire. Hence, they were separated not by the border or the frontier, but by the desire to adjust to new political reality and to retain the lands they considered valuable. The Zaporozhians proved to be more agile, as they initially supported a potential winner – the central government and its local representatives. It is obvious that with the state borders approaching and the frontier lands diminishing, internal fights between the frontier corporations became harsher. In this case, linear state borders did not play any significant role. They remained solely on paper for a while; they were easily crossed and almost completely neglected.

The Treaty of Jassy signed in 1791 clearly outlined the borders between the two empires along the Dniester River.³⁴ The eighth clause of the treaty likewise confirmed the possibility of all those willing to return to their empires, excluding those who had voluntarily converted to a different religion. The Treaty of Bucharest signed in 1812 delineated the border along the Prut River, and from its mouth down the Danube; hence, the Danubian islands at the mouth of Kiliya were to be unpopulated and did not belong to any empire.³⁵ Adherers of different religions were in the same way provided assurance and an opportunity to within 18 months solve their property issues and move to the Ottoman Empire (for Muslims) or to the Russian Empire (for Christians). Yet, the treaty did not mention that it was only applicable to those who had recently converted to another religion. Therefore, the practice of religious conversion as a means to secure oneself from forced return gradually disappeared. The frontier population was able to seamlessly cross the border facing no religion-based challenges. Those who referred

31 Arkhiv vneshey politiki Rossiys'koï iimperii (AVPRI). F.69. Op.69/1.Spr.254.Perepiska general'nogo konsula s konsul'skim agentom v Galatse P. Renskim.1798.; AVPRI. F.312. Op.575. Spr.2.Zapiski Bukharestskikh i zadunayskikh novostey. Prilozheniya k pis'mam i doneseniya. 1801.

32 RGVIA. F. VUA. Spr. 348.

33 AVPRI. F.69. Op.69/1. Spr.141. Perepiska s generalom Mihel'sonom.

34 Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj imperii. T.23. S. 287-292.

35 Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj imperii. T. 32. S. 316-322.

to themselves as the Danubian Zaporozhians, adhered to Orthodox Christianity and resided in the lands of the Muslim sultan. The documents do not indicate any religion-related conflicts.

Frequent Russo-Turkish wars of the late 18th – early 19th century and, consequently, territorial changes within the state developed in the frontier communities a new behavioural pattern. They paid very little attention to the borders, changed citizenship seeking benefits and privileges on both sides of the imaginary border. Although the Cossacks could fight on opposite sides, in different armies, it did not affect their sense of belonging to the particular Cossack frontier corporation, which has the right for specific living conditions, freedom of movement and adherence to their own specific laws and tradition. This is exactly what the frontier community meant for the local population. Therefore, they agreed to leave Dnipro floodplains and to move to the Danubian islands, but they sought to preserve their customs, the tradition to freely elect their leaders, the freedom of movement despite linear borders, etc. Even war did not build a stable image of an enemy and did not assign to it the traits of native and strange. Thus, fighting on the side of the Russian Army, the Cossacks could seamlessly move to the Ottoman territory upon the termination of war. Everything depended on which state's citizenship could allow for preserving one's own rights.

The Case of the Danube Islands Delimitation to Determine the Border Between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, which started in 1816 and lasted until 1828, was dismissed only due to the outbreak of the subsequent Russo-Turkish War.³⁶ Yet, a clear delimitation did not take place; the islands were being populated, fishermen emerged on both sides of the border, but in the presence of the Russian government officials they identified themselves as Ottoman citizens. This means that they did not look for any particular citizenship.

Consequently, throughout the late 18th – early 19th centuries, the Eurasian Steppe between the Kuban and Danube rivers remained the frontier territory, regardless of the emerging state borders. The frontier people tended to preserve their independence from the state emphasizing the right for *Own territory*, which meant to the Zaporozhian Cossacks a possibility to preserve the frontier traditions.

Due to the specificity of the South Ukraine Steppe landscape, a state border could only be determined by rivers as a form of interstate borders. Yet for people who had always been living on the opposite shores of these rivers, such borders were imaginary, and not real. Environmental conditions and frequent territorial changes ensured the possibility of free movement. Hence, even state borders did not become separating lines. Any attempt to strictly delimitate and determine the borders at the level of international treaties only testified to imaginary union, which made it possible to change religion and stick to that side of the border which under particular circumstances perfectly met the frontier population's requirements. The traits of the frontier as multicultural and multi-religious environment were not only preserved, but even

36 State archives of Odessa Region (Ukraine). F.1. Op.214. Spr. 23, 1816 r.

became more powerful. With the narrowing of the frontier territory, borderline communities actually elaborated interaction practices in order to preserve their traditions which gain the highest significance and are associated with the native, but, most importantly, to prevent government intervention.

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The Northwestern European Frontier of the Ottoman State: The Steppe of Budjak in the Late 18th and the Early 19th Centuries

Olena Bachynska¹ 



Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:
Olena Bachynska (Prof. Dr.), Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Department of History of Ukraine, Odessa, Ukraine.
E-posta: olena_an@ukr.net
ORCID: 0000-0003-0496-5742

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ABSTRACT

In the last quarter of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the territory known as the Steppe of Budjak can be considered as the last European Steppe frontier of the Ottoman state. An important component of this frontier was the policy of active colonization and the involvement of workers from neighboring countries. Such a policy was successfully pursued by the Ottoman state. As a result, various social and ethnic groups settled on the border and influenced the relations between the Ottoman and the Russian Empires. Among these groups, one of the most important was the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks, who created their own autonomous organization on the frontier – the Sich.

Keywords: Frontier, Ottoman State, Steppe of Budjak, Danubian Zaporozhian Cossacks (Potkalı Kazakları), Nekrasov Don Cossacks, Russian Empire



The Steppe of Budjak of the Ottoman State in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century was localized to the territory of the interfluvium of the Dniester and Danube. In the literature, this area is known as Southern Bessarabia and Budjak (or Budzhak), now located in the southwestern part of the Odesa region of Ukraine. This territory was a continuation of the Great Steppe Frontier and the western border of the Great Eurasian Steppe. After the fifteenth century, this Ukrainian frontier became a Christian-Muslim frontier, a zone of military tension that determined the "historical fortune" of all "peoples on the frontier".¹

Among the researchers who studied the Ottoman-Ukrainian Steppe of Budjak within context of the history of particular social or ethnic groups, it is crucial to mention the works of Ukrainian historians A. Bachynsky, O. Sereda and S. Mogulyova², and of Moldavian historians V. Kabuzan, V. Zelenchuk and I. Chirtoage³, and of Turkish historians Feridun Emecen and Alper Başer⁴. The complexity of defining the border on the Danube between the Ottoman and Russian Empires has been mentioned in historiography many times, in particular, in the academic works written by V. Grosul, E. Chertan and others.⁵ Most of these historians con-

- 1 Yaroslav Dashkevych, "Ukrayina na mezhi mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom (XIV-XVIII st.)", *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka*. T.CCXII: Pratsi istoriko - filosofskoyi sektsiyi, 1991, s. 28-44.
- 2 Anatoliy Bachyns'kyi, "Dzherelo dlya vyvchennya istoriyi narodnoyi kolonizatsiyi Budzhats'koho stepu i ponyzzya Dunayu v kintsy XVIII – na pochatku XIX stolittya", *Naukovo-informatsiynyy byuletyn' Arkhivnoho upravlinnya URSSR*, Kyiv 1963, Vol. 4. S. 65–73; Anatoliy Bachyns'kyi, "Edyanskye nohay v stepyakh Nyzhneho Pobuzh'ya" (Tezy dopovidey XV naukovoï konferentsiyi Instytutu arkeolohiyi NAS URSSR, Odesa 1972); Anatoliy Bachyns'kyi, *Sich Zadunays'ka. 1775-1828 rr.: Ystoriya-dokumental'nyy narys*, Odesa 1994; Svitlana Mohul'ova-Kayuk, "Zaporoz'ke kozatstvo i Velykyy Stepovyy kordon", *Istoriya: Dopovidy ta povidomlennya Chetvertoho Mizhnarodnoho konhresu ukraïnistiv*, Odesa; Kyiv; L'viv 1999, Ch. 1, pp. 241 – 247; Olexandr Sereda, *Sylstrensko-Ochakovskyyat eyalet prez XVIII – nach. na XIX v: admynystratyvno-terytorialno ustroystvo, selyshya i naselenye v Severnozapadnoto Prychernomor'ye*, Sofiya 2009; Olexandr Sereda, *Osmans'ko-ukraïns'ke stepove porubizhzhya v osmans'koturets'kykh dzherelakh XVIII st. [= XVIII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Belgeleri Işığında Osmanlı-Ukrayna Bozkır Serhatti]*, Odesa 2015.
- 3 Vladimir Kabuzan, *Narodonaseleniye Bessarabskoy oblasti i Levoberezhnykh rayonov Pridnestrov'ya: konets XVIII – pervaya polovina XIX v.*, Kishinev: Shtiintsa 1974; Valentin Zelenchuk, *Naseleniye Bessarabii i Pridnestrov'ya v XIX v.: Etnicheskiye i sotsial'no-demograficheskiye protsessy*, Kishinev: Shtiintsa 1979; Ivan Kirtoage (Ion Chirtoagă), *Yug Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo mezhdurech'ya pod osmanskim vladychestvom (1484 – 1595)*, Kishinev: Shtiintsa 1992 and other.
- 4 Feridun M. Emecen, "Osmanli arhivni vidomosti pro region Akkerman-Bender-Ochakov i Hodjabey. XVI st." (Document's of Osmanian Archives about the region of Akkerman-Bender-Ochakov and Hodjabey. XVI century), *Chornomor'ska Mynuvshyna* (The Transactions of Department of Cossack History in the South of Ukraine), Volume 13, Odesa 2018, pp. 63-76; Alper Başer, *I Numaralı Özi ve Silistre Ahkam Defterinde Eflak ve Boğdan. pdf* (Records About the Wallachia and Moldavia in the First Ahkam Daftar of Özi Silistre) *I. Uluslararası sosyal Bilimler Arastirmalari kongresi, Bildiriler, Denizli 2015*, pp. 149-156; Alper Başer, "Osmanlı Devleti'ne Sıgınan Potkalı Kazakların İskânlarına ve Faaliyetlerine Dair Gözlemler (1775-1826)". *Uluslararası Türkiye-Ukrayna İlişkileri Sempozyumu: Kazak Dönemi (1500-1800)*. Bildiriler, Çamlıca Yayınları, İstanbul 2015, s. 535-554; Alper Başer, *Bucak Tatarları (1550-1700)*, Afyonkarahisar: Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi 2010 and other.
- 5 Vladislav Grosul, "Bukharestskiy mir 1812 g. i formirovaniye novoy yugo-zapadnoy granitsy Rossii", *Formirovaniye territorii rossiyskogo gosudarstva. XVI - nachalo XX v. (granitsy i geopolitika)*, Moskva 2015: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/v/buharestskiy-mir-1812-g-i-formirovanie-novoy-yugo-zapadnoy-granitsy-rossii>; Vladislav Grosul, "Formirovaniye russko-turetskoy granitsy po Bukharestskomu miru 1812 goda", *Formirovaniye granits Rossii s Turtsiyey i Iranom. XVIII - nachalo XX v.*, Moskva 1979; Evgeniy Chertan, "Novyye dannyye ob ustanovlenii gosudarstvennoy granitsy Rossii po Dunayu v 1813-1817 godakh", *Vekovaya družba*, Kishinev 1961.

cerned themselves with diplomatic negotiations and general European policy, the political situation around the Danube principalities, and the Russo-Turkish wars in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century. This article draws attention to the situation in the life of the local population on the frontier and attempts to resolve it by looking at the Russian and Ottoman authorities. Thus, the purpose of the publication is to highlight the relations of different social and ethnic groups with the administration on the frontier.

The Nature of the Steppe Frontier and Its Management

In the second half of the eighteenth century, as in previous centuries, the territory between the Dniester and Danube rivers was a natural virgin steppe. This area had flooded rivers, Dniester, Prut and Danube, swampy coasts and estuaries which were covered with thickets of reeds. The Dniester-Danube coastline and the Black Sea coast had a whole system of freshwater and salt lakes. The fertile chernozem soil was crossed by dry ravines and covered with bushes. Most of the small rivers that flowed into the Black Sea and the Danube dried up during the summer. Contemporaries have repeatedly noted the weighty impressions after the trip to the steppe. In the middle of the eighteenth century, one of the Turkish travelers wrote that after his long journey "you could not find a stone having the size of a seal, as well as a tree in the length of a finger".⁶ This nature was described by a Russian officer, Alexander Zashchuk: "The space of Budjak ... is a desert; the traveler's eyes will look in vain for an object on which to stop his gaze - no trees, not even mounds". In this desert, "there were nothing but grass and tall weeds; huge herds of wild horses of Budjak Tatars grazed in the steppe; there were very little cultivated and sown fields and they were only near the settlements; the agricultural plow did not cultivate the virgin soil, the plants were belong to those who decided to use them. The man was a temporary guest here, who is afraid to stay in this desert for a long time".⁷ Along with this description of the "virgin wild desert", almost all contemporaries testified the high productivity of the region. Thus, at the beginning of the eighteenth century Dmytro Kantemir noted that these lands "are beautiful in their productivity and surpasses the riches of the mountains".⁸

From the second third of the eighteenth century, the official border between the Russian and the Ottoman states gradually moved to the Danube: after the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774, the border lay along the Southern Bug River, after the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–1791, it lay along the Dniester River, and after the Russo-Turkish War of 1806–1812, the border lay along the Danube.

6 Fillipp Brun, "Rumynskiye knyazhestva i Bessarabiya okolo poloviny XVIII v.", *Zapiski Bessarabskogo oblastnogo statisticheskogo komiteta*, Kishinev 1868, T. 3, pp. 295.

7 Aleksandr Zashchuk, *Bessarabskaya oblast*, S.Peterburg 1862, Ch. 1, pp. 48, 207, 324, 529.

8 Dmitro Kantemir, *Istoricheskoye, geograficheskoye i politicheskoye opisaniye Moldavii s zhizn'yu sochinitelya*, Moskva: Novikov 1987, s.57.

From the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the territory of Budjak was a part of the administrative unit, the eyalet of Ozi (Silistra-Ochakiv) of the Ottoman Empire. The eyalet was heading by *vali* of Silistra. Depending on the situation, the fortresses of Silistra, Akkerman and Ochakiv could have been the center of the eyalet. It was divided into sanjaks - Akkerman, Bender, Silistra and others, which were headed by Sanjakbeys.⁹ The military garrisons of the Ottoman State were stationed in the fortresses of Akkerman, Kiliya, Izmail, and Ren and commanded by officers (*alaybeys*, *seraskers*). While the military operations were going on, *seraskers* commanded the garrisons and troops. There were also stationary rural settlements such as villages, hamlets and other types around the fortresses. These settlements were inhabited by both Christians and Muslims and were subordinated to the heads of administrative units smaller than the sanjak - *kaza*, *nahiye*.¹⁰ The Christian population living in such areas was called *Raiya* (*subjects*): while the residents of the cities were Greeks, Armenians, Moldavians, Ukrainians, Russians, and Bulgarians, in the villages were living mostly Moldovans, Ukrainians and Russians

The Ottoman State had significant territories where there was a different level of social and economic development, dominated by different types of feudalism and mostly military in nature. Without administratively, socially, and economically unification of the state, it was very difficult to control the situation for the central government on the distant frontier of the Empire, which included the lands of Budjak. The crisis that engulfed and weakened the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the eighteenth century, affected not only economic issues, the organization of the army and social system, but also governance in the remote provinces of the empire. Local feudal lords (*ayans*) acted completely independently of the center, controlled most of the lands considering them as their property and had private troops, which were opposed to the state military units. As a result of a number of reforms between the 1760's and 1790's and the unsuccessful struggle of the central government with such a situation in the provinces, the government made concessions to the feudal lords. By the end of the eighteenth century, not only could a head of eyalet, but also a powerful feudal lord could have held the title of Pasha.¹¹ This undermined the discipline in the army; soldiers and officers, who served in fortresses, began to trade, engaged in handicrafts, or simply increased the taxes on the local community. As a result, the population in cities and villages was in the arbitrary control of officials and feudal lords.¹²

At that time, the Budjak Horde was roaming the territory of Budjak. It consisted of the

9 Olexandr Sereda, *Sylstrensko-Ochakovskyyat eyalet prez XVIII-nach. na XIX v: admynstratyvno-terytorialno ustroystvo, selyshta y naselenye v Severnozapidnoto Prychernomorje*, Sofiya 2009, pp. 67-112.

10 Olexandr Sereda, *idid.*, 2009, pp. 227-290.

11 See: Mixail Meyyer, *Osmanskaya imperiya v XVIII v. Cherty strukturnogo krizisa*, Moskva 1991, s. 81-97; *Istoriya Osmanskogo, obshchestva i tsivilizatsii*; pod red. Ekmeleddina Iskhanoğlu, Moskva 2006, s.45-62.

12 A. Tatarchevskiy, "Puteshestviye i deyatel'nost' barona Totta v kachestve konsula v Krymu v 1767 g.", *Universitetskije izvestiya*, Kyiv 1873, № 10, s.2-3.

Nogai tribes and it was mainly their territorial association with the center in the village of Gankishla (Khankishla, Kishla Khanului; now the village of Udobne, Belgorod-Dniestrovsky district, Odessa region). Between the 1760s and 1770s, all *Raiyas* and Nogai tribes made up 55.7% of the steppe population between the Dniester and the Danube.¹³

For the most part, Europeans did not distinguish the Nogais from the Crimean Tatars, they called them Tatars, but in fact ethnically the Nogais had nothing in common with the Crimean Tatars, their appearance, history and lifestyle were different. The Budjak Nogais made their living by cattle-breeding.¹⁴ The steppe of Budjak was an ideal place for cattle-breeding. The plundering of neighboring Ukrainian and Moldavian territories had a crucial place in the life of the Horde. The attacks of the Budjak horde on Ukrainian and Moldavian lands were extremely brutal and destructive. The presence of fortresses provided the Nogais, firstly a protection from persecution, and secondly, an ability to easily get rid of looted property and captives. The captives, in most cases, were sold as slaves by the Nogais and were used in the farms.

With the entrance of Russian troops into the territory of Budjak in 1806 and its annexation to the Russian Empire in 1812, most of the Nogais migrated to Tavria (Crimea) on Molochnye Vody.

All this information shows that the natural conditions of the region provided an opportunity for the development of agriculture and livestock, for the production of agricultural products, but during the second third of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, they were not fully utilized, and the central government's control over the local regions was weak.

Real Life in the Steppe Frontier of Budjak

In the eighteenth century, the Ottoman government adopted a specific policy towards the frontier of Budjak. In our view, there were *two interrelated components (directions)* of this policy. Each, in its own way, aimed to strengthen the Ottoman authority on the frontier and to colonize the Steppe.

The first direction was carried out by the official institutions and the government of the Ottoman state. It was characterized by the desire to leave the Nogais in the region. *The second direction* was embodied by the local Ottoman administration and the feudal lords. It was defined by the attempts to attract and retain by all possible means (benefits, hiring, captivity, hiding, sale, etc.) cheap labor in the region and, accordingly, in their own farms. As a result of this, the local Ottoman administration often controlled the fugitive settlements in the territory. The population who fled to Budjak, escaped the serfdom of the Russian and the

13 Anatoliy Bachyns'kyi, idid., 1972, s. 416; Olexandr Sereda, idid., 2009. pp. 67-112; Pavel Dmitriyev, *Narodonaseleniye Moldavii: po materialam perezpisey 1772–1773, 1774 i 1803 gg.*, Kishinev: Shtiintsa 1973, s.33.

14 Elena Druzhinina, *Kyuchuk-Kaynardzhiyskiy mir 1774 goda. (Ego podgotovka i zaklyucheniye)*, Moskva 1955, s. 42-43.

Austrian Empire. However, the only real right that the fugitives acquired was to sell their labor. Most of the population became wage laborers on the farms of the Ottoman feudal lords and local rich people. Often, fugitives hired by an owner were quickly recruited by another or they wandered across different parts of the frontier in search of work. Thus, the local administration unconsciously pursued a policy of settlement and development of the frontier. It is possible to find the several examples of this policy within the documents of the diplomatic structures of the Ottoman state and Russia, as well as examples of biographies of the inhabitants of the frontier.

The Ukrainians and other populations of the neighboring territories with Budjak were the supplier of labor, which directly developed the lands of the frontier. One of the events that led to the appearance of such workers in the region was the Russo-Turkish war of 1735-1739. Throughout the war, the Budjak Horde conducted military operations directly in the territory of Budjak with regular units of the Russian army and the Zaporozian Cossacks raiding the Ukrainian border lands and capturing the local population (captives were called "yasir").¹⁵ Sometimes the "yasir" fought back. Thus, in 1736 the Cossacks fought back and 7,000 captives were taken from Ukrainian lands, but some of the captives remained with the Horde.¹⁶ Ottoman merchants were also the helpers of the Ottoman administration, they would hire the Cossacks and peasants for various jobs and would cross the Russian-Turkish border with them. They would come to the lands of the frontier, but then merchants often left them to their fate or sold them. In 1734, the Russian ambassador of Constantinople (Istanbul), Ivan Nepluev informed the General Military Bureau about these Ottoman merchants: "they transported the Cossacks to the Ottoman state and left them there". Almost at the same time, the General Military Bureau noted that "Greek and Bulgarian merchants took our subjects - Ukrainians with them to the Ottoman state".¹⁷ These subjects called themselves Wallachians and Serbs and they crossed the border. So, the Zaporozhian Cossack K. Savlyushenko hired a merchant who went to Akkerman. When they arrived at the city, the merchant sold him to Turk Yusuf, for whom Savlyushenko worked for 12 years. Another Cossack, I. Kostenko, was his captive companion.¹⁸ The Russian authorities tried to return their subjects, but the serasker of Budjak, sabotaged the implementation of agreements on the mutual transfer of fugitives and captives.

15 "Vsepoddaneyshiye doneseniya gr. Minikha. Ch. 1: Doneseniya 1736–1737 gg.", *Sbornik voyenno-istoricheskikh materialov*; pod red. A. Z. Myshlayevskogo, S.Peterburg 1902, Vyp. XII, ss.133, 147, 151; Vsepoddaneyshiye doneseniya gr. Minikha, Ch. 3: "Doneseniya 1739 goda i generalitetskiye rassuzhdeniya", *Sbornik voyenno-istoricheskikh materialov*; pod red. A. Z. Myshlayevskogo, S.Peterburg 1903, Vyp. XIII, ss. 231-232, 258-260.

16 Olexander Gurzhiy, Taras Chukhlib, *Get'mans'ka Ukraina*, Kyiv 1999, s.178 (Gurzhiy, Chukhlib).

17 Foreign policy archives of the Russian Empire (Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii (AVPRI)), f. 69, spr. 272, ark. 213.

18 Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoy Rossii, izdavayemyy Vremennoyu komissiyey dlya razbora drevnikh aktov, vysochayshe utverzhdennoy pri Kiyevskom voyennom, Podol'skom i Volynskom general-gubernatore, T.III: Akti pro gaydamakiv (1700-1768), Kyiv 1876, s.404-405.

It should be noted that the Ottoman government, seeking to secure the southern steppes, also issued official orders for the frontier to attract people from neighboring countries to these areas. Cossack Osavul (Colonel) Vasyl Reshetov informed the Kyiv Provincial bureau in March 1761. According to the information, the local Ottoman administration had been instructed to take care of the settlement of the land. Those who agreed to the transition were offered various benefits and "tax relief with useful rules". For this reason, V. Reshetov reported that the refugees on the frontier settled from the territories of Slobidska, South and Right-Bank Ukraine and "those people are moving from these territories quickly," and their settlements were actively increasing.¹⁹

Despite the numerous conventions and agreements made in the second half of the eighteenth century between Russia and Turkey on the return of prisoners and fugitives - including Articles of the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji (*Küçük Kaynarca Antlaşması*) of 1774, which specifically took into account the bilateral extradition of fugitives, etc. - they were not fully implemented.²⁰

The Russian government also provided special instructions for the identification and return of fugitives from the frontier.²¹ These measures were coordinated with the governments of Moldavia, Wallachia and the Ottoman administration of Budjak. During the years 1779 and 1780, the Russian administration promised several benefits and privileges in manifestos, called for the return of those who were in various circumstances in the Steppe of Budjak, including "ordinary ranks of the military regular and irregular units, state's and landowner's peasants, the Zaporozhian Cossacks and the Ukrainians from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth" (*Rzeczpospolita*). These Ukrainians who decided to take advantage of the Russian government's proposals also tried to get land.²²

Attempts initiated by the Russian diplomats to return the fugitives were partly unsuccessful, because they were hiding in Budjak's "Tatar villages".²³ During the interrogation of one of the caught fugitives, it turned out that the locals had given them the following advice: "do not roam in different places and do not wear Russian clothes, but look like Moldovans, both in clothes and hair".²⁴

19 Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv (Tsentrāl'nyy derzhavnyy istorychnyy arkhiv Ukrayiny, m. Kyiv), f. 59, spr. 4654, ark. 48-48 zv.

20 Elena Druzhinina. Kyuchuk-Kaynardzhiyskiy mir 1774 goda. (Ego podgotovka i zaklyucheniye), Moskva 1955, ss. 350, 357-358.

21 Dokumente privind istoria Romaniei. Colectia eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki. Vol. 1: Raporte conculare Ruse (1770 - 1796), București 1962, p. 70.

22 Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv (Tsentrāl'nyy derzhavnyy istorychnyy arkhiv Ukrayiny, m. Kyiv), f. 1820, spr.6, ark.5-28.

23 Foreign policy archives of the Russian Empire (Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii (AVPRI)), f. 69, spr. 200, ark. 48-49 zv.

24 Idid., f. 69, spr. 246, ark.250.

Despite protests of Russian diplomats, Turkish border authorities continued to receive Russian fugitives. To sum up, in a report written in December 1801, the chief of the Russian border outpost, Brigadier Katarzhi, said that the leaders of the Russian regiments on the Ottoman border reported that "half of the fugitives had not returned yet".²⁵

The Cossack Factor of the Frontier

The Ottoman state conducted a specific policy towards the Zaporozhian Cossacks. The poor Zaporozhian Cossacks were fishing in large groups in Budjak during the existence of the New Zaporozhian Sich between 1734 and 1775. Seasonal work especially was frequent.²⁶ In April 1755, the governor-general of Kyiv emphasized that "after the opening of the water, a large number of Zaporozhian Cossacks sailed to the Ottoman lands for fishing".²⁷ An unknown author, in the middle of the eighteenth century also noted that they "served as day laborers for the inhabitants of Ochakov, Akkerman, Bender and Kiliya"²⁸. Another unknown author that lived in the middle of the eighteenth century also mentioned that in addition to fishing, they "served as mercenaries for the inhabitants of Ochakov, Akkerman, Bender and Kiliya". In 1775, the New Zaporozhian Sich was destroyed by Russian troops, and some of the Cossacks moved to the territory of the Ottoman state.

Hence, the Steppe frontier was constantly narrowed due to the colonization of the Russian Empire, it was losing its typical features and the possibility of further strictly unregulated ways of life. So Budjak in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century most corresponded to the conditions of the Great Steppe Border, which was well known to the Zaporozhian Cossacks. It was this border and the steppe that became an area possible for the restoration of economic and state-building traditions for them.²⁹ This was facilitated by the policy of the Ottoman state. In August 1778, the question of the political situation of the Cossacks was resolved: the sultan's government, despite the protests of Russia, officially accepted the Cossacks under its jurisdiction. In September 1778, the Russian Colonel Repninsky announced that a Sich on the Dniester was intended to be established by the Ottoman authorities, for which "a place was determined between Bender and Akkerman",

25 Anatoliy Bachynskyy, *Narodnaya kolonizatsyya Prydnunayskykh stepey v XVIII – nachale XIX vv.: Dys. ... kand. yst. nauk* (Odesa: I. I. Mechnikov National University, Ukraine, Odesa 1969, s.134).

26 Volodymyr Holobuts'kyy, *Zaporoz'ka Sich v ostanni chasy svoho isnuvannya.1734-1775*. Kyiv: Vyd-vo ANURSR, 1961. S.58-67.

27 Anatoliy Bachynskyy, *idid.*, 1969, s. 92; Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv (Tsentral'nyy derzhavnyy istorychnyy arkhiv Ukrayiny, m. Kyiv), f.59, spr. 2584, ark.2-3.

28 Mixail Guboglu, "Turetskiy istochnik 1740 g. o Valakhii, Moldavii i Ukraine", *Vostochnyye istochniki po istorii narodov Yugo-Vostochnoy i Tsentral'noy Evropy*, Moskva 1964, s. 146; Fillipp Brun, *Krym v polovine XVIII v.*, Odesa 1867, s.5.

29 Olena Bachyns'ka, "Prydnunays'kyy kray – terytoriya vidnovlennya derzhavotvorchykh tradytsiy ukrayins'koho kozatstva naprykintsi XVIII-XIX st.", *Naukovi zapysky: Zb. prats' molodykh vchenykh i aspirantiv*, Kyiv 2001, T.6, ss. 263-274.

namely in Kuchurgan, the Cossacks were provided with weapons and horses. Colonel Gnat was appointed as Koshovyi, who received the rank of two bunchuks (horse tails) pasha, but the real establishment of the Sich as an autonomous organization did not come. In the light of these events, the government of empress Catherine II gave instructions to the ambassador of Constantinople O. Stakhiev in which she demanded that the sultan extradite the Cossacks and fugitives of Russian subjects. In case of refusal, O. Stakhiev was allowed to offer the sultan's government the relocation of the Cossacks across the Danube in exchange for the transfer of Ochakiv to the Ottoman state.³⁰

When the Cossacks, who sought happiness on the Dniester and the Danube, were presented, they told their stories about themselves. For example, Dmytro Kapinos, the Danube Cossack, said that he and his father and his brother joined the Black Sea Army, where "the Kish otaman (chief Cossack post) was Zakxaryi Chepiga, the judge was Anton Holovaty.... ." His father and two brothers were sent to serve in the flotilla. During the storm of Ochakov, Dmitry's father was wounded and died in Kinburn. After the capture of Ochakov, some Cossacks went to the Kuban and, but some of them refused to go there and went into Turkish possession. His uncle Ivan Kapinos had his own boat so he took his brothers across the Danube." Another Danube Cossack, Josip Bilyi, was born in 1759 in Kharkiv. In 1771, he went to the Zaporozhian Sich with the Cossack Chumaks. After its destruction, he ran away to "Kherson and worked there for two years", and then he came to Stanislav. In 1787, he "enlisted with the Cossacks under the command of Sidor Bily and served until the end of the war." He participated in the assault on Ochakov, where he was wounded, and when the Cossacks went to Kuban, he remained in Galati and fished near Akkerman and Izmail along with many other Black Sea Cossacks.³¹

The Russo-Turkish wars in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century not only changed the state borders between the Ottoman state and the Russian Empire, but also made adjustments to the daily life of the population of the Steppe of Budjak. It started the migration processes in Budjak, because during the hostilities the population had to save lives, and then resume life under the policy of a new state - Russia.

Two groups of the Cossacks lived in the territory of Budjak; Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks and Russian Old Believers. The first group is known as the Danubian (Turkish or Ukrainian) Zaporozhian Cossacks (Potkali Kazakları) the second one is called the Nekrasov Don Cossacks. Most of the settlements of these groups of Cossacks were located in the borders and their economic activities were associated with fishing at the estuary of the Dniester and Danube rivers. According to many researchers, the relationship between these two groups was different. They

30 Olena Bachynska, *Kozatstvo v "pislyakozats'ku dobu" ukrayins'koyi istoriyi (kinets' XVIII – XIX st.)*, Odesa: Astroprint 2009, s.92.

31 Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv (Tsentral'nyy derzhavnyy istorychnyy arkhiv Ukrayiny, m. Kyiv), f. 245, spr. 8, ch.1, ark. 344-345.

had disputes over fishing grounds, but they did not have conflict over religious issues. At the same time, the relations between the Zaporozhian and Nekrasov Cossacks were affected by the crisis in the middle of the Ottoman possessions of the 1780s and the early nineteenth century, associated with the reform of Sultan Selim III (1789-1808) in the fields of administration, economy and military affairs. At that time, strong and arbitrary ayans appeared who did not support the reforms and weakened the authority of the central government. Among the opponents of the reforms in Izmail there were two bunchuks (horse tails) Pasha and Ibrahim Peglevan. The Danubian Cossacks fought as part of the Ottoman army with these feudal lords for more than eight years, along with the leaders in Dobrudja and Rumelia. In return for this, the Nekrasov Cossacks supported Ibrahim Peglevan. According to Mykola Dibrova of the Danube Cossacks, Pasha Peglevan, to whom the Nekrasov Cossacks were subordinated, "did not give peace, all the Cossacks (Ukrainian Cossacks) moved to Vilkovo and to the other lands assigned to them by the Braille Nazir and lived there for up to three years".³² After the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-1812, they went to the main center of Nekrasov Cossacks' settlements, the village of Verkhniy Dunavets at the mouth of St. George, and occupied it. In this village, Sich was established (now the village of Verkhniy Dunavets (Dunavățu de Sus) in Tulcea County, Romania).

The Peace of Bucharest of 1812 did not clearly define how the border between the two states should lie along the estuary of Danube. It is notable that the establishment of the border at the estuary of the Danube faced with resistance from both the Russian and the Ottoman sides. Nekrasov Cossacks and Turkish Ukrainian Cossacks, who were helped by the locals of Vilkovo with "shouts, curses and ridicule" broke the established boundaries.³³ Obviously, this situation was a microhistorical case of the frontier. The Cossacks had struggles in preserving the traditional economic life but later it influenced the military-political situation in the region and became the subject of diplomatic disputes until the new Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829. The local authorities of both countries were directly involved in the regulation of difficult relations between the local population on the right and left banks of the Danube and tried to draw a line of demarcation, despite the hard conditions. The documents reveal the daily life events at the border: the movement of Nekrasov and Zaporozhian Cossacks or the local population; correspondence between the leaders of the Danube Flotilla, captain S. Popandopulo, and the two bunchuks (horse tails) pasha of Tulcea Pasha Yunus. Thus, after July 1817 in particular, the Russian border services were informing about the settlements of the Nekrasov Cossacks on the islands of the Kiliya estuaries, which had to remain neutral. Despite the difficult relations between the Nekrasov and the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks on the islands of the Danube Delta, they fished peacefully together, and it is likely that the Russian and Ottoman officials created tension for them by constantly interfering in their economic affairs by fulfilling the terms of the peace treaty.³⁴

32 Olena Bachyns'ka, *idid.*, 2009, s.108.

33 National Archives of the Republic of Moldova (Arhiva Națională a Republicii Moldova), f.2, spr. 220, ark. 56,159.

34 State archives of Odesa region (Derzharkhiv Odes'koyi oblasti), f.1, op. 218, spr.17 (1826).

At the same time, the Russian Empire was preparing for a new war with the Ottoman state, and as early as 1821, the General Russian Command worked out projects and routes for the Russian army to the Danube and the Balkans. In 1826, these plans intensified due to growing European attention to the Greek question. The problems that Russian military leaders faced were the small number of flotillas they could send to the Danube Theater of War, the inability to maneuver at the estuary of the Danube, the lack of knowledge about the floodplains, straits, shallow channels and the territory of future battles. At the same time, the Danubian Cossacks had such knowledge, as well as light boats (Chajky), and, according to the researchers, the position they had in the Ottoman army thanks to their military skills, made it possible to block the actions of the Russian army. This was confirmed by the correspondence of the Chief of the General Staff of Russian troops I. Dibich with the Novorossiysk Governor-General Mikhail Vorontsov in 1826. Thus, I. Dibich noted that the Danubian Zaporozian Cossacks "could cause significant damage in the rear of the army if it moves to Varna and Shumla". He further asked for information about the Danubian Zaporozian Cossacks and proposals for measures "in case of war with the Ottoman state, which could be carried to exterminate or relocate these Cossacks to the Russian Empire".³⁵ After the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829, the Steppe Frontier finally disappeared.

Thus, in the last quarter of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century in the north-west of the Ottoman state there was a territory that could be characterized as the last European steppe frontier. In historical literature, this area is known as Steppe of Budjak. The Ottoman state conducted a specific policy of colonization in this territory. On the one hand it had to implement the provisions of peace treaties with the Russian Empire and extradite the Russian subjects, on the other hand, the local Ottoman officials and feudal lords were interested in using fugitives from Russian territories as labour in their farms. As a result, the territory of the frontier had a very mobile and conditional border, which created a tense situation on its demarcation, especially the estuary of the Danube between the two Russo-Turkish wars of 1806-1812 and 1828-1829. The Cossacks became important in the relations in the Budjak's frontier and in the existence of the official border. The Turkish Zaporozian Cossacks tried to restore their autonomous organization (Sich), and this contributed to the emergence of a significant number of residents from neighboring territories of Budjak. The relations between the Zaporozhian and Nekrasov Cossacks, who lived on the border and the Ottoman and Russian villages and fortresses created the specifics of this frontier. The daily life of these people was disrupted by big politics, and they tried to preserve their old traditions and adapt new conditions by all possible means, but this did not often satisfy the local border administration of the Ottoman and Russian states.

35 Ibid., ark.115.

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Slavic-Turkic Relations in the Steppe Frontier in Local Historiography in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries

Liudmyla Novikova¹ 



¹Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:
Liudmyla Novikova (Assoc. Prof.), II
Mechnikov Odessa National University,
Faculty of History and Philosophy,
Department of History, Ukraine.
E-posta: novikova@onu.edu.ua
ORCID: 0000-0003-4764-7867

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with the process of the forming of a special historiography approach as Frontier one in historical science in the Russian empire in the 19–early 20th centuries and partly in the post-imperial period in the circumstances of rising national states. This was chosen for the analytical authors who represented the Frontier studies, exploring mostly Slobids'ka (Sloboda) Ukraine and Southern Ukraine, which the geographical situation influenced their history and allowed them to determine the Frontier historiography approach.

Keywords: Slobids'ka (Sloboda) Ukraine, Southern Ukraine, Dmytro Ivanovych Bahaliy, Apollon Olexandrovych Skal'kovs'kyi, Frontier Historiography Approach In 19–Early 20th Centuries

The problem of social relations in the area of the Slavic-Turkic frontier in Eastern Europe had existed historically for several centuries. A special role in its revealing and theoretical understanding was played by local Russian (imperial) and Ukrainian historiography in the 19th – the early 20th century. That was determined by the fact that the factor of these relations, although it also had a huge impact on the history of the state and people as more general categories, most affected the history of the certain (frontier, edge) regions of the state and/or ethnic territory (particularly for the Ukrainian people), formed their borders, defined the specifics of socio-economic development, social structure and so on. Developed in that period, theoretical approaches for their time were marked with methodological novelty and determined to solve major historical issues. The historical facts introduced into scientific and public circulation covered a specific picture of society life, peculiar to Slavic-Turkic frontier.

Selected for the research problem concerns the coverage in the local Russian empire and post-empire historiography of the 19th – early 20th century the issue of the historic frontier interaction. Researchers have not sufficiently investigated this theme, although there was a certain complex of works dedicated to historians who in one way or another covered different aspects of frontier interaction or confrontation with Turkic peoples. However, often the frontier theme is “hiding” in the works of historians of the 19th and early 20th centuries behind other concepts: different interpretations of “regional” or local history (for example so called “oblast” one), the history of colonization (settlement) of certain territories, national history, and finally the frontier problematics existed in historiography but marginalised.

The purpose of this study is to consider the topic of frontier Slavic-Turkic interactions and its consequences in the writings of historians, who represents the local history in the 19th and early 20th centuries, to clarify the peculiarities of the coverage of the problem with researchers of the history of mostly Slobids’ka Ukraine and Southern Ukraine (on examples by works of famous historians Apollon O(A)lexandrovych Skal’kovs’kyi and Dmytro Ivanovych Bahaliy).

Historiographic and historical aspects of the problem of Slavic-Turkic relations were already partly covered in our works. Some aspects of problems are revealed in writings devoted to the works by A. O. Skal’kovs’kyi, as well as D. I. Bahaliy. The latter is considered by researchers as a historian of Ukraine, and as a regional researcher as well, in particular,

of Slobids'ka Ukraine (in the works of V. V. Kravchenko, O. M. Bogdashina, P. D. Pyrig, etc.)¹. Although the researchers mainly emphasize on A. O. Skal'kovs'kyi and D. I. Bahaliy's contribution to the history of studying of the colonization (as settlement of a certain territory) (especially by Ukrainian people), at the same time they touch the issue that colonization, described by the historians, was carried out as a kind of "Reconquista" the territory from Tatars (the term used by V. V. Kravchenko). O. M. Bogdashyna drew attention to the fact that D. I. Bahaliy regarded his name of Turkic origin, which means "lucid" or "expensive"². This fact was in favour of the fact that the problem of the frontier, obviously, was for this historian not only historical but personal to some extent.

1. Searching the Theoretical Approaches: the "Border" and Connection between Regional ("Oblast") and Frontier Histories

The problem of Slavic-Turkic frontier was formed in historiography in the 19th century gradually. Significant role in this process played the analysis of specific historical circumstances and historical methodology (romanticism, positivism), which, regardless of character, often acknowledged a large role of geographical factors in history. In the Russian historiography quite bright the frontier view in connection with the geographical factor expressed in the works of Sergii Mykhailovych Solovyov, who opposed the "forest" Moscow State towards steppe, and most importantly, that he specified in the 1860-ies the fact that Rus' (Kyivan) was founded in "field [to be exact, "pol's'ka", which sounded like "Polish" in Russian] (steppe) ukraina (in historian view it was term for borderland or territory edge)", or in "Dnieper Steppe

1 Vladimir Vasilievich Kravchenko, *Dmitrii Ivanovich Bagalei: nauchnaia i obshchestvenno-politicheskaia deiatelnost'*, Kharkov: Osnova 1990. 176 p.; Volodymyr Vasyliovych Kravchenko, "Slavnykh pradivid velykykh...", *D. I. Bagaliy, Istoriia Slobids'koi Ukrainy*, Kharkiv: Osnova 1991, pp. 6-12 (Kravchenko, Slavnykh pradivid); Volodymyr Vasyliovych Kravchenko, "D. I. Bahaliy: shliakh zolotoi seredyny (do 140-richchia z dnia narodzhennia", *Drjevnosti. Harkovskij istoriko-arheologičeskij ežegodnik*, Kharkov 1999, [vol.] 1997-1998, pp. 16-40 (Kravchenko, D. I. Bahaliy: shliakh); Olena Mykolaivna Bogdashyna, "Slobids'kyi litopysec' istorii Ukrainy D. I. Bagaliy", *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 2008, № 1, pp. 88-112 (Bogdashyna, Slobids'kyi litopysec'); Olena Mykolaivna Bogdashyna, "D. I. Bagaliy u suchasni ukrains'kii istoriografii", *Visnyk Kharkivs'kogo natsional'nogo universitetu imeni V. N. Karazina. Serija: Istoriia Ukrainy. Ukrainoznavstvo: isnorychni ta filosof's'ki nauky*, 2017, vol. 25, pp. 98-107 (Bogdashyna, D. I. Bagaliy u suchasni); Petro Pyrig, "D. I. Bahaliy iak doslidnyk istorii Slobozhanshchyny", *Akademiia pamiaty professora Volodymyra Antonovycha*, Kyiv 1994, pp. 193-201; Liudmyla Novikova, «*Istoriograph*» Apollon Skal'kovs'kyi: intelektual'na apologia impers'koi polityky ta regional'noi istorychnoi samobutnosti, Odesa: Odes'kyi natsional'nyi universytet 2012, 463 p. (Novikova, «Istoriograph» Apollon Skal'kovs'kyi); Liudmyla Novikova, "Kryms'kyi chynnyk v istorii kozatstva u zobrazhenni istoriykiv pershoi polovyny XIX st.", *Chornomors'ka mynuvshyna*, Odesa 2010, vol. 5, pp. 52-60 (Novikova, Kryms'kyi chynnyk); Liudmyla Novikova, "Khadzhybeis'ka tematyka v pratsiakh odes'kogo doslidnyka A. O. Skal'kovs'kogo (1808-1898)", «*Kochubeiv-Khadzhybei-Odesa: materialy Pershoi Vseukrains'koi naukovi konferencii, prysviachenoj 600-chchu mista, m. Odesa, 28-29 travnia 2015 r.*, Odesa 2015, pp. 99-102 (Novikova, Khadzhybeis'ka tematyka); Liudmyla Novikova, "Pravo volodyty terytoriiu «Bessarabii» u XX " na pochatku XX st.: skladne perepletinnia argumentiv zatsikavlenykh storin v umovakh regionu-frontyru", *Chornomors'ka mynuvshyna*, Odesa 2017, vol. 12, pp. 78-100 (Novikova, Pravo volodyty terytoriiu).

2 Kravchenko, Slavnykh pradivid, p. 6; Bogdashyna, Slobids'kyi litopysec', p. 90.

Ukraina”³. The other historians also appealed to the category of “ukraina” (as a territory edge) or “Steppe”, which was both a geographical concept and political, and D. I. Bahaliy on the first view directly repeats the opinion of S. M. Solovyov, although he comes to it, obviously, by himself, through the analysis of sources. The very same S. M. Solovyov could draw attention to the problem of the “Steppe” due to the work of such historians as A. O. Skal’kovs’kyi – if to match the chronology of works by all mentioned historians (A. O. Skal’kovs’kyi started to study the history of Steppe in 1830-ies)⁴.

The term “frontier”, which we use for the characteristics for views of part of researchers on the history of Slobids’ka and Southern Ukraine in the 19th – early 20th centuries, is, at the first view, a certain modernization. On the other hand, we have mentioned the attempts of the historians of that time to make some methodology, and a big role in this process that D. I. Bahaliy has played. He theoretically tried to outline the historical problems of the border history (as the border, first of all, of Rus’ and Russian state and also peoples (including Ukrainians) with the Tatar (or Turkic) steppe, and to give it a specific interpretation in the late 19th century and later during the Ukrainian national-democratic revolution of 1917-1921.

D. I. Bahaliy is regarded traditionally as a representative of the regional (“oblast”) school in historiography (the Kyiv historical school of professor Volodymyr Bonifatiyovych Antonovych (the teacher of D. I. Bahaliy) and Kharkiv documentary school as her branch)⁵. We assume that the concept of “regional” (“oblast”) historiography in V. B. Antonovych’s interpretation associated primarily with the period of Rus’ (Kyivan Rus’) and exploring the history of regions of Rus’ could be only a preparatory stage for the transition to the history of the frontiers, the same for D. I. Bahaliy’s studies. For example, in the regional (“oblast”) school of V. B. Antonovych researchers paid attention to the areas of the Rus’, their colonization (settlement) and confrontation with Polovtsians (Cumans), that is, the works of “oblast” approach also had a certain element of the “frontier approach”, but within one historical period, and the confrontations with the Pechenigs and Polovtsians were considered as one of the factors of the formation of a concrete part of the boundaries of borders of the lands-principalities of Rus’.

Research similar to the works of honour by D. I. Bahaliy A. O. Skal’kovs’kyi, of D. I. Bahaliy himself, written on the history of Slobids’ka and the Southern Ukraine, can be attributed as to the regional direction (in one or another sense)⁶, as to the frontier approach, especially in the case of D. I. Bahaliy, who investigated the moveable during the centuries borders of the Russian state and Slobods’ka Ukraine with a so called Wild Field (“Dyke Pole”) – territory of the Tatar residence. It has been proving, firstly, chronologically: they mostly cover other historical

3 Liudmyla Novikova, “Pytannia pokhodzennia, sutnosti ta istorii kozatstva v pratsiakh rosiis’kogo istoryka S. M. Solovyova”, *Chornomors’ka mynuvshyna*, Odesa 2011, vol. 6. p. 83.

4 A. A. Skal’kovskii, *Khronologicheskoe obozrieniie istori Novorossiiskogo kraia*, Odesa: V Gor. tip. 1836, t. 1. p. 3 (A. A. Skal’kovskii, *Khronologicheskoe obozrieniie*).

5 Kravchenko, D. I. Bahaliy: shliakh, pp. 16-40.

6 Kravchenko, *ibid.*, p. 20.

periods than the times of Rus', and secondly, they define the specifics of the border areas by identifying the role of the Turkic-Slavic relations in the historical conditions "after Rus'". The frontier features of works, especially of D. I. Bahaliy, is most vivid reflected in using of special terms (as we have mentioned for S. M. Solovyov before) – "pol'ska (i.e. "field" (as field, that is on the border with the "Wild Field") ukraina" (here – "borderland, edge").

Taking into consideration the proposed relationship between regional (as "oblast") and frontier research, the sources of D. I. Bahaliy's frontier approach can be more understandable due to his student work, written under the leadership of V. B. Antonovych. It is in this work called "History of the Severia [Severskaya] land until the mid-14th century" (1882)⁷ D. I. Bagaliy, for the first time examines the problem of the influence of relations between the Slavs and Polovtsians (Cumans) in the history of this region. The text of the work allows one to get acquainted with the origins of the historian's attitude to the problem of influence of Slavic-Turkic relations on the moving border between the Steppes and Rus'. These issues have been integrated into more common problems of Severia [Severskaya] land boundaries and their changes.

The appeal of this work allows one to better understand the later attitude of the historian to the spread of Moscow state, due to the Wild Field and to the creation of Slobids'ka Ukraine as a process of some kind of "Reconquista" (by exact expression of V. V. Kravchenko towards understanding this process by D. I. Bahaliy)⁸. Thus, in chapter 4 of D. I. Bagaliy's book named "Geography and colonization of the Severia [Severskaya] land from the mid-9th to the middle of the 13th century" the author, based on the "The Tale of Igor's Campaign", concluded that in the 12th century (when events reflected in the historical source took place), the boundary between the ancient Rus' lands and Polovtsians (Cumans)' places of nomadic life was Seversky Donets-Oskol watershed, and Donets as a frontier town of the Kursk' principality the historian placed on the Seversky Donets⁹. He further notes that «it is clear» that in the Don Basin the Slavic and predominantly Severyan population lived (which, according to D. I. Bahaliy, gave the name to Seversky Donets river). The historian further continued his thought: "This population served as a mediator between the purely Severyan population of the Desna river region and Sula river region and the remote Tmutarakan" [Black Sea-Azov region] and expanded there after successful wars Kyivan Rus' princes against Khazars. But in the 12th century the Polovtsians (Cumans) appeared and the situation had changed. Before there were Pechenigs who interfered with the ties with the Black Sea and Azov sea regions but they were politically weak. Against Polovtsians two century princes of Rus' made military campaigns, which had only temporary success. Consequently, the Rus' population was forced to retreat to the

7 D. Bagaley, *Istoriia Severskoi zemli do poloviny XIV st.*, Kiev: V universitetskoi tipografii (I. I. Zavadskogo) 1882, I, 310, 2, II p. (Bagaley, *Istoriia Severskoi*); Kravchenko, D. I. Bahaliy: shliakh, p. 18.

8 Kravchenko, Slavnykh pradidiv, p. 6.

9 Bagaley, *Istoriia Severskoi*, p. 130-131.

north. D. I. Bagaliy made the conclusion that due to these circumstances Rus' population on the Don and its tributaries had to disappear from there or mingle with Polovtsians and Rus' settlements on the coast of the seas were "wiped" by nomads. The place earlier owned by Slavs, now for them became "the unknown land", but it left, according to the historian, in the 12th century the appropriate historical memoirs¹⁰.

2. Arising A Frontier Theory: D. I. Bagaliy's Experience and Contribution

A little later in his "Essays from the history of colonization of the steppe outskirts of the Moscow state" (1887) D. I. Bagaliy has formulated its broad concept of the Frontier, which coexists with the concept of colonization of the so-called territory "outskirts" ("okrainas, ukrainas") of Moscow (Russian) state. Formulating his object of study, historian, quite similar, as stated above, with the views of S. M. Solovyov, noted that the term of "steppe or "po'skaya" (i.e. "field") ukraina in [historical] acts is understood as the border of Moscow state adjacent to the Volga, Don and Dnieper steppes". He defined his subject of study as part of that Steppe outskirts, "which lies on the boundary of Donets and Dnieper basin, where now are Voronezh, Kursk and the Kharkiv prov."¹¹ At the same time, the historian in this work, and in others his works goes beyond the outlined subject of the research, which included Slobids'ka Ukraine, and appeals to the Right-bank Ukraine, and to the Southern Ukraine.

Frontier approach demanded that the historian explored the issue of ownership of the territory of Wild Field (or Steppe). He drew his attention to the fact that the Wild Field with its resources was the subject of attention for the Tatars, as well as having significant strategic importance for the Crimean Khanate. To clarify the boundaries of the Wild Field D. I. Bagaliy referred to historical sources of the second half of the 17th century, stressing that the true Tatar steppe began in what in his time was the territory of Ekaterinoslav province (where the most far posts of Moscow guards ("stanichniks") were situated in 16th and 17th centuries)¹².

The right of Moscow (Russian) state and people's (including Ukrainians) colonization to spread the boundaries to the south at the expense of territories that were the object of interest to the Tatars too, D. I. Bagaliy determined on the basis of the defending point of view of earlier Rus' possession of territory of the Wild Field. We met already this opinion in his student work of 1882. Later D. I. Bagaliy repeatedly tries to emphasize the existence of a certain population behind the borders of the Moscow State in the pre-Mongolian period, which allows him to interpret the spreading of the Moscow state's borders to the south as a "return" of the territories: it is worthy to note that Moscow State in Russian historiography

10 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 133-134.

11 Dmitrii Ivanovich Bagaley, *Ocherki iz istorii kolonizatsii stepnoi okrainy Moskovskogo gosudarstva. Izdanie imp. Obshchestva istorii i drevnosti Rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete*, Moskva: V Universitet. tip. (M. Katkov) 1887, p. I (Bagaley, *Ocherki iz istorii kolonizatsii*).

12 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 285, 289.

often regarded as heiress of ancient Rus'. The same idea was developed by the historian when he paid his attention to establishing new settlements in places of the so-called "gorodisches", i. e. destroyed and abandoned settlements, that existed before.

An important factor in the proliferation or restriction of state and people colonization and spreading the frontiers to the south to the Wild Field (Steppe), D. I. Bagaliy considers the danger of Tatar attacks. He asks questions, whether the Tatar danger existed, whether the fight against it, which pulled on a lot of state and people resources, was justified and Tatar danger really was a significant factor in the life of the Frontier, of the history of the Moscow State, the Commonwealth, Ukrainian and Russian peoples. Therefore, he paid much attention to clarify this issue and justification for state policy and people colonization.

It should be noted that in historiography of that time there were two approaches to the coverage of this issue: one envisaged the publication of relevant documents on Tatar attacks and the consequences¹³, the other – inclusion in the text of historical works was the relevant information taken from the documents. We have the opportunity to get to know with the help of the historian's publications of documents on the results of the Tatar attacks the statistics contained in them as eloquent illustration of the losses that the frontier residents have endured: demographic, including gender, age, material¹⁴. Along with the publication of documents, D. I. Bagaliy made a detailed analysis of attacks of the Tatars and their consequences, including negative ones for the processes of colonization (settlement) of Russian and Ukrainian lands, their influence on the social structure of population, on the need of organization of the system of fortresses and other forms of defence and attack warnings and so on.

Tatars attack D. I. Bagaliy divided into two types: the mass attacks under the leadership of the Crimean khans (the most destructive) and attacks by small parties of Tatars, and indicated evolution in the direction of the growth of permanent small attacks on the territorial outskirts in the 17th century. However, Tatar attacks were not the only danger for the frontier, where (for example, for Belgorod, Voronezh and Tambov areas) was true: "... small guerrilla war in which all the benefits were on the side of those who attacked"¹⁵. The attacks were accompanied by robbery, fires, especially harmful in the sparsely populated area were captured, the sources even showed a new term – "to take out a village", the historian traces the fate of the captured. This demanded the creation of a system of social relations concerning those captured in Crimean Hanate and Ottoman empire. The problem appeared also in the lifestyle of border residents, it concerned cross-cultural marriages and its mutual (for Ukrainian and

13 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. IX.

14 [D. I. Bagaley], *Matierialy dlia istorii kolonizatsii i byta Kharkovskoi i otchasti Kurskoi i Voroniezhsioi gubernii*, Kharkov: Tipografiiia K. P. Schastni 1890, [t. II], p. 79, 81-84, 89, 91-101; D. I. Bagaley, *Matierialy dlia istorii kolonizatsii i byta stepnoi okrainy Moskovskogo gosudarstva (Kharkovskoi i otchasti Kurskoi i Voroniezhsioi gub.) v XVI – XVIII stolietii*, Kharkov: Tipografiiia K. P. Schastni, 1886, [t. I], p. 84-94, 157-163.

15 Bagaley, *Ocherki iz istorii kolonizatsii*, p. 254, 258, 260, 462.

Tatar) consequences. The importance of the attacks of Tatars as the historical factor of life on the frontier was reflected in folklore¹⁶.

The historian stressed that the Tatar attacks, along with the attacks of other enemies of the frontier population, were much more intensive in the second half of the 17th – the first half of the 18th centuries in Slobids'ka, Ukraine than the Bilhorod and Voronezh areas of the Moscow State¹⁷. It is clear in view of its proximity to Tatar territories.

D. I. Bagaliy, analyzing Tatar attacks, indicates the conservatism of the technology and the purpose of attacks of the Tatars that were similar in the 15 – 18th centuries (the constant goal was the prisoners and cattle), and conservative “predatory” nature of the Crimean Khanate. There were also the stable household and military features of the “Steppe warriors” – the Crimean Tatars and Nogai Tatars¹⁸. The historian stated that there were little changes from the 17th century and in the sphere of interstate relations of Russia with the Crimean Khanate, except for the movement of the Frontier (border) towards the South, so it was then a New Serbia and “other provinces of New Russia region”. It was due to some changes in strategy of the Russia empire and moving from mostly defensive war (which also demanded the system of fortresses and population connecting with war skills) to an offensive one, especially under the rule of Catherine II, who destroyed “Krimian Hord”¹⁹.

Considering the importance of the negative influence of the Tatar factor for the frontier, D. I. Bahaliy at the same time saw the difference between the Tatars attackers and peaceful Tatars, as well as that, he made a difference between the Cossacks-Cherkasses (Ukrainian) and the so called “thieves”-Cossacks, who were hostile to the residents of the borderland: “Exactly the same for Russian man settled Tatar – merchant, craftsman or peasant – was not dangerous, but nomad and robbers making constant attacks on our ukrainas [edges, outskirts]”²⁰.

3. Slobids'ka Ukraine as the Frontier: Special Historian's View

Special attention D. I. Bagaliy has devoted to Slobids'ka Ukraine (the territory of contemporary D. I. Bahaliy Kharkiv province and parts of Voronezh and Kursk provinces), which was settled mainly by Ukrainians outside the defensive line of the Moscow State. The historian appeals to the first attempts in settling the territory of future Slobids'ka Ukraine. The staying of Zaporozhian Cossacks in the 16th century as guards on the Donets River and Oskol River, the author considers as a temporary case²¹. The more active settlement began

16 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 263-264, 346, 468-471.

17 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 466-467.

18 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 341-343, 346, 348.

19 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 238, 252, 277, 284, 348, 491.

20 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 289.

21 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 174.

in the 17th century. The historian came to the conclusion that on the territory of the future Slobids'ka Ukraine estate lands, "yurts" were "distributed" by Moscow state yet since 1617 (in the reign of Mikhail Fedorovich), that testified about its intentions to expand borders (yurts that were provided to owners instead of arable land, were accompanied by giving Tsar's charters).

D. I. Bagaliy drew his attention to the fact that the settlement of the territory of Slobids'ka Ukraine (behind the then border of the Moscow State) firstly was not included in the plans of the Moscow government, especially at the expense of the Cherkass Cossacks (Ukrainians), to whom allegedly the government firstly did not trust, but later in this case played a positive role in the argument that their homeland was (on the Right-Bank Ukraine) also defended against Tatars²². The historian showed that the revealed initiative of Ukrainian Cossacks to settle geographically closer to the Tatars was immediately combined with the initiative of the Russian state, which wanted to try to keep state control over the situation on the Frontier. The foundation of Chuguev was a striking example of that. Ukrainian Cossacks (Cherkasses) became practically the initiators of its foundation in 1638 on Chuguev abandoned settlement on the territory of a contemporary to historian Kharkiv province, at that time outside of the Moscow State. According to D. I. Bahaliy, this contradicted the policy of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich, who planned to strengthen the existing towns along the border, not to establish new ones. This was also contrary to the previous practice of Ukrainian Cossacks, who by that time, in the case of transition to the service for the Moscow State, settled in already existing at that time in the border Moscow towns²³.

The temporary failure of the further existence of Chuguev historian bonded to random circumstances²⁴. State interest in the founding of Chuhuev far from the borders D. I. Bagaliy explained with two reasons: the arrival of a significant number of Ukrainian immigrants and the getting by the Moscow state the "best stronghold against Tatars". State needs in the borderland with Tatars in organized military force contributed to the preservation for the settlers and their traditional Cossack system, although there was simultaneously established power of voevoda as a representative of the central government²⁵.

Significant attention of D. I. Bagaliy was devoted to the issue of the creation by the Moscow state of the system of fortifications, defensive lines. As to Slobids'ka Ukraine, in the opinion of the historian, that the activities of the Russian government at the time of Aleksei Mikhailovich towards Belgorod defence line of the towns and settlements, became a prerequisite for the settlement of the territory to the south of it by Ukrainian immigrants from Commonwealth and other places, and the Slobids'ka Ukraine appeared in the historical scene. Thus, Slobids'ka Ukraine was formed as the area "behind the line" (Belgorod fortifications) and its population

22 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 567.

23 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 173-174.

24 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 195.

25 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 179-180.

consisted mostly of Ukrainians. According D. I. Bagaliy, Ukrainians “... took over the role, which in Belgorod Ukraina [here – border line] was played by Russian served people” Consequently, in Slobids’ka Ukraine Russian (ethnic) colonization occurred at a very slow pace, although existed in the 17th century, because of the interest of the Russian government to take control over the territory behind the actual border²⁶.

In connection with the coverage of the role of Ukrainians in the resettlement on Slobids’ka Ukraine, special interest presents 5 chapter of his monograph which has the title: “Little Russia [malorossijskaya, i. e. Ukrainian] colonization from the time of Aleksei Mikhailovich”²⁷. The historian reveals the issues of the reasons for migration (including tatars and turks attacks on Right-Bank Ukraine), establishment by settlers of towns, *slobod* (free settlements) and different defensive constructions, repeatedly describing the development of local fortifications at the old abandoned settlements far from the Moscow border. It was, according to the historian, a common strategy both the Moscow government and the first settlers-Ukrainians “to protect against Tatars”²⁸. Such approach turned almost to the tactics of the settlers, who were motivated to restoring the old abandoned settlements, distant from the borders of the Moscow State or for posts by the need for protection “during the emergence of the Crimean and Nogai Tatars or other warrior men” and the difficulty of overcoming distance in case of need to Belgorod and Chuguev. Such “restored” settlements there were Kharkiv, Tor (Slov’yans’k) etc.²⁹. Migrants settled on the so-called Tatar roads (sakma’s).

Important observation of the historian is his conclusion that the difference in the building of towns of the Belgorod Line and Slobids’ka Ukraine was that in the first case it was a consequence of the activities of the government, and in the second case it was the “initiative and energy of the population, with relatively small subsidy from the Treasury”³⁰.

In Slobids’ka Ukraine the strategic role was played even by monasteries (Svyatogors’kyi and others), some of them were located near the Tatar roads, for example Izyum Road. Therefore, they suffered from the attacks of Tatars, informed the government on their movements, and had important strategic significance, being in a specific locus – “behind the Line”. Besides, the monasteries had a specific role on the frontier – they had the responsibility to meet the religious needs of those “Russians” (including Ukrainians) who dedicated themselves to the life of fighting with non-Christians, and were far from other religious centres³¹.

Tatar factor to some extent contributed to the obtaining by Ukrainian settlers to Slobids’ka Ukraine with certain privileges (in contrast to the Russians (of Moscow state) served people), especially from the time of Aleksei Mikhailovich, given the great expenditure of organization

26 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 237-238.

27 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 378.

28 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 416, 424, 436, 438, 476.

29 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 432, 436.

30 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 475.

31 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 509, 513-514, 517, 525.

of border defence for the Moscow state³². Although Slobids'ka Ukraine as well as Belgorod pontificated Line and other Moscow state borderlands, was settled by people with both warrior and agricultural way of life, nevertheless in the towns of Slobids'ka Ukraine a big part of the population did not belong to the estate of military served people and preferred to deal with agriculture, crafts (this was due government privileges and social migrant's structure). According to D. I. Bagaliy at the beginning of the 18th century the local population regarded more and more of their military duties as a burden³³.

The factor of Tatar attacks, continuation of defence war, unsuccessful attempts of the offensive one, fast settling of Slobids'ka Ukraine caused the need to build already for Slobids'ka Ukraine the fortified lines for defence from Tatars, which was, in particular, the Ukrainian line (1730-ies). Its creation had its own peculiarities, the main burden in its building bore Sloboda and Little Russian (i. e. Ukrainian Hetmanate) regiments, the Ukrainians of Belgorod province. The construction of lines was hampered, among other things, by constant attacks by Tatars. Historian compares the process of the construction of Ukrainian and earlier Belgorod fortification line, considers different conflicts of interest, indicates insufficient awareness of its practical necessity (especially in Ukrainians, who were involved in its construction, without the prospect of permanent residence there), as well as the anachronic nature of the Ukrainian line in the 18th century. According to the conclusion of D. I. Bahaliy, the creation of the Ukrainian line did not have protected frontiers from the raids of the Tatars³⁴.

Despite the fact that D. I. Bagaliy in the 1880-ies, as shown above, emphasized the priority role of ethnic Ukrainians in colonization and defence of Slobids'ka Ukraine; he then integrated these problems mostly in the history of the Russian state, with connections with social and national (people) history. In the conditions of Ukrainian national-democratic revolution of 1917-1921 historian, who was representative of Ukrainian movement in times of the empire, has got the possibility to examine the history of Slobids'ka, Ukraine mostly in context of the paradigm of the national history of Ukraine. As a consequence, in 1918 his previous issues and scientific results in researching on the history of Slobids'ka Ukraine appeared in Ukrainian in the edition of some popular and educational character "The History of Slobods'ka Ukraine"³⁵.

"The History of Slobods'ka Ukraine" was structured on the basis of problem principle, not chronological as previous D. I. Bagaliy's work "Essays from the history of colonization of the steppe outskirts of the Moscow state" (1887).

The question of interrelations with Tatars revealed in special chapter 3 with quite saying title: "Fighting with the Tatars"³⁶. In this work for mass reader D. I. Bagaliy once again stressed

32 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 446-447, 456.

33 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 483, 499-500.

34 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 251, 294-295, 298-299, 305, 309, 334, 340, 481.

35 D. I. Bagaliy, *Istoriia Slobids'koi Ukrainy (Pamiatky istorychnoi dumky Ukrainy)*, Kharkiv: Osnova 1991, p. 13-14.

36 Bagaliy, *ibid.*, p. 48-62.

on the fact that "... Slobids'ka Ukraine was suffering from the Tatar attacks anyway not less, but rather more, than belgorod and voronezh ukrainas [i. e. territorial edges, outskirts] of Moscow state"³⁷. At the same time the historian stated that "...we have to remember all the time that Slobyds'ka Ukraine led against the Tatars only defensive struggle and was very interested in peace (agreement) and in quiet development of culture"³⁸ (the historian the meaning of the term "culture" connected with different aspects).

4. Southern Ukraine as Frontier in the Cases of Historians of 19th Century Presentations

In addition to highlighting the history of "Moscow's moving border" and Slobids'ka Ukraine, D. I. Bagaliy appeals to the history of other fragments, imagining a great frontier between the Volga and Dnieper (like Right-Bank Ukraine, Southern Ukraine). Taking into consideration that he paid special attention to Southern Ukraine, it is a worthy theme for thorough revealing in our article. This region D. I. Bagaliy started to study as a Frontier theme in the whole also in 1880-ies and for him it was then so called in administrative terms New Russia region (Novorossiiskii krai) (now it is the territory of Southern Ukraine). The South of Ukraine became for the historian a part of the Big Frontier with Wild Field or Steppe, as we have mentioned his main approach above, and was the subject of his work "Colonization of the New Russia region and its first steps along the path of culture" (1889).

Taking this problem, D. I. Bagaliy was largely a follower of A. O. Skal'kovs'kyi, who yet in the first half of the 19th century studied the history of the southern Steppe³⁹ or, in administrative terms for him, the dominant part of the New Russia region (Kherson, Ekaterynoslav and Taurian provinces without Crimea) and part of Bessarabia. Another determination made by the historian for the "Steppe" included the territory between "the Don mouth, Black and Azov Seas, the mouth of the Danube and West-Ukrainian border" (here it means Right-Bank Ukraine in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth)⁴⁰.

If concerning other parts of the Frontier, D. I. Bagaliy often used the notion Wild Field, when he speaks on Southern Ukraine, he often accepted the term "Steppe", loved also by A. O. Skal'kovs'kyi. In A. O. Skal'kovs'kyi's interpretation (who could use certain tradition), the Steppe arised as a frontier, where two civilizations met (Christian and Muslim), and their opposition led to the emergence of the Cossacks (as Cossack Orthodox order). A. Skal'kovs'kyi, as subsequently and D. I. Bagaliy, was watching the so-called "Russian penetration"⁴¹ (as a

37 Bagaliy, *ibid.*, p. 51.

38 Bagaliy, *ibid.*, p. 62.

39 Novikova, «Istoriograph» Apollon Skal'kovs'kyi, p. 233-234.

40 A. A. Skal'kovskii, *Khronologicheskoe obozrieniie*, p. 3; A. A. Skal'kovskii, *Opyt statisticheskogo opisaniia Novorossiiskogo kraia*, Odessa: V tip. L. Nitche 1850, t. I, p. 9-10; Novikova, *Pravo volodity terytoriei*, pp. 78-100.

41 A. A. Skal'kovskii, *Piervoie tridsatilietie istorii goroda Odessa, 1793-1823*, Odessa: Gor. tip. 1837, p. 3.

result of folk colonization and state policy) in the Steppe in the 18th century, and in the case of Zaporozhian Cossacks – practically from the 16th century. It should be noted that the term “Russian” both historians often used in the ambivalent meaning which included both Russians and Ukrainians. One of the tasks of A. O. Skal’kovs’kyi was in covering the changes of historical epochs in the South of modern Ukraine (on the example of history of Odesa – from paganism (ancient Greeks) to Islam, and then – to the victory of Christianity)⁴². His works focused not only on the colonization and the state conquest of the south, the construction of fortresses, Russian-Turkish wars during the confrontation with the Tatars and the Turks. He also revealed what kind of political community (Zaporozhian Sich) emerged as a result of the specificity of confrontation in the Steppe (of struggle for Steppe), as well as the transformation made after the conquest of the Steppe by the Russian Empire. Also, for him, the Steppe was a frontier not only of the Russian state, or the so-called “Russian” people (including Ukrainians), the Zaporozhian Sich with Tatars and Turks. It is also a frontier between Asia and Europe, between Christianity and Islam. He stressed that initiators of conflicts with Cossacks often Tatars (Nogai) were, called by historians, the first line of Hanate. Instead, the Cossacks were forced to lead a defensive struggle. But also for this historian, it was clear that frontier interrelations were more complicate and there were reasons which made these two sides closer to each other or made them opposite each other⁴³.

As to D. I. Bagaliy, he paid the history of south frontier less attention, in contrast the history of Slobids’ka Ukraine and “ukrainas” (edges, outskirts) of the Moscow state of the 17th – 18th century. The historian covered the history of the New Russia region (Southern Ukraine) mostly through a more priority approach of the history of settling the territory, or its colonization. Having studied a significant base of sources, D. I. Bagaliy followed his methodology in studying Slobids’ka Ukraine and the bigger Frontier with Wild Field, starting with the characteristics of the geography of Steppe and already in these materials gave the information concerning “the neighborhood of Tatars”. According to the conclusion of the scientist, the geography of New Russia Steppes determined their historical destiny as the territory of nomadic peoples, which in the times of Rus’ were represented by Pechenigs, Black Klobuks, Polovtsians, Tatars, and the New Russia Steppe itself on the east passed into the Asian steppes, due to which and special nature conditions it became the way for the nomads⁴⁴.

Then he turns to the reasons and obstacles for colonization of the steppe by “Russian settlers” in the 16th – 17th centuries. Among them he pointed out on the one hand on nature difficulties⁴⁵, on the other hand, D. I. Bagaliy stated that to settle in the Steppe, it was necessary

42 A. A. Skal’kovskii, “Chetyrie stranitsy Odesskoi lietopisi”, *Odesskii almanac na 1839 g.*, Odessa 1839, pp. 607-618 Novikova, «Istoriograph» Apollon Skal’kovs’kyi, p. 332; Novikova, Khadzhybeis’ka tematyka, pp. 99-102.

43 Novikova, Kryms’kyi chynnyk, p. 58-59; Novikova, «Istoriograph» Apollon Skal’kovs’kyi, p. 378-404.

44 D. I. Bagaley, *Kolonizatsiia Novorossiiskogo kraia i pervye shagi iego po puti kultury: istiricheskii etiud*, Kiev: Tipografiia G. T. Korchak-Novitskogo 1889, p. 5.

45 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 15-18.

to re-conquer it from the Tatars, who appeared in the Steppe in the 13th century (we met this position above). As their bastion, the historian regarded the Crimean Khanate, the conquest of which, according to him, was the historical task of the Russian state, since the 16th century, and ended in 1783.

Of special interest there was the description by D. I. Bahaliy the Tatar territory from 13th to 16th centuries, when they possessed the “New Russia Steppe” (Southern Ukraine Steppe), the historian underlined that northern borders of their nomads’ camps reached even the territory of Kharkiv and Poltava provinces which also were the Wild Field. The historian noted that if anyone wanted to permanently settle in the Steppe – “they had to lead the constant struggle both with Tatars, who considered Steppes as their property and with Nature”⁴⁶.

According to D. I. Bagaliy, till the second half of the 18th century in the south Steppe, it was possible to settle only in the zone of the security – on the Dnieper islands, having semi-nomadic, semi-settled way of life, and this process the Cossacks started in the 16th century. Therefore, the Tatars’ danger with other factors determined the beginning of colonization of South Steppe in the “river valley”⁴⁷.

Unlike the characteristics of the residents of Slobids’ka Ukraine, D. I. Bagaliy stressed that Zaporozhian Cossacks waged not only a self-defense war with Tatars, but also offensive: Cossacks “recaptured” Steppe from the Tatars, leading a permanent guerrilla war and Cossack territory with time spread at the expense of “Wild Field”, “Tatar steppes”⁴⁸.

Special attention the historian paid to types of and the number of Cossack settlements in the territory of the Zaporozhian Sich (Katerynoslav and Kherson provinces, without the territory between the Bug and the Dniester), it is noteworthy that sometimes the Tatar factor influenced on creation the settlements (when their residents were released by Cossacks *yasyr*). As for Sloboda Cossacks, D. I. Bagaliy concludes about the Zaporozhian Cossacks, that in recent years of their “historical existence” they moved to peaceful economic occupations. The historian indicates that Zaporozhian Cossacks as “...the stronghold of the Russian world from the Muslim word, did a lot for the *defence* of Russian culture...” and for further *creation* of Russian culture (the term “Russian” included then both Ukrainian and Russian features)⁴⁹.

In the context of the history of the southern Steppe frontier D. I. Bagaliy also paid a lot of attention to the politics of the Russian government, connected with construction of fortified settlements, fortresses, with special regulations of the migration process etc.⁵⁰. He concluded that in this region fortresses played a smaller role, because in 1783 the danger of permanent guerrilla war with Tatars disappeared (when the Crimean Khanate was captured

46 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 18, 20.

47 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 20-21.

48 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 23.

49 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 27, 29.

50 Bagaley, *ibid.*, p. 32-35.

by Russian empire). D. I. Bagaliy estimated this as a positive situation for the possibility of culture (as agriculture, industry, trade, mental activity) developing in Steppe which had little space for developing in the period of Cossack struggle against Tatars danger in the 16th – the first half of 18th centuries⁵¹.

So, for historiography of the 19th century the methodological searches were inherent in the time when history was becoming a contemporary science. One manifestation of this process was the formation of the regional (“oblast”) school of historical studies, which is often associated with the name of the Ukrainian historian V. B. Antonovych. At the same time a separate historiographical direction was formed, which can be called a Frontier approach. His representatives (in particular, A. O. Skal'kovs'kyi, D. I. Bagaliy) considered not only the history of the regions (including Slobids'ka Ukraine, Southern Ukraine), but the phenomenon of moving borders in the contact area of the Slavs, Tatars, Turks and others (depending on the historical period). They have studied in most cases historical peculiarities and, in the end, visual disappearance of the Slavic-Turkic Frontier, which, however, in some way continued its existence in some realities and historical memory.

Often this direction was marginalized on the background of defining by the historians their tasks as studying the history of the colonization of certain regions. At the same time, the study allows to determine this direction as separate and important from methodological point of view for revealing the influence of Slavic-Turkic contacts for the history of the state and society on the Frontier, where the different cultures and interests were opposed or interacted. That all influenced the local historical process, as well as on the fate of the frontier itself.

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Vienna Letter to Sultan Mehmed IV Avji from Ukrainian Cossaks in Chyhyryn

Taras Chuhlib¹ 



***Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:**
Taras Chuhlib (Prof. Dr.), Institute of History
of Ukraine National Academy of Sciences,
Kyiv, Ukraine.
E-posta: taras_chuhlib@ukr.net
ORCID: 0000-0002-2604-4816

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ABSTRACT

The article explores the genesis of writing, as well as the problem of spreading a semi-legendary message called "Letter of the Cossacks to the Turkish sultan." The study of "correspondence of the Cossacks with the Sultan" has a long historiographical tradition, in particular, the Russian historian and literary critic M. Kagan has developed 9 manuscript lists of this correspondence. The first "Letter of the Cossacks..." in the Old Ukrainian language was published in 1843 by Mykola Markevych. The author studies the issue of the appearance of Chyhyryn's "Letter of the Cossacks from Chyhyryn to the Turkish Sultan" in Vienna in 1683 in the form of a "flying leaf", which had a specific historical basis. It is known that the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Khanate, trying to prevent the recruitment of Cossacks to the army of the King of the Commonwealth Jan III Sobieski, sent letters to Ukraine and the Zaporozhian Sich with a call to submit to the sultan or khan. The researcher concluded that this "leaflet" served a dual patriotic and propagandistic function: first, it raised the morale of the defenders of Vienna, and, secondly, influenced the Cossack officers of Ukraine to support the anti-Ottoman coalition of Christian European states. In addition, the army of the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa remembered very well the exhausting Chyhyryn campaigns of 1677 and 1678 to Ukraine, which became good training for the Ottoman Empire before the campaign in Vienna, Austria. A new Polish-language version of the "Letter of the Cossacks..." from the archives of Poland is introduced into scientific circulation..

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Zaporozhian Army, "Letter of the Cossacks", Chyhyryn, Mehmed IV, Jan III Sobieski, Ivan Sirko



During the struggle of the Christian coalition of European states with the Ottoman army of Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa in the summer and autumn of 1683, a very interesting “leaflet” began to spread among the inhabitants of Vienna and other European cities. One of the versions of this leaflet, which is kept in the funds of the National Library of Vienna, is entitled «*Copia des Turckischen Kaysers Brieff an die Kosacken nach Czechrin. Gedruckt im Jahr 1683*». The other two variants that survived had similar names: «*Copia des Türkischen Käysers Brieff an die Cosacken nach Czechrin und darauff der Cosacken Antwort. Dabey aus Venedig was die Brieffe von Constantinopel melden*» та «*Copia des Türkischen Kaysers Brief an die Cosacken nach Czechrin*»¹. It is possible that Yu.-F. Kulchytsky², a well-known native of Red Ruthenia, was involved in its publication and translated into German the “Letter of the Cossacks from Mykola Markevych to the Turkish Sultan.”³

Ukrainian literary critic Hryhorii Nudha has studied the genesis of writing, for a long time as well as the problem of spreading this legendary message⁴. In addition, the study of “correspondence between the Cossacks and the Sultan” has a long historiographical tradition⁵, and the Russian historian and literary critic M. Kagan has developed 9 manuscript lists of this legendary correspondence from the archives of Russia⁶. The “Letter of the Cossacks...” was first published in the Old Ukrainian language in 1843 by Mykola Markevych in the “History of Little Russia” with a note that the reprint was made from a copy sent “from the particular archive” of the Belarusian city of Grodno⁷. In 1845, the St. Petersburg magazine “Mayak” published on its pages “Letter of the Chyhyryn Cossacks to the Turkish Sultan.”⁸ In 1869, O. Popov analyzed one of the lists of the “Letter of the Cossacks”, which was included in the Chronograph in 1696.⁹ And in 1872, one of the versions of the correspondence, which belonged to M. Kotsomarov, was published in “Russian Antiquity”¹⁰. In 1874 O.Petrushevych published

1 The originals of these “flyers” are kept in the library of the Saxon city of Wolfenbüttel (Germany), and their electronic copies in the Polish electronic library “Digital Library of Polish and Poland-Related News Pamphlets from the 16th to the 18th Century” (<http://cbdu.id.uw.edu.pl/>).

2 I. Micko, T. Paslavskij, «*Yurij-Franc Kulchickij – geroj oboroni Vidnya*», Lviv, 2013, p.38.

3 In Ukraine it was published by Hryhorii Nudha (G. Nudga, «*Na literaturnih shlyahah (doslidzhennya, poshuki, znahidki)*», K., 1990. p.303 – 306). See also: T. Chuhlib, «*Viden 1683. Ukrayina-Rus u bitvi za «zolote yabluko» Yevropi*», K., 2013, p.376 - 377.

4 G. Nudga, «*Parodiya v ukrayinskij literaturi*», K., 1961, p. 65; He is. G. Nudga, «*List zaporozhchiv tureckomu sultanu*», *Dnipro*, 1962, №2, p.141; He is. G. Nudga, «*Listuvannya zaporozhchiv z tureckim sultanom*», K., 1963;

5 K. Harlampovich, «*Listuvannya zaporozhchiv kozakiv iz sultanom*», *Zapiski Istorichno-filologichnogo viddilu VUAN*, K., 1923, Kn. IV, p.200 – 212; E. Borschak, «*La letter des zaporogues au sultan*», *Revue des etudes slaves*, Paris, 1950, T.26, p. 99 - 105.

6 M. Kagan, «*Russkaya versiya 70-h godov XVII v. perepiski zaporozhskih kazakov s tureckim sultanom*», *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta literatury AN SSSR*, Moskva, 1958, T.14, p.307 – 315; M. Kagan-Tarkovskaya, «*Perepiska zaporozhskih i chigirinskih kazakov s tureckim sultanom (v variantah XVIII v.)*», *Trudy ODRK Pushkinskogo Doma, AN SSSR*, M-Leningrad, 1966, T. XXI, p.346 - 354.

7 N. Markevich, «*Istoriya Malorossii*», Moskva, 1843, T.V, Primechaniya k glave XLI, p.74 - 75.

8 *Mayak*, SPb., 1845, T.22, Smes, p.112 – 113.

9 A. Popov, «*Izbornik slavjanskij i russkij sochinenij i statej, vnesennih v hronografi russkoj redakcii*», M., 1869, p.448.

10 *Russkaya starina*, SPb., 1872, T.VI, p. 450 – 451.

the text “Letter of the Cossacks...” in Lviv¹¹. In 1879, O. Prozorovskii found a document entitled “Translation from the Polish alphabet, a list from the letter of the Turkish sultan, written in Chigirin to the Cossacks on July 7, 1678”, which dates to the late 1670’s.¹² After that, he was repeatedly popularized by D. Yavornytsky.¹³ A well-known collector of Cossack antiquity, the ethnographer J. Novitsky at the end of the nineteenth century recorded a legend about the correspondence of the Cossacks with the sultan from a resident of the village of Novogupalivka near Zaporozhye.¹⁴ In 1913, M. Ogloblin found the manuscript “Letter of the Cossacks...”, dated 1733 in the collection of the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra.¹⁵

Despite the great historiographical tradition, the history of the origin and writing of the “Letter of the Cossacks “ remained mysterious. Researchers could not agree on the origin of this document. Although already in the handwritten Cossack chronicle, which according to Samiilo Velychko was recorded in Pereyaslav in 1636, there was talk of “non-political” correspondence, but not between the Cossacks and the sultan, but between the Turkish and Polish monarchs. There is a seemingly true letter of Sultan Osman II to the King of the Commonwealth, Sigismund III Vaz: “... you have our advice for nothing, and you want to snatch the land of Jerusalem from our power; although you are an insignificant person and then you have an unjust intention. Fear death with those little ones of yours, when I will deliberately and clearly encroach on your kingdom; and then everything will be as I want. Understand my power »¹⁶. Instead, in the letter of reply of the King of the Commonwealth, quoted by Samiilo Velychko, there is a certain mockery: “But we hope, with the help of my Christian God, that the Polish eagle in a short time in Constantinople will curse Muhammad and you with fire. turn to ashes, for I know the time of the death of your accursed one”¹⁷.

It is obvious that it was under the influence of this humorous pamphlet by a Polish chancellor that one of the scribes of the Zaporozhian Army came up with the idea to make a parody letter 45,000 Cossacks fought on the side of King Sigismund III Vaz near Khotyn (Hetman Konashevych-Sahaidachny). Which would support the morale of the Cossacks. In the same year, 1621, in one of the Polish “flyers” the course of the battle of Khotyn was reported and the message of the Turkish sultan to the Polish king with the corresponding titles was published.¹⁸

11 A. Petrushevich, «*Svodnaya galicko-russkaya letopis s 1600 po 1700 god*», Lvov, 1874, p.361 - 362.

12 D. Prozorovskii, «*Opis drevnih rukopisej, hranyashihsya v muzee imeratorskogo Russkogo arheologicheskogo obshestva*», SPb., 1879, p.66 - 67.

13 D. Evarnickii, «*Ivan Dmitrievich Serko, slavnij koshevoj ataman vojska zaporozhskih i nizovyh kazakov*», SPb., 1895, p. 97 - 98.

14 *Letopis Ekaterinoslavskoj uchenoj arhivnoj komissii*, Ekaterinoslav, 1911, Vyp.7, p.113 – 116.

15 «*Chtenie v Obshestve istorii i drevnostej Rossijskih*», M., 1913, Kn.3, Smes, p.10.

16 S. Velichko, «*Letopis sobytij v Yugo-zapadnoj Rossii v XVII v*», K., 1848, p.3 – 5 (Prilozhenie).

17 Ibid.

18 M. Kagan, «*Russkaya versiya 70-h godov XVII v. perepiski zaporozhskih kazakov s tureckim sultanom*», *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta literatury AN SSSR*, Moskva, 1958, T.14, p.348.

In the Moscow manuscript “newspapers–chimes” for 1621, this information was immediately rewritten: “Translations from statements sent from Poland about various military actions and peace decrees in Europe, and from whom they were sent - are not specified. From the city of Gdansk, the deeds say that the Turkish king sent such a letter of denial to the king: the king in Alexandria and in Judea, over Portugal, and all the emperors of all the earth and the sovereign of the aspiration of the lands, the guardian of the Busurman paradise and the holy tomb »¹⁹.

The Russian archives also contain a “large letter” of the Turkish sultan to the Polish king, dated 1637. The document states: “Translation from the German script that a list is written from a letter sent by the Turkish king to the Polish king 146 (1637). The letter of refusal of the Turkish tsar to his royal majesty was sent to Poland. And it was translated from Turkish into Polish, and from Polish into German, and from German into our Slovenian. “²⁰ Among other things, this document wrote about the Polish “his reeds, Zaporozhian Cossacks, like running greedy dogs, released our monarchy and the state to plunder and ravage people and our land by your order and command.”²¹

Several other legendary and parody letters from the correspondence of the Turkish sultan (but no longer with the Polish king, but with “German rulers and all Christian people” and the Austrian emperor Leopold I) date from 1663. They were directly related to military and political struggle between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, which unfolded at that time in Central and Eastern Europe. At the same time, an unknown author put the following words into the mouth of Mehmed IV Avji: “I will come to visit you and all your Polish allies and all your forces with our troops, we will ruin and disperse with murders and ruins, but also with death, which we can invent, torture and destroy, and we order all your captives to be beaten and tortured to death or in terrible prisons, to timed their heart out.”²² And “Leopold I” replied to the sultan that “it is stupider, you guard the button of the tomb of Christ my God, you write, being sane, but not to brag about that, to be torn, we know that it is good for you to wallow in dogs, to guard the king’s courts and the doors of emperors.” Like a mosque to them on a piece of bread to the lips.²³

Another legendary pamphlet of the sultan to the Polish king dates back to 1678. In it, Mehmed IV the Hunter rebuked the King of the Commonwealth Jan III Sobieski for inciting

19 The Sultan’s message to the Polish king from the chimes of 1621 / Appendix to the texts of the cycle of letters // M. Kagan, «Legendarnyj cikl gramot tureckogo sultana k evropejskim gosudaryam - publicisticheskoe proizvedenie vtoroj poloviny XVII v.», *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta literatury AN SSSR*, Moskva, 1959, T.15. p.249 – 250.

20 M. Kagan, «Legendarnyj cikl gramot tureckogo sultana k evropejskim gosudaryam - publicisticheskoe proizvedenie vtoroj poloviny XVII v.», *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta literatury AN SSSR*, Moskva, 1959, T.15. p.241.

21 Ibid. - P.241 - 242.

22 Ibid. - P. 245.

23 Ibid. - P.249.

the Ukrainian Cossacks to war with the Ottoman Empire: “Ukrainian Cossacks as rabid dogs ruin and devastate.”²⁴ In 1670, another interesting letter from Mehmed IV Avji to “German princesses, Polish kings, the Pope, cardinals, bishops and all Christians”. It was translated from the “German script” and preserved in one of the manuscript lists of the Muscovy, and later found its way into the notes of I. Zhelyabuzhsky. The latter pointed out that this message was written by him from the Ambassadorial Order as “a list from a letter written from a letter of the Turkish sultan to Emperor Leopold, as written by the Turkish sultan.”²⁵

Thus, it is probable that the “Letter of the Cossacks...” was still of “Polish” or “German” origin and strangely returned to German-speaking Vienna. The only original copy of this message has not been found, but its numerous versions are known, which are dated to different years (1600, 1619, 1620, 1667, 1672, 1677, 1683, etc.) and along with different signatures – “grassroots Cossacks”, “Otaman Zakharchenko”, “Ivan Sirko”, they have different recipients – Sultans “Osman”, “Mehmed IV”, “Ahmed III” and so on. In fact, it is known about the diplomatic correspondence of Cossack rulers with the rulers of other countries, including the Turkish sultan, has a completely different character and never violated the etiquette of the time to address a person of this level. Another confirmation of the “literary version” is the presence of numerous options for the sultan to address the Cossacks. Despite its literary origins, this ideological weapon was used by the Ukrainian Cossacks many times.

Well-known researcher Dmytro Yavornytsky linked the emergence of correspondence with the activities of the longtime camp commander (otaman) Ataman of the Zaporozhian Sich, Ivan Sirko. In particular, with the episode when in the winter of 1674 a 40,000-strong Tatar horde and 15,000 Turkish janissaries tried to insidiously seize the military garrison in the Sich. Successfully withstanding the night attack, the Cossacks defeated the Turkish-Tatar units. The following year, led by Otaman I. Sirko, they took revenge on the conquerors: a 20,000-strong Cossack army marched victoriously into the Crimea. During this campaign Sirko wrote a letter to the Crimean khan, filled with great irony and sarcasm: “... We, following the example of our ancient ancestors and brothers, decided to try to pay for dinner and sorrow, and to take revenge on your Khan’s Mercy and the whole Khanate. but not secretly, as you did, but openly, like a knight ...”²⁶. As we can see, the text of this real letter differed significantly from the parody message of the Cossacks, although, apparently, was influenced by its famous predecessor.

After the siege of Kamianets-Podilskyi by the Ottoman army in 1672, another version of the sultan’s satirical message appeared, which was already used during the Turkish campaign of 1674 to Ladyzhyn and Uman and, apparently, was to raise the fighting spirit of the defenders

24 A. Sobolevskii, «*Perevodnaya literatura Moskovskoj Rusi XIV – XVIII vekov*», SPb., 1903, p.239.

25 «*Sobranie raznyh zapisok i sochinenij, sluzhashih k dostavleniyu polnogo svedeniya o zhizni i deyaniyah Petra Velikogo*», Izd. F. Tumanskim, Cpb., 1787, Ch.VII. p.161 – 163.

26 Quote for: D. Evarnickii, «*Ivan Dmitrievich Serko, slavnyj koshevoj ataman vojska zaporozhskih i nizovyh kazakov*», SPb., 1895, p.95.

of these cities. The “Letter of the Cossacks ...” also played a role during the campaigns of thousands of Ottoman troops on Chyhyryn in 1677 and 1678.²⁷ In a document entitled “List from a letter sent to Chyhyryn to the Cossacks by the Turkish sultan on the 7th day of 1678 “Was placed as if the address of Megmed IV the Hunter to the defenders of the capital of the Ukrainian Hetmanate: prince of princes, grandson of God, brave warrior, Christian persuader, guardian of the crucified God, great lord, lord on earth, hope and consolation of Busurman, sorrow and fall for Christians. We command you to surrender voluntarily with all people.²⁸ “ To which the Cossacks responded in a note entitled “Excuse the answer from Chyhyryn to the Sultan”: “The Sultan, the accursed Turkish Sultan’s comrade, Satan of the abyss of hell, the Sultan of Turkey, the Greek footstool, the cook of Babylon, the armor of Jerusalem, the chariot of Assyria Alexandrian swineherd, Armenian argach, Tatar dog, cursed asp living in the world, kidnapper of Kamianets-Podilskyi and all earthly subjects spin and miser, and the whole world of ghosts, Turkish county busurmany, equal to the revolt, protégé of Satan, Satan’s messenger cursed, God’s crucified enemy and persecutor of his servants, the hope and consolation of Busurman, their fall and sorrow. We will not give in to you, but we will fight with you.”²⁹ Later, this text appeared in the manuscript book “Flower Garden”, which from the end of the 17th century, according to the Galician historian O. Petrushevych, was stored in the Vienna court library.³⁰

However, not the most important merit of the unknown authors of this ancient Ukrainian parody was the fact of its influence on the victory of the European coalition over the army of the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire Kara Mustafa in 1683. It is unknown who, how and when brought the text of the parody to distant Vienna, offered to translate it into German and distribute it in a separate leaflet, but, as they say, the fact remains: for the first time in printed form the message of the Cossacks to the Turkish sultan was published in 1683 in Austria in the form of a “flyer”.

On the pages of the Viennese edition there are two texts – “A copy of the letter of the Turkish sultan to the Cossacks in Chyhyryn” and the actual “Answer of the Cossacks”. Given that Chyhyryn is mentioned here, we can assume that the Austrian edition repeated the text that was distributed among the defenders of the Cossack capital in 1678. At the same time, the Viennese copy of the message was significantly revised by an anonymous author, given the situation at the time: “Turkish emperor’s son, ... you sit in a hole like a devil, or a hen-thief, who changes his nest in the war to another, one which shows that you are a fool, instead of the one you call a paholk (King Jan III Sobieski. – T.Ch.), is a brave, powerful monarch and

27 M. Kagan, «Russkaya versiya 70-h godov XVII v. perepiski zaporozhskih kazakov s tureckim sultanom», *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta literatury AN SSSR*, Moskva, 1958, T.14, p.314 - 316.

28 This text was first published in the publication: A. Petrushevich, «*Svodnaya galicko-russkaya letopis s 1600 po 1700 god*», Lvov, 1874, p.361 - 362.

29 A. Petrushevich Decree. op. - P.362.

30 See: «*Tisyacha rokiv ukraïynskoyi suspilno-politichnoyi dumki. U 9-ti tomah*», K., 2001, T.2.

invincible king³¹. The last words suggest that the “flyer” was issued after the Commonwealth troops arrived near Vienna, and, consequently, the “flyer” was issued in the period from the second half of September to December 1683. Recently, in the archives of Poland a hitherto unknown Polish-language letter signed by the “Cossacks of Zaporozhya and all of Ukraine” was found.³² It is dated August 24, 1683, but, apparently, was again written after the Vienna campaign by the royal chancellors in order to further glorify Jan III Sobieski.

The appearance of Chyhyryn’s “Letter of the Cossacks from Chyhyryn to the Turkish Sultan” in Vienna in 1683 in the form of a “flying leaf” also had a specific historical basis. It is known that the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Khanate, trying to prevent the recruitment of Cossacks to the army of King Jan III Sobieski, sent letters to Ukraine and the Zaporozhian Sich with a call to submit to the sultan or khan. It is possible that in this way this “leaflet” served a dual patriotic and propagandistic function: first, it raised the morale of the defenders of Vienna, and, secondly, influenced the Cossack officers of Ukraine to support the anti-Ottoman coalition of Christian European states. In addition, the army of the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa remembered very well the exhausting Chyhyryn campaigns of 1677 and 1678 to Ukraine, which became good training for the Ottoman Empire before the campaign in Vienna, Austria.

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Carlopolis: Sketches of Everyday Life of A Swedish-Cossack Camp on the Frontier (1709 – 1713)

Volodymyr Milchev¹ 



'Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:

Volodymyr Milchev (Prof. Dr.),
Anhui University, Faculty: Wuhu, China,
Center for research of regions "Volga-Dnepr"
under the Ministry of Education of China.
Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine-Hefei, China.
E-mail: vladmilchev@ukr.net
ORCID: 0000-0003-4432-3322

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to highlight the daily life of the inhabitants of the camp of the Swedish King Charles (Carl) XII and his Ukrainian allies, in the vicinity of the Turkish fortress Bender on the Dniester River (now the territory of the Republic of Moldova), between 1709 and 1713. The sequence and time of Swedes and Cossacks' staying in three alternating locations, their conveniences and disadvantages, the influence of the nature of development and the degree of comfort of buildings on the sanitary and epidemiological situation were specified. In the course of the study, the methods of providing food to the population of the camps, the differences in the diet of ordinary soldiers and senior officers, and their relationship with moral and military combat readiness were studied. Also, the influence of the border situation under the conditions of the ongoing war and the unusualness of landscape and climate for the Swedes, on the occurrence of rumours and phobias, and the general mental perception of the steppe region to them was found out. **Keywords:** Bender Fortress, Carlopolis, Everyday Life, Charles XII, Frontier, Ivan Mazepa, Northern War, Swedish-Ukrainian Alliance



Introducing the Problem

The events of the Northern War (1700 – 1721) largely determined the further course of European and world history for two centuries ahead. The loss of the Swedish Kingdom of hegemony in the Baltic region contributed to the further strengthening of the Muscovy (Russian state), and the formation of the Russian Empire with its subsequent centralization and territorial expansion. The Cossack autonomies of Ukraine – the Hetmanate and the Zaporozhian Sich (Zaporozhian Lower Host), who joined Charles (Carl) XII, felt the results of the Poltava defeat (1709) like no one else. The forced flight of the Swedish king and his Ukrainian allies, Hetman Ivan Mazepa and Ataman Konstantin Gordienko, to the territory of the Ottoman Empire, which they considered to be a tactical step and, a temporary measure that could help them to regroup, concluded a new anti-Russian alliance with the Turkish side, and, possibly turned the tide of the war not near the Baltic, but the Black Sea.

The subsequent 4-year stay of Charles XII, from the end of the summer of 1709 to the beginning of 1713 in the vicinity of the Turkish fortress of Bender (modern Republic of Moldova), turned his camp, nicknamed by his contemporaries “Carlopolis” into one of the most influential political centers. Correspondents from the adjoining expanses and from distant Sweden flocked here, including high-ranking visitors, diplomatic couriers, spies masquerading as merchants, and real merchants who did not disdain espionage. All of them to one degree or another produced many written sources based on which, even after three hundred years, it is possible to recreate the details of “big politics” interstate intrigue and the struggle for military and political leadership. Most researchers who have studied and are still studying the history of the confrontation between the two great monarchs of their time – Charles XII and Peter I, consider the “Bender” episode from just those positions. The camp of *Caroleans* (so called in the 18th century and later after his name and all the soldiers of the Swedish king) interested them, first of all, as one of the political hotbeds on which military-political alliances were prepared, armed detachments languished in anticipation, and a couple of passions erupted royal ambitions. It is easy to be convinced of this by familiarizing yourself with the corresponding samples of historiography of scientists from Sweden, Turkey, Moldova, Ukraine, Poland, Russia and other countries. First of all, Carlopolis appears as a point on the map where the most august person who had great political weight and was able to influence the course of world (or at least regional) history .

The steady interest in this location , (the camp of the Swedish King Charles XII near Bender), from specialist-historians, from the outside, and from the general public gave rise to another direction in this research. Due to various circumstances which will be mentioned below, this camp, in the three and a half years of its existence, changed its deployment three times. Two transitions (1709, 1711) and the demolition (1713) of Carlopolis with the subsequent archeologizing of all three locations of the royal camp contributed to the transformation of his / their fortifications, dwellings, all kinds of artifacts into archaeological complexes capable

of providing certain information for the reconstruction of the past. The stay of Bender and its environs within the Russian Empire (from 1791 – the left bank, and from 1812 – the right bank), with its cult of “Poltava” and the era of Peter I, as a whole, contributed the best way to the formation of the tradition of local history and archaeological study of the site. Thus, the second hypothesis of Carlopolis, which appears before us, thanks to the efforts of researchers, is the image of the “Viking king” camp recreated on the basis of studying its remains.

The question naturally arises on whether a certain third (as well as subsequent) hypostasis of Carlopolis can exist. Without doubt, yes. Our confidence is based on the fact that in almost all existing studies, the circumstances of the daily life of the camp inhabitants were ignored by researchers. What they ate, what they were sick from, what they feared for, under the roof of which dwellings they sheltered for the night and in bad weather, etc., are the points we do not know very well, not enough. His third face can be called “Carlopolis ordinarius” not “royal”, not “architectural and fortification”, but “ordinary/everyday”. The ordinary life of ordinary (also outstanding) Caroleans and their Cossack allies continued in an unusual place for them, nestled on the outskirts of the steppe section of the Muslim-Christian Frontier.

Previous Research

Since the literature devoted to the life and military works of Charles XII is numerous, we will immediately make a reservation that we will consider only those of its samples in which at least some significant attention was paid to the theme of Carlopolis.

The extraordinary personality of the Swedish king, primarily as a charismatic leader and a brilliant commander in general, attracted the attention of researchers in the first years after his death. Among his biographies in which a certain place was assigned to the “Bender” period of his life, we note the work of François-Marie Aruet Voltaire published in 1731 in French (translated into Russian, published in 1803) ¹.

The public of the Russian Empire demonstrated a steady interest in the person of Charles XII throughout the entire 18th century, which was concretized by the appearance of several translations into Russian – the works of the Prussian king Frederick II the Great² and the German author whose descendants later entered the Russian service and attended to the publication of the work of their ancestor – Wilhelm Teils³. The time of publication of both books is noteworthy – in the midst of the next, already the third in a century, Russian-

1 François Marie Aruet Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède*. Bâle, 1731.

2 [Fridrikh II]. *Rassuzhdeniye Friderika II, korolya Prusskogo, o svoystve i voinskikh darovaniyakh Karla XII, posleduyemye lyubopytynymi i maloizvestnymi anekdotami gosudarstvovaniya i osobennoy zhizni velikogo sego Monarkha*. Perevedeno s frantsuzskogo. Moskva: V Universitetskoy tipografii, 1789.

3 Vilgelm Teyls, *Izvestiya, sluzhashchiye k istorii Karla XII, korolya shvedskogo, soderzhashchiye v sebe, chto proiskhodilo v bytnost' sego Gosudarya pri Ottomanskoy Porte. I dostovernoye uvedomleniye o nesoglasiyakh, prikluychivshikhsya ot vremeni do vremeni mezhdu Ego TSarskim Velichestvom i Portoyu i prochaya, i prochaya, s prilozheniyem relyatsii o posledney voyne mezhdu Sultanom, TSesarem i respublikoyu Venetsiyeyu. S frantsuzskogo per. vnuk ego Anton Teyl's*. CH. 1-2. Moskva: V Universitetskoy tipografii u V. Okorokova, 1789.

Swedish war (1788 – 1790). Both of them, obviously, were supposed to remind of the past victories of Russian weapons over a strong and worthy enemy. The presence in the text of details concerning the personal life of Charles XII and the Caroleans in the Bender camp put them among the historiographic heritage that must be used.

Note that a similar situation was repeated after the next, in time, Russian-Swedish war of 1808 – 1809. This time in translation into Russian was a published play written ten years earlier, but not yet published by the German playwright Christian-August Vulpius. Despite the fact that in form, it is an attempt at artistic rather than scientific understanding of the problem, its factual basis comes from the author's acquaintance with numerous historical sources, which makes it worthy of the attention of historians. The plot is based on the events of February 1713 and the heroic defense of Charles XII in his camp⁴.

If we talk about purely scientific works that appeared in the 19th century, it should be noted that the most significant contribution to the study of the problem was made by the work of the Finnish-Swedish historian Jacob-Johan Wilhelm Lagus that was published in Russian translation in the "Notes" of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities (1853). It is entirely devoted to the time from the defeat of Charles XII in the Battle of Poltava to his forced departure from Bender, that is to the very period that interests us. Since this publication was largely based on narrative sources, the authors of which came from the circle of the Swedish monarch, it is replete with valuable evidence of the daily life of the Carolean camp⁵.

In modern Ukrainian historiography, attention is paid to the Bender period of Charles XII's life, as a rule, within the framework of interest in the history of the military-political alliance between Sweden and part of the Ukrainian Cossacks. Among similar ones, we mention the works of Vyacheslav Stanislavsky (Kyiv)⁶ and Oleksandr Slisarenko (Dnipro)⁷. Nevertheless, it is in them that one can find important information regarding the circumstances of being in the close circle of the Swedish monarch as representatives of the highest Cossack administration – Ivan Mazepa, Philip Orlik, Andrei Voinarovsky, Konstantin Gordienko, and about the life of ordinary Cossacks in the vicinity of Carlopolis.

The situation is similar in modern Russian historiography, only the main focus of attention of researchers is the geopolitical rivalry of Peter I with Sweden and Turkey. Among such works, we note the fundamental monograph of the Muscovite Vladimir Artamonov, dedicated to the military confrontation between Istanbul and St. Petersburg between 1710 – 1713. Based on the

4 Khristian-Avgust Vul'pius, *Karl XII pri Benderakh*. Sankt-Peterburg: V tipografii Imperatorskogo teatra, 1810.

5 Vilgelm Lagus, "Karl XII v yuzhnoy Rossii". *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostey*. Vyp. 3. Odessa, 1853. S. 308-336.

6 Vyacheslav Stanislavsky, "Ivan Mazepa v tabori Karla XII: turets'kyy vektor dyplomatychnoyi diyal'nosti". *Ukrayins'kyy istorychnyy zhurnal*. № 5. Kyiv, 2008. S. 39-49.

7 Oleksandr Slisarenko, *Ukrayins'ko-shvedsk'kyy viys'kovyy soyuz u Pivnichniy viyni u 1708–1714 rokakh*: Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya doktora istorychnykh nauk zi spetsial'nosti 07.00.01. Istoryia Ukrayiny. Kam'yanets'-Podil's'kyy, 2019.

materials of frontal heuristic work in the archives of the Russian Federation, this researcher introduced a lot of new information, including information related to the camp near Bender into scientific circulation⁸. A similar statement is quite true in relation to his colleague from St. Petersburg, Pavel Krotov, who managed to investigate certain moments of the life of Caropolis and its inhabitants, literally, at the micro-historical level. We are talking about the so-called “kalabalyk” (tur. *Kalabalyk*) – the forced removal of the Swedish monarch from his camp in February 1713 and the confusion that accompanied him⁹.

An example of fruitful cooperation of scientists – Moldova, Ukraine, Sweden, Romania and other countries – is an international project initiated by the National Museum of the History of Moldova (Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei) dedicated to a comprehensive study of the Charles XII camp near the village. Varnitsa is the third place of residence of Caropolis. Among the ten authors of the final collection, such as those who have studied the problem of interest to us most fully, we note two collective works: 1) Ukrainians Igor Sapozhnikov and Vladimir Levchuk (Odessa)¹⁰; 2) Moldovans Ion Tentiuc, Alexandru Levinsky and Eugen Sava (Kishinev)¹¹. The cognitive value of each of them for solving our research problem lies in the systematization by their authors of information about the last of the Swedish-Cossack camps located in the vicinity of Bender obtained as a result of archaeological excavations during the 19th and 20th centuries as well as comparing them with the available maps and plans. The presence in the last of the publications of descriptions and images of found weapons, fragments of buildings and household items allow someone to recreate individual details of the life of the Carolean soldiers.

As we could see, despite the presence of many scientific works that appeared over almost 300 years, only a few of them were focused on the study of the inner life of the Charles XII camp. The everyday reality of its inhabitants was, for the authors, rather illustrative, and had never become the subject of a separate detailed study. This lacuna can be filled not only through the use of the mentioned historiographic developments of our predecessors, but also by re-reading the existing diaries, memoirs and travelogues of the early 18th century, correlating the data contained in them with information contained in other types of ego sources – official and private correspondence, interrogation protocols and others. The discovery in the Turkish archives of not only little-known, but practically never used before by European researchers of documentary sources, their translation and subsequent publication provide

8 Vladimir Artamonov, *Turetsko-russkaya voyna 1710 – 1713 gg.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo “Kuchkovo pole”, 2019.

9 Pavel Krotov, “Kalabalyk u Bender: arkhivnyye materialy o pridnestrovskoy «zavarukhe» Karla XII”. *Severnaya voyna v Pridnestrov'ye: Istoriya i sovremennost'*. Tiraspol', 2010. S. 114-123.

10 Igor Sapozhnikov, Vladimir Levchuk, “Issledovaniya i opisaniya mesta lagerya Karla XII v Varnitse v 1810-kh – 1850-kh gg.”. *Situl istoric “Tabăra regelui Suediei Carol al XII-lea de la Varnița”*. *Restaurarea memoriei*. Ed.: Eugen Sava, Elena Ploșnița. Chișinău: Tipogr. “Bons Offices”, 2017. S. 41-56.

11 Ion Tentiuc, Alexandru Levinschi, Eugen Sava. *Investigații istorico-archeologice ale sitului istoric “Tabăra regelui Suediei Carol al XII-lea de la Varnița” // Situl istoric “Tabăra regelui Suediei Carol al XII-lea de la Varnița”*. *Restaurarea memoriei*. Ed.: Eugen Sava, Elena Ploșnița. Chișinău: Tipogr. “Bons Offices”, 2017. C. 123-152.

us with truly unique information of a domestic nature. The combination of this information makes it possible to create new pictures of several years of the life of the Swedes and their Cossack allies on the steppe outskirts of Bessarabia.

“Wandering Carlopolis”: The Camp and its Locations

We will begin our consideration of the plot that interests us by answering the question of why the Bender fortress and its surroundings became the place where the remnants of the defeated forces of the Swedish king and his allies from among the Ukrainian Cossacks were striving. The fact is that in 1700, it was Bender that became the administrative centre of the Silistra-Ochakov *eyalet*, from where the vast territories of the Ottoman possessions in the Northern and Western Black Sea regions were managed. The governor (beylerbey) of this administrative-territorial unit was the former Grand Vizier Yusuf Pasha, an outstanding personality in many respects, who did a lot to equip the region as a whole. It was under his care that Charles XII and his entourage were sent¹².

Omitting the description of the way from Poltava, let us say that on July 31, 1709, the fugitives moving from the Black Sea coast along the course of the Dniester along its left bank arrived at the village of Parcani located opposite Bender, where they were met by the local Yusuf Pasha. A huge tent was erected for the King. There were several of the same richly decorated tents to accommodate senior officers, court staff and royal cuisine nearby¹³. Along the road leading to it, two hundred janissaries lined up to greet Charles XII and his officers with music and cannon salutes. Hetman Ivan Mazepa and the chieftain of the Zaporozhian Cossacks Konstantin Gordienko, with the foremen, were also there¹⁴. That is, the very first camp of Charles XII near Bender, in fact “Carlopolis-1”, should be considered as the vicinity of the village of Parcani, located on the left bank of the Dniester, which exists under the same name in our time. It was located opposite the fortress and citadel, slightly to the left of the crossing over the Dniester.

A small town immediately began to grow around the magnificent tent prepared for Charles XII in Parcani. In smaller tents and more modest decoration, Turkish officers and merchants settled down. The latter, with their loaded carts, created entire streets not only in the village itself, but also on the banks of the Dniester. The ordinary Swedish army, worn out during the difficult transition across the steppes, equipped themselves with shelters from the sun and bad weather using carts and improvised materials – shrubs, grass and the like¹⁵. Since the general fighting efficiency of the troops that came with Charles XII and Mazepa, after an

12 Andriy Krasnozhon, *Fortetsi ta mista Pivnichno-Zakhidnoho Prychornomorya (XV–XVIII st.)*. Odesa: Chornomorya, 2018. S. 133.

13 Vilgelm Lagus, “Karl XII v yuzhnoy Rossii”. *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostey*. Vyp. 3. Odesa, 1853. S. 325.

14 Teodor Mats'kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoyevropeys'kykh dzherelakh 1687 – 1709*. Vyd 2-e, dop. Kyiv–Poltava, 1995. S. 74.

15 Daniel Krman, *Podorozhnyi shchodennyk (Initerarium, 1708 – 1709)*. Kyiv, 1999. S. 129.

exhausting transition, was not up to par, the protection of the camp and the king, in the first days, was provided by a detachment of janissaries with their commander¹⁶.

The plan at our disposal is "Campement Seiner Königl. May. zu Schweden, bey Bender, wie Solches sich Anno 1711. befunden. Plan i fogelperspektiv af svenska och turkiska truppernas läger, på tre sidor kringflutet af Dniester. [Sign.] Ieremias Wolff excud. Aug. Vind. Cum Priv. S.C. Maj. Kopparstick 415 x 580" (Camp of His Majesty the King of Sweden near Bender. 1711). Though it was created two years later, it contains an image of the site of the first of the "Carlopolis". In fact, it was a line of earthen fortifications stretched along the Dniester, into which it was inscribed (see *Figure 1*)¹⁷.

Nevertheless, as follows from the memoirs of the Mazovian voivode Stanislaw Poniatowski, who was with the Swedish king in the summer of 1709, the latter showed no particular joy either at the luxurious reception or at the place allotted to him, wishing to cross over to the right bank of the Dniester as soon as possible. Since that required permission from the Sultan himself, Charles and his companions had to wait¹⁸.

The wait, however, was not particularly long. Eight days after the arrival, the firman was received, and the Caroleans and their allies were able to cross to the opposite bank, to Bender¹⁹. Here, under her cover, they could feel safer from the persecutors, and should not have experienced difficulties in supplying food and in dealing with the local Turkish authorities. The new camp, in fact, became a suburb of Bender²⁰. It was in it, for almost two subsequent years, that the residence of the Swedish king was located, which the surrounding people nicknamed "Carlopolis" (Charles' Castle)²¹. Let's note a certain irony of this name and its everyday character. In any case, Charles XII himself preferred to indicate "camp near Bender" in his official correspondence²².

For the most part, the Swedes were located in it. Of the Cossack allies, only the top of the hetman's entourage stayed in the camp – F.Orlik, A.Voinarovsky and some others. Mazepa

16 Oleksandr Herasymchuk [uporyadnyk-perekladach], [Anonim], "Shchodennyk vidstupu shvedsk'oho korolya do Bender pislya Poltavsk'oho boyu". *Siveryans'kyi litopys*. № 3 (135). Chernihiv, 2017. S. 110.

17 Kungliga biblioteket (Sveriges nationalbibliotek). Carl XII. C.17. G1006415. [Digital resource] // Access mode: http://goran.baarnhielm.net/kb/Snoilsky/Sno_CXII.htm. 20.07.2020.

18 Stanislaw Poniatovsky, "Zapiska, ili rasskaz mazovetskogo voyevody S.Poniatovskogo o sobytiyakh ego zhizni so vremeni ego vykhoda iz roditel'skogo doma, napisannyi im po trebovaniyu ego sem'i 22 yanvarya 1734 goda". *Zhurnal Russkogo voyenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva*. Vyp. 4. Sankt-Peterburg, 1910. S. 32.

19 Vilgelm Lagus, "Karl XII v yuzhnoy Rossii". *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostey*. Vyp. 3. Odessa, 1853. S. 325.

20 Daniel Krman, *Podorozhnyi shchodennyk (Initerarium, 1708 – 1709)*. Kyiv, 1999. S. 130.

21 Vladimir Artamonov, *Turetsko-russkaya vojna 1710 – 1713 gg*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Kuchkovo pole", 2019. S. 42.

22 "Perepiska i drugiye bumagi shvedskogo korolya Karla XII, pol'skogo Stanislava Leshchinskogo, tatarskogo khana, turetskogo sultana, general'nogo pisarya F. Orlika, i kiyevskogo voyevody Iosifa Pototskogo, na latinskoy i pol'skom yazykakh / Predisloviye O. Bodyanskogo". *Chteniya v Obshchestve istorii i drevnostey Rossiyskikh*. Moskva: V Universitetskoy tipografii, 1847. № 1. Razdel III. Materialy inostrannyey. S. 18-68.

himself wished to get housing in Bender, but was not satisfied with the options offered to him, incurring Yusuf Pasha's sarcastic remark that he had to be content with those luxurious palaces that he owned in large numbers in his homeland²³.

The new Swedish-Cossack camp, located on the right bank of the Dniester, was a small retrenchment located on a peninsula created by a semi-oval bend of the river. The landscape was outwardly attractive – green meadows interspersed with groves of mulberry trees – and seemed the most suitable for camp. In the central part of the camp, the king's tent was set up, and there were the tents of officers, depending on the rank, and then the lower ranks around it. The Cossacks settled on the river bank. By winter, Charles XII's tent was insulated: the walls were covered with bricks, and the top was covered with boards. In the course of further arrangement and architectural improvements, a regular-shaped house with two large rooms and a hall in two wings, with wide walk-through hallways, grew up on the site of the monarch's temporary refuge²⁴. Also, in the camp, under the King, the personal representative of the Sultan was constantly staying, who, in addition to the Bender pasha, oversaw all aspects of the life of the inhabitants of Carlopolis. For example, in 1709 – 1710 such a position was performed by a certain Ismail Pasha²⁵.

The presence of a detailed plan of Carlopolis-2, with the explication of the dwellings of the senior officers and the placement of various military detachments, marked on it, allows us to make certain judgments regarding the social and ethno-confessional stratification of its inhabitants. Surrounded on three sides by the waters of the Dniester, the camp had five wide slopes to the water, indicated on the plan. Its eastern extremity was covered by the janissaries, who placed their tents in a crescent on the cape. The Turkish cavalry became a camp in the north-western part of the peninsula. The rest of the space was occupied by the Swedes themselves. The central, safest part was occupied by the tents and houses of the King, his generals and senior officials from among the allies – the Pole S.Poniatowski and the Ukrainian A.Voinarovskiy (see *Figure 1*)²⁶.

23 Serhiy Pavlenko [uporyadnyk], *Viys'kovi kampaniyi doby het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*. Kyiv, 2009. S. 517.

24 Vilgelm Lagus, "Karl XII v yuzhnoy Rossii". *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostey*. Vyp. 3. Odessa, 1853. S. 325-326.

25 Rossiyskiy gosudarstvennyy arkhiv drevnikh aktov, F. 89, Op. 1, 1711 g., D. 14, L. 5.

26 Kungliga biblioteket (Sveriges nationalbibliotek). Carl XII. C.17. G1006415. [Digital resource] // Access mode: http://goran.baarnhielm.net/kb/Snoilsky/Sno_CXII.htm. 20.07.2020.

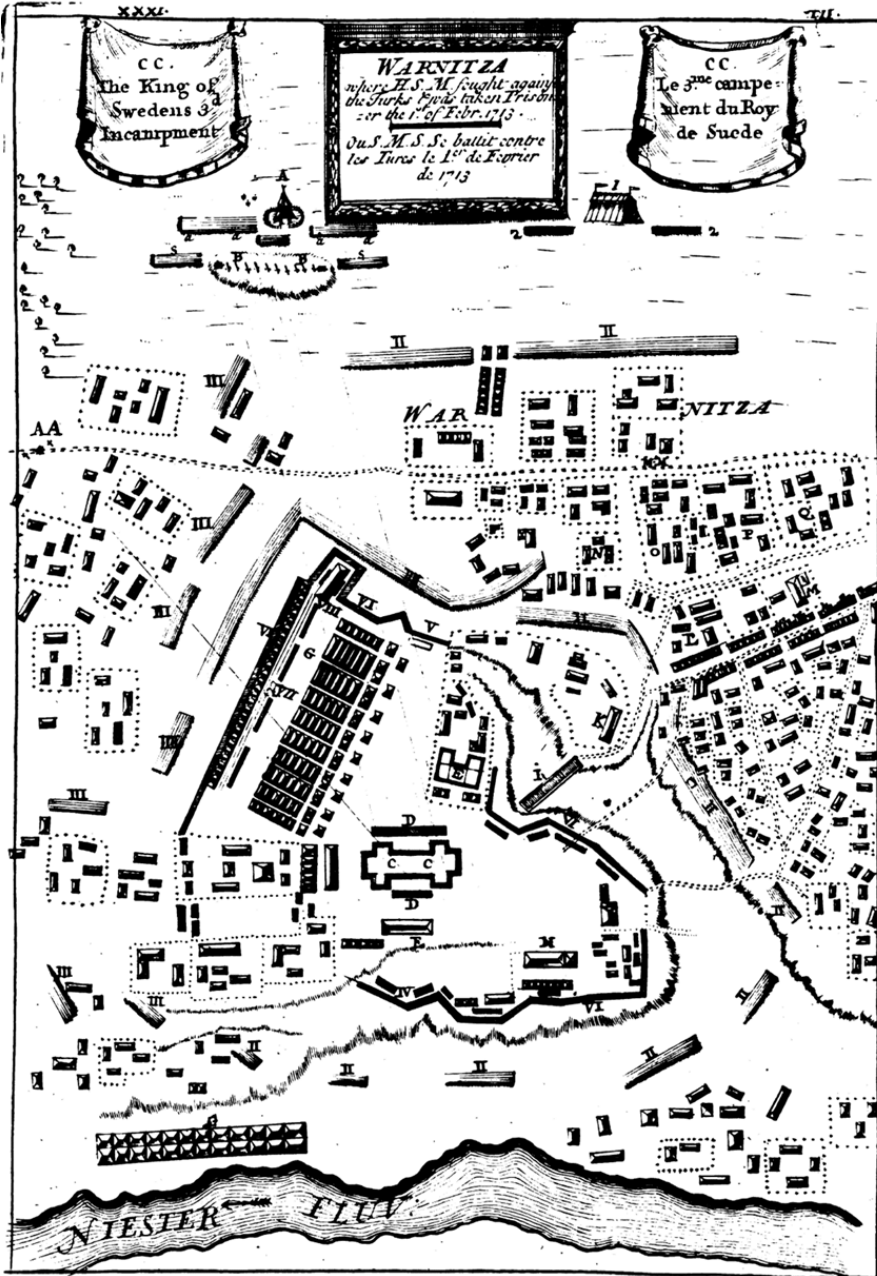


Figure 2. Plan of the third camp, near the village of Varnița.

There he was caught by the news that a strong flood of the Dniester caused by heavy rainfall catastrophically flooded the second of his camps. It was almost completely destroyed

and its inhabitants had to leave. Hastily returned, the King personally set about finding a suitable place. One was found outside the village of Varnița, on a hill two kilometres from Bender. Carlopolis-3 laid down here appears before us, in the descriptions of contemporaries, the most thoroughly rebuilt and well-fortified²⁹.

The Varnița “chambers” of the Swedish king deserve special attention – a very imposing building that can accommodate about two hundred people, with numerous windows. This can be seen, at least, from the fact that during the storming of this building by the Turks on January 31 – February 2, 1713, there were only about a hundred Swedes who died in it, not counting the wounded and survivors³⁰.

Regarding the building material, we can assume that its walls were made of non-combustible material – stone, clay with a frame, or both together. At the same time, during the “*Kalabalyk*”, when it was covered with straw and set on fire by the Turks, who wanted to smoke the Swedish stubborn and his associates, the roof (apparently made of wooden shingles) was the first to start and began to collapse, but not the wall³¹.

In the immediate vicinity of this “palace” the buildings of the office and the zeichhaus (powder magazine) were built, both also made of stone. Camping tents, which served as a haven in the early days, were replaced by dugouts by autumn up to eighty in total³².

Thanks to the scheme of this, the third of all “Carlopolis” was drawn up by Chevalier Aubrey de La Mottra, a confidant of Charles XII who was with him in between 1711 and 1713, and published only ten years after its destruction – in 1723, and we can form an opinion on the features of its similarities and differences with the previous two camps (see *Figure 2*). Obviously, the experience of two changes of the parking place was taken into account as well as possible. The camp was set up on the high right slope of a ravine (gully) overlooking the Dniester. The advantages of the relief were strengthened by earthen fortifications – redoubts and trenches, which turned Carlopolis-3 into a small fort, capable of sheltering and protecting its inhabitants. The difficulties experienced by the Turkish-Tatar detachment sent by the Sultan in the winter of 1713 in order to drive the “stuck” king out of the Ottoman Empire with his “smoking” out of the camp fully confirm this³³.

29 Aubry de La Mottraye, *Travels through Europe, Asia, and into Part of Africa*. Vol. II. London, 1723. P. 16.

30 Oleksandr Slisarenko, *Ukrayins'ko-shvedskyy viys'kovyy soyuz u Pivnichniy viyni u 1708–1714 rokakh*: Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya doktora istorychnykh nauk zi spetsial'nosti 07.00.01. Istoryia Ukrainy. Kam'yanets'-Podil's'kyy, 2019. S. 329.

31 Pavel Krotov, “Kalabalyk u Bender: arkhivnyye materialy o pridnestrovskoy «zavarukhe» Karla XII”. *Severnaya voyna v Pridnestrov'ye: Istoryia i sovremennost'*. Tiraspol', 2010. S. 117, 120-121.

32 Igor Sapozhnikov, Vladimir Levchuk, “Issledovaniya i opisaniya mesta lagerya Karla XII v Varnitse v 1810-kh – 1850-kh gg.”. *Situl istoric “Tabăra regelui Suediei Carol al XII-lea de la Varnița”*. Restaurarea memoriei. Ed.: Eugen Sava, Elena Ploșnița. Chișinău: Tipogr. “Bons Offices”, 2017. S. 47.

33 Aubry de La Mottraye, *Travels through Europe, Asia, and into Part of Africa*. Vol. II. London, 1723. N. XXXII.

Inhabitants of the Camp and Their Daily Life

Regarding the living conditions of the Swedish-Cossack army during their travels after Poltava and in Carlopolis itself, it would not be an exaggeration to say that this was a kind of path from hunger to abundance and back. The latter statement looks all the more convincing if we consider that, according to the reviews of the majority of the participants in the march to Bender, food shortages and hunger accompanied them all the way. This was noted by ordinary soldiers and people who were in the inner circle of the Swedish king. During the seven-day march from the Dnieper crossings to Ochakov, the need for provisions was so strong that most of the participants in the march were forced to eat horse meat. This applied not only to the rank and file, but also to high-ranking officials³⁴.

After arriving at Bender, the situation changed radically. There is news that in the first days of Charles XII's stay in the vicinity of Bender, Pasha Yusuf-aga allocated food for 500 Joachimsthalers every day³⁵. Considering the enormous size of this sum, such provision must have been intended for a very large group of people, perhaps for all at once. The fact that Charles XII and Hetman Mazepa with their inner circle, due to the orders of Sultan Ahmed III, were supplied very well, was also noted in their reports by many European diplomats (from a letter of the English ambassador to the Russian court, Charles Whitworth, dated September 1, 1709)³⁶. In addition to the money used for the maintenance of Charles XII from local sums, there were repeated dispatches from the Sultan. For example, after visiting Istanbul in the autumn of 1709 S.Poniatowsky brought a generous gift – 4 chests of silver Turkish coins³⁷.

The published documents available to researchers allow us to quite clearly reconstruct the scale and quality of support for Charles XII and his retinue (first of all, obviously, we are talking about senior officers). So, according to the financial list (Turk. Defter) for the period from August 17 to October 25, 1709, 15 761.5 *akçe* were spent on the maintenance of the Bender Caroleans, which amounted to approximately 131.3 kurush – approximately equal to the European taller (efimka) coin³⁸. Despite the fact that the amount was used over a period of more than two months, it was at the same time more than three and a half times less than the figure declared by Stanislaw Poniatowsky of 500 (!) Thalers daily.

However, at relatively low prices, it was possible to purchase a fairly significant amount of food to feed the Swedish elite. Measurement in documents was recorded in "okah" and

34 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 2.

35 Stanislaw Poniatowsky, "Zapiska, ili rasskaz mazovetskogo voyevody S.Poniatovskogo o sobytiyakh ego zhizni so vremeni ego vykhoda iz roditel'skogo doma, napisanny im po trebovanuyu ego sem'i 22 yanvarya 1734 goda". *Zhurnal Russkogo voyenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva*. Vyp. 4. Sankt-Peterburg, 1910. S. 33.

36 Serhiy Pavlenko [uporyadnyk], *Viys'kovi kampaniyi doby het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*. Kyiv, 2009. S. 524.

37 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 3 ob.

38 Oleksandr Sereda, *Osmans'ko-ukrayins'ke stepove porubizhzhya v osmans'ko-turets'kykh dzherelakh XVIII st.* Odesa, 2015. S. 161.

“dirhams” (drachmas). One oka (Turkish okka) was equal to 1.28 kilograms or 1.52 litres, depending on whether it was measured – weight or volume, and dirhem (Turkish dirhem) was 3.2 grams or 3.8 millilitres. For the convenience of perception, they should perhaps be transferred from the Turkish system of measures to metric units, but since it is not always clear from the context whether the weight or volume was measured, we will continue to use authentic units³⁹.

The basis of the diet, as can be seen from the defter, consisted of 700 loaves of bread, which were supplemented with approximately 40 bushel of rice, approximately 15 bushel of chickpea and 50 bushel flour. This was followed by meat and poultry: 200 cc of beef and 95 cc of lamb, 50 chickens and 8 turkeys. They were supplemented by products of animal origin, used alone or as part of other dishes and products – 200 chicken eggs and 60 cubic metres of cow’s milk. The assortment also contained vegetables and fruits: 30 onions, 20 apples and pears, and 60 cases of cabbage, as well as carrots, eggplants, watermelons and melons, grapes, parsley and other greens (the last of the supplies were indicated only in monetary terms) The choice of spices and seasonings offered for royal use was no less rich: 2.5 oki white and 4 oki black raisins, 40 dirhams of cinnamon, 20 each – cardamom and cloves, 11 – ginger, 2 oki lemon juice and 40 lemons, 20 coconut nuts, various types of vinegar, salt and black pepper. Not without alcohol – 25 ok vodka and 300 ok beer⁴⁰.

Provision of hetman Ivan Mazepa and koshevoy ataman The troops of the Zaporozhian Konstantin Gordienko were much more modest. So, for the food of the hetman and his inner circle for a month and a half from August 17 to October 2, 1336 acche (11 tallers) were spent, and even less – 880 acche (slightly more than 8 tallers) for two months – from August 17 to October 25, 1709. The diet was incomparably more modest – there were no overseas spices, an abundance of fruits and vegetables, only the most necessary – bread, cereals, meat, vinegar, onions, some vodka and horse fodder⁴¹.

In addition to food and money to buy it, the king and high-ranking Caroleane people received other valuable offerings. For example, in October 1709 Charles XII was visited by a certain Pasha, who brought four horses-argamaks with an expensive zbruya as a gift⁴². Also, the king repeatedly, from 1709 to 1713, received gifts from the Sultan himself: according to the news of the French merchant Debirs from the city of Lille, who was in Istanbul in the spring of 1710, Charles XII was sent 30 thoroughbred horses with valuable harnesses⁴³. A certain patronage, obviously expressed not only in friendly correspondence, but also in

39 Nikolay Makarov [sostavitel’], *Polnyy russko-frantsuzskiy slovar’*. CH. 1-2. Sankt-Peterburg, 1874. S. 1112.

40 Oleksandr Sereda, *Osmans’ko-ukrayins’ke stepove porubizhzhya v osmans’ko-turets’kykh dzherelakh XVIII st.* Odesa, 2015. S. 160-161.

41 Oleksandr Sereda, *Osmans’ko-ukrayins’ke stepove porubizhzhya v osmans’ko-turets’kykh dzherelakh XVIII st.* Odesa, 2015. S. 161-162.

42 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional’naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 3.

43 Aleksandr Markevich, “K prebyvaniyu Karla XII v Benderakh”. *Kiyevskaya starina*. Vyp. 12. Kiyev, 1889. S. 642.

material support, was also given to the Swedish monarch by the mother of Sultan Ahmed III – Valide Gulnush⁴⁴. Charles' closest associates also had a significant horse population. So, according to the testimony of a resident of the Hetmanate Foma Metlushenko, who served as a groom at the “right hand” of the king “ Hof Chancellor Gustav-Henrik von Müllern, his herd consisted of 20 horses⁴⁵.

Obviously, at first, not only the top but also the masses did not experience a shortage of anything upon arrival. Moreover, this also applied to the Ukrainian allies. So, immediately after the death of Hetman Mazepa, in early October 1709, King Charles XII took upon himself the maintenance of not only the most prominent of his associates, Philip Orlik, Ivan Lomikovskiy and others, but also all the “mounted Cossacks”, a total of 700 person⁴⁶.

However, things did not go well for very long. According to the information received in October 1712 from the Zaporozhian Lukyan Vasiliev who had previously lived in the camp of Charles XII and was captured by the Russian team on the Bakhmut Way, the situation with the monetary salary was as follows: in 1709, the Swedish king paid each of the Cossacks 3 thalers; in 1710 – one ducat, but in 1711 he did not give anything, since he himself began to experience financial difficulties⁴⁷.

“Their number is decreasing ...” are the words that described the state of the Bender camp by one of its former inhabitants who was a deserter from the Swedish army and a native of Brandenburg, Sergeant Friedrich Schulz. From August 1709 to January 1710, he was in Bender, and therefore, his testimonies are so valuable. If 2,000 people of Charles' army came with him from near Poltava, then already at the beginning of 1710, the King would have had only 240 people of “Swedes and other nations”. Most of the “non-Swedes” were determined to desert. That intention, obviously, was so strong that in the winter of 1709 – 1710, in the vicinity of Bender, the Turkish command was stationed the border guard of the vassal of the Moldavian principality to prevent escapes⁴⁸. It should be noted that the small number of the Swedish detachment near Bender had another explanation: Some of them were housed in apartments in the surrounding Moldovan villages, since it was easier to supply them with food⁴⁹.

In general, a year after the establishment, that is in 1710, the situation for those in Carlopolis itself and its environs changed dramatically. Money and food allowances from the Turkish authorities were cut to a minimum and only concerned the king and generals. Almost

44 Oleksandra Shutko, “Valide Gyul'nush – pokrovytel'ka Karla XII: tayemne lystuvannya”. *Het'mans'ki chytannya*. Vyp. 10. Kyiv, 2019. S. 36, 45.

45 Pavel Krotov, “Kalabalyk u Bender: arkhivnyye materialy o pridnestrovskoy «zavarukhe» Karla XII”. *Severnaya vojna v Pridnestrov'ye: Istoriya i sovremennost'*. Tiraspol', 2010. S. 116-120.

46 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 4 ob.

47 Rossiyskiy gosudarstvennyy arkhiv Voenno-morskogo flota, F. 233, Op. 1, D. 34, L. 87.

48 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 1 ob., 4-4 ob.

49 Oleksandr Slisarenko, *Ukrayins'ko-shvedskyy viys'kovyy soyuz u Pivnichnij viyni u 1708-1714 rokakh: Dysertatsiya na zdobuttya naukovoho stupenya doktora istorychnykh nauk zi spetsial'nosti 07.e00.01. Istoriya Ukrayiny. Kam'yanets'-Podil's'kyi*, 2019. S. 324.

twelve thousand army, no more than 600 “Swedes”, up to 8000 Zaporozhian and Hetman Cossacks and about 4000 Polish “Caroleane”, were openly starving and were forced to engage in theft of poultry, livestock and other food in the surrounding Moldovan villages. Fishing and hunting, well-known to the Cossacks, provided some help⁵⁰.

Probably, the unfavourable epidemiological situation of those years also contributed to the decrease in the number. In 1705, the plague made itself felt in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul and quickly spread across the territory of Central, Eastern and Northern Europe. However, The territory of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, as in all previous and subsequent epidemics, served as a kind of gateway through which the infection penetrated. 1708 – 1712 were marked by a strong outbreak of plague⁵¹. Despite the fact that the countries located near the Baltic Sea suffered the most from it, it was in the nature of a pandemic and was recorded over large areas including in the possessions of the Ottoman Empire⁵².

The combination of those factors became the reason that by the autumn of 1711 the bulk of the Zaporozhians who had no food and did not want to endure another harsh winter withdrew and left Charles XII for the Sich that had been in the tract since 1709 Aleshki (tur. Kardash-Orman)⁵³. According to the available information, in the summer of 1712, some, apparently small, part of the Zaporozhian Cossacks were still in the vicinity of Bender⁵⁴. The Turks separated them from the main camp near Varnița ordering them to occupy the empty dwellings of the Moldovans and engage in arable farming and cattle breeding. Looting against the local population was stopped by very tough measures. The captured Cossacks were sent to galleys⁵⁵. Also, part of the Cossacks dispersed throughout Moldavia and Wallachia⁵⁶.

At the same time, without exception, all the inhabitants of the “Swedish” camp in Varnița were very vulnerable to the actions of the Turkish authorities to provide (or terminate) their food. In late 1712 and early 1713 when relations between Charles XII and the Bender Pasha heated up, due to the King’s stubborn unwillingness to leave for his homeland, the Turks forbade the local Moldovans to sell provisions and even hanged several violators as a warning to others. The same means of “disciplinary action” on the Swedes was the block of the access of the inhabitants who were in the camp to the Dniester for the use of water by the Nogai of the Budjak horde⁵⁷. An equally effective measure in the conditions of a winter shortage of

50 Vladimir Artamonov, *Turetsko-russkaya voyna 1710 – 1713 gg.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo “Kuchkovo pole”, 2019. S. 43.

51 Carl Ignaz Lorinser, *Die Pest des Orients. Wie sie entsteht und verhütet wird.* Berlin: Enslin, 1837. P. 282, 437.

52 *Great Northern War plague outbreak.* [Digital resource] // Access mode: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Northern_War_plague_outbreak#See_also. 05.08.2020.

53 Rossiyskiy gosudarstvennyy arkhiv Voenno-morskogo flota, F. 233, Op. 1, D. 34, L. 87 ob.

54 Pavel Krotov, “Kalabalyk u Bender: arkhivnyye materialy o pridnestrovskoy «zavarukhe» Karla XII”. *Severnaya voyna v Pridnestrov'ye: Istoriya i sovremennost'.* Tiraspol', 2010. S. 120.

55 Vladimir Artamonov, *Turetsko-russkaya voyna 1710 – 1713 gg.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo “Kuchkovo pole”, 2019. S. 287.

56 *Opisaniye del Arkhiva morskogo ministerstva za vremya s poloviny XVII do nachala XIX stoletiya.* T. 1. Sankt-Peterburg, 1877. S. 632.

57 Arkhiv Sankt-Peterburgskogo Instituta istorii Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk, F. 83, Op. 1, D. 5842, L. 4.

horse feed was the “disconnection” of Charles and his entourage from hay supplies, which is why the impulsive monarch exponentially shot all the very valuable thoroughbred horses at his disposal salting their meat to feed himself and his detachment⁵⁸.

In general, we can state that it was the Swedish inhabitants of Carlopolis who were the most vulnerable part of the camp population. Their daily life and its quality was entirely dependent on the generosity of the host, which was conditioned by political conjunctures in turn. Adaptation to life in an unusual *ecological niche* was difficult, which resulted in a constant decline in the number of inhabitants.

“Danger is Everywhere”: Imaginary and Real Fears

It would not be an exaggeration to say that from the very beginning to the end of their stay on Turkish territory, the strongest and all-consuming fear in the life of the Swedes and their Cossack allies defeated near Poltava was the expectation of a pursuit or the prospect of their surrender by the Turks into the hands of Peter I.

This was especially true of the hetman and the king. Moreover, the obsessive desire to get and punish for the betrayal of the first of them could not be compared with the quite understandable thirst to capture his crowned brother-enemy. For a comparative example, the tsar promised a relatively “modest” amount of 100,000 rubles in silver for the capture of King Charles XII himself, immediately after the end of the battle near Poltava⁵⁹. According to the information received from British diplomats at the end of the summer of 1709, the amount that the Russian side offered to the Turks for extraditing the hetman was an incredible figure, 300,000 gold ducats. The tsar repeatedly set the task of achieving the return of Mazepa by the Turks before the Moscow ambassador in Istanbul Peter Tolstoy. Similar proposals were sent by him to all the governments of the allied and neutral countries of Europe⁶⁰.

The imminent death of the long-aged hetman who suffered the most crushing military-diplomatic defeat in his life was a successful way out for many in a way. Its exact date is still a matter of debate: either September 2 or October 2, 1709. All the circumstances of his first burial testify to the same piercing fear. Friedrich Schultz who was a Brandenburg resident as we already know stated in his testimony that Mazepa was buried in an atmosphere of secrecy “in the vineyards, a quarter of a mile from Bender”. Obviously, this was done out of fears of outrage from the Russian army whose arrival was expected⁶¹. However, as we know from subsequent events associated with several reburials of his ashes, fears were not in vain.

During the first months of his stay in Bender, King Charles XII himself was very afraid

58 Pavel Krotov, “Kalabalyk u Bender: arkhivnyye materialy o pridnestrovskoy «zavarukhe» Karla XII”. *Severnaya voyna v Pridnestrov'ye: Istoriya i sovremennost'*. Tiraspol', 2010. S. 120.

59 Peter Englund, *Poltava: Rozpovid' pro zahybel' odniyeyi armiyi*. Kharkiv: Folio; Stokhol'm: Shvedsk'yy inystytut, 2009. S. 280.

60 Teodor Mats'kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidn'oyevropeys'kykh dzherelakh 1687 – 1709*. Vyd 2-e, dop. Kyiv–Poltava, 1995. S. 70, 120, 134-135.

61 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 4 ob.

of the possible arrival of Russian troops, and therefore the saddled horses were kept near him around the clock. In addition to the local Turkish garrison, 600 spagi cavalymen were seconded to Bender by special order of the sultan "to save the king". It is noteworthy that the admission of a large number of Swedes to the city was allowed only if the Moscow army approached the Bender, and the need arose for shelter and his own protection⁶².

It should be noted that the peaks of such a phobia fall on several more episodes. So, during the Prut campaign of Peter I (May-June 1711), Bender and the surrounding area were in fear of the expectation of the arrival of Russian troops and the possible transition of the Moldovian ruler to the side of the king. That was facilitated by the fact that it was Bender which would become the main target of the disinformation campaign from the camp of Peter I. Through numerous confidential letters, rumours were spread. Naturally, that added panic in Carlopolis⁶³.

The Prut defeat of the Russian forces dispelled these fears. The attack, however, was not foreseen as well as the possible extradition of Charles to the Russian Tsar. The danger came from where it was not expected. Attempts to finally ratify the Prut peace agreements undertaken by both the Turkish and Russian sides were hindered by the "factor of Charles XII". Therefore, starting in May 1712, the Ottoman authorities made repeated, albeit unsuccessful attempts to expel the king with all his remaining army to Pomerania which was occupied by Swedish troops. A significant force of military escort of up to 10,000 people, horse-drawn transport and provisions were sent to Bender, but the king refused to leave without losing hope of further involving the Turks in the war. The latter were forced to take tough measures: Upon the orders of Sultan Ahmed III, the Crimean Khan Devlet-Girey removed from Carlopolis all the Cossacks and Poles who remained with the king and burned all the stores with supplies. The retaliatory steps taken by Charles XII to prevent his placement were of a more spectacular nature, including threats to blow up himself and everyone else. After two days of repelling attacks (January 31 – February 2, 1713) it ended only with his capture and expulsion, along with some of the higher officers, deep into Turkish possessions. All the less noble Swedes were imprisoned in the Holy Trinity Monastery in Yass, and the buildings of Carlopolis were destroyed⁶⁴.

Another factor that must be mentioned has had a significant impact on the mood and morale of the Swedish inhabitants of Carlopolis. According to the testimonies of contemporaries, Charles XII himself was distinguished by consistent and earnest religiosity. Any of the days of his campaign to the East began the same way: Regardless of the weather and circumstances, the entire army had to take part in morning prayer after the rise. The king could also pray

62 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 3 ob., 4 ob.

63 Vladimir Artamonov, *Turetsko-russkaya voyna 1710 – 1713 gg.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Kuchkovo pole", 2019. S. 110, 127.

64 Vladimir Artamonov, *Turetsko-russkaya voyna 1710 – 1713 gg.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Kuchkovo pole", 2019. S. 237, 288, 299, 340-343.

several times a day. Lutheran pastors consistently explained to the soldiers and officers the idea that “God is with us.” Many quite sincerely believed in that, and the Lord provided all-round support to the pious Swedish army in turn⁶⁵. That continued up to Poltava. The defeat, surrender of most of the army and the flight of its remnants to Turkish possessions should have, to a large extent, shaken that naive confidence. Disappointment, apathy, and even eschatological expectations were bound to descend upon the most religious of the Caroleanes.

Uncertainty about the future was fuelled by information of war which at all times was a continuation of a real war. So, already at the end of the summer of 1709, rumours mostly delivered and spread by Russian confidants about cases of the forcible conversion of the Cossacks and their allies by the Turks and Tatars to Islam began to circulate on the borderlands,⁶⁶. Let us immediately note absolute far-fetchedness of those rumors, since the local Turkish authorities demonstrated a high level of religious tolerance. The Orthodox (Greek) church which functioned in one of the suburbs of Bender is mentioned as early as the 1660s⁶⁷. Considering the fact that the same church existed in eastern suburb of the fortress in the 1740s, there is no reason to believe that the Swedes or Ukrainian Cossacks both Zaporozhian and Hetman ones should have somehow been infringed upon by the Turkish side in their religious affairs during their existence in Carlopolis (1709 – 1713)⁶⁸.

If we talk about the dangers of real and not imagination, then we should mention the risk of losing personal freedom and becoming a victim of the slave trade. Many of the inhabitants or visitors of Carlopolis had chances of such an unfortunate fate. In particular, in the autumn of 1709, the local Turkish authorities captured several dozen Cossacks from the Right Bank (Polish) of Ukraine who came to Bender to trade in various goods. They were detained as Russian spies and sold into slavery. A little later, having experienced the hardships of lack of money, the Zaporozhian and Hetman Cossacks joined the slave trade. The facts of the capture and sale of their former allies, the Swedes, to the Nogais was especially shocking. Obviously, there was a deceit or a direct abduction of the Caroleane people who were poorly familiar with the local realities. As of the beginning of 1710, the number of such “Swedes” (here we mean all Europeans who served in the Swedish army) who were sold in captivity, exceeded 100 people⁶⁹.

It should be noted that accusations of selling Christian prisoners who were the subjects of the Moscow tsar (a total of about a hundred, both Russians and Ukrainians) to “busurmans”

65 Peter Englund, *Poltava: Rozpovid' pro zahybel' odniyeji armiyi*. Kharkiv: Folio; Stokhol'm: Shvedskyy instytut, 2009. S. 16-20.

66 Serhiy Pavlenko [uporyadnyk], *Viys'kovi kampaniyi doby het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*. Kyiv, 2009. S. 521.

67 Georgiy Astvatsaturov, *Benderskaya krepost'*. Bender: Petitsa, 1997. S. 30.

68 Igor Sapozhnikov, “Mecheti i tserkvi Bender do serediny XIX veka”. *Eminak: naukoviy shchokvartal'nik*. № 4 (20) (zhovten'-gruden'). T. 2. Mykolayiv, 2017. S. 69.

69 Otdel rukopisey, Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, F. 905, Op. 2, D. Q-344, L. 4-4 ob.

were also put forward against the Swedish side. In particular, the famous Petrine associate and namesake Peter (Pyotr) Shafirov reports a similar fact that took place in 1712 in his "Discourses on the causes of the [Swedish – VM] war,"⁷⁰. As you know, 40 Swedish officers accompanied the Tatar-Zaporizhian army which at the beginning of January 1711 moved along the left bank of the Dnieper to the Russian fortresses on the Samara River, Novo-Bogoroditskaya and Novo-Sergievskaya. They were used as qualified consultants during the assault on defensive structures. After the seizure of the Novo-Sergievskaya fortress, the Cossacks donated part of the captured Moscow soldiers and their family members to the Crimean Khan, his Murzas and Swedish officers⁷¹. The latter most likely sold off the slaves upon their return to Bender.

Conclusion

Thus, having examined the short-term history of the existence of the so-called Carlopolis, which was the camp of the Swedish King Charles XII and his Ukrainian allies between 1709 and 1713 with an emphasis on the daily life of its inhabitants, we came to the following conclusions.

The triple change of the location of the camp during such a short period was caused by: 1) the desire of the Caroleanes as well as the Cossacks from the Hetmanate and Zaporozhye to take the safest place in terms of defence against a possible attack by Russian troops; 2) the use of the Dniester River as a water barrier by the Turkish masters of the geographical factor, and the proximity of the fortifications of the Bender fortress as a means of pressure on unwanted guests; 3) the poor awareness of the Swedish side regarding the landscape and ecological features of the place chosen for the second camp. The combination of these circumstances allows us to consider Carlopolis not as a classical settlement, but rather as a military camp similar to the Zaporozhye Kosh / slashes of the 17th and 18th centuries. Once in a habitat that was little familiar to them, the Swedes borrowed from their Cossack allies the most rational practices that were developed by the latter over the centuries of existence in the conditions of the steppe Frontier.

During the entire period of his stay near Bender, the daily life of Carlopolis was for a significant part of its population, a picture of survival and everyday struggle with a hostile environment. Completely dependent on the content of the receiving party, the masses of ordinary Caroleans and Cossacks were constantly starving and suffering from various diseases. The Swedes who were not adapted to the new realities were in the most disadvantageous position. The consequence of that was a constant decrease in the population of the camp due to mortality and desertion.

The hardships of physical existence were compounded by a general atmosphere of anxious expectation. The ongoing Northern (Russian-Swedish) war on top of which lay the

70 Serhiy Pavlenko [uporyadnyk], *Viys'kovi kampaniyi doby het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*. Kyiv, 2009. S. 334.

71 Volodymyr Milchev, "Zaporoz'kyy harnizon Novoserhiyivs'koyi fortetsi: storinka kampaniyi 1711 roku". *Ukrayina v Tsentral'no-Skhidnij Yevropi (z naydavnishykh chasiv do kintsya XVIII st.)*. Vyp. 5. Kyiv, 2005. S. 464.

Russian-Turkish confrontation of 1710 – 1713 kept the inhabitants of Carlopolis captive with numerous phobias. The main one, perhaps, was the fear of the arrival of the troops of the Russian Tsar Peter I with the following options: 1) a military clash; 2) the role of a bargaining chip in big politics and the issuance of Turkish allies for reconciliation. The harsh living conditions on the borderlands invariably led to the devaluation of human relations and moral values. Their most notorious manifestation was the practice of capturing and selling into slavery: 1) Russian prisoners by the Swedes; 2) the Cossacks, especially the Zaporozhian Cossacks, their Swedish allies.

In conclusion, we note that for the inhabitants of Carlopolis, the more than three years of staying on the steppe border of the Ottoman Empire, near the borders of the Russian state (Muscovy) and the Kingdom of Poland, were difficult. For these inhabitants of “middle” Europe, this was a not entirely successful experience of adaptation to the living conditions on the Frontier, which were alien to their mentality and everyday practices, which had already begun in the “long” 18th century.

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The Warriors of the Frontier: the *Osavul* Office (Aide-De-Camp) in the Military Structure of Ukrainian Cossack and Turkic Armies

Oleksii Sokyрко¹



Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:
Oleksii Sokyрко (Assoc. Prof.),
Taras Shevchenko National University of
Kyiv, History Department, Kyiv, Ukraine.
E-posta: sag@univ.kiev.ua
ORCID: 0000-0003-3841-9782

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ABSTRACT

The article is dedicated to the study of the historical roots and the process of evolution of the institution of *osavul* in the Cossack Army and in the government of Hetmanate (Hetmanshchyna, the Ukrainian Cossack State). The *osavul* office appeared in the early Cossack military structure as a result of its relations with nomadic societies. The comparison between a cossack *osavul* and a corresponding officer of a Turkic army reveals a lot of common functions: both could be responsible for mobilization, commanding of field, camping and management of quartering, combat intelligence and military discipline. The other factors that affect the state and the functions of a cossack *osavul* included the structure of the Crown Troops of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita) and the system of patron-client relations formed on the frontier during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. In the Hetmanate, these basic functions were supplemented by administrative assistance to the hetman, and by some judicial and diplomatic duties.

Keywords: Cossack Hetmanate, Aide-de-Camp, Registered Cossacks, Cossack Officials, Free-lanced Troops, Nomadic Armies

The formation of the Cossack society began in late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries on the frontier of the Tatar steppe (*Dyke Pole Wild Fields*), therefore this process has been under strong Eastern nomadic influences from the very early stages. Since the early Cossack communities were ethnically and culturally mixed between Turks and Slavs, and their living depended on the specific way of nomadic warfare, these Eastern influences primarily affected the military organization.¹ *Osavul* was one of the most important and influential offices in Zaporozhian Host (*Zaporozhian Sich*) and later in the Registered Cossack Army. *Osavuls* accumulated the biggest amount of proper military functions compared to the other senior officers (*koshovyi otamans*, *hetmans*, *obozni* (quartermasters), *pysari* (chancellors), *suddi* (judges), *polkovnyky* (colonels) etc.).

The *osavul* office was not popular among the historians who study the Hetmanate and the Cossack Army because it was ranked quite low in the hierarchy of General Staff (*Heneralna Starshyna*) and gained political functions at the late stages of its existence². Today the relevant research are limited to the biographies of several General *Osavuls*, and general studies of the office's functions and their evolution in the late periods of the Hetmanate history³.

A productive method to study the functions and the nature of *osavul* in the Cossack Army is to analyze it by comparing with the relevant offices in Turkish and other Eastern nomadic

- 1 More about nomad's military organization see: Hrybovs'kyj Vladyslav, "Vijs'kova systema Nohajs'koi ordy ta yiyi restytuty u prychnomors'kyh nohajciv", *Humanitarnyj zhurnal*, 2012, № 2-3, p. 81-84; Khazanov Anatolii, "The Eurasian Steppe Nomads in World Military History", *Nomad Aristocrats in a World of Empires*, Ed.by J.Paul, Weisbaden, 2013, p.187-207; Manz Beatrice Forbes, "Nomads and Regional Armies in the Middle East", *Nomadic Military Power in Iran and Adjacent Areas in the Islamic Period* /Ed. by K.Franz and W.Holzwarth, Nomaden und Sesshafte 17. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2013, p. 1-27; Paul Jurgen, "The State and the Military – a Nomadic Perspective", *Militär und Staatlichkeit. Beiträge des Kolloquiums am 29. und 30.04.2002*, Hg.l. Schneider, Halle, 2003 (Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte 12; Mitteilungen des SFB „Differenz und Integration“ 5), p. 25–68.
- 2 Apanovych Olena, *Zbrojni syly Ukrainy pershoyi polovyny XVIII st.*, Kyiv, 1969, p. 62-67; Babkova Nataliya, "Instytut osavuliv v ukrayins'komu kozactvi XVI – XVIII st.", *Hileya: Naukovyj visnyk*, 2015, v.96, p. 11-14; Horobec'Viktor, *Politychnyj ustrij ukrayins'kyh zemel' druhoyi polovyny XVII – XVIII stolit'*, Kyiv, 2000, p. 38-39; Dyadychenko Vadym, *Narysy suspil'no-politychnoi istoriji Livoberezhnoi Ukrainy kincya XVII – pochatku XVIII st.*, Kyiv, 1959, p. 186-189; eiusdem. "Ukraynskoe kazackoe vojsko v konce XVII – nachale XVIII vv.", *Poltava: K 250-letyuu Poltavskoho srazhenyia*, Moskva, 1959, p. 246-268; Slabchenko Mikhail, *Maloruskij polk v admynstrativnom otnoshenii. Istoriko-yuridicheskij ocherk*, Odessa, 1909, p. 81-84; Putro Oleksii, "Ukrayins'ke kozac'ke vijs'ko", *Kyivs'ka starovyna*, 1997, № 6, p. 4-5, 11; Sokyрко Oleksii, "Ukrayins'ke vijs'ko Kozac'koyi doby", *Istoriya ukrayins'koho vijs'ka*, Kharkiv, 2016, p. 203-234; Zaruba Viktor, *Ukrayins'ke kozac'ke vijs'ko v rosij's'ko-turec'kyh vijnah ostann'oyi chverti XVII stolittya*, Dnipropetrovs'k, 2003, p. 84-131.
- 3 Kazimirov Dmytro, "Maetnosti chernihivs'koho polkovoho osavula Vasyliia Pavlovs'koho u Mens'kij sotni", *Siveryans'kyj litopys*, 2016, № 1, p. 97-106; Medved's'kyj Vladyslav, "Heneral'nyj osavul Yakiv Yakubovych ta joho vijskova diyal'nist'", *Materialy XII mizhnarodnoyi mizhdyscyplinarnoyi naukovoji konferenciji studentiv, aspirantiv ta molodyx vchenyh «Shevchenkivs'ka vesna 2015: Istoriya»*, Kyiv, 2015, p. 290-293; eiusdem. "Diyal'nist' uryadu heneral'noho osavula za het'mana Bohdana Khmel'nyc'koho", *Dni nauky istorychnoho fakul'tetu, prysvyacheni 180-richchyu zasnuvannya Kyjyivs'koho universytetu*, Kyiv, 2014, p.64-68; eiusdem. "Instytut heneral'nyh osavuliv u Het'manshhyini v seredyni XVII – kinci XVIII st.", *Materialy XII mizhnarodnoyi mizhdyscyplinarnoyi naukovoji konferenciji studentiv, aspirantiv ta molodyx vchenyh «Shevchenkivs'ka vesna 2014: Istoriya»*, Kyiv, 2014, p. 104-107; Okynshevych Lev, "Heneral'na starshyna na Livoberezhnij Ukraini XVII – XVIII vv.", *Praci komisii dlia vyuchuvannia zahidno-rus'koho ta vkrayins'koho prava*, Kyiv, 1926, v.2, p. 139-152.

armies. The great influence of Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire on the military organization and government of the Hetmanate and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in general is well known among Ukrainian and Polish historians. Therefore, the comparative analyses used in this study shall help to discover some essential traits of the military institutions which could not be deciphered directly from the currently available sources.⁴

The administrative system and the hierarchical structure of the Cossack Army started its formation in the mid late sixteenth century at Zaporozhian Sich. The Registered Cossack Army organized in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between 1568 and 1572 was based on the traditions established there. Such documents as the Royal decrees, the *Sejm* (Parliament) edicts and the Cossack Army registers show that *osavuls* were second in rank to colonels (*polkovnyk*), and were probably their direct subordinates⁵.

Most probably, a cossack *osavul* (as well, as *otaman*, *oboznyi* (quartermaster) and the other basic positions) has its origins in the earliest military structures formed by the first warriors of the steppe frontier who borrowed a lot from the Turkic nomads in their organization and hierarchy⁶. The office of *osavul* definitely has Eastern roots – it is an element of the military structure of many nomadic people of Eurasia. For the Mongols *zahul* (*zasul* or *zahuul*) was the name of the Khan's hunting administrator responsible for managing the order of lines and the distance between groups of hunters. Each hunting line had two *zahuls*, one in front and one in back.⁷ Researchers of nomadic cultures derive this term from the word that means “manager” or “aide-de-camp”. The root of the word “*jasa*” comes from Turkish word that means “to align”, “to organize”, and “-ul” at the end of the word to verbalize a military term.

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- 4 Dziubiński Andrzej, “Poturczyńcy polscy. Przyczynek do historii nawróceń na islam w XVI-XVIII w.”, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 1995, Nr.102/1, p. 19-37; Gliwa Andrzej, “O woskowości tatarskiej w epoce nowożytnej i oddziaływaniu koczowniców na osiadłe społeczności Rzeczypospolitej”, *Spoleczeństwo Staropolskie*, 2015, t.IV, s.89-133; Halenko Oleksandr, “Konstytucyjni idei Pylypa Orlyka z perspektyvy stepovyh vytokiv politychnoi tradicii ukraïnyns'koho kozactva”, *Pylyp Orlyk: zhyttia, polityka, teksty: Materialy Mizhnarodnoi naukovoi konferencii «Ad fontes» do 300-richchya Benders koyi konstytuciji 1710 r.*, Kyiv, 2001, p. 224-233; eusdem. “Luk ta rushnycia v lycars'kij symvolici ukraïnyns'koho kozactva: paradoksy kozac'koyi ideolohii ta problema shidnoho vplyvu”, *Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mental'nis't ta istoria idej*, Kyiv, 1998, t.V, p. 93-110; Kołodziejczyk Dariusz, “Permeable Frontiers: Contacts between Polish and Turkish-Tatar Elites in Early Modern Era”, *Foreign Drums Beating. Transnational Experiences in Early Modern Europe*, Ed.by B. Forsen and M. Hakkarainen, Helsinki, 2017, p. 153-168; Pylypenko Volodymyr, “Shkidne oblychchya kozaka Mamaya”, *Visnyk Chernihiv'skoho nacional'noho pedahohichnoho universytetu. Seriya: Istorychni nauky*, 2015, v.134, p. 18-23.
- 5 Cherkas Borys, “Kozac'ke vijs'ko do seredyiny XVII st.”, *Istoriya ukraïnyns'koho kozactva: Narysy v 2 tt.*, Kyiv, 2006, t.I, p. 472-474; Serhijchuk Volodymyr, *Armiya Bohdana Khmel'nyc'koho*, Kyiv, 1996, p. 55, 64-65; Yavornyc'kyj Dmytro, *Istoriya zaporiz'kyh kozakiv* /Per.z ros.l. Svarnyka, L'viv: Svit, 1990, t.I, p. 138, 142-143.
- 6 Hrybovs'kyj Vladyslav, “Zaporoz'ke kozactvo i cholovichy soyuzy Kavkazu ta Central'noyi Aziji v komparatyvnyj perspektyvi”, *Hileya: naukovyj visnyk*, 2011, v.52, p. 116-130; eusdem. “Socyal'naia typolohia kazach'yh soobshestv”, *Kazachestvo v tyurkskom y slavyanskom myrah: Kollektivnaya monohrafiya*, Instytut arheolohii im.A.Halikova AN RT, Kazan', 2018, p.94-172; Sen'Dmitrij, “Kazach'e naselenie Krymskoho hanstva: maloizuchennye aspekty rasselenija (konec XVII – XVIII vv.)”, *Vspomohatel'nye istorycheskye dyscypliny v sovremennom nauchnom znanii: Materyaly XXXI Mezhdunarodnoj nauchnoj konferencii. Moskva, 12-14 aprelya 2018 h.*, Moskva: Institut vseobshhej istorii RAN, 2018, p. 327-330.
- 7 Kushkumbaev Aibolat, *Voennoe delo kazakhov v XVII – XVIII vekah*, Almaty: Dajk Press, 2001, p. 23.

The term has many variants in different Turkic languages: *iasaul*, *jasauil*, *jasaul*; all used to define an army officer responsible for the aligning warriors for an attack, parade or hunting, and managing sitting order of the guests at ceremonial receptions and banquets.

As Kazakh historian Aibolat Kushumbaev states, this office was initially created for the needs of Turkic and Mongolian collective hunts in the steppe, and always played a notable role in the process of inner integration of a nomadic society. Later, the sphere of *jasovul's* responsibilities was broadened by military functions, namely the management of the army formations movement and the orders of battle.⁸ There is another peculiar position, -probably an extension of the *jasovul* office- a special judge who controls the distribution of hunted prey called *zasahul*.⁹

It is important to note that the military and administrative structure of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which is another essential example for the organization of the Cossack Army, did not have direct equivalents of *osavul*. Although some similarities could be seen between *osavuls* and guards (*strażnyky*) who could take different places in hierarchy, they had roughly the same circle of functions: combating intelligence command, guard posts and warding management, etc. In seventeenth century, the Crown Guard and the Lithuanian Guard (*praefectus excubiarum seu vigilirum*) were listed among the senior officers of the Hetman's Staff immediately after the *Crown Hetman* and the *Lithuanian Hetman*, even though their functions were limited to marching management, supervision over vanguard (*straża przednia*), wards, and watches in quartering posts. This position was assigned by the *hetman*, yet apparently it derived not from a military office, but from a court one. It is demonstrated by the fact that the guards appeared in the army only when it was led by the King, while the *Grand Crown Hetman* had a *Field Hetman* performing the guard's duties.¹⁰

The field guard already existed in the seventeenth century. At first, he was responsible for the defense of the Eastern borders (between Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and Moscow and Crimean Khanate). In rank, he was a commander of the mercenary formations protecting the border of steppe (called *obrona potoczna* – “the current guard”), he was literally a guard. Later, these functions were transferred to the Grand Crown Guard.¹¹

The mercenary formations of the Polish-Lithuanian Army (*wojsko kwarciane*) and the nobleman levy of *szlachta* (*pospolite ruszenie*) had their own variants of the guard office: for the mercenary it was the regimental guard, and for the latter it had palatinate and district guards. All of those had roughly the same functions – they managed the supervision in the field and the warding in quartering. The list of provincial offices included guards, but those were

8 Kushkumbaev Aibolat, *Instytut oblavnykh oxot i voennoe delo kochevnikov Central'noj Azii. Sravnitel'no-istoricheskoe issledovanie*, Kokshetau, 2009, p.34-35, 57-58, 60.

9 Ibid, p.59.

10 Góralski Zbigniew, *Encyklopedia urzędów i godności w dawnej Polsce*, Warszawa, 2000, S.153.

11 Ibid. S.152.

out of the traditional nomenclature (with exception of the Lithuanian Guard called *górnicyz*), which signifies their indistinct and unstable position.¹² So, it is evident that in the Polish and Lithuanian Armies, the functions of army management and the organization in the field were carried out by the guards, they were distributed among a bunch of different types of guards with different status and level of responsibility. This makes an additional argument for the statement that the office of Cossack *osavul* was closer to the nomadic equivalents, not to the Polish or Lithuanian guards.

The organization of the Cossack Army went through a number of essential changes as the result of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Uprising it was after 1648 when the Cossack autonomy was established inside the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Cossacks gained their own army independent from the authority of the King, the *Sejm* or the *Crown Hetman*.

Then the Cossack *hetman* became the official commander in chief and got the right to convert and disband the troops and to command the operations. There appeared two *general osavuls* in *hetman's* direct subordination; besides that, there was an *osavul* for each regiment (*polk*) and detachment (*sotnia*). The sphere of their responsibility included rosters and records kept for their divisions, registration of the troops for a new campaign, management of salaries and food supplies. Their most important function was to organize mobilization to each regiment and detachment. So, we see that the role of *osavuls* in the administration of the modernized Cossack Army had quite a limited functional sphere; for instance, the artillery had their own senior manager, namely the general quartermaster (*heneralnyi obozny*).

Ukrainian historian Lev Okynshevych states that the office of general *osavul* was among the so called "second stage seniors" (along with *heneralnyi bunchuzhnyi* and *heneralnyi khorunzhyi*) in the traditional hierarchy of General Staff (*heneralna starshyna*) of the Cossack Army, which means its authority and political role was less than the general quartermaster, general judge or general secretary.¹³ Yet, it is more probable that such a hierarchy was only established in the Hetmanate; therefore, before the middle of seventeenth century, the *osavuls* had had higher status. There are some arguments about this theory, for example, in the Treaty of Kurukove, (1625) *osavuls* appear on the list immediately after the *Hetman*, and their salary is higher than that of quartermasters and secretaries.¹⁴

The process of the inner hierarchy of Cossack senior officers' formation that took place in eighteenth century still left the rank of *osavul* uncertain. The edition of *The Order of Military Ranks and Offices of The Minor Russia (Malorossia)*¹⁵ in 1742 positioned *osavuls* in the third class along with *heneralnyi bunchuzhnyi* and *heneralnyi khorunzhyi*. However, in the edition

12 Ibid.

13 Okynshevych Lev, "Heneral'na starshyna na Livoberezhnij Ukraini XVII – XVIII vv.", p. 140.

14 *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoj Rossii*, Kiev, 1872, Ch.1, t.V, p. 288.

15 "Степенный Малороссійскихъ воинского звания чиновъ порядокъ" – an official nomenclature of the Cossack officers.

of the same document in 1756, they were listed among the General Staff in the first class.¹⁶ These two editions show the same shift for the regimental *osavuls* – they moved from the seventh to the fifth class (below regimental judges and secretaries, but above *sotnyks* (the *sotnia's* commanders) – and the *Sotnia Osavuls* moved from the tenth to the eighth class.¹⁷

The *osavul* office was not very popular and desirable for a senior officer, especially in terms of a political career. Lev Okynshevych rightfully noted that most of the general seniors, such as quartermasters, secretaries or judges, skipped the stage of a colonel, while for *osavuls* this rank was usually the greatest career achievement.¹⁸ The scholars explain this tendency by the instability and inferiority of this office and its jurisdiction.

Yet, it seems that this informal hierarchy was also unstable. Besides, another motive could be significant here. The campaigns were frequent, especially in the so-called Ruin Period (Time of Troubles – 1657-1687). At that time, the army management required spending most of the time in field, which meant severe living conditions and constant threats, so not every senior officer was capable of such a job or willing to do it. Therefore, in the second half of seventeenth century most of the *osavuls* were coming from the militarized peasant leaders or the former Zaporozhian chiefs. This is evident from their names, or rather nicknames, found in the sources, such as Vas'ko, Demko, Shulyka (lit. "Hawk"), etc. Due to the intensity of the military activity, it was quite natural that the real field commanders and managers were rising to the respective official position. Those were mostly the people of low social origins for whom the rank of a colonel was attractive and respected enough to make a be a sufficient prize for the good service – it worked as a kind of honorary pension or sinecure.

The military and political turbulence of the Ruin Period caused the increase of *osavuls'* importance and influence. They acquired the role of the supporters of *hetmans'* and colonels' authority. In 1664, *Hetman* Teteria issued a project of a new administrative system for Hetmanate which raised the size of the regimental *osavul's* rank estates (*ranhovi majetnosti*) to that of a colonel and added the share of their income sources.¹⁹ The list of the officers was presented at the secret meeting in January 1671, including all colonels, regimental *osavuls* and *sotnyks*, but hardly any quartermasters, judges or secretaries.²⁰ There was another aim why many *osavuls* made good starts and/or changed political careers: due to frequent campaigns in which their

16 *Prava, za iakymy sudyt'sia malorosijs'kyj narod. 1743*, Kyiv, 1997, p.547; Rossyjskyj Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov (Moscow, Russia), Fond 13, opys 1, delo 40, list 13 v.

17 *Prava, za iakymy sudyt'sia malorosijs'kyj narod. 1743*, Kyiv, 1997, p.547; Rossyjskyj Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov (Moscow, Russia), Fond 13, opys 1, delo 40, list 14 - 14 v.

18 Okynshevych Lev, "Heneral'na starshyna na Livoberezhnij Ukraini XVII – XVIII vv.", p. 140-141.

19 Horobec'Viktor. "Kozac'kyj Het'manat u social'nij strukturi Rechi Pospolytoi: proekt ustroyevoyi modeli het'mana Pavla Teteri z roku 1664", *Moloda naciya*, 2000, № 1, p. 40-61.

20 Horobec'Viktor, "Vsyakie polkovyve uryady". Polkova starshyna Het'manatu yak vladnyj instytut i socialna hrupa", *Socium. Al'manah social'noyi istoriyi*, 2017, v.13-14, p. 15; Okynshevych Lev, "Central'ni ustanovy Ukrainy-Het'manshyny XVII – XVIII st. Ch.2: Rada starshyn", *Praci komisii dlia vyuchuvannia zahidno-rus'koho ta vkrayins'koho prava*, Kyiv, 1930, v.8, p. 294-296.

rotations was fast; they preserved a constant contact with the soldiers which could make them widely popular and provide an advantageous image of a “worthy warrior” (“заслуженого у войску”). Hence, in that time the office of general *osavul* was rather attractive for colonels; there were even two *hetmans* who started as *osavuls*; Petro Doroshenko (1665-1676) and Ivan Mazepa (1687-1709).

At the end of seventeenth century when the usual circle of military administrative functions of general *osavuls* were supplemented with a number of civil tasks, this office became popular among the sons of the Cossack colonels and *sotnyks*. Consequently, the office of regimental *osavul* became more acceptable for the junior officers and the qualified part of troopers (the chiefs of the *sotnia* level and secretaries). The latter variants of *osavuls* tended to accept their career with the *sotnyk* position, a rather quiet and profitable one. In both cases, the *osavul* office was considered convenient either as a good start of a military career, or as a good conclusion.

As a rule, general *osavul* and regimental *osavul* were double offices. There was such a tradition long before the Khmelnytskyi Uprising. In the middle of seventeenth century in Hetmanate, it became habitual to have two persons at each of these positions.²¹ Most probably this practice originated from the nomadic laws. In the golden age of the Genghis Empire (Thirteenth - fourteenth centuries), both its civil state administration and military structure were separated by two wings. After the Empire's disintegration, this system was preserved almost in all of its former parts. For example, the official decrees (*jarlyks*) issued by Crimean Khan began with the traditional Genghis formula: “The Right and The Left Hands of The Great Orda”.²² This division of Crimean Orda is the possible reason for Crimean Khan to have two sultans as his deputies – *kalgay sultan* and *nureddin sultan*.²³

Since the Hetmanate had a big territory divided in two by the river Dnipro, the need of two *osavuls* was rather natural here. Apparently, this separation between the Left Bank and the Right Bank existed informally long before the Cossack State's official division in 1663. An argument for that may be found in the Pereiaslav Articles signed in 1659, where Article 11 prescribed that *hetman* should have “a judge, a *jasaul/osavul* and a secretary at each of the sides of Dnipro”.²⁴

It looks like there was an inner hierarchy and a specific distribution of functions between the two general *osavuls* (Prof. Okynshevych used to identify the second *osavul* as minor in rank and confuse it with the *sub-osavul* (*pidosavulii*) even though such an office appeared in

21 *Akty, otnosiashiesia k istorii Yugo-Zapadnoj Rossii* (AYZR), Sankt-Peterburg 1863, t. IV, p. 68.

22 Kushkumbaev Aibolat, „Kryl'evaja model' v voenno-politycheskoj orhanizacii imperii Dzhuchidov”, *Voennoe delo ulusa Dzhuchi i ego naslednikov: Sbornik nauchnykh statej*, otv.red.A.Kushkumbaev, Astana: Foliant, 2012, p.116-119, 154.

23 Hrybovs'kyj Vladyslav, “Vijs'kova systema Nohajs'koi ordy ta yiji restytuty u prychornomors'kyh nohajciv”, *Humanitarnyj zhurnal*, 2012, №2-3, p.77.

24 *Istochniki malorossyjskoj istorii*, Moskva, 1855, t.I, p.5.

the eighteenth century's documents on its own²⁵). This difference is evident from the sums of salary: at the 1672 year's council (*rada*), Prince Romodanowsky gave "to the *osavuls*: to Ivan Lysenko forty sabres [O.S.], sixty rubles, to Lesko Cherniak forty sabres, thirty rubles"²⁶. However, in the eighteenth century, both general *osavuls* received an equal salary. The register of 1756 gives a sum of four hundreds rubles per year;²⁷ the inequality in the size of their service estates was removed as well.²⁸

Due to the lack of sources, it is hard to find out whether the office of regimental *osavul* was also double or not. It is most likely that each regiment had two *osavul* positions, but one was a constant vacancy.²⁹ Some sources from the late seventeenth century mention the office of *sub-osavul* (*pidosavulii*), for instance there was one in the Lubny regiment in 1691. Oleksandr Lazarevskiy argues that by the times of Hetman Ivan Skorodapskyi (1708-1722) this office turned into the second regimental *osavul*.³⁰ However, Vadym Diadychenko who studied the regimental rosters and the lists of senior officers notes that *sub-osavul* appears to be a separate office, it has a stage lower than regimental *osavul*.³¹ We may suppose that the separation of functions and responsibilities of two *osavuls* were spontaneous; therefore, could differ from regiment to regiment. Viktor Horobets writes that one *osavul* was in charge of court and police, while the other managed proper military issues.³²

The rotation of the *osavuls* went by a tradition rather than a formal law for a long time. Mykhailo Slabchenko stated that initially regimental *osavuls* were appointed by colonels, and it was not before the eighteenth century when this office became elective³³. Yet, the historical facts disprove this theory by showing the cases in which *osavuls* were appointed directly by *hetmans* or colonels.

After 1715, the new regulations of the Cossack officers' rotation changed this process into an election between two or three candidates. The final decision over the candidate for a general *osavul* was delegated to the Tsar of Russia, and for a regimental *osavul* – to the *hetman*. Yet, this prescription was rarely practiced in reality. There were multiple other factors that

25 Lomykovskiy Vasyl'ij, "Slovar' malorusskoj stariny", *Kievskaja Starina*, 1894, №7, p.10.

26 AYZR, Sankt-Peterburg, 1877, t.IX, p. 952.

27 „Malorossijskie chiny i dolzhnosti i oklad ikh sodержanija", *Kievskaja Starina*, 1883, №6, p.384.

28 Nacional'na Biblioteka Ukrainy imeni V.Vernads'koho, Instytut Rukopysu (Kyiv, Ukraine) (NBUV. IR), Fond I, sprava 55827, k.25 v.

29 Horobec'Viktor, "Vsyakie polkovye uryady". Polkova starshyna Het'manatu yak vladnyj instytut i socialna hrupa", *Socium. Al'manah social'noyi istoriji*, 2017, v.13-14, p.13; Putro Oleksii, "Ukrayins'ke kozac'ke vijs'ko", *Kyivs'ka starovyna*, 1997, №6, p.11.

30 *General'noe sledstvie o maetnostyakh Nezhynskoho polka 1729-1730 hh.*, Chernyov, 1901, p.74; Lazarevskij Aleksandr, *Lokhvickij istoricheskij sbornik*, Kiev, 1906, p.356.

31 Dyadychenko Vadym, *Narysy suspil'no-politychnoi istoriji Livoberezhnoi Ukrainy kincy XVIII – pochatku XVIII st.*, p.230.

32 Horobec'Viktor, "Vsyakie polkovye uryady". Polkova starshyna Het'manatu yak vladnyj instytut i socialna hrupa", p.20.

33 Slabchenko Mikhail, *Malorusskij polk v admynstrativnom otnoshenii. Istoriko-yuridicheskij ocherk*, Odessa, 1909, p.82.

affected the election results, such as family relations, personal loyalties, protection offered by Russian imperial generals and governors, backstage agreements of *hetmans* and colonels.

Since the mid-eighteenth century, the sources testify a tendency to make vertical stage-by-stage careers among the Cossack senior officers. *Osavuls* were not an exception, a random check of the lists of Cossack senior officers show that many of the regimental *osavuls* raised from the positions of *sub-osavuls*, regimental *khorynzhyis* (Flag-Bearer) or secretaries³⁴; while the *sotnia osavuls* were mostly appointed from selected Registered Cossacks (*vyborni kozaky*) or Fellows of the Banner (*znachkovi tovaryshy*).³⁵ In the former case it is seen as an example of an award for long-term service and participation in many operations, in the latter case. A typical career started for the sons of powerful parents. For instance, in the Chernihiv regiment five out of eleven *sotnia osavuls* had Cossack origins. So, there were two basic ways to the *osavul* position: a gradual vertical career (as in the first two examples) and a transfer from the “general offices” (as in the latter example). It is important to note that many historical sources make an impact on the “grade-by-grade” career type. It shows that the respective social and professional groups changed their view of a normal raise in rank: the formal regulations became a key factor in this process replacing the will of a ruler. This signifies the presence of an ordered community of officers with a strict inner structure and a formed bureaucratic system which is able to conduct independent elections on the level of a division.

The second half of seventeenth century was full of military campaigns. Therefore, the rotation of both general and regimental *osavuls* was rather rapid in this period, while during the comparatively peaceful times an *osavul* could hold his office for ten and more years.

The scholars still do not agree on the precise functions of an *osavul*. The circle of responsibilities and tasks performed by *osavuls* never gained any official regulations in the laws of Hetmanate, so they can only be deduced indirectly from the case studies. The picture appears to be scattered, which explains the conclusions about the office’s specific inconsistency. However, the *osavul*’s functions may be divided into two categories: military, administrative and judicial.

At this point, the historical nomadic roots of this office become significant. As have already been mentioned, in the steppe societies *osavuls* were in charge of an army’s preparation for a campaign, mobilization, making lists and rosters, and alignment for a battle. Besides that, they took care of the commander’s quarters defense, administration of the headquarters, organization of the reception for important visitors and ambassadors, hunting management, etc. The analogies between these functions and the sphere of the Cossack *osavuls*’ power are pretty obvious.

34 NBUV. IR, Fond I, sprava 59060, k.347 v., 348 v; sprava 55453, k. 3 v., 4 зб.; sprava 55454, k.36 v., 37 v.

35 NBUV. IR, Fond I, sprava.55453, k.27 v. - 29; sprava 55454, k. 55 v – 57v.; sprava 59060, k.363 v. - 365 v.

The researchers frequently note that the *osavuls* were performing the jobs of general and regimental councils' administrators, delegates and ambassadors, commanders of the Hetman's guards, and were conducting some confidential missions.³⁶ The *osavul's* office had a close connection to the business of the Hetman. The Court Book of Poltava City Council gives a good illustration for this statement: in September 1678, the Regimental *Osavul* of Poltava Ivan Nasvit told how he "went against the adversary at the side of Mr. Prokop Levenets the Colonel of Poltava".³⁷ No wonder that in the eighteenth century, the position of *osavul* was often compared to that of an adjutant, as Jean-Benoît Schérer did in his *Annales de la petite Russie*.³⁸ A couple of decades later the similar connotations were introduced in "*Specification of My Officers*" in 1719 by Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, in which he mentioned two "general adjutants" – Hryhorii Hertsyk and Fedir Myrovych.³⁹ The practice of having this position as double was legislated by the "*Instruction for the General Osavuls*" issued by *Hetman Rozumovs'ky* on December 5, 1763. It ordered that the two of them had to "alternate [in service] at the *hetman's* side for performing his current tasks and orders".⁴⁰

There are many cases showing the diversity of such special tasks. One of the well-known examples is the case of the Kyiv Metropolitan's elections taking place in July 1685. The Suffragan of Kyiv Metropolitanate and the Archbishop of Chernihiv Lazar Baranovych – the most prospective candidate – made up a good excuse and did not come to the Election Council for being well aware that *Hetman* Ivan Samoilovych was not in favor of him. A great part of the senior clergy did the same, by doing this, they put the legitimacy of both the election procedure and the Council as such under threat.⁴¹ In the account of this situation, the *Hetman* sent a special delegation of four colonels (Vasyl Borkovs'ky of Chernihiv, Leontii Polubotok of Pereiaslav, Hryhorii Korovchenko of Kyiv and Iakov Zhurakhovskiy of Nizhyn) and some minor officers headed by his personal attorney General *Osavul* Ivan Mazepa to the Election Council. Their mission was to make a solid support to the *Hetman's* protegee Archbishop of Lutsk and Ostroh Gedeon Sviatopolk-Chetvertynskiy by their superiority over the clergy in power and number.⁴² This worked out exactly as Samoilovych expected, his delegates did not even have a need to intervene in the elections actively, their quantitative advantage made a sufficient guarantee on its own.⁴³

Diplomatic missions made another common practice for general *osavuls*. For example, in December 1720, General Quartermaster (*heneralnyi oboznyi*) Vasyl Zhurakhovskiy headed the group of senior officers delegated to St. Petersburg "with a petition concerning the needs of Minor Russia (*Malorossia*)".⁴⁴

36 Okynshevych Lev, "Heneral'na starshyna na Livoberezhnii Ukraini XVII – XVIII vv.", p.143.

37 *Poltavs'ka mis'ka knyha (1668-1740)*, upor.V.Rynsevych, Kyiv, 2016, p.175.

38 Sherer Zhan-Benua, *Litopys Malorosiji, abo Istorija kozakiv-zaporozhcv*, per.z fr. V.Koptilov, Kyiv, 1994, p.54.

39 *Ukraina-Shveciya: Na perehrestyah istoriji (XVII – XVIII st.)*. Kataloh mizhnarodnoyi vystavky, Kyiv, 2008, p.136.

40 Okynshevych Lev, "Heneral'na starshyna na Livoberezhnii Ukraini XVII – XVIII vv.", p.142.

41 *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoj Rossii*, Kiev, 1872, Ch.1, t.V, p.95-100.

42 *Ibid*, № XIV, p. 65-66.

43 *Ibid*, p.101-102.

44 Modzalevskiy Vadym, *Malorossijskij rodoslovnik*, Kiev, 1910, t.II, p.47

Also *osavuls* often played a role of watchers (*prystavs*) for the foreign embassy missions, who managed their communication with a *hetman*, supplies and living costs, convoy and defense. For instance, the Russian ambassadors who came to Baturyn in 1691 were welcomed by General *Osavul* Andrii Hamalia.⁴⁵ Supposedly, this kind of job discloses the most archaic functions of the *osavul* office taken directly from its progenitor Turkic *jasovul*, namely, the management of important events' organization and the relevant communication.

The *osavuls* had very close connections with *hetmans* and colonels, who entrusted them with extremely responsible, confidential, even delicate missions. They were responsible for the safety of rulers, royal courts and families, and embassies. This feature makes the *osavul* office similar to the ministerials (*servi ministeriales*) of the traditional Medieval Western Europe (close to a royal chamberlain, *prévôt* and the like).⁴⁶ The process of formation of absolute monarchy as a type of government in Early Modern Western and Central Europe changed the system of ministerial as a social institute, so that the respective officials appeared in the middle between private and public services. Similarly, the position of *osavul* in the Hetmanate combined a formal status of public office and the functions lying in the private sphere; besides that at least until the first quarter of eighteenth century the promotion for an *osavul* depended exclusively on his personal loyalty to the *hetman* and to his private interests. It is hard to define whether this peculiarity of the office was taken from the Eastern traditions or developed out of the specific feudal relationships of a frontier society. It will not be wrong to assume that it could be an organic combination of these two.

On the list of the military duties of *osavuls*, the most important one was the mobilization and gathering of the Cossack troops. In the summer of 1657, the delegates from Moscow described how the Cossacks were prepared for a campaign, and one of them wrote: "and the *osavuls* started to drive out the Cossacks and ordered them to join the campaign".⁴⁷ In June 1667, Muscovite soldier Trofim Korieniev watched the gathering of the Cossack Army on his way from Kyiv to Baturyn, moving through Krolevets he saw "how the *osavuls* alarm the Cossacks and tell them to join the army as soon as possible".⁴⁸

During the military campaigns, general *osavuls* could be in charge of an entire army (sometimes in the status of *Acting Hhetman* (*nakaznyi hetman*) or of a certain division performing a special operational level mission. For instance, in June 1651 *Hetman* Bohdan Khmelnytskyi had to leave the army near Berestechko, so he passed his command on to General *Osavul* Filon Jelalii. The latter is also known for taking part in reconnaissance and

45 Dyadychenko Vadym, *Narysy suspil'no-politychnoi istoriyi Livoberezhnoi Ukrainy kincy XVIII – pochatku XIX st.*, p.187.

46 *Vlastnye instituty i dolzhnosti v Evrope v Srednie veka y rannee Novoe vremya*, otv.red. T. Husarova, Moskva: KDU, 2011, p. 16, 26-27, 32-35, 60-70, 95-97, 131-137, 157-161, 189-192.

47 *Dzherela z istoriyi Nacional'no-vyzvol'noyi vijny ukrayins'koho narodu 1648-1658 rr.* /Upor.Yu.Mycyk, Kyiv, 2015, t.IV. 109.

48 NBUV. IR, Fond II, sprava 15422, k.67.

planning for the battle of Zboriv in 1649.⁴⁹ Another example can be found in the letter sent to Muscovite Tsar Oleksii Mykhailovych by Metropolitan Iosaf of Corinth in 1651: "So the *hetman* gave his standard and mace to his *osavul* Demko⁵⁰ and made him the second *hetman* [acting *hetman* – O.S.]; and he sent him for Potocky and Kalynowsky, and with him he sent 60.000 Cossacks and 30.000 Nogais and Tatars".⁵¹ The same General *Osavul* Demko, on May 19 1651, was ordered to Kamianets where he headed the united Cossack-Tatar troops together with Colonel Teteria.⁵² Also in May 1651, the *Hetman* sent three regiments to Bar: "*Osavul* Demko with Colonel Bohun, and with Iliash Bohach the Colonel of Chyhyryn, and 100.000 *Cherkasses* (Cossacks) with 30.000 Tatars, with them".⁵³

In August 1666, General *Osavul* Artem Martynovych ruled an army standing near Pishchane where seven colonels were under his command.⁵⁴ In June 1667, *Hetman* Petro Doroshenko gave General *Osavul* Demian Pyliai the title of Acting *Hetman* and made him in charge of four regiments to seize Bila Tserkva.⁵⁵ In September 1670, when Moscow demanded a division of Cossacks to suppress the Razin Riot, *Hetman* Demian Mnohohrishnyi ordered General *Osavul* Matvii Hvyntovka to lead it ("and under Matvii as the General *Osavul* was to be the former Colonel of Kyiv Kostiantyn Solonyna").⁵⁶

The General *Osavuls* of The Left-Bank, Hetmanate Ivan Lomykovskyy and Andrii Hamalia were regularly leading the divisions of Cossacks and mercenaries (*okhotnyky*) that fought off Tatars and attacked Turkish forts in the lower Dnipro during 1680s-90s.⁵⁷ For example, in 1691, *Hetman* Mazepa wrote to Moscow that to oppose the Tatar raids "for the cases where military force is required General *Osavul* Andrii Hamalia is ordered to come with all the warriors he can gather from *horodovi* (Registered Cossacks)⁵⁸ and mercenary regiments".⁵⁹

Another traditional sphere of the *osavuls'* responsibility was intelligence. They organized the raids for gaining operational and tactical information (such as the enemy's number, goals and routes), managed the work of spies (*shpyhy*) inside the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

49 Storozhenko Ivan, *Bohdan Khmel'nyc'kyi i voyenne mystectvo u Vyzvol'nij vijni ukrajins'koho narodu seredy XVII stolittya*, Dnipropetrovs'k, 1996, kn.I, p. 245.

50 Kryvosheya Volodymyr. *Kozac'ka elita Het'manshyny*, Kyiv, 2008, p.71.

51 AYZR, Sankt-Peterburg, 1861, t.III, p. 448.

52 Ibid, p. 451.

53 Ibid, p. 454.

54 AYZR, Sankt-Petersburg, 1869, t.VI, p. 148, 155.

55 Ibid, p. 192.

56 AYZR, Sankt-Peterburg, 1877, t.IX, p. 262.

57 *Litopys Samovydcia*, upor.J.Dzyra, Kyiv, 1971, p.153; *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, upor. V.Stanislavs'kyj, Kyiv, 2010, t.II, p. 344; Stanislavs'kii V'iacheslav, "Vijs'ko Zaporoz'ke u voyennomu protystoyanni j myrnyh perehovorah z Kryms'kym hanstvom u svitli novyh danyh z dokumentiv Ivana Mazepy 1691–1694 rr.", *Het'man Ivan Mazepa: postat', otochennya, epoha. Zbirnyk naukovykh prac'*, Kyiv, 2008, p. 189.

58 Lit. "the town cossacks" – the people who served in the Cossack Army of Hetmanate, in contrast to the cossacks of Zaporizka Sich.

59 Dyadychenko Vadym, *Narysy suspil'no-politychnoi istoriji Livoberezhnoi Ukrajiny kincya XVII – pochatku XVIII st.*, p. 188.

and Crimean Khanate, and performed multiple types of combating intelligence (this function was usual for the *jasovuls* in Mongol and Turkic armies as well).⁶⁰ In August 1653, *Hetman* Khmelnytskyi “commanded the *Osavul* Demko with some Cossacks to leave for Bila Tserkva to capture a captive (*jazyk* – lit “a tongue”).⁶¹ In November 1687, just after the First Crimean Campaign, General *Osavul* Vuitsa Serbyn with a light cavalry unit made a special raid to the Kazykermen area to study how the Turks were fortifying this city.⁶²

During the Russian-Turkish Wars of 1735-1739, it became a constant practice for general *osavuls* to command certain divisions of the Cossack Army. For instance, in the 1737 campaign General *Osavul* Fedir Lysenko headed the division of Cossacks from Starodub, Chernihiv and Kyiv regiments, and a regiment of mercenary cavalry (*kompaniitsy*). He was also the commander of the united division consisting of a Cossack Regular Company, a squad of *zholdaks* (the *Hetman's* Feet Guard), some mercenary (*kompaniitsy*) regiments and the Cossacks of *Zaseims'kii Sotni* (the seven Selected Cossack Companies from Nizhyn regiment). Judging from their disposition in the campaign, this division played a role of the *Hetman's* Army's operational reserve whose primary tasks were to repel the raids of Crimean Tatars and to provide safe river crossings for the main forces.⁶³

Besides that, the functions of *osavuls* included the management of quartering, marches and ferriage, alignment for battles, inspections of the troops. It is interesting to note that, in the Turkic nomadic terminology the process of inspection is called *jasal* (*jasau*) or *jasamak*, and the name of the respective officer – *jasavul* – derives from it.⁶⁴ The alignment was among the functions of Mongol and Turkic *jasavuls* as well.⁶⁵

The emphasis on discipline and the elimination of deserters were not less important. And in the eighteenth century, the sphere of the *osavuls'* responsibility was complemented by another peculiar function – the *Instruction* issued by *Hetman* Kyrylo Rozumovsky on December 5 1763 placed them in charge of the *Hetman's* personal guard.

60 Kushkumbaev Aibolat, „Rol' peredovoho vojska v monhol'skoj taktycheskoj modeli vojny”, *Vestnik Evrazijskoho nacyonal'nogo universyteta im.L.N.Humyleva*, 2009, № 1(68), p. 130-131.

61 AYZR, Sankt-Peterburg, 1861, t.III, p. 497.

62 Kryvosheya Volodymyr, Kryvosheya Iryna, Kryvosheya Olena. *Neuryadova starshyna Het'manshyny*, Kyiv: «Stylos», 2009, p. 335.

63 Sokyрко Oleksii, „Malorosijs'ka rehuliarna rota 1733-1739 rr.”, *Kyivs'ka starovyna*, 2010, № 5, p. 22.

64 Kushkumbaev Aibolat, „Smotr vojsk i znachenie pekhoty v voennoj orhanizacii Zolotoj Ordy”, *Vestnik Kazakhskoho nacyonal'nogo universyteta im Al'-Faraby. Seria istoricheskaja*, 2009, № 2(53), p.33.

65 Kushkumbaev Aibolat, „Takticheskoe postroenie vojsk v monhol'skuju epokhu”, *Zolotoordynskaja cyvilizacija*, 2014, №7, p. 255.

Osavuls could be assigned to the distribution of salaries for Cossacks and mercenaries (*okhotnyky*). Before the eighteenth century there was no such office as treasurer (*pidskarbiu*) and no fixed fiscal apparatus in the Hetmanate, so the function of salaries distribution was usually performed either by a General *osavul* or by a colonel. During 1701-1702, General *Osavul* Ivan Skoropadskyi arrived in the field several times to deliver money and clothes to the Cossack and mercenary regiments raiding in the Liefmland.⁶⁶

To summarize all, the aforementioned functions of the *osavul* office in the military terms, they performed the functions of combat management primarily during the active warfare, while in the periods of peace the sphere of their responsibility was limited to inspection duty.

The development of the system of state governance in Hetmanate provoked the diversification of the sphere of *osavuls'* responsibility, mostly by supplementing the office's military functions with some judicial and administrative ones. Combining multiple functions of the totally unconnected fields was not an exceptional trait of the *osavul*, but a usual practice, which presents the Hetmanate as an underdeveloped state with no professional specialization of bureaucracy. At the same time, such a combination of functions is an illustration of a tricky system of private and public loyalties the *osavuls* operated in, a conflict between the tradition of personal service and the subordination to the commander (*regimentum*), and the need to improve the state governance system.

It was common for the *osavuls* to participate in the court sessions at the judicial institutions of different levels when the cases in consideration had a special importance for the superiors. For example, in 1690, the case connected to the Colonel of Pereiaslav Leontii Polubotok and the monk Solomon, which was a special personal concern for *Hetman* Ivan Mazepa, was investigated by General *Osavul* Andrii Hamalia, and Mazepa's personal secretary and confidant Zakharii Shyikevych.⁶⁷ In 1707, General *Osavul* Ivan Lomykovsky and the Secretary of General (Supreme) Court Semen Savych worked over the conflict between Burgomaster (*vijit*) of Kyiv Dmytro Polotskyi and Acting *Sotnyk* of Kyiv Trofym Klymovych based on the long-term misunderstanding of the city magistrate and the *sotnia* administration over the latter's right to draft the citizens into the Cossack Army.⁶⁸ And two famous scandalous corruption cases – the case in 1716 against Colonel of Poltava Ivan Cherniak and the case in 1718 against Colonel of Starodub Lukian Zhoravka – were managed by General *Osavuls* Stefan Butovych and Vasyl Zhurakhovskiy.⁶⁹

At the level of a regiment, the situation was similar. Regimental *osavuls* frequently served as colonels' confidants in the issues of corruption cases, financial machinations, land

66 Dyadychenko Vadym, *Narysy suspil'no-politychnoi istoriji Livoberezhnoi Ukrayiny kincya XVII – pochatku XVIII st.*, p.189.

67 Ibid; Pavlenko Serhii, *Otochennia het'mana Mazepy: soratnyky ta prybychnyky*, Kyiv, 2004, p.99.

68 Andrievskij Aleksandr, „Kievskie smuty serediny proshlogo stoletia”, *Kievskaja Starina*, 1886, №12, p.686.

69 Modzalevskiy Vadym, *Malorossyjskij rodoslovnik*, Kiev, 1910, t.II, p.47.

conflicts, and in the supervision of *sotnias*.⁷⁰ Colonels were in charge of local financial control; therefore, *osavuls* were also entrusted with such an initially irrelevant function as audition. For instance, in the Acts of the Starodub *Sotnia* Administration the Regimental *Osavul* of Starodub lakiv Zavadovskiyi has no other mentions, but as “the regimental *osavul* who takes care of His Grace the Colonel of Starodub’s market issues” or “the one sent to the market business”.⁷¹ In 1727, an *osavul* and a *khорunzhyi* accompanied the Acting Colonel Pavlo Martos to the town of Romny “to audit the treasuries of the church and the *sotnia*”.⁷²

The hierarchy of different central and local institutions and offices of the Cossack State reflected the order of their public legal functions. Among these functions, the judicial and administrative ones were prioritized. Their amount was the basic factor defining the place of an official or an institution under his control in the hierarchy. The *hetman* as an institution affected this order as well, which is especially evident during some short periods in the eighteenth century when it was eliminated. The *osavul* office had constantly been under the direct subordination to the *hetman*’s will which positioned general *osavul* among the senior officers of the highest level and the courtiers of the closest circle; yet in the absence of *hetman* *osavuls* were primarily taking care of what made their public legal functions – namely, audition and army management.

The assumed “vagueness” and the supposed “inferiority” of the office of *osavul* in the hierarchy of cossack senior officers occurred as the consequence of its double nature. These people were both the public officials and the private servants of the commander. This is why the evolution of the *osavul* office seemed contradictory and irrational to historians. The Cossack State was developing on the base of a military system, and so *osavuls* were gaining more and more public functions. However, they continue to represent the person and the interests of their direct superior and patron – *hetman* – and act in the field of his personal interests. Probably, this is one of the remnants of the oriental backgrounds of the *osavul* institution since the respective officers in the Turkic nomadic systems had the same status in the hierarchy and relations with the rulers.

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70 Horobec’Viktor, “Vsyakie polkovnye uryady”. Polkova starshyna Het’manatu yak vladnyj instytut i socialna hrupa”, p.21.

71 *Vijs’kovi kampanii doby hetmana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentah*, upor. S.Pavlenko, Kyiv, 2009, p. 924-925, 953, 956.

72 Lazarevskij Aleksandr, *Lokhvickij istoricheskij sbornik*, Kiev, 1906, p.284.

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Marriage-Family Relations on the Frontier of South-Ukrainian Lands in the 17th and 18th Centuries

Iryna Petrenko¹ 



¹Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:
Iryna Petrenko (Prof.), Poltava University of Economics and Trade, Faculty of Educational and Scientific Institute of Day Education, Department of Education and Social Sciences, Poltava, Ukraine.
E-mail: poonsku@ukr.net
ORCID: 0000-0002-2994-3833

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ABSTRACT

The daily marriage-family relations of Ukrainians have been disclosed on the pages of the works of historian Natalia Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants). The researcher was far ahead of her time. Thus, the elements of the history of everyday life - the direction of historical studies, which is now gaining in popularity - are reflected in her works, written in the 1920s and 1930's. N. Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants) analysed the influence of customary and secular law on the regulation of marriage and family relations of the South Ukrainian lands. She proved that in the second half of the seventeenth century, family conflicts were often resolved by customary (traditional) law, not written law. The great merit of the scholar is that she characterized the Ukrainian woman in the background of military conflicts, Cossack riots, wars and tragedies.

Keywords: Historian Natalia Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants), Marriage-Family Relations, South Ukrainian Lands, Women's Status, Marriage and Divorce

Introduction

The formation of the Ukrainian state and the progressive development of society were significantly dependent on the strength of marriage-family relations. These relationships are in turn influenced by social policy, as well as economic, cultural, educational conditions that enable the family to reproduce itself as a social community and a follower of norms of morality and law. For a variety of objective and subjective reasons, marriage and family relationships have long been beyond the professional interests of researchers. However, studying their specificity makes it possible to understand not only the social, cultural, and moral values of the past, but also some patterns of the present.

Taking into account the historiographical achievements of scholars who in their writings analysed marriage and family relations, revealed their peculiarities at a certain stage of development of society, and studied the degree of their state, church, and social regulation these tendencies become relevant. This is especially true of the scientific heritage of Natalia Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants) (1889-1940?), a renowned Ukrainian historian, archivist, professor, and head of the Department of History of Ukraine, Kyiv State University (now Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv). She was arrested in 1938 and the exact location of her shooting and burial is unknown (circa 1940)¹.

The historian Natalia Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants) left a rich scientific heritage, without which it is impossible to imagine the Ukrainian historiography of the 20-30's of the 20th century. Unfortunately, her name remains unknown to the general scholarly community of our days. N. Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants) studies have in no way lost their relevance today. Some of her works were even ahead of their time in depth of coverage and elaboration of sources, theoretical comprehension, generalization of facts, and use of different approaches, especially regarding the debatable problems in the history of Ukraine. For example, in her book "History of Ukraine in relation to the history of Western Europe"², she demonstrated a pioneering attempt in writing the Ukrainian history within the Western European context; she also analysed the process of integration of Ukraine into Europe, primarily through Poland and the Czech Republic. In Dvoryanska's work the main line of argument rested upon the unity of the Slavs.

The purpose of this article is to cover the history of marriage and family relations of Ukrainians in the South Ukrainian region in the works of Professor Natalia Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants) in the context of everyday history, to identify the features of the researcher's approach to the study of marriage and family, divorce, and marriage-family legislation.

Natalia Dvoryanska's (Mirza-Avakyants') field of scholarly interests was diverse and broad: the socio-economic history of Ukraine, peasant history, social history, history of everyday life,

1 Iryna Petrenko, *Istoryk Nataliia Mirza-Avakiants (1888–1940?): zhyttia i naukova spadshchyna*, Poltava: PUET 2014, p. 188.

2 Nataliia Mirza-Avakiants, *Istoriia Ukrainy v zviazku z istoriieiu Zakhidnoi Yevropy*, Kharkiv, 1929, p 246.

local history, history of law, history of women, works on the methods of teaching history, etc. A special place in her works was occupied by problems of the history of marriage and family relationships. Although she did not devote separate, independent studies to this issue, various aspects of it nevertheless appeared on the pages of her books and articles.

A Woman in the Southern Ukrainian Lands

One direction of the scientific research of N. Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants) was the history of women in Ukraine. The researcher actively worked on various aspects of the phenomenon of everyday military life of women of the "Ukrainian" border of the 16th and 17th centuries³, such as military and support services of everyday life (this refers to wars and armed conflicts, as well as the reality of support services that accompanied them, like quartering of troops, requisitions, military preparations, and military-sanitary activities, etc.)⁴, and investigated issues of the participation of Ukrainian women in local armed conflicts among the border nobility (assaults, as well as in country), voivodship and regional militias of the early modern era⁵.

N. Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants), as a follower of the views of well-known Ukrainian historian, Orest Levytsky and Polish-Ukrainian historian Joseph (Anthony-Joseph) Rolle, was one of the first in Ukrainian historiography to show the influence of the military variable on the daily marriage and family relations of the Ukrainians, and drew attention to the status and character formation of the Ukrainian woman. All these works came out at a time when the image of this everyday life was ignored or considered as worthless to study. During the Cossack military campaigns, victories and defeats, N. Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants) managed to notice, identify and show everyday marriage and family relations.

The history of wars, campaigns, and conflicts that took place in the Ukrainian lands in the 16th and 17th centuries were mainly revealed and portrayed through the eyes of men and were embodied as a belligerent man-at-arms. N. Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants) described women in the background of military everyday life, characterized their role in public life, showed the female being as a fully-fledged subject of the historical process, and revealed complex and contradictory marital-family relations. On the Ukrainian border these relations were characterized by democracy, ignoring church marriage and family regulations.

3 Oleksandr Kryvoshyi, «Amazonkyky i «amazonstvo» v ukrainskii folklorinii tradytsii ta istoriohrafii druhoi polovyny XIX – pershoi tretyny XXst.», Kyivska starovyna, 2012, № 6, pp. 66.

4 Oleksandr Kryvoshyi, «Zhinky na viini ochyma zhinky-istoryka (malovidoma pratsia N.Iu. Mirzy-Avakiants «Ukrainska zhinka v 16-17 st.» yak dzhherelo do vyvchennia povsiakdennia zhinok rannomodernoï Ukrainy v umovakh voien ta zbroinykh lokalnykh konfliktiv)», Zhinka v nautsi ta osviti: mynule, suchasnist, maibutnie: materialy p`iatoi mizhnarodnoi naukovo-praktychnoi konferentsii Ukraina, m. Kyiv, 3-5 lystopada 2011 r., Kyiv, 2011, pp. 299-300.

5 Oleksandr Kryvoshyi, «Zhinka-voiovyntsia v ukrainskomu istoriohrafichnomu dyskursi XVI-KhlKh st. Dvi storony odnoho obrazu», Voienna istoriia Pivnichnoho Prychornomor`ia ta Tavrii: zbirnyk naukovykh prats, Kyiv, 2011, pp. 128-136; Oleksandr Kryvoshyi, «Zhinka zi zbroieiu na storinkakh viiskovoi istorii Ukrainy XVI – pershoi polovyny XVII st. Konteksty proiavu», Voienna istoriia Naddniproianshchyny ta Donshchyny: zbirnyk naukovykh prats, Kyiv, 2011, pp. 70-78.

Such an approach, as O. Krivoshiya justifiably remarks, allows modern researchers to “form an idea of new contexts of the presence of ‘feminine’ in the cultural space of early modern Ukraine and to trace the evolution of historical and feministic views on the unique experience of participation of women from upper social classes in armed confrontations of the 16th and first half of 17th centuries”⁶.

Ukrainian women of the South Ukrainian lands in the 16th and 17th centuries did not remain behind men: they also participated in wars, often leading even a military unit. On this occasion, one of the heroes of the story N. Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakiants) for older school children ‘On the Crosses’ said: “And you know there are women, they are no worse than real soldiers”⁷.

The researcher thoroughly explored the assembly books and drew several conclusions on the status of the Ukrainian woman. Obviously, N. Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakiants) was planning to write a general history of Ukrainian women. Dvoryanska emphasised the characteristics of the Ukrainian woman in history, particularly her independence and rightfulness, contrast with a Moscow (Russian) woman, although it was mostly true of aristocratic women. Analysing the social status of a Russian woman, Natalia Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakiants) concluded that “even marriage, this border to a new life, the most intimate event in the life of every person, especially a woman, was decided not by her, but by her parents, without her wish and consent, and the girl went to get married often never seeing her groom”⁸.

The participation of women in everyday life in the cultural space of the “Ukrainian” border becomes especially noticeable amid wars and local armed conflicts of the 16th and 17th centuries. This was especially true for southern Ukraine, close to the steppe. Living conditions heavily influenced the female characters, making them energetic, active, independent, because “more than once a woman went with her husband to find out about the enemy, took part in hikes, she commanded raids, that often ended in bloody fights”⁹.

The cultural space of the Lower Dnieper region, saturated with scenarios of female activity, was obviously one of the catalysts that led to the emergence of a discourse about a strong, military noblewoman of the “Ukrainian” border. In such circumstances, where power was the rule of law, weapons, rather than the law, resolved most of the disputes. People were strong, energetic and predatory, they could defend themselves. Such circumstances of life should have affected not only men, but also women, and therefore “the Ukrainian woman at that time showed a general rudeness and inclination to violence, and in her character we notice the same strength and energy as that of a man”¹⁰.

6 Oleksandr Kryvosnyi, «Sylna zhinka zi zbroieiu» v ukrainskomu istoriohrafichnomu dyskursi XVI-XIX st.», Kyivska starovyna, 2012, № 1, pp. 29.

7 Natalia Mirza-Avakiants, «Na kresakh», Chervoni kvity, 1924, № 10, p. 8.

8 Natalia Mirza-Avakiants, *Ukrainska zhinka v XVI-XVII st.*, Poltava, 1920, p. 5.

9 Natalia Mirza-Avakiants, *Ukrainska zhinka v XVI-XVII st.*, Poltava, 1920, p. 25.

10 Natalia Mirza-Avakiants, *Ukrainska zhinka v XVI-XVII st.*, Poltava, 1920, p. 12.

Describing marriage and family relations in the early modern times, N. Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants) emphasized that “family relations are one of the best pages of the harsh life of that time when practicality and selfishness prevailed, almost the only sphere where a person displayed the best features of her soul”¹¹.

Marital and family relations of the 16th and 17th centuries were mainly governed by customary and written law. Family relations were largely under the control of the community and local authorities. Customary law continued to function even when it was contrary to the mainstream of secular and ecclesiastical politics. This was explained by the fact that customary law was objective and deeply rooted in all spheres of society.

The social order in the village depended on individual deviations from the traditional, established norms of each member of the village community. In a traditional society, the moral behaviour of every member of the rural community (in particular, the violation of sexual norms) was publicly condemned and punished.

N. Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants), have thoroughly investigated the “Act books of the Poltava city government of the 17th century” in which, on specific material, she identified the characteristic features of the court practice of the Poltava regiment. Act books recorded real facts of life. Having considered the cases, the researcher quite rightly focused attention on the large role of the community in the Poltava City Court. This trait was not an accident, but a consequence of socio-economic circumstances. She revealed that the peculiarities in this region of land tenure - small and medium, not large - prevailed, and “Poltava Cossack and peasant, feeling a strong economic foundation, was a full citizen, not dependent on the lord. So, the community, as an influential unit of daily social life, has not yet been pushed back by the senior government, fully and vividly speaking in the practice of the Poltava Court”¹².

N. Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants) analysed examples of solidarity, community advocacy in marriage and family matters. Exploring marriage-family affairs, the historian emphasized that the degree of community influence differed territorially and chronologically, losing its influence from the end of the 17th-18th centuries. In the Poltava region, the role of the community was marked by long-lasting influence and remained even until the end of the eighteenth century.

The historian N. Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants), having carefully studied the act materials, came to the conclusion that even in the second half of 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries, in the Hetmanate the courts relied mostly not on written law (the Magdeburg Law and the Lithuanian statutes), sentencing more often on the basis of customary (Cossack) law. Only the Codes remained valid, from which judges sought advice and assistance, but constantly departed from the norms of these Codes if they were contrary to customs. The researcher illustrated this with numerous marital and family affairs.

11 Natalia Mirza-Avakiants, *Ukrainska zhinka v XVI-XVII st.*, Poltava, 1920, p. 36.

12 Natalia Mirza-Avakiants, «Narysy z istorii sudu v Livoberezhnii Ukraini u druhii polovyni XVII stolittia», Naukovyi zbirnyk Kharkivskoi naukovo-doslidchoi kafedry istorii ukrainskoi kultury, 1926, № 2-3, pp. 81-82.

Conclusion

The everyday marriage and family relations of the Ukrainians found their coverage on the pages of Natalia Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants') works. Analysing them, the researcher was in many ways ahead of her contemporaries. In particular, elements of the history of everyday life - the direction of historical studies, which is now becoming popular - are found in her articles, written in the 1920s-1930's. One of the components of the history of everyday life is marriage and family relationships, which the scholar has paid great attention to. N. Mirza-Avakyants showed the influence of customary and secular law on their regulation. She proved that in the second half of the seventeenth century family conflicts were often resolved through customary (traditional) law, not written law. The researcher has considered the status of the Ukrainian woman, compared her with her Moscow (Russian) counterpart, and given examples of women's activity in the Cossack era. Her great merit was that she characterized the Ukrainian woman in the background of military conflicts, Cossack riots, wars and tragedies.

On this occasion, N. Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants) wrote: "The Ukrainian woman did not avoid participation in the revolutionary struggle: the oppressed Ukrainian women, keenly feeling with the men the demand of the ruling strata and the bond of serfs, did not seldom compete for liberation together with their husbands, brothers and parents»¹³.

Natalia Dvoryanska (Mirza-Avakyants) was one of the first in Ukrainian historiography to portray the Ukrainian woman not just as a bride, wife, or mother, but as a woman-warrior who had a good command of weapons, led military and industrial units, often became a merciless fighting companion and fought against all sorts of attackers beside her husband.

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Natalia Mirza-Avakiants, «*Ukrainska selianka v revoliutsiinii borotbi 1905 roku*», Chervonyi shliakh, 1931, № 1-2.

13 Natalia Mirza-Avakiants, «*Ukrainska selianka v revoliutsiinii borotbi 1905 roku*», Chervonyi shliakh, 1931, № 1-2, pp. 140.

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Prussian Consuls on the Southern Ukrainian Frontier in the 19th Century

Igor Lyman¹ , Victoria Konstantinova² 



¹Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:

Igor Lyman (Prof.), Berdyansk State Pedagogical University, The Faculty of the Humanities and Economics, Department of History and Philosophy, Berdyansk, Ukraine.
E-mail: lyman@ukr.net
ORCID: 0000-0002-9349-8500

²Victoria Konstantinova (Prof.), Berdyansk State Pedagogical University, The Faculty of the Humanities and Economics, Department of History and Philosophy, Berdyansk, Ukraine.
E-mail: vnkonst@ukr.net
ORCID: 0000-0003-1557-5213

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ABSTRACT

The article is dedicated to the history of Prussian consular representatives (a consul general, consuls, vice consuls and consular agents) in the port cities on the Southern Ukrainian frontier in the 19th century, mainly based on the base of the documents of Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin). It aims at tracing back the transformations of the Prussian consular network in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov region in the aforementioned period. For this purpose, the article also covers the biographies of all 14 consular representatives of Prussia in Odessa, Kerch, Berdyansk and Villa St. Marino near Khotyn.

Keywords: Frontier, Prussia, Russian Empire, Consulate, Port City

Introduction

The concept of frontier is the key to understanding almost all of the processes that took place in the steppe of the Southern Ukraine, the lands of the northern and eastern Black Sea and the Sea of Azov at the times when the main part of the region belonged to the Ottoman Empire as well as in the initial period of the Russian imperial colonization of the region. It is very important that the concept of frontier can be applied to the Southern Ukraine in the times of not only the Zaporozhian Cossacks, but also of a later period. Southern Ukrainian port cities in the 19th century were frontiers, if we understand a frontier to be a moving line between cultures which formed a new type of society, not just a sum of its components, or their complete fusion in “a melting pot”¹. In this context we, being the members of the editorial board, support the approach declared in editorial politics of the Southern Ukraine historical-cultural anthology “City’s Frontiers”: the anthology, using the idea of Frederick J. Turner as a starting point, does not restrict itself to the accents of American history, but focuses on the cities of the steppe space in Eastern Europe as a complex ethnic and cultural “strip farming”, which was formed during the colonization and was preserved later². In regard to the frontier approach to urban history of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov region, the title of the research by Evrydiki Sifneos and Gelina Harlaftis is also eloquent³.

For obvious reasons, the port cities in the region were the places of concentration of foreign trade and, accordingly, the places where consulates of foreign countries were located. Among others, the consulates of Prussia were established there as well. Prussian consular representatives connected the Russian Empire with Europe. They were actors, potentially capable of bringing “the best practices” of modernization to the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov region. At the same time, the Prussian consuls could compare the path of the Russian Empire and its state to theirs. They noticed the existing contradictions and incoherence of modernization processes that was typical of the whole Russian Empire as well as of the region, the specifics of the bureaucracy in the Russian Empire which in many respects were an obstacle to more rapid development. All these observations were recorded in the consular reports which allow us to see the development of the frontier in the eyes of Prussians. At the same time, multidimensional study of the history of Prussian consuls in the port-cities on the territory of contemporary Ukraine is important in the context of not only the history of international relations, but also economic history, and

1 Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920, p. 375.

2 Vladislav V. Hrybovskiy, “Фронтину міста”, in *Research Institute of Urban History* URL: <http://ri-urbanhistory.org.ua/projects/39-frontiers> (date of access: May 27, 2020); Gelina Harlaftis, Victoria Konstantinova, Igor Lyman, Anna Sydorenko and Eka Tchkoizze (eds), *Between grain and oil from the Azov to the Caucasus: The port-cities of the Eastern coast of the Black Sea, late 18th – early 20th century*, Rethymnon, Crete 2020, p. 64.

3 Evrydiki Sifneos, Gelina Harlaftis, “Entrepreneurship at the Russian Frontier of International Trade. The Greek Merchant Community/Paroikia of Taganrog in the Sea of Azov, 1780s-1830s”, in *Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Victor N. Zakharov, Gelina Harlaftis and Olga Katsiardi-Hering, London: Pickering and Chatto Publishers, 2012, p. 157-179.

the history of cultural interactions, which is one of the key components of the frontier approach.

Therefore, our research is dedicated to the history of Prussian consuls in the port cities of the Southern Ukrainian frontier in the 19th century.

Since the publication of the book "Black Sea Germans in the life and work of Odessa and the region 1803-2003; Bibliographic index"⁴, the historiography of the relevant issues has expanded significantly. However, there was no breakthrough in the study on the history of the consulates of the German states in general, nor in the history of the consuls of Prussia. The situation can be changed by studying the documents of Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (GStA PK)⁵ and their correlation with other primary sources, and with literature we have identified.

According to documents of GStA PK, the first attempt to establish a Prussian consulate in Odessa took place in 1806. A merchant Landry, who was born in Neuchâtel, addressed the plenipotentiary representative of the Prussian King at the imperial court in St. Petersburg, proposing himself as a candidate for the post of consul of Prussia on the Black Sea. However, as Landry wrote later, that initiative was not continued for political reasons. February 25, 1814, Landry made a second attempt: he wrote a letter in Odessa, which was registered at the Prussian diplomatic mission in St. Petersburg on April 14 (26). Recalling his previous failed attempt, Landry remarked that circumstances had now changed, and Providence had turned things around so that the glory of the Prussian kingdom of Frederick the Great's time would be restored⁶. Landry's letter was forwarded from St. Petersburg to Minister of Foreign Affairs of Prussia August Friedrich Ferdinand von der Goltz on April 26 (May 8), 1814.

But soon another candidate for the consular post, Odessa merchant Friedrich Hempel appeared: his first pro memoria was registered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia already on July 18, 1814⁷.

On July 17 (29), 1817, Landry, referring to the support of Warckenthin from Potsdam, returned to the question of his candidacy for a consular post in the Black Sea region. Landry wrote that now Europe enjoyed peace, and the enlarged territorially Prussian monarchy shone with its ancient splendour and promoted trade as well as it took care of its subjects. So, Landry expressed hope that his intention to be appointed as a consul "on this southern coast" would be supported, and that the consulate would become an important factor of the development of Prussian trade. Landry also described the prospects which would be opened

4 *Prichernomorskie nemtsy v zhizni i deyatel'nosti g. Odessyi i regiona. 1803-2003; Bibliograficheskiy ukazatel / V. Samodurova, A. Aysfeld, N. Shevchuk; Nauchi, red. i vstup, st. A. Aysfeld, N. Shevchuk, Odessa: Astroprint, 2003, 312 s.*

5 The documents were copied by Igor Lyman in frames of Stipendienprogrammder Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (October-November 2019).

6 Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (GStA PK), III. HA MdA, II Nr. 429, S. 2-3.

7 *ibid.*, S. 4.

up in connection with the signing of the manifesto in April 16, 1817 about the introduction of *porto-franco* in Odessa by the Russian Emperor Alexander I. Attention was also paid to the agricultural potential of a wide region in which agricultural products and primarily grain could be exported through the port of Odessa. The Swiss trading house, Philibert & Co., the interests of which were represented by Landry, also had a corresponding specialization⁸. That new initiative of Landry led to correspondence between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia and the plenipotentiary representative of the Prussian King at the imperial court in St. Petersburg Reinhold Otto Friedrich August von Schoeler. However, that third attempt by Landry to become a consul in Odessa also ended in failure.

1. Eugenius Goguel

On March 2, 1818, in Odessa, John Wilkins wrote a letter to the Prussian consul general in St. Petersburg. In that letter, the name of Eugenius Goguel was mentioned for the first time in connection with the issue of appointment of a Prussian consul in Odessa,⁹. Goguel was a merchant in Odessa, representing Cattley & Co. Besides, he belonged to the Masonic lodge "Du Pont Euxin", which was established in Odessa in the late 1817s¹⁰.

Goguel was born in Montbéliard (France)¹¹, while his competitor, Landry, had origin in the principality, which Prussia had to surrender during the Napoleonic Wars. After the defeat of Napoleon, Frederick William III regained power over Neuchâtel, linking it with other Swiss cantons. On September 12, 1814, Neuchâtel became the center of the 21st canton, while remaining under the rule of Prussia.

Goguel's candidacy found support at all levels, and December 31, 1818, he became the first Prussian consul in Odessa chronologically¹². However, the period of Goguel's activities as a consul in Odessa turned out to be very short. A year later, he went bankrupt, and new candidates for the position of consul in Odessa, Landry and Walb, were mentioned already on July 11, 1819 in a letter of the Minister of Trade Ludwig Friedrich Victor Hans Graf von Bülow to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia¹³. On August 15, 1819, Eugenius Goguel wrote a letter from Odessa to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia, in which he returned the original royal charter of December 31, 1818, certifying his appointment¹⁴.

8 *ibid.*, S. 22-24.

9 *ibid.*, S. 31-32.

10 Karpachev S., Savchenko V., Serkov A., "Port Evksinskiy" ("Du Pont Euxin"), "Proekt «Ukraina». Arhitektoryi, prorabyi, robotniki. P-Ya, Harkov: Folio, 2018, s. 50.

11 *Erik-Amburger-Datenbank. Ausländer im vorrevolutionären Russland*, URL: <https://amburger.ios-regensburg.de/index.php?id=94200&mode=1> (date of access: 22.05.2020).

12 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 429, S. 47.

13 *ibid.*, S. 60.

14 *ibid.*, S. 67.

After his release, Goguel continued to live in Odessa. A *dacha* of the landowner Goguel was one of the places where Odessa Masons gathered¹⁵. In 1827, Odessa was visited by an Englishman, Edward Morton. He wrote that in that year the wine of the winemaker Eugenius Goguel, whose vineyards were in Moldavanka, was sold at the highest price. These vineyards were planted in 1820, for which cuttings were purchased in the Crimea and France¹⁶.

In 1848, E. Goguel was listed as the Swedish-Norwegian vice consul in Odessa, who served under consul J. Wilkins¹⁷. E. Goguel died in Odessa on September 19, 1875 at the age of 86¹⁸.

2. Jean (Johann) Walb

The process of appointing a new consul in Odessa lasted until the middle of 1820. On June 26, 1820, a form was filled out in Berlin with a standard text on the appointment of a Prussian consular representative. The city, Odessa, and information about the appointee, "G.G. Walb" were entered in the document¹⁹.

Jean (Johann) Walb was born in Kassel around 1769. He was among the founders of the first trading houses in Odessa, Odessa merchant of the 1st guild. Like the previous consul in Odessa, he was a mason: Walb belonged to the Masonic lodges "Du Pont Euxin" and "Three Kingdoms of Nature"²⁰.

The first consular report by Walb, which is preserved in the file "Consulate in Odessa, Vol. Apr 1, 1814 - June 1830" in GStA PK, was compiled in Odessa on May 6 (18), 1821²¹. Other reports by Walb were written in Odessa on January 10 (22), 1822²², February 4 (16), 1823²³, January 4 (16), 1824²⁴ and March 18 (30), 1824²⁵.

15 *Yuzhnaya stolitsa. Odessa pervoy poloviny XIX veka v literaturnykh i kraevedcheskikh istochnikakh*. Odessa: Lokid Premium, Lokid-Press, 2009, s. 360.

16 Edward Morton, *Travels in Russia, and a residence at St. Petersburg and Odessa, in the years 1827-1829*, London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1830, p. 303-304.

17 Bjarne Koefoed, *Haandbog for Kjøbmænd, Søfarende og Toldofficeranter, etc. Samling af Love vedkommende Handel, Skibsfart og Toldvæsen*, Christiania, 1848, s. 297-298.

18 *Odessa (City) Deaths Records, 187x (R. Wiseman)* URL: <http://sites.rootsweb.com/~ukrgs/odessa/ode187xd.txt> (date of access: 22.05.2020).

19 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 429, S. 83.

20 Serkov A. "Valb, Zhan (Ioann)", *Proekt "Ukraina". Arhitektoryi, prorabyi, rabotniki. A-G*, Harkov: Folio, 2018; Shevchenko V. *Pryvatne bankirskie pidpriemnytstvo v Odesi (XIX – pochatok XX st.)*, K., 2010, s. 186.

21 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 429, S. 87-88.

22 *ibid*, S. 90-91.

23 *ibid*, S. 100-103.

24 *ibid*, S. 106-108.

25 *ibid*, S. 110-113.

As a consul, G.G. Walb featured in the documents of the following files: “Political reports from the Prussian consulate in Odessa on Russian-Turkish conflicts. 1821, 1828-1831, 1833, 1837”²⁶, “Reports of the Prussian consul G.G. Walb in Odessa. 1822-1823, 1826”²⁷, “Issued to the Prussian consul G.G. Walb in Odessa. 1822-1823, 1826”²⁸.

Being a consul, Walb was also active in contracting to the construction and repair of houses and roads. Paving Deribasovskaya Street was one of his projects²⁹.

In May 1825, a letter from Paul Dirow was sent from St. Petersburg to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia. Paul Dirow passed on the news, received from Novorossiysk and Bessarabian Governor General Mikhail Vorontsov. Like his predecessor in the consular post, the merchant Walb had gone bankrupt. So on November 27 (December 8), 1825, Walb sent the Ministry his letter together with the original royal charter about his appointment³⁰.

The fact that after completing his consular duties, Walb still continued to live in Odessa is evidenced by a letter he sent from that city to the Minister in Berlin on March 15 (27), 1827 regarding old financial issues³¹. Later, Walb left Odessa and the Russian Empire.

3. Esaias C. Walther

On November 27, 1825, i. e. the same day when Walb, as a consul, wrote his last letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the first letter from the merchant of the 1st guild Esaias C. Walther was sent to the Minister of the Odessa³². Quite soon, already on January 26, 1826 the royal charter, certifying his appointment as a Prussian consul in Odessa, appeared³³. This was followed by the recognition of Walther as a consul by the Russian authorities.

The new Prussian consul in Odessa was born in Hanau – a town on the river of Main, now in Hesse, Germany. The consul was a leader of the Evangelical Lutheran church community, the curator of the construction of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Odessa, the owner of the Novorossiysk sugar refining company³⁴, and the representative of the firm “Walther & Co”.

He was addressed in the Russian manner as “Isaiah Yakovlevich”. In some documents, concerned the Prussian consulate in Odessa, not only consul Walther, but also Friedrich Gottfried Albrecht Walther, or “merchant Walther 2” was mentioned³⁵.

26 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, I Nr. 7337.

27 GStA PK), I. HA Rep. 81 Konstantinopel nach 1807, VI Nr. 191.

28 GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 81 Konstantinopel nach 1807, VI Nr. 192.

29 Oleg Gubar, “Funktsii Odesskogo stroitel'nogo komiteta v kontekste istorii gradostroitelstva Odessyi”, *Odesskiy almanah “Deribasovskaya-Rishelevskaya”*, № 47, 2011, s. 32-33.

30 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 429, S. 124-125.

31 *ibid.*, S. 137, 139.

32 *ibid.*, S. 127.

33 *ibid.*, S. 131.

34 *Erik-Amburger-Datenbank. Ausländer im vorrevolutionären Russland*, URL: <https://amburger.ios-regensburg.de/index.php?id=48902&mode=1> (date of access: 14.05.2020).

35 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 429, S. 144, 146.

Walter was mentioned several times by the missionary Joseph Wolff, who arrived in Odessa on December 23, 1825. Wolff wrote that Walter was among very reputable German merchants and Walther's wife was the daughter of "the famous Dr (Klein) from Stuttgart"³⁶.

Letters of "Walther & Co" were quoted by William Jacob in "Tracts relating to the corn trade and corn laws: including the second report ordered to be printed by the two houses of Parliament", published in 1828³⁷. According to Wolfgang Sartor, Esaias C. Walther had 10.5% of the total trade turnover of enterprises-exporters in Odessa in 1834-1839, 10.1 % in 1840-1844. Later, in 1845-1853, the positions of the Germans already weakened. The only reason for this Sartor calls the absence of Walther³⁸.

January 22, 1839, consul Walther wrote a letter to the Ministry, which he sent to Berlin not from Odessa but from Hanau³⁹. Later, he returned to Odessa, but in 1840, the correspondence continued on the change of person on the position of Prussian consul in Odessa. At last, September 15, 1840, Esaias C. Walther wrote to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia from Hanau. The next document in the file "Consulate in Odessa. Volume 2. January 1832 – December 1850" is the original royal charter about the appointment of Walther, issued on January 26, 1826⁴⁰.

As a consul, Esaias C. Walther figured in the documents of the files : "Political reports from the Prussian consulate in Odessa on Russian-Turkish conflicts. 1821, 1828-1831, 1833, 1837"⁴¹, "Issued to the Prussian consul G.G. Walb in Odessa. 1822-1823, 1826"⁴², "Transport of postal goods on the steam shipping route between Odessa and Turkey. 1830-1831, 1873-1883"⁴³, "Correspondence with the Prussian consul Albert von Walther in Odessa. 1827-1838"⁴⁴.

As a former consul, Walther wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs from Hanau on May 5, 1841⁴⁵ and February 10, 1845⁴⁶.

In 1844 and 1845, the merchant Esaias Walther was already a member of the Trade and Business Association in the province of Hanau⁴⁷. A few years later, Esaias Walther

36 *Missionary journal of the Rev. Joseph Wolff, missionary to the Jews*, III, London, 1829, p. 275.

37 William Jacob, *Tracts relating to the corn trade and corn laws: including the second report ordered to be printed by the two houses of Parliament*, London: John Murray, Albemarle-Street, 1828, p. 14, 22, 37-41.

38 Wolfgang Sartor, "Hlebnyie eksporty Chernomorsko-Azovskogo regiona: gruppyi predprinimateley i ih etnicheskiy sostav, 1834-1914", *Gretske pidpriemnitstvo i torgivlya u Pivnichnomu Prichornomorji XVIII-XIX st. Zbirnik naukovih statey*, K.: Institut Istoriyi Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 2012, s. 169-171.

39 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 430, S. 23.

40 *ibid.*, S. 38-39.

41 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, I Nr. 7337.

42 GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 81 Konstantinopel nach 1807, VI Nr. 192.

43 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 8100.

44 GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 81 Konstantinopel nach 1807, VI Nr. 193.

45 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 430, S. 59-60.

46 *ibid.*, S. 76.

47 *Kurfürstlich Hessisches Hof- und Staatshandbuch auf das Jahr 1844*, Cassel: Waisenhaus, 1844, S. 303; *Kurfürstlich Hessisches Hof- und Staatshandbuch auf das Jahr 1845*, Cassel: Waisenhaus, 1845, S. 303.

from Kesselstadt, which in 1907 became one of the districts of Hanau, appeared in public in connection with the activities so-called *Vorparlament* – a congress of politicians of German states for the preparation of the National Assembly, which took place in Frankfurt am Main on March 31 – April 3, 1848⁴⁸.

4. Johann Albrecht Bock

In the file “Consulate in Odessa. Volume 1. April 1814 – July 1830”, the first mention of the merchant Bock is dated as January 11, 1829⁴⁹. May 20 (June 1), 1832, consul Walther wrote to Berlin, starting the procedure of the appointment of Johann Albrecht Bock as a vice consul in Odessa⁵⁰. September 12, 1832, a document about appointing a Prussian consular representative, which began with the words “We, Friedrich Wilhelm, by the grace of God, King of Prussia...”, was written⁵¹. In February 1833, “Allgemeine Preußische Staats-Zeitung” informed that official St. Petersburg had recognized J.A. Bock as a Prussian vice consul in Odessa⁵².

On December 28, 1835, the Russian emperor approved the regulations of the Committee of Ministers “On permission for the Prussian vice consul in Odessa to establish a sheep breeding company in the Novorossiysk region”, which were published on February 14, 1836⁵³.

When Esaias Walther decided to leave the consular service, Bock’s candidacy was proposed to take the former’s place. On December 25, 1840, a standard text was drafted on the appointment of vice consul Johann Albrecht Bock as a Prussian consul in Odessa⁵⁴.

As a consul, Johann Albrecht Bock figured in the documents of the files: “Transportation of mail. Includes: Correspondence with the Prussian consulates in Odessa, Trieste, Warsaw and others for receiving and forwarding dispatches and parcels 1842-1844”⁵⁵, “Transportation of mails via the Prussian consulate in Odessa to Berlin. 1844-1845”⁵⁶.

Consul Bock in Odessa became the leader of the Evangelical Reformed religious community, which in 1842 separated from the Lutheran community of the city⁵⁷. Bock was married to Helen Mahs (1808-1852), a sister of Ernst Mahs, one of Bock’s successors as a Prussian consul in Odessa.

48 Bernd Haeussler, “Revolution oder Reform? Politik im Vorparlament und im Fünfzigerausschuß”, *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, Bd. 54, 1974, S. 13-28; Günter Wollstein, “Das Vorparlament. Die Konterrevolution erhält ihre Chance”, Michael Salewski (Hrsg.). *Die Deutschen und die Revolution*. 17 Vorträge, Göttingen/Zürich: Muster-Schmidt Verlag, 1984, S. 179-205.

49 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 429, S. 146.

50 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 430, S. 3.

51 *ibid.*, S. 9.

52 *Allgemeine Preußische Staats-Zeitung*, № 42, Februar 11, 1833, S. 169.

53 Derzhavnyi arkhiv Odeskoi oblasti (DAOO), f. 1, op. 191, spr.73; *Allgemeine Preußische Staats-Zeitung*, № 81, Marz 21, 1836, S. 142.

54 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 430, S. 47.

55 GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 81 Konstantinopel nach 1807, IX Nr. 21.

56 GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 81 Konstantinopel nach 1807, IX Nr. 23.

57 Hermann Dalton, *Geschichte der reformirten Kirche in Russland: kirchenhistorische Studie*, Gotha: R. Besser, 1865, S. 186.

On April 20, 1848, "Allgemeine Preußische Staats-Zeitung" was informed about the death of the Prussian consul in Odessa Bock and the appointment of another consular representative in his place⁵⁸.

5. Carl Heinrich Bulcke

In 1840, in frames of the correspondence regarding the transfer of Johann Albrecht Bock from the position of vice consul to consul, a proposal to appoint Bulcke as a vice consul was made. So, on December 25, 1840, the same day when Bock became a consul, Carl Heinrich Bulcke became a vice consul in Odessa⁵⁹.

Carl Heinrich Bulcke was born in Danzig on July 6, 1800, began working in Danzig in 1815 and lived there until the end of the 1830s. His father was a merchant in Danzig, and several generations of the vice consul's ancestors were born in this city.

In March 1843, Bulcke took a long vacation to travel abroad. On September 9, he wrote in Berlin a letter to Foreign Minister Heinrich von Bülow, announcing that he planned to stay in Danzig, and therefore asked to be fired from his post at the Prussian consulate in Odessa⁶⁰. On December 19, 1843, Bulcke wrote another letter to von Bülow (this time – from Danzig), with which he returned the original document of his appointment⁶¹.

Later Carl Heinrich Bulcke was listed as a co-owner of a family company in Danzig, trading in grain and wood, a member of the city government of Danzig⁶². On December 31, 1858, the Prussian press reported that the Prince Regent of Prussia had awarded the merchant and shipowner Carl Heinrich Bulcke of Danzig the Order of the Red Eagle of the Fourth Degree⁶³. The former Prussian vice consul died on May 26, 1881.

6. Karl Trebbin

In files of GStA PK the first document regarding Carl Trebbin is dated February 6 (18), 1846. It was a letter of the consul Johann Albrecht Bock to Berlin: Bock planned a long vacation abroad, so he asked to instruct Karl Trebbin to perform duties in a Prussian consulate in Odessa⁶⁴. It is clear from the correspondence that the candidacy of Karl Trebbin, who was born in Mecklenberg, was proposed by Johann Albrecht Bock not by chance: Trebbin had previously worked closely with Bock & Co.

On April 20, 1848, the press reported that in connection with the death of consul Bock, the Odessa merchant Karl Trebbin was appointed as a Prussian vice consul in Odessa⁶⁵. As

58 *Allgemeine Preußische Staats-Zeitung*, № 112, April 20, 1848, S. 955.

59 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 430, S. 48.

60 *ibid.*, S. 68.

61 *ibid.*, S. 73-75.

62 Mirosław Gliński, *Bulcke Carl Heinrich jr.* URL: https://www.gedanopedia.pl/gdansk/?title=BULCKE_CARL_HEINRICH_jr (date of access: 17.05.2020).

63 *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeigen*, № 305, Dezember 31, 1858, S. 2485.

64 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 430, S. 81.

65 *Allgemeine Preußische Staats-Zeitung*, № 112, April 20, 1848, S. 955.

early as May 4, news emerged from St. Petersburg that the Russian Emperor had recognized Trebbin as vice consul. According to “Handels-Archiv”, both in 1848⁶⁶ and in 1849⁶⁷, the post of consul in Odessa was vacant, and the vice consul was Carl Trebbin.

At that time, the role of the Prussian consulate in Odessa became more important. The growing importance of Prussia in the economic connections of the Russian Empire is clearly shown by the following statistics: while in 1827-1837 Prussia ranked eighth in Russian imports, in 1849-1853 Prussia was already the second at the beginning of the Crimean War supplying almost 25% of imports of the Russian Empire⁶⁸.

7. John Menger

On June 7, 1851, a standard text of a royal charter about appointing a Prussian consular representative abroad was drawn up in Potsdam: John Menger became a consul in Odessa⁶⁹.

Menger was born in Memel. The appointment of John Menger as the Hamburg consul in Odessa was announced by “Allgemeine Zeitung” on March 22, 1840⁷⁰. In the same year, he was the consul of Lübeck, then from 1845 on consul of Bremen in Odessa. In Odessa, Menger was addressed in the Russian manner – Ivan Fedorovich. From the 1840s to 1860, he was a cashier of a charity organization in favor of the Germans in Odessa. In 1857, he was awarded the Order of the Red Eagle of the Fourth Degree. Menger, who was a merchant of the 1st guild, closely collaborated with the company of E. Mahs. Moreover, John Menger was married to Wilhelmine Kluge⁷¹, while Marie Wilhelmine Kluge was a wife of his successor as a Prussian consul in Odessa⁷².

As a Prussian consul, John Menger played an important role in the establishment of the Prussian vice consulate in Taganrog and in the appointment of Johann Haemmerle there in 1852⁷³.

66 *Handels-Archiv. Sammlung der Neuen auf Handel und Schiffart bezüglichen Gesetze und Verordnungen des In- und Auslandes und Statistische Mittheilungen über den Zustand und die Entwicklung des Handels und der Industrie in der Preussischen Monarchie*, Berlin: Wilhelm Besser, 1848, S. 185.

67 *Handels-Archiv. Sammlung der neuen auf Handel und Schiffahrt bezüglichen Gesetze und Verordnungen des In- und Auslandes und Statistische Mittheilungen über den Zustand und die Entwicklung des Handels und der Industrie in der Preussischen Monarchie*, Berlin: Hermann Schultze, 1849, S. 150.

68 Vernon J. Puryear, “Odessa: Its Rise and International Importance, 1815-50”, *Pacific Historical Review*, 3, No. 2, June, 1934, p. 214.

69 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 431.

70 *Allgemeine Zeitung*, № 82, März 22, 1840, S. 654.

71 *Erik-Amburger-Datenbank. Ausländer im vorrevolutionären Russland*, URL: <https://amburger.ios-regensburg.de/index.php?id=32526&mode=1> (date of access: 31.03.2020).

72 *Erik-Amburger-Datenbank. Ausländer im vorrevolutionären Russland*, URL: <https://amburger.ios-regensburg.de/index.php?id=31581&mode=1> (date of access: 31.03.2020).

73 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 451.

John Menger's house was damaged due to the bombardment of Odessa by the Anglo-French squadron of warships on April 10 (22), 1854⁷⁴. Already April 16 (28), 1854, the Prussian consul was among those foreign consuls in Odessa who signed a letter of gratitude to the Russian authorities for taking care of the safety and property of foreigners in the city⁷⁵.

John Menger's brother, Henry Friedrich Menger was the consul of Oldenburg in Odessa starting from April 8, 1845.

On March 1, 1861, "Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeigen" informed readers of the will of the King of Prussia, according to which a new person was appointed as the consul of Prussia in Odessa instead of Menger⁷⁶.

8. Ernst Mahs

Among all the Prussian consuls in Odessa, Menger's successor Ernst Mahs attracted the most attention of researchers. At the time of his appointment, Mahs had lived in Odessa for several decades and was very authoritative among both merchants and government officials.

Ernst Mahs was born in St. Petersburg on March 1, 1807. His grandfather was born in Hamburg to a family of an artisan, later moved to the Russian Empire and engaged in international trade there. As early as the 1740s, "Meybohm & Mahs" was already active, and later "Mahs and Son" was founded. Ernst Mahs moved from St. Petersburg to Odessa in 1832. He was a partner of "Ludwig Stieglitz & Co" there, and already between the years 1835 and 1838 Stieglitz actually handed over his affairs in Odessa to Mahs⁷⁷. Mahs enlisted the support of Novorossiysk and Bessarabian Governor General Mikhail Vorontsov, who was among customers of the Odessa branch of Stieglitz's Bank, very quickly. In 1838, the Stieglitz's firm was liquidated, and its clients, including Vorontsov, moved to the trading house "Ernst Mahs and Co"⁷⁸ (opened July 8, 1838) which quickly became a very important player in the market⁷⁹. Mahs was the attorney of the most powerful Rothschild banking house, established close business contacts with the Berlin Discount Company and with the Hamburg firm of his relative, "Thomas Mahs & Co". Thanks to Thomas, Mahs Ernst established business contacts with "J.H. Schroeder & Co" in London. John Schroeder's brother married Ernst Mahs' sister⁸⁰.

74 "Pisma Veterana 1812 goda", *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy knyazya P.A. Vyazemskogo*, Tom VI, 1853-1855 g. Izdanie grafa S.D. Sheremeteva, SPb.: Tipografiya M.M. Stasyulevicha, 1881, s. 388.

75 Konstantin Zelenetskiy, *Zapiski o bombardirovaniy Odessy, 10 aprelya 1854 goda*, Odessa: tipografiya Frantsova i Nitche, 1855, s. 113.

76 *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeigen*, № 56, Marz 1, 1861, S. 411.

77 Wolfgang Sartor, HE, s. 170.

78 Evrydiki Sifneos, *Imperial Odessa: Peoples, Spaces, Identities*, Brill, Leiden, Boston 2018, p. 73.

79 Shevchenko V. *Pryvatne bankirskie pidpriemnytstvo v Odesi (XIX – pochatok XX st.)*, K., 2010, s. 60; DAOO, f. 2, op. 1, spr. 259.

80 Sergey Moshenskiy, *Finansovyye tsentry Ukrainy i ryinok tsennyih bumag industrialnoy epohi*, London: Xlibris, 2014, s. 311.

Wolfgang Sartor, who also published a book named “Das Haus Mahs: Eine internationale Unternehmerfamilie im Russischen Reich 1750-1918”⁸¹, wrote that already in 1834-1839 Mahs was one of the two main Odessa exporters of grain of German origin. In 1840-1844 Ernst Mahs had 8.7% of the total turnover of Odessa grain exporters, in 1845-1853 – 5.9%, in 1856-1864 – 7.9%⁸².

In parallel with business activities, as early as 1837, Ernest Mas was acting commissioner for the fight against the plague epidemic in Odessa. A year later, in Odessa a merchant of the 1st guild, Ernest Mahs was already figured as a member of the Odessa Building Committee. He was the member of the Odessa branch of the Commercial Council, the member and the head of the Odessa Exchange Committee, the full member of the board of the Odessa Institute of Noble Girls, the chairman of the church council of the Reformed Church in Odessa, the member of the committee to help poor residents of Odessa, the member of the committee of the Odessa outpatient hospital, the member of the Imperial Society of Agriculture of Southern Russia, the full member of the Odessa Statistical Committee,

From 1838 onwards, Ernst Mahs was the consul of Hannover in Odessa.

In the file “Consulate in Odessa. Volume 3. December 1850 - June 1868” of GStA PK, Erns Mahs, appearing in the status of a Hanoverian consul, is already mentioned in a letter of a Prussian consul Menger to St. Petersburg on April 9 (21), 1851 and in a letter, which was sent from St. Petersburg to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia on April 19 (May 1), 1851. Mahs appeared in the papers of the Prussian consulate from time to time in subsequent years. Still officially a representative of Hannover, he sometimes performed the duties of Prussian consul in Odessa when Menger went on vacation⁸³.

In October 1860, a draft of the standard form was completed to appoint Mahs as a Prussian consular representative. On March 5, 1861, the Russian press reported that the Russian Emperor recognized the Odessa merchant Ernst Mahs as the Prussian consul in Odessa⁸⁴.

On March 11 (23), 1861, consul Ernst Mahs wrote a lengthy letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Prussia, Alexander Gustav Adolf von Schleinitz concerning plans for the reorganization of the Prussian consular network in the Azov-Black Sea region. Components of such reorganization could be the transformation of the consulate in Odessa into a consulate general, the appointment of a consul in Berdyansk in addition to a consular agent there, and the appointment of a new person as a Prussian consular representative in Taganrog. Documentation concerning the implementation of the plans mentioned above is stored in

81 Wolfgang Sartor, *Das Haus Mahs: Eine internationale Unternehmerfamilie im Russischen Reich 1750-1918*, St. Petersburg: Olearius Press, 2009. 191 S.

82 Wolfgang Sartor, HE, s. 169-172.

83 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 431.

84 “Otdel ofitsialnyiy”, *Politseyskiy listok Kerch-Enikolskogo gradonachalstva*, 5.03.1861, № 10, s. 37.

GStA PK in the files “Consulates in Kerch in the Crimea and in Berdyansk. 1845-1868”⁸⁵ and “Consulate in Taganrog, Vol. 2. 1845-1868”⁸⁶.

On August 5, 1861, in Baden-Baden, King Wilhelm I of Prussia signed a document appointing Ernst Mahs as the Prussian consul general in Odessa. The day before, another document was signed in Baden-Baden, which settled both the same issue and the issue of changes in the Prussian consular offices in Berdyansk and Taganrog.

In the file “Consulate in Odessa. Volume 3. December 1850 - June 1868” the number of documents signed personally by Ernst Mass, is distributed by years as follows: 1860 – 1, 1861 – 4, 1862 – 2, 1863 – 1, 1864 – 4, 1865 – 0, 1866 – 3, 1867 – 5, 1868 – 3.

Until 1867, each of the numerous German states had its own consular representatives abroad. On November 8, 1867, King Wilhelm of Prussia signed a law defining the status of consuls of the North German Confederation. After the creation of the consulates of the new Confederation, the consular offices of Prussia and other member states were liquidated⁸⁷. In the file “Consulate in Odessa. Volume 3. December 1850 - June 1868”, the relevant processes were reflected in the draft of the document drawn up on April 9, 1868, concerning the appointment of a Prussian consul general Ernst Mahs as a consul general of the North German Confederation in Odessa.

When the German Empire was formed, on June 14, 1871 not Ernst Mahs, but Josaphat Etlinger was appointed as its consular representative in Odessa⁸⁸.

As an ex-consul, Mahs continued to live in Odessa until his death, that is, until December 30, 1879⁸⁹.

9. Alexander Rigler

In the first half of the 1860s, after raising the status of the Prussian consular offices on the Azov Sea, in Berdyansk and Taganrog which were subordinated to consul general Ernst Mahs, the attention was drawn to another geographical area, not to the east but to the north and west. Those were lands of Bessarabia, Podillya and Volyn, not all of which had direct access to the sea, but which had great economic potential, interesting for Prussia. There was already a person in the region who was able and ready to serve Prussian interests there in the future. That person was Alexander Rigler who settled there in 1858.

In the file “Consulate in Odessa. Volume 3. December 1850 - June 1868”, the first document in which Alexander Rigler appears dated on April 13, 1863. This document is a

85 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456.

86 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 451.

87 Arnold Steinmann-Bucher, *Die Reform des Konsulatswesens aus dem volkswirtschaftlichen Gesichtspunkte*, Berlin: R. von Deckers Verlag, 1884, S. 7, 165-168.

88 Politisches Archivdes Auswärtigen Amts, R 252138, S. 86-87.

89 Vladimir Moroza, “Krupneyshie torgovo-bankirskie doma Odessyi XIX veka”, *Ekonomicheskaya istoriya: Ezhegodnik. 2007*, M.: ROSSPEN, 2008, s. 152.

letter written by the landowner Rigler in Villa St. Marino near Khotyn in Bessarabia to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin, That began the correspondence in which they were involved in addition to Rigler himself and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia, Ministers Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck-Schönhausen and Heinrich Friedrich August von Itzenplitz, Prussian Plenipotentiary representative in St. Petersburg Heinrich Alexander von Redern. All the correspondence concerned the appointment of Rigler as a Prussian representative in the region. But the questions of determining both his future status and the specifics of changes in the composition of the Prussian consular offices remained open. The documents referred to a consulate in Bessarabia, Podillya and Volyn, a consulate in Bessarabia, sometimes as a vice consulate, in different versions of its name. Among others, there was a variant of arranging a vice consulate in Beltzi in Bessarabia.

Eventually, Alexander Rigler's status was determined as vice consul in Odessa. It was recorded, in particular, in the draft of the standard royal charter, certifying his appointment as a Prussian consular representative. However, the exact date on this draft was not written; there was only a month (December) and a year (1863). On May 11, 1864, "Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeigen" reported that a landowner A. Rigler had been appointed as a Prussian vice consul in Odessa⁹⁰.

In the future, Rigler's affiliation to Odessa remained purely nominal. He continued to live in Bessarabia, in Villa St. Marino near Khotyn. There he had lands and steam mills⁹¹.

Even consul general Ernst Mahs sometimes called Rigler "vice consul at Villa Marino". Rigler's official status was recorded in inscriptions on his seal and printed forms of documents, including a residence card. The latter with the coat of arms of Prussia contained a text in which the necessary data was already entered by hand. The beginning of this text is as follows: "Aufenthalts-Karte gültig für [] Seiner Königlichen Majestät von Preussen Vice-Consulat zu Odessa für Volhynien-Podolien-Bessarabien". At the end of the form the following is printed: "Gegeben zu Odessa den []. Der Königlich Preussische [] Consul". The round seal on this residence card contains an image of a Prussian eagle and the inscription: "Königl. Preussisches Vice-Consulat zu Odessa". In some documents, Rigler called himself the royal vice consul for Volyn, Podillya and Bessarabia.

On April 9, 1868, a draft of the standard document was drawn up in Berlin concerning the appointment of consular representatives of the North German Confederation. The document was addressed to Rigler. His former status there was written as "vice consul in Odessa", the new one – as "consul in Ackermann". Three days earlier, on April 6, 1868, at Villa St. Marino Alexander Rigler wrote a letter to the Ambassador of Prussia in St. Petersburg, where he identified himself as "Royal Prussian vice consul in Southern Russia" and described a number

90 *Königlich Preußischer Staats-Anzeigen*, № 108, Mai 11, 1864, S. 1181.

91 Yanson Yu.E. "Dnestr: ego mesto v selskom hozyaystve i trgovle", *Sokiryanschina: Istoriko-kraEznavchiy almanah. Vip. 4*. Minsk-Novodnistrovsk, 2011, s. 202.

of details of his biography and service. The final appointment of the former Prussian vice consul Alexander Rigler as a consul of the North German Confederation in Ackermann took place on March 13, 1869⁹².

In 1871, the consul of the North German Confederation in Ackermann (Khotyn) Alexander Rigler was appointed as a consul of the German Empire⁹³. His residence was still Villa St. Marino near Khotyn⁹⁴.

10. Theodore Hoffmann

Even before being confirmed as a Prussian consul in Odessa, May 23 (June 4), 1860, Ernst Mahs addressed the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Prussia about Theodor Hoffmann. In the file "Consulate in Odessa. Volume 3. December 1850 - June 1868" of GStA PK, it was the first document signed by Mahs. That document was written by Hoffmann himself. Since then, a letter was sent from Odessa to Berlin once a year to temporarily instruct Theodor Hoffmann to perform duties in the Prussian consulate instead of Mahs.

Some time after Rigler became a vice-consul, the procedure for appointing Hoffmann as a consular agent in Odessa was initiated. Hoffmann, having already signed as a consular agent, wrote a letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia on December 31, 1864 (January 12, 1865) on financial matters. Later, it was Hoffmann who wrote most of the letters signed by Mahs on the letterhead of the Prussian consulate general in Odessa. These letters are, in particular, in the files "Consulate in Odessa. Volume 3. December 1850 - June 1868", "Consulate in Rostov. August-December 1863"⁹⁵, and "Consulate in Taganrog, Vol. 2. 1845-1868"⁹⁶.

The second document in the file of the German consulate general in Odessa, which is kept in the Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, is the decree of the King of Prussia, dated February 29, 1868, about the appointment of Theodor Hoffmann as a vice consul of the North German Confederation in Odessa⁹⁷. The last document of the file "Consulate in Odessa. Volume 3. December 1850 - June 1868" in GStA PK, which was signed by Theodor Hoffmann, is a letter on the new letterhead with the inscription "General-Consulat des Norddeutschen Bundes", dated on June 7 (19), 1868. This document Theodor Hoffmann signed as a vice consul of the North German Confederation. Already the first document of the file "Consulate in Odessa. Volume 4. July 1868 - July 1869" dated on July 13, 1868, was about the assignment of a vice consul, Theodor Hoffmann to conduct the affairs of a consulate general in Odessa during the vocation of Ernst Mahs⁹⁸.

92 *Bundesgesetzblatt des Norddeutschen Bundes 1869*, Unveränderter Abdruck, Berlin, 1890, S. 50.

93 *Deutsches Reichsgesetzblatt Band, 1871*, Nr. 39, S. 339.

94 *Handbuch über den Königlich Preussischen Hof und Staat für das Jahr 1875*. Berlin: R. v. Decker, 1874, S. 106.

95 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 466.

96 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 451.

97 Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, R 252138, S. 2.

98 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 432.

A study of the activities of the consulate general of Prussia in Odessa demonstrates that for Ernst Mahs, Theodor Hoffmann was a certain opposite to Alexander Rigler. While the latter distanced himself in every way from both Mahs and Odessa (distanced not only territorially, having a location of the vice consulate at a distance of almost 500 km from Odessa, but also in his activities and self-identification), Theodor Hoffmann was indispensable in the daily activities of the consulate general. Being a “high-flying bird”, Ernst Mahs put a large array of routine work on Hoffmann, and the consular agent coped well with it.

As a vice consul in Odessa, Theodor Hoffmann appeared in the lists of consular representatives of the North German Confederation for 1869⁹⁹, 1870¹⁰⁰ and 1871¹⁰¹. But in the staff of the consulate of the German Empire in Odessa (with the consular district, which included Kherson, Katerynoslav, Poltava and Kharkiv provinces), Hoffmann was no longer listed.

11. Edward Cattley

Born in St. Petersburg on April 17, 1816, Edward Cattley belonged to a family that gave the world a number of consuls and many more respectable merchants. Significantly, Edward Cattley was a great exception in his family, representing the interests of Prussia, and thus, being associated with that Kingdom. The first Prussian consul in Kerch was an Englishman.

The oldest known direct ancestors of Edward Cattley are his great-great-great-great-great-grandfather Stevan Catlay, born about 1580, and his great-great-great-great-great-grandmother Elizabeth Jube (1581-1657), who married in 1609 in Normanton (now in the county of West Yorkshire in England). The father of the Prussian consul, Robert Cattley, was born in York in 1787 and moved to the Russian Empire in the early 19th century, appearing here as a merchant and belonging to “Cattley & Co”¹⁰². The father of the Prussian consul in Kerch became a senior member of one of the most influential English families in St. Petersburg¹⁰³. It is significant that Robert Cattley appeared on the first page of a file of the Prussian consulate in Kerch, that concerned the procedure for the appointment of Edward Cattley¹⁰⁴.

Being a merchant, Edward Cattley spent some time in the service in the city of his birth – in the capital of the Russian Empire. In a German-language newspaper edition of 1835, he

99 “Verzeichniss der bis zum 3. Juli 1869 ernannten Consuln des Norddeutschen Bundes”, *Preussisches Handelsarchiv*. Wochenschrift für Handel, Gewerbe und Verkehrsanstalten. Jahrgang 1869, Berlin, 1869, № 31, S. 4; *Annuaire Diplomatique de l'Empire de Russie, pour l'année 1869*, Saint-Petersbourg: Imprimerie du Journal de St-Petersbourg, 1869, p. 85.

100 “Verzeichniss der Consuln des Norddeutschen Bundes”, *Preussisches Handelsarchiv*. Wochenschrift für Handel, Gewerbe und Verkehrsanstalten. Jahrgang 1870, Berlin, 1870, № 11, S. 6.

101 “Verzeichniss der Consuln des Norddeutschen Bundes”, *Preussisches Handelsarchiv*. Wochenschrift für Handel, Gewerbe und Verkehrsanstalten. Jahrgang 1871, Berlin, 1871, № 3, S. 6.

102 “Descendants of Stevan Catlay and Elizabeth Jube”, URL: <http://freepages.rootsweb.com/~hills/genealogy/cattley/d1.html#i250> (date of access: 26.03.2020).

103 Marie-Louise Karttunen, *The British Factory at St. Petersburg: A case study of a nineteenth-century NGO*, p. 13.

104 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 1.

appeared as a British citizen and valet¹⁰⁵. On April 20, 1843, in St. Petersburg, Edward Cattley married Clemence Elise Camp. At that time, Edward's younger brother Charles Cattley worked as a British vice consul in Kerch.

The question of the appointment of Edward Cattley as a Prussian vice consul in Kerch was raised in late 1844. On December 10, 1844, Edward Cattley sent a letter from Kerch to von Liebermann, the Royal Prussian Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Royal Russian court. Cattley wrote that during his stay in Kerch, a number of Prussian captains who came to this port expressed a strong desire for the establishment of a vice consulate of their country. Therefore, Cattley had the honour of nominating himself as a candidate for the relevant position, justifying the need to establish a Prussian vice consulate in the city by other arguments¹⁰⁶.

Edward Cattley's letter was received in St. Petersburg on December 18, and on December 28, 1844, Cattley's colleague, the Prussian vice consul in St. Petersburg Johann Bernhard Kempe, who was acquainted with Robert Cattley, Edward's father, joined the case¹⁰⁷.

At that time, there was only one Prussian consular office in the region – the consulate in Odessa, and its head Johann Albrecht Bock was also involved in setting up a consular office in Kerch and appointing a consular representative there¹⁰⁸. At a certain stage of the bureaucratic procedure, setting up not a vice consulate, but a consulate in Kerch began to be discussed. Finally, on July 12, 1845, the merchant Edward Cattley was appointed as a consul¹⁰⁹.

In his correspondence to Berlin, Cattley wrote not only about Kerch but also about ports of the Sea of Azov, caring for Prussian trade interests not only in the city of his stay, but in Azov as a whole. In parallel with his tenure as a Prussian consul in Kerch, Edward Cattley served as a Swedish-Norwegian vice consul in the same city¹¹⁰.

After several years in Kerch, Cattley decided to move to another seaside city. On November 4, 1848, still signing as a Prussian consul in Kerch, Edward Cattley wrote a French-language letter in Berdyansk, which was addressed to Karl Trebbin, the Prussian consul in Odessa. Cattley hastened to assure him that, moving from Kerch to Berdyansk, he had no intention of "suspending his services to the Prussian government". On the contrary, Cattley expressed the hope that after the change of residence, benefits from him would only increase. It was meant to expand the network of consular representatives in the region, which could include an additional vice consul or consular agent. According to Cattley, he had already written about that to the Royal Prussian Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

105 *Intelligenzblatt № 120 der St. Petersburgische Zeitung*, 31.05.1835, S. 421.

106 *GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 2.*

107 *ibid.*

108 *ibid.*, S. 8, 9, 11, 13.

109 *ibid.*, S. 15, 16.

110 *Erik-Amburger-Datenbank. Ausländer im vorrevolutionären Russland*, URL: <https://www.amburger.ios-regensburg.de/index.php?id=82498&mode=1> (date of access: 31.03.2020).

at the Royal Russian court. Cattley hoped that such an initiative would be supported by the Prussian consul in Odessa¹¹¹.

As early as mid-March 1849, again in Berdyansk, Cattley continued to sign letters as a Prussian consul in Kerch¹¹². But Edward did not stay long in Berdyansk. Already in 1850, he lived in his country residence near St. Petersburg¹¹³. Edward took a very important place in the British community of the capital of the Russian Empire. He was appointed as an agent of the London Russian Company in St. Petersburg and was elected as a treasurer of the British Factory in St. Petersburg¹¹⁴.

In 1881, after about 16 years of work, Edward left the London Russian Company. After retiring, he left the Russian Empire and moved to England¹¹⁵. Edward Cattley died in Bournemouth on March 15, 1895.

12. Georg Nicolich

In the papers of the Prussian consulate in Kerch at our disposal, Nicolich was first mentioned on March 25 (April 7), 1848, in a letter written to Berlin by the Prussian vice consul in Odessa Karl Trebbin¹¹⁶.

The surname Nicolich (Nikolich) appeared in the correspondence caused by Edward Cattley's intention to change his place of residence and the initiative to change the network of Prussian consular representatives in the region. At a certain stage of the correspondence, it was specified that the candidacy of a merchant Georg Nicolich was being considered for the position of a Prussian consular agent in Kerch¹¹⁷.

After Cattley left the region, the position of a Prussian consular representative in Kerch remained vacant. At that period, Georg (Georgy Nikolaevich) Nicolich acted as an Austrian vice consul in Kerch while his brother Ivan Nikolaevich Nicolich was a Neapolitan and Dutch vice consul and a French consular agent in Kerch¹¹⁸.

111 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 49.

112 *ibid.*, S. 53-54.

113 Julia Mahnke-Devlin, *Britische Migration nach Russland im 19. Jahrhundert: Integration-Kultur-Alltagsleben*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005, S. 96.

114 Marie-Louise Karttunen, *Making a Communal World. English Merchants in Imperial St. Petersburg*. Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by due permission of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Helsinki, Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2004, p. 266.

115 Julia Mahnke-Devlin, *ibid.*, S. 96, 104.

116 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 34-35.

117 *ibid.*, S. 56.

118 *Novorossiyskiy kalendar na 1851 god, izdavaemyiy ot Rishlevskogo litseya*, Odessa: Gorodskaya tipografiya, 1850, s. 224.

On May 20 (June 1), 1852, the Prussian consul in Odessa Menger wrote that, in accordance with the instructions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia, he offered Georg Nicolich the position of a consular agent in Kerch, and Nicolich accepted the offer. Menger wrote to Nicolich that the latter received a seal to use in the performance of his functions as well as documents that he should be guided in his activities.

In the file "Consulates in Kerch in the Crimea and in Berdyansk. 1845-1868" of GStA PK, there are no documents from October 1852 to June 1855. At the height of the Crimean War, on July 16 (28), 1855, in Kharkov, the Prussian consular agent in Kerch Georg Nicolich wrote a letter to Menger about the events that took place in Kerch during its occupation by allies. As for himself, Nicolich informed that he and his family had to leave Kerch, but he managed to take out the archives of the Prussian consular agency entrusted to him¹¹⁹.

In his letter written in Kerch on January 29 (February 10), 1857 to John Menger, Nicolich wrote about the circumstances which left no doubt that after returning home from Kharkiv he was already well acquainted with the situation in Kerch. Nicolich wrote that his personal circumstances had also changed considerably since he had agreed to take up the post of a Prussian consular agent. Nicolich's financial situation was seriously undermined by the war that had just ended. Therefore, Nicolich wrote that, unfortunately, he could not continue activities as a consular agent¹²⁰.

However, circumstances changed not just for Nicolich. The end of the Crimean War opened a new page in the whole history of foreign consulates in the Azov-Black Sea region including the history of the network of consular offices of Prussia. On March 12 and 28, 1857, documents were drawn up in Berlin concerning possible changes not only in Kerch, but also in Berdyansk where a Prussian consular agent could appear¹²¹.

On April 7, 1858, Novorossiysk and Bessarabian Governor General informed the Kerch-Enikale city Governor (on the basis of a note from an Austrian consul general in Odessa) that in connection with the death of Georg Nicolich the Belgian consul in Kerch, Titus Nazzolini was entrusted with the duties of an Austrian vice consul in the city¹²². In this regard, we must question the veracity of the data that Georg Nicolich (Georges Nikolitch) was a consular agent

119 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 97-98.

120 *ibid.*, S. 107.

121 *ibid.*, S. 108, 109.

122 "Mestnogo nachalstva", *Ob'yavleniya Kerch-Enikolskogo gradonachalstva*, 20.04.1858, № 16, s. 61.

of Prussia in Kerch in 1861¹²³, 1862¹²⁴, 1863¹²⁵, 1864¹²⁶, 1865¹²⁷, 1866¹²⁸ and 1867¹²⁹, 1868¹³⁰. Besides, neither in the documents of GStA PK nor in other sources, except for “*Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie*”, it is not mentioned.

On June 13 (25), 1867, the Kerch merchant Woldemar Roy a addressed a French-language letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Prussia Bismarck and to the Ministry. There he wrote that living in Kerch for several years, he occasionally saw Prussian ships returning from the Sea of Azov having been damaged. At the same time, the Prussian subjects additionally suffered from the fact that due to not having their consul in Kerch, not knowing either the language or the laws of the country, they could not find protection from their government. So, Woldemar Roy a offered himself for the post of a consular representative in Kerch and assured that his position allowed him to defend Prussian interests in the best way¹³¹. Primary sources indicated that Roy a did not take the desired position of a Prussian consul in Kerch. Soon, the Prussian consular offices disappeared in other cities, giving way to consulates of the newly formed North German Confederation.

13. Cornelius Jansen¹³²

As mentioned above, as early as March 12 and 28, 1857, documents were drawn up in Berlin concerning the possibility of a Prussian consular agent appearing in Berdyansk¹³³. Berdyansk’s issue was also raised in a letter of the Ministry in Berlin to the Prussian consul in Odessa John Menger on April 11; letters of the Prussian consulate in Odessa to the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Prussia Otto Theodor von Manteuffel on April 30 (May 12); a letter of the diplomatic mission of Prussia in St. Petersburg to the relevant Ministry in Berlin on May 26, 1857. On 23 October, 1858, the Germans of Berdyansk signed the levy to Otto Theodor von Manteuffel, on the appointment of Cornelius Jansen as the representative of Prussia in the city. On April 6 (18), 1859, “*Vollmach*” was drawn up in Odessa, which referred to

123 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1861*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie de F.Bellizard, 1861, p. 64.

124 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1862*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie de Hogenfelden et Com, 1862, p. 64.

125 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1863*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie du journal de St-Petersbourg, 1863, p. 80.

126 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1864*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie du journal de St-Petersbourg, 1864, p. 80.

127 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1865*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie du journal de St-Petersbourg, 1865, p. 80.

128 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1866*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie du journal de St-Petersbourg, 1866, p. 77.

129 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1867*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie du journal de St-Petersbourg, 1867, p. 77.

130 *Annuaire Diplomatique de l’Empire de Russie pour l’année 1868. 8e année*, Saint-Petersbourg: imprimerie du journal de St-Petersbourg, 1868, p. 77.

131 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 190, 191.

132 Igor Lyman, Victoria Konstantinova, *Nimetski konsuly v Pivnichnomu Pryazovyi*. Dnipro: LIRA, 2018, s. 11-13.

133 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 108, 109.

the authority of Cornelius Jansen as a Prussian consular agent in Berdyansk. The document contained a round red wax seal with the image of a Prussian eagle and the inscription "Königlich Preuss: Consulate of Odessa. Dessen Agentur zu Berdiansk"¹³⁴. On August 9, 1859, the press reported that the Russian emperor had agreed to "recognize the local merchant Cornelius Jansen as the Prussian consular agent in Berdyansk"¹³⁵.

Cornelius Jansen was one of the brightest and most influential representatives of the Mennonite community not only of Berdyansk, but also of the entire Russian Empire. He was born in Tigenhof on 2 July, 1822 (according to Peter Jansen, on 6 July, 1823)¹³⁶. As a young man, he travelled from Prussia to the Northern Azov region where he quickly realized the potential prospects of that region (and especially of the port city of Berdyansk) in terms of exporting grain abroad. Therefore, soon after returning home, Jansen began working on resettlement plans.

In 1850, Cornelius Jansen and his family went on a trip to the city on the Azov coast. Upon resettling to a new place, Cornelius (as planned) engaged in the grain trade. In 1852, the Jansens temporarily left Berdyansk to Schidliz, a suburb of Danzig¹³⁷. The Jansens returned to Berdyansk in 1856, after the Crimean war. To expand the business, Jansen combined forces with Abraham Matthies who had a shop in Rudnerweide, a Mennonite colony. In this tandem, Matthies' functions were purchasing grain from local agricultural producers and transporting it to Berdyansk. There, the grain was unloaded into warehouses owned by Cornelius Jansen, where it was expected to be exported by sea abroad, mainly to Great Britain¹³⁸.

As a Prussian consular agent, Cornelius Jansen later passed from direct subordination to the Prussian consul in Odessa under the supremacy of the newly appointed Prussian consul in Berdyansk. Being a Prussian consular agent in Berdyansk, on 29 October, 1861, Jansen was appointed as a vice consul of Mecklenburg-Schwerin¹³⁹. In 1868, there was the exchange of correspondence about appointing Cornelius Jansen, the merchant, also consul of the Kingdom of Württemberg in Berdyansk.

One of Jansen's children later recalled that he and his brothers were happy when they raised the Prussian flag with a black eagle on the occasion of special events, and that the position of the consul provided Cornelius Jansen with a greater respect from the local population¹⁴⁰.

Given Cornelius' interest in trade with Great Britain, it becomes clear why he factually

134 *ibid.*, S. 124.

135 "Mestnogo nachalstva", *Ob'yavleniya Kerch-Enikolskogo gradonachalstva*, 9.08.1859, № 32, s. 129.

136 "Jansen, Cornelius (1822-1894)", *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online* URL: [http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Jansen,_Cornelius_\(1822-1894\)](http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Jansen,_Cornelius_(1822-1894)) (date of access: 27.05.2020).

137 Peter Jansen, *Memoirs of Peter Jansen: The Record of a Busy Life: an Autobiography*, Beatrice: Jansen, 1921, p. 19.

138 *ibid.*, p. 19-23.

139 "Anerkannt", *Warschauer Zeitung*, № 261, November 1, 1861, S. 1.

140 Peter Jansen, *ibid.*, p. 25.

helped to arrange the consulate of Great Britain in Berdyansk. Robert William Cumberbatch, the first (in chronological order) British consul, settled in one of Jansen's houses in Berdyansk and became a close friend of Cornelius' family. Interestingly, between the years of 1859 and 1862 "Almanach de Gotha. Annuaire diplomatique et statistique" published information that R.Cumberbatch was a Prussian consul in Berdyansk¹⁴¹. However, our study of his biography¹⁴² and the history of the Prussian consulate in Berdyansk gives every reason to believe that such information is incorrect.

The plans of the military reform threatened the Mennonites of the Russian Empire with the deprivation of privileges, and, in particular, the abolition of exemption from military service, which was in conflict with the Mennonites' religious beliefs. Cornelius Jansen expressed serious concerns that one of the consequences of those plans would be the assimilation of Mennonites and the loss of their faith. Therefore, soon Cornelius Jansen together with Leonhard Sudermann began actively preparing for the resettlement of their coreligionists to North America. Jansen wrote a number of pamphlets published at his expense in Danzig in 1872. He took the floor at secret meetings of the Mennonite leaders convincing them to leave their homes, which would be a real alternative to loss of faith. When the police found out about it, Cornelius was accused of inciting the Russian subjects to riots. By the decree of the Third Section of his Imperial Majesty's Own Chancellery, Jansen was obliged to leave the territory of the Russian Empire¹⁴³.

On 26 May, 1873, the Jansens left Berdyansk. Already in August 1873, the Jansens arrived in Berlin, Canada. The following year, the Jansens moved to Iowa, USA, and finally settled in Nebraska in 1876. While living in the United States, Cornelius Jansen and his son Peter (who later became a Senator) made efforts to obtain the permission from the U.S. government to settle Mennonites from the Russian Empire in compact groups; Jansen and his son helped the settlers to find homes and arranged a financial support for poor Mennonite migrants. Cornelius Jansen died in Beatrice, Nebraska, on 14 December, 1894. Today, the Mennonites compare this former representative of interests of Prussia and the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in Berdyansk with Moses because he led his people to "the Promised Land"¹⁴⁴.

141 Almanach de Gotha. Annuaire diplomatique et statistique. 1859, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1859, p. 706; Almanach de Gotha. Annuaire diplomatique et statistique. 1860, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1860, p. 718; Almanach de Gotha. Annuaire diplomatique et statistique. 1861, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1861, p. 747; Almanach de Gotha. Annuaire diplomatique et statistique. 1862, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1862, p. 784.

142 Igor Lyman, Victoria Konstantinova, "British Consul in Berdyansk Cumberbatch, Great-Great grandfather of Modern Sherlock Holmes", *Scriptorium nostrum*, 2017, № 2 (8), p. 195-207; Igor Lyman, Victoria Konstantinova, *Ukrainskyi Pivden ochyma konsuliv Brytanskoi imperii 19 – pochatku 20 st. Tom 1: Brytanski konsuly v portovomu misti Berdiansku*, Kyiv, 2018, s. 26-53.

143 Peter Jansen, *ibid*, p. 29-31.

144 Igor Lyman, Victoria Konstantinova, *NK*, s. 11-13.

14. Johann Friedrich Haemmerle¹⁴⁵

Johann Friedrich Haemmerle was born in Odessa in 1824. His fate was in many ways closely connected with the processes of colonization and economic development of Southern Ukraine. He started his merchant activity in Odessa, worked with Ernst Mahs and Francois Bonnet, then decided “to accept the challenge of new lands” and continue doing business by moving from Odessa to Berdyansk. Here he focused on the export of grain and wool, one of the most promising areas of business. Already in January 1851, the file “Konsulate in Kertsch auf der Krim und in Berdjansk” in GStA PK preserved the correspondence of Johann Friedrich Haemmerle from Berdyansk with the official Berlin. However, the next time in the file “Konsulate in Kertsch auf der Krim und in Berdjansk” Johann Haemmerle appeared only 10 years later. The reason for this is that he moved from Berdyansk to Taganrog and became a Prussian consular agent there already in 1852. The old business partner of Haemmerle Ernst Mahs, planning in 1861 reorganization of the Prussian consular network in the Azov-Black Sea region, did not forget about Johann Friedrich. Mahs proposed the candidacy of Johann Haemmerle for the post of a consul in Berdyansk, and the candidacy of his brother Alexander Haemmerle for a consular position in Taganrog.

A standard form of the document about appointing Johann Haemmerle as Prussian consul in Berdyansk was signed in Baden-Baden on August 5, 1861¹⁴⁶. In February 1862, the press reported that Emperor Alexander II had agreed to recognize Ivan Haemmerle as Prussian consul in Berdyansk¹⁴⁷.

According to the family legend, which was dictated more than hundred years later by Anatole Alfred Haemmerle (Johann Friedrich’s grandson), his grandfather was a lord of very vast lands near Berdyansk, with those lands inherited allegedly from his parents. Haemmerle also exported the grain (grown on these lands) through Berdyansk port. Anatole Alfred was convinced that Johann Friedrich Haemmerle held a fleet in Berdyansk, which was obviously sunk by the British during the Crimean war.

As the Prussian consul, in November 1862, Haemmerle was already awarded with the Prussian order. Haemmerle simultaneously represented the interests of Belgium in Berdyansk. In 1868, the decree of the King of Prussia made Haemmerle, who was the Prussian consul, a consul of the North German Confederation in Berdyansk whereas in 1871, Johann Friedrich Haemmerle became a consul of the newly established German Empire.

Back in January 1863, Haemmerle was elected the mayor of Berdyansk and occupied that office for a little more than two years, until February 1865. Already on 28 March, 1865, the local community elected Johann Friedrich Haemmerle as one of the six “most honored

145 *ibid*, s. 13-14.

146 GStA PK, III. HA MdA, II Nr. 456, S. 132; Politisches Archivdes Auswärtigen Amts, R 252115, S. 74.

147 “Otdel ofitsialnyiy”, *Politsejskiy listok Kerch-Enikolskogo gradonachalstva*, 18.02.1862, № 6-7 “Otdel ofitsialnyiy”, *Politsejskiy listok Kerch-Enikolskogo gradonachalstva*, 18.02.1862, № 6-7, s. 25.

people” who were included in the Commission on requesting a railway connection to Berdyansk.

In 1866, Haemmerle became the honorary supervisor of the Berdyansk district school. In 1866-1867 and 1875-1877, Haemmerle was listed as a member of Berdyansk Assembly. In 1867, Johann Friedrich Haemmerle, the honorary citizen, became the mayor of Berdyansk for the second time occupying that office until 1870. On 2 September, 1869, Haemmerle as a member of the deputies of urban communities of the Taurian province was presented to the Russian Emperor in Livadia, the Crimea, and had a conversation with him, in which he called Württemberg as his family’s birthplace.

Haemmerle was a member of the Commission on railway connection to Berdyansk. In 1873, he was the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Berdyansk women’s progymnasium. In 1875, he was elected as a member of the Commission on developing the building for the men’s gymnasium in Berdyansk. In 1877, Haemmerle was the acting Chairman of the Berdyansk City executive council.

In 1877 Haemmerle sent a request to Berlin for a vacation and went abroad. After several acting consuls, a new German consul in Berdyansk was appointed only in early 1879.

Johann Friedrich Haemmerle died in 1894, the same year as Cornelius Jansen, his colleague at the consular service¹⁴⁸.

Conclusion

The history of Prussian consular representatives and consular offices is on the one hand part of the history of Germans’ participation in the development of the Southern Ukrainian lands, and on the other hand, the formation and development of frontier specifics of the Southern Ukrainian port cities. The consuls’ biographies and their network connections tied the region with German lands and with other countries of Europe and the world. The formation of the staff of Prussian consular representatives in the region was influenced by a wide range of factors, ranging from the presence of an initiative motivated person and ending with changes in the geopolitical situation in Europe or vice versa.

The first recorded in archival documents initiative to establish a Prussian consular office in the lands of the Russian Empire adjacent to the Black and Azov Seas dates back to 1806. However, for political reasons, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Prussia addressed this issue only in 1814. The first of Prussia in chronological order was appointed to the region on the last day of 1818. His place of residence was Odessa. In this context, Prussia made a bet absolutely precisely: studying the growth of international importance of Odessa in the first half of the 19th century, Vernon J. Puryear noted that during the 35 years preceding the Crimean War (i. e. since 1818, when the Prussian consulate was established there), the most important change in the foreign trade of the Russian Empire was the growing role of “Russian” ports in

148 Igor Lyman, Victoria Konstantinova, *NK*, s. 13-14.

the Black Sea, of course, primarily the main port of the region – Odessa¹⁴⁹.

All Prussian consular representatives in the region were merchants and entrepreneurs. The first two of them (in chronological order), Eugenius Goguel and Jean (Johann) Walb, left the consular post due to bankruptcy. While Eugenius Goguel remained in Odessa, Jean (Johann) Walb and the third consul in chronology, Esaias C. Walther left Odessa and the whole territory of the Russian Empire. In 1832, the Prussian consulate in Odessa was strengthened by the appointment of a vice consul Johann Albrecht Bock. He took the post of consul in 1840 and later died while in office. At times of Bock the consular network in the region was expanded: in 1845, the Prussian consulate in Kerch was arranged, where Edward Cattley became a consul. A few years later, he initiated the expansion of the consular network thanks to Berdyansk. But then it was not realized. Cattley left the region, and no one was appointed in his place for several years.

As for Odessa, Carl Heinrich Bulcke, appointed in 1840, worked as a vice consul for a short time, and later returned from Odessa to his native city of Danzig. The next vice consul, Karl Trebbin, had to work alone for several years, while the position of a consul remained vacant. In 1851, this post was taken by John Menger, who worked without help of the vice consul. At the same time, it was under Menger in 1852 that Georg Nicolich was appointed as a Prussian consular agent in Kerch. Nicolich acted until his death, after which the Prussian consular office in that city no longer functioned. Instead, shortly after Georg Nicolich's death, in 1859 the Prussian consular agent Cornelius Jansen appeared in Berdyansk.

Ernst Mahs became Menger's successor in Odessa in the autumn of 1860. At the beginning of 1861, a change of a Monarch took place in Prussia. After the death of Friedrich Wilhelm IV on January 2, Wilhelm I of Prussia ascended to the throne, and at the very beginning of his reign, the Prussian consular network in the region was strengthened by transforming the Prussian consulate in Odessa into a consulate general and by the appointment of Johann Friedrich Haemmerle (who worked as vice consul in Taganrog since 1852) as a consul in Berdyansk. At the end of 1863, a Prussian vice consulate was established for Bessarabia, Podillya, and Volyn. Although it was called "vice consulate in Odessa", the vice consul Alexander Rigler had a residence near Khotyn. At the end of 1864 Theodore Hoffmann was appointed as consular agent to help the consul general Ernst Mahs.

When the King of Prussia approved the staff of the newly created consular network of the North German Confederation in 1868, this list included all Prussian consular representatives acting in the Southern Ukrainian ports. A new page in the history of contacts of the region with the German lands was opened.

149 Vernon J. Puryear, *ibid*, p. 214.

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Michal Czajkowski (Sadyk Pasha)'s Projects in The Ottoman Empire (1841-1872)

Volodymyr Poltorak¹ 



***Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:**
Volodymyr Poltorak (Asst. Prof.),
İ.İ.Mechnikov Odessa National University,
Faculty of History and Philosophy,
Department of History of Ukraine,
Odessa,Ukraine.
E-mail: poltorak@onu.edu.ua
ORCID: 0000-0002-6336-9150

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ABSTRACT

There should be three periods in the activity of Myhaylo Czajkowski on the Balkan Peninsula. The first is the time when Czajkowski led the Oriental mission of Hotel Lambert in Istanbul. The Concept of the South Slavic Federation, created by Adam Czartoryski, included the liberalization of the policy of the Ottoman Empire in relation to the Christian population, and the promotion of the Uniate movement among the Orthodox. The second period is the time before and immediately after the Crimean War, when Czajkowski became an Ottoman general (Sadyk) and headed the Cossack regiments. At this time, his projects became free from the influences of Czartoryski. An idea emerges about the formation of the Ukrainian-Bessarabian Principality, headed by Hetman. The third period is the 1860s, when Sadyk Pasha contributed to the proclamation of the Bulgarian Autocephalous Church, entered into an open conflict with former colleagues from Hotel Lambert and at the same time began to substantiate the concept of Pan-Slavism. Consequently, the project activity of Mykhaylo Czajkowski deserves our attention, because it played a certain positive role in the Bulgarian revival, sometimes contrary to the intentions of Sadyk Pasha. For the first time, the Bulgarians received patronage in the upper circles of the Ottoman Empire, which was marked primarily by the successful proclamation of the autocephaly of the Bulgarian church in 1870. The Ottoman Cossacks, headed by Czajkowski, positively influenced the processes of national revival in the 1860s. Cossacks laid the foundations of European cultural influence on the population of Bulgarian cities. The Cossacks softened the repressive actions of the Ottoman administration against the insurgent movement in the 1860s. Czajkowski's literary works in the "Spring of Peoples" introduced the Bulgarian people to the European reader and justified the image of Bulgarian movement for independence.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Ottoman Cossacks, Nation-building, Bulgarian Autocephaly, Project Activity



During 1841-1872, there was virtually no case in the Balkans in which Mykhajlo Czajkowski (Sadyk-pasha, 1804-1886) did not play a role, directly or indirectly. To consider Mykhajlo Czajkowski as a Ukrainian politician allows us his origins, activities, as well as political and philosophical concepts, expressed in literary works and official correspondence. We now have access to a huge amount of information about Mykhajlo Czajkowski's 30-year stay on the Balkan Peninsula, and a structured approach using the project method will allow us to take a fresh look at both the figure's creative work and its results, which for the most part turned out to be unexpected for the "project manager" himself. First of all, we will define that a "project" (in the sense of an organizational project) will be called in a broad sense "a set of efforts by one person, group of persons or organization, carried out in order to obtain specific unique results."

Mykhajlo Czajkowski was destined to become an iconic figure for the era of nation-building in Southeastern Europe, and his role has been noted in Polish, Bulgarian, Russian, Ukrainian, Romanian, and Turkish historiography: a Polish nobleman, an insurgent, a Turkish general, a patron of Bulgarian autocephaly and Old Believers, a Mason, a French journalist, a Cossack ataman and a Ukrainian patriot - this is a far from complete and seemingly mutually exclusive list of identifiers of this figure. Now the fantasy of the authors of the World Wide Web gives him new "titles": "James Bond of the 19th century", "The most mysterious", and finally - "Adventurer". Let's add another to this - "effective project manager", which will be discussed in more detail below.

In this study, we turn to the three most influential projects. These include the following projects: "Cossack" (definition of Ivan Lysyak-Rudnytsky), "Ukrainian-Bessarabian" and "Bulgarian Orthodox Autocephaly" (promoting the creation of an autocephalous Bulgarian church). We will also briefly refer to other projects implemented or not implemented (but started) on the Balkan Peninsula with the participation of Michał Czajkowski. The significance of these projects is all the more contradictory, the more it seems from the standpoint of the tasks of the Polish, Ukrainian and Bulgarian national movements of the mid-nineteenth century and the attitude to the future of the Ottoman Empire.

The famous Polish independence fighter Zygmunt Milkowski described his attitude to the Ottoman Empire in 1848: "We were very grateful to the Ottoman Empire for asylum, but we knew from history that our case was very similar to that of the people conquered by Turkey." Relying on their beliefs, most Polish and Hungarian rebels left the empire. The principle and purity of the ideological line in the behaviour of the revolutionary democrats very much limited the scope of their action in Turkey. More flexible in this regard was the conservative camp of Adam Czartoryski, the so-called *Hotel Lambert*, which tried to combine in its work in the Balkans seemingly incompatible tasks:

1. to strengthen the position of the Ottoman Empire - the enemy of the Russian Empire;
2. to promote the rise of the South Slavic people and their separation from pro-Russian Slavophilism.

Great diplomatic dexterity, flexibility and political flair gave Adam Czartoryski's chief agent in the Balkans, Michal Czajkowski, the opportunity to live and operate within the Ottoman Empire for thirty years. He joined the Turkish service when the Russian government demanded his expulsion from Turkey (1850). Having reached the rank of general and commander-in-chief of the Cossack corps, Czajkowski, as a Turkish pasha, repeatedly used his close ties with the ruling circles to help the Christian population in the Balkans.

Bulgarian scientists B.Pieniev¹, I.Shyshmanov², M.Arnaudov³ in a number of their studies paid attention to Czajkowski's activities in favour of the Bulgarian national movement. Their views are largely based on excerpts from Czajkowski's memoirs published in Bulgaria by his daughter, Karolina Sukhodolska. Later, Bulgarian historiography examined Czajkowski's "Cossack Project", its influence on the proclamation of the autocephaly of the Bulgarian Church, and his personal connections with figures in the Bulgarian national movement in detail. For several decades, I. Stoychev collected materials about the participation of Bulgarians in the Ottoman Cossack regiments⁴, and V. Smokhovska-Petrova in two monographs and several articles addressed directly to the archive of the Prince Czartoryski⁵, where she found reports by Michal Czajkowski on his activities in the Balkans.

Already in our time, Bulgarian researcher E. Khadzhinikolov as well as A. Zlatanov again turned to defining the role of Michal Czajkowski and his Cossacks in the Bulgarian national movement. In two articles, they analysed the work of their predecessors and drew a logical conclusion about the overall positive impact of Czajkowski's activities between the years 1841-1872 on the Bulgarian national liberation movement.

Special mention should be made of literary studies, as Czajkowski's work had no less influence on nation-building than his military-political activities. Bulgarian scholar E. Georgiev rightly emphasized the important role of Czajkowski's novels in awakening the spirit of resistance of the Bulgarian people. However, without a careful study of Czajkowski as a politician, his literary work still cannot be properly interpreted.

1 B. Penev, "Istoriya na novata bolgarska literatura", T. IV Sofiya, 1936, S. 753.

2 I.Shishmanov, "Studii iz oblasti na bolgarskoto vozrazhdane", *Sbornik Bolgarskoy Akademii na Naukite*, 4, 1916.

3 M.Arnaudov, "Neofit Khilendarski Bozveli (1785—1848)", Sofiya, 1930, S.392

4 I.K. Stoychev, "Kazak-alaya na Chaykovski", Sofiya, 1944

5 V. Smokhovska-Petrova, "Mikhal Chaykovski – Sadyk pasha i Bolgarsko vozrazhdene", Sofiya, 1973; V. Smokhovska-Petrova, "Neofit Bozveli i bolgarskiyat tserkoven vopros", Sofiya, 1964; A. Zlatanov, "Kazak alayat na Sadyk pasha", *Izvestiya na intituta za istoricheski izsleduvaniya*, T.32, Sofiya, 2015, S.66-78.

Czajkowski's activities in the direction of creating Cossack units in the Ottoman army are reflected in a large number of published sources⁶ and in the literature⁷. In particular, the leadership of the Cossack detachments in the Ottoman army is covered (except for the above-mentioned Bulgarian) in the works of the Polish⁸, Russian⁹, Turkish¹⁰ and Ukrainian¹¹ historians.

Cossack Project

Cossack units in the Ottoman army in the middle of the nineteenth century dated back to earlier centuries. Thus, in the 17th century, right-bank Cossack regiments took part in the wars against the Commonwealth and the Moscow Empire in the 18th century - in the Prut War (1711-1714), in the 19th century - during the Russo-Turkish wars of 1806-1812 and 1828-1829. On the eve of the last ones of these wars, the Cossacks received the status of a regular unit when the Silistra Regiment was formed. Thus, Michał Czajkowski put forward the idea of "restoration" of the Ottoman Cossacks, not the creation of it. That happened on October 20, 1853, when Sultan Abdul-Majid issued a decree to Mehmed Sadyk-bey (Michał Czajkowski was given this name after his conversion to Islam) to form a "regiment of Ottoman Cossacks." Polish historiography notes the Polish affiliation of most of these divisions¹². However, given the discovery of new sources (or simply a consistent reading of the old ones), the multinationality of the Cossack regiments created in the Balkans became apparent as well as their exclusive role in the future formation of the Bulgarian armed forces.

- 6 "Zapiski Mikhaila Chaykovskogo (Sadyk Pashi)", *Kiyevskaya starina*, 1891, 1892; M.S. Chaykovskiy, "Zapiski", *Russkaya starina*, 1895-1898, 1900, 1904; M.Czajkowski, "Pamietniki Sadyka Paszy Michał a Czajkowskiego" / tłumaczył na polskie A.P., Lwow, 1898; Ye. Rudnits'kiy, "Do istoriyi pol's'kogo kozakofil'stva", *Za sto lit*, Kn. 1, 1925, S. 62-66; T. Slabchenko, "Koly povernuv na Ukrayinu Sadyk-Pasha?" *Zapiski Istoriko-Filologichnogo Viddilu Vseukrayins'koyi Akademiyi Nauk*, Kn. XXV, K., 1929; M. Czajkowski, "Moje wspomnienia o wojnie 1854 roku", Warszawa, 1962.
- 7 J. Chudzikowska, "Dziwne życie Sadyka Paszy o Michał e Czajkowskim", 1971; V.Smokhovska-Petrova, "Mikhail Chaykovski – Sadyk pasha i Bolgarsko vozrazhdene", Sofiya, 1973; D.Sen', A.Prigarin "Panslavizm Mikhaila Chaykovskogo i istoriya kazachestva v Osmanskoj imperii", *Polyaki v istorii Rossii: istoriya i sovremennost'*, Krasnodar, 2007, S.147-160; O.Prigarin, "«Kozatstvo v Turechchini» M. Chaykivs'kogo yak dzherelo vivchennya kozats'kikh formuvan' v Ottomans'kiy Porti sere diny XIX st.", *Naukovi pratsi istorichnogo fakul'tetu Zaporiz'kogo derzhavnogo universitetu*, 2001, Vyp. XIII, S.26.
- 8 Fr. Rawita-Gawronski, "Michał Czajkowski (Sadyk-pasza). Jego życie, działalność wojskowa i literacka. Zarys biograficzny", Petersburg, 1901; P. Wierzbicki, "Dziennik generała Feliksa Breanskiego, dowódcy brygady w Dywizji Kozaków Sultanskich", *Akta THL w Paryżu*, 2000, T. 5; Alisiya Kulets'ka, "Pomizh Pol'shcheyu, Turechchinoyu i Rosiyeyu: Mikhail Chaykovs'kiy (Mekhmet Sadik pasha) i problemi "kozachchini" v XIX st.", *Prichornomors'kiy region u konteksti svitovoi politiki: istoriya ta s'ogodennya*, Odesa, 2008, S. 117-125.
- 9 Yu. Borisonok, "Ataman Sadyk-pasha", *Rodina*, 1998, №5-6.
- 10 Musa Gümüs, "Mehmed Sadik Pasa (Michał Czajkowski) ve Osmanlı devlet'nde kazak suvari alayı", *Turkish studies*, V. 5/3, 2010, P.1362-1375; Candan Badem, "The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)", Leidem-Boston, 2010; Metin Ünver. "Wanda ya da Mehmed Sadik (Cayka) Paşa'nın Türkiye Anekdottları", *Tarih Dergisi*, 65, 2017, s. 99-118.
- 11 I.Lysyak-Rudnits'kiy, "Kozats'kiy proyekt Mikhaila Chaykovs'kogo pid chas Krims'koyi viyny: analiz idey", *Lysyak-Rudnits'kiy I. Istorichni ese*, K., 1994, T. 1, S. 251-263; V. Poltorak, "Dokumenty pro M. Chaykovs'kogo v Derzhavnomu arkhivi Odes'koyi oblasti», *Chornomors'ka mynuvshina*, Vyp. 5, Odesa, 2010.
- 12 S.Łątka Jerzy, "Słownik Polaków w Imperium Osmańskim i Republice Turcji", Kraków, 2005, S. 19-20.

Recruitment to the Ottoman army took place through the gathering of a Muslim male population between the ages of 20 and 25 by lot (*kur'a*). Recruits could send a replacement instead. Military service in the Ottoman army lasted for six years in active form and then for seven years in reserve (*redif*). Non-Muslims did not serve in the army, instead they paid a per capita tax (*cizye*, after 1855 called *iane-i askeriye*). However, Turkish historians note that patriotic feelings began to grow among the Ottoman non-Muslim population at the beginning of the war of 1853–56. 3,000 Bulgarians from noble families expressed a desire to join Ottoman army volunteers, according to the German newspaper *Berliner Zeitung* of September 1, 1853. They were not accepted. Also, some patriotic Ottoman Armenians and Greeks from Saruhan and Izmir turned to the Porte, wanting to serve in the army; the appeal was politely rejected. Thus, the Ottoman Empire, with a total population of about 35 million, roughly equal to half the population of the Russian Empire at the time, had far fewer resources to include in its army, as it depended on its Muslim population while Russia could replenish the army with a much larger population (about four times).

Thus, the Cossack regiment (*alay*) led by Czajkowski was a unique unit for the Ottoman army, which included representatives of the Christian population of the empire. According to the Turkish historian C. Bagdem, the Porte cautiously did not call these regiments Slavic or Polish, preferring to use the name Cossack instead. The Ottoman leadership was also careful not to recruit Polish and Hungarian officers near the Austrian border, - because the Porte had previously given guarantees to Austria¹³.

The Sadik-bey's Cossack regiment joined the Rumelia army led by Omer Pasha and was used to counter the Russian Cossacks in General Paskevich's army, which laid siege to the fortress of Silistra¹⁴. There the Cossacks distinguished themselves with several successful operations, and later they were the first units to have entered the Russian-abandoned Bucharest. Sadyk-Bey was currently promoting Cossack ideas among the Orthodox population of the Balkans actively, while coming into conflict with Polish officers and the British command. He spoke negatively about one of the officers, who, "like most English officers who bought their posts but did not receive them for service and accomplishment, treated their sub-officers like Slaves"¹⁵.

In April 1855, Czajkowski was sent to investigate the possibility of admitting Christians into the military service. Czajkowski's report provided the Grand Vizier with controversial points as to whether Christian volunteers could be drafted into the army. He wrote that cavalry units could be recruited from Tarnovo, Tisza, Jeni Pazar, and Sarai-Bosna, and infantry from Mostar, Iskodra, Ioannina, and Thessaloniki. Czajkowski wrote in his memoirs that the

13 Candan Badem, "The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)", Leiden-Boston, 2010, P. 50-51.

14 Ibid, P.185.

15 Ibid, P.243.

Sultan wanted the project to be discussed with representatives of major European powers.¹⁶ However, according to his recollections, they did not like the idea. Lord Stratford de Radcliffe even told him that such a project would not be approved because then in a few years the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire would have a whole army that was well trained and capable of fighting. "This is not our task," Lord Stratford seemed to say to Czajkowski. Austria was in the same state of fear: the emergence of a military spirit among the Ottoman Slavs. Thus, the Porte met with opposition from all sides and eventually Western powers did not allow it to carry out this reform¹⁷.

A particularly valuable source that characterizes the development of the structure of the unit during the Crimean War (1853-1856) is the "List of officers of the Ottoman Cossacks"¹⁸. It should be noted that the information gathered in the document about the officers of the Cossack corps can be considered reliable (published immediately in Paris for propaganda purposes, but under the meticulous eye of the Polish democratic opposition - so the information about people and their achievements is unlikely to be systematically falsified). "List of officers of the Ottoman Cossacks" contains the names of 180 people, painted at the main headquarters, two regimental headquarters and regiments of Cossacks and Ottoman dragoons. Information on the ranks, positions and awards of officers is also provided.

The list of dead, as it contains information about the time, circumstances and place of death of the officer, gives us the opportunity to trace the main features of the combat path of the corps. In 1853, not a single officer was killed; in 1854, the places of death were Gropa-Chorba, Girlitz, Maksymenie; in 1855, - Zhurilovtsy, Topali, Aydimirze, Tulcea; in 1856, - Salmania, Varna, in 1857, - Istanbul, Terkas. In general, the statistics of the dead look interesting - 3 centurions (Nekrasovites), 1 Ukrainian (from the Bug Uhlans), 2 Volynians, 2 Pavlograd hussars, and 1 Pole (gunner). As we can see from this list, the national composition of the corps was diverse, and besides, there was no systematization in officers' affiliation to one or another nationality. Therefore, the data on the affiliation of officers to one or another nationality (except for the already mentioned dead officers, against whom this nationality was indicated) were determined by us according to the peculiarities of spelling surnames. This method does not seem to us accurate, much less exclusively correct, but in general, it depicts the situation in the case. Thus, the national composition of the officer corps was as follows (estimated by name, surname or other characteristics): 123 Poles, 59 others (1 Ukrainian, 13 Serbs and Bulgarians (Orthodox), 4 Italians, 2 French, 11 Germans or Jews, 5 Hungarians, 1 Wallachian or Moldavian (Romanian), as well as 12 Muslims (4 in the headquarters, 5 in the headquarters of the 1st Regiment, 1 in the 1st Regiment, 2 in the headquarters of the 2nd Regiment) and 10 Nekrasovites). That is, two thirds of the officers in 1857 were Poles, and

16 M.S. Chaykowskiy, "Zapiski", *Russkaya starina*, 1904, T.35, dekabr, S.573.

17 Candan Badem, "The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)", Leiden-Boston, 2010, P. 341-342.

18 Michał Czajkowski, "Kozaczyzna w Turcyi", Paryż, 1857.

a third was of other nationalities (Bulgarians, Turks, Albanians, French, Hungarians, etc.).

Thus, for 17 years, Michal Czajkowski headed a unique military unit for the Ottoman army corps of Ottoman Cossacks - the only non-Muslim unit in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman Porte. During these almost two decades, the Cossacks under the leadership of Sadyk Pasha took part in the Crimean War, performing security and even police functions. The period of 1860-1870 in the history of the Ottoman Cossacks needs a separate study. It was then that the Cossacks were replenished with Bulgarian reservists and took part in some operations against the Bulgarian insurgent detachments.

The problems associated with the role that the Cossacks played in the life of the Bulgarian people were most elaborated in the works of Ivan Stoychev. He found many documents that confirmed the cases of Cossack protection on the rights of the Bulgarian population. The people who called the Cossacks "our army" would look at the "Christian cross on the regimental flags" and listen to the commands in the Slavic language. Where the Cossacks lived, the Muslims did not dare to oppress the Christians because Sadyk severely punished every crime, and for more serious offenses he reported directly to Istanbul. After the liquidation of the first and second Bulgarian legions in Serbia, these regiments were the only military school for the Bulgarians, and Stoychev considered them the third Bulgarian legion. As a man with a military education, Stoychev praised the military training of the former Cossacks of Sadyk Pasha.

Stoychev also emphasizes the cultural role that the Cossacks played in the life of Bulgaria. The "European" way of life of Cossack officers and their families impressed the inhabitants of Bulgarian cities and aroused the desire to imitate them. Citizens began to visit, arrange dinners, and talk "in the cabin." At the Sliven casino in Poland, the intelligentsia of the city was going to read newspapers and argue. The Cossacks had their own regimental orchestra (the conductor's assistant was a Bulgarian), and the church choir sang on Sundays in local churches "to the great joy of the Bulgarians." The Cossacks studied with the choir and orchestra in various school and church celebrations, played Bulgarian folk songs, which were forbidden to be performed by local orchestras and even revolutionary songs. Stoychev also managed to establish that Sliven and its environs owed Sadik Pasha a calmer course of repressions of Midhat Pasha between 1867 and 1868.

The question about the attitude of the Bulgarian Cossacks to the Chetnik movement is interesting. Ordinary Bulgarian Cossacks, guided by a "strong people's instinct", fled from the Cossack ranks and joined the rebels. Yet, the trumpeters in Botev's detachment were just such defectors. Moreover, due to the large number of Bulgarians among the Cossacks, the Chetniks were often warned of the offensive, and they retreated in time. Polish officers looked at such actions through their fingers. In this disguised assistance to the Chetniks by the Cossacks can be seen as a source for the emergence of legends about the meeting between Czajkowski and Christ Botev, Botev's service in the ranks of the Cossacks, the non-existent agreement between Czajkowski and Levsky.

It should be added that the very principle on which the Ottoman Cossacks were based -the principle of equality between Christians and Muslims- had a positive effect on the Christian masses, who for centuries claimed their slavish fate. The Bulgarians carried out active propaganda among the population in favour of "their regiments."

At the end of his study, Ivan Stoychev wrote that the Cossacks, with all their shortcomings, were more useful than harmful to the Bulgarian national movement. As soon as the situation in the Ottoman Empire ceased to be favourable for such a unit in the early 1870s, Czajkowski resigned and returned to Ukraine¹⁹. The subsequent fate of the Ottoman Cossacks was little different from other cavalry units of the Ottoman army.

Ukrainian-Bessarabian Project

One of the key issues in the study of Michal Czajkowski's political concept for the further development of South-Eastern Europe is the problem of the authenticity of two documents signed by members of the Committee of Ukraine and Bessarabia, dated September 16, 1853. Eugene Rudnytsky first published these two memoranda. According to him, the papers were handwritten by Adam Czajkowski (Mikhail's son) in Russian from French translations made by Ludwik Snyadetska for Adam Czartoryski. Yevhen Rudnytskyi suggests that their originals were in Ukrainian, but his arguments are weak. After all, the Ukrainianisms as called by the historian are introduced into the text by the translator Adam Czajkowski (and in fact may be Polonisms). And how would Ukrainianisms be preserved with a double translation into French and then from French into Russian?

The Committee of Ukraine and Bessarabia attracted the attention of Ukrainian historians in exile. According to Mykola Rybak, these papers allowed Sultan Abdul-Majid to issue a "firman" appointing Czajkowski "the initial leader of all the Cossacks subject to Turkey." It is also important that, according to Rybak, Czajkowski's approval of the Committee's documents led to "great indignation in the Polish exile camp"²⁰.

Ivan Lysyak-Rudnytsky, turning to the analysis of Mykhailo Czajkowski's "Cossack Project", could not avoid the question on the authenticity of the Committee's documents. He was "fascinated", but also "surprised" by the fact of the existence of a secret separatist organization in the middle of the 19th century, when the Ukrainian movement in general in the 19th century was not separatist, but autonomous, i.e. aimed at cultural self-expression or federalization of the Russian Empire. Considering it quite possible that "the memorandum was fabricated by Czajkowski himself because the ideas expressed in it were suspiciously similar to his own," Ivan Lysyak-Rudnytsky regrets the impossibility of finding the original papers. The historian assessed the origin of the documents published by Yevhen Rudnytsky as follows: "since they came from Czajkowski's son, it is possible that they were forged by

19 I.K. Stoychev, "Kazak-alaya na Chaykovski", Sofiya, 1944

20 M. Rybak, "Mikhaylo Chaykovskiy – Megmet Sadik Pasha», *Al'manakh ukrains'kogo natsional'nogo soyuzu*, New York, 1971, S. 90-91.

Czajkowski himself." Separately, Lysyak-Rudnytsky criticizes the list of signatures under the documents. And although with the participation of Omelyan Prytsak, it was allegedly possible to identify one person, Major General Dabizh, an Ukrainophile-Mazepist, but in general the mentioned signatories could not be identified. Ivan Lysyak-Rudnytsky summed up his research writing that "This forgotten episode is interesting and important, and has more value than previously thought"²¹.

Information about the Committee of Ukraine and Bessarabia appeared in the pages of Michal Czajkowski's memoirs. These memoirs have come down to us in several versions. The first can be considered the original sketches in Polish, written between 1870 and 1886 in Istanbul, Kiev and Chernihiv. They came into the hands of Sadik Pasha's son, General of the Russian Army Adam Czajkowski, who in turn passed the memoirs to the editors of "Kyiv Antiquities" for publication. In 1891, they were partially published, brought to the 1840s, but later publication ceased²². The second edition, which was based on the memoirs of Sadyk Pasha, is an article by his daughter Karolina Sukhodolska²³ about the participation of Bulgarians in the Cossack units of her father. It is known that this version of the memoirs was written in French and was probably a sketch of the memoirs written before Czajkowski's departure for Ukraine in 1872. Traces of this text are lost - the archive of K. Sukhodolska has not been found to this day. She died in 1902 in Trieste (then the Austrian Empire). The first version of the memoirs reappears in 1895 in Moscow, where the editors of "Russian Antiquity" through Adam Czajkowski undertook to publish them²⁴. The most complete version of Sadyk Pasha's memoirs to date has been published in this magazine for almost a decade. It was in this publication that the Committee of Ukraine and Bessarabia was first mentioned - that it was the Committee's two appeals that compromised Czajkowski's idea in the eyes of the British allies (Lord Palmerston).²⁵.

On behalf of Michal Czajkowski, we can learn more about the Committee in the memoirs on the events of the Crimean War published in 1962²⁶. According to him, Czajkowski admits that the Committee's papers have become one of the arguments in the internal Polish struggle over the Ukrainian issue. Czajkowski's opponent, Wladyslaw Zamojski, displayed copies of memoranda that were sent to Adam Czartoryski among Polish emigrants to prove Sadyk Pasha's separatist activities, whom he had "announced as the new Bohdan Khmelnytsky."

21 I. Lysyak-Rudnytsky, "Kozats'kyi proyekt Mikhala Chaykovsk'kogo pid chas Krims'koyi viyny: analiz idey", *Lysyak-Rudnytsky I. Istorichni ese*, K., 1994, T. 1, S.251-263.

22 "Zapiski Mikhaila Chaykovskogo (Sadyk Pashi)", *Kiyevskaya starina*, 1891, 1892

23 K. Sukhodolska, "Bolgarite v neizdanite memuari na Chayka Chaykovski (Sadyk-pasha)", *Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya, nauka i knizhnina*, Kniga X. Sofiya, 1894, S.429-468.

24 M.S. Chaykovskiy, "Zapiski" *Russkaya starina*, 1895-1898, 1900, 1904

25 M.S. Chaykovskiy, "Zapiski" *Russkaya starina*, T.96, 1898. №12, S. 682.

26 M.Czajkowski "Moje wspomnienia o wojnie 1854 roku", Warszawa, 1962, S. 24-25.

Memoirs published in 1962 explain the origin of the documents as if they had been handed over to the influential Turkish politician Reshid Pasha (a supporter of the Tanzimat, 6 times the Grand Vizier of the Empire) by two Cossack merchants from Chisinau. The originals were printed in Russian. Then, Michal Czajkowski in his memoirs as a whole conveyed the content of the above documents.

Analyzing all currently known versions of the texts of the Committee's documents, as well as accompanying documents on the events of October-November 1853, when these papers first came to the attention of Turkish officials and Michal Czajkowski himself, two assumptions can be made. Most likely, the text is a forgery. After all, he was never mentioned in well-known sources independent of Czajkowski. The style, confusing terminology, and naive pathos of the appeal, which is uncharacteristic of the Dnieper Ukrainian texts of the time, also speak of falsification. The question is who created these documents and why.

The first version is that since Rashid Pasha handed over the papers to Czajkowski, who had already distributed their translations to the Polish community, and the French translation to the Sultan, the papers may reflect the Turkish politicians' vision of the future of Southeast Europe. The protectorate of Ukraine and Bessarabia as Wallachia and Moldova was to become a buffer between the Ottoman and Russian empires. The probability of this fact is indicated by some terms - Russia is called "North" (although this is also typical of the French geographical classification, which was close to Michal Czajkowski), and so on. The restored Ukrainian hetmanate was thus seen as a continuation of the deep traditions of Cossack-Turkish relations.

The second version - already stated by Ivan Lysyak-Rudnytsky - is the most plausible. Michal Czajkowski himself could have been the author of the papers, as both documents very accurately convey key moments of his political conception known from other sources. Putting in the mouths of the representatives of Ukraine (meaning the Right Bank, because the context shows that Little Russia is considered separately - i.e. the Left Bank) and Bessarabia, a request to take these territories under the sultan, elect a hetman, provide military assistance, etc. Michal Czajkowski justified his further planned military operations and political actions. The fact of Czajkowski's authorship is also confirmed by a detailed description of the flag of the planned Cossack army, which Ottoman Empire was supposed to provide. It is like two drops of water like the flag that was solemnly raised over the Cossack hundreds in November and proclaimed "the ancient standard of Hetman Petro Doroshenko" (an unclear question as to how delegates could depict this flag in September, found in Konstatninople patriarchate in November).

The two mentioned memoranda are the result of the work of Michal Czajkowski, and may have been created with the help or with the participation of Reshid Pasha. They substantiated the participation of Ottoman Cossacks in military operations for the liberation of Ukraine and the formation of a separate autonomous Cossack Hetmanate of Ukraine and Bessarabia as part of the Ottoman Empire. In this light, we have before us a unique monument of political

thought of the mid-nineteenth century, which raised questions about the subjectivity of Ukraine (Right Bank) and its autonomous status. The documents do not contradict (and reflect in general) the visions of Turkish politicians in the mid-nineteenth century of the future Black Sea region, and at the same time split the Polish emigration camp.

Bulgarian Orthodox Autocephaly Project

The task of Hotel Lambert and Czajkowski himself in the 1840s regarding the southern Slavs seemed to be ambiguous - to cut off from Russian influences, which means among other things, to strengthen ties with the Ottoman Empire.

Czajkowski, as Czartoryski's chief agent, developed a wide range of activities that, in a number of outcomes, proved useful to the southern Slavs. First of all, he acted as a mediator between Porto and the local Christian population and repeatedly defended its interests. From materials published by Wanda Smohovska-Petrova back in 1973, it is clear that "Czajkowski's agents controlled the actions of the Turkish authorities on the ground; the agents' reports and reports were sent directly to the Porte, which often reviewed the decisions of its representatives."

Czajkowski, in the period between 1844 and 1846, revealed Czartoryski's concept to the Bulgarian clergy - it consisted of the liberation of the Bulgarian church from Phanariot oppression, the national self-determination of the Bulgarian people. Czajkowski worked hard to implement this project. The idea of the union of the Bulgarian Church with Rome proved at that stage to be a profitable tactical step in the fight against oppression. After the conversion to Islam in 1850, Czajkowski did not stop supporting the Bulgarian church struggle as did Czartoryski's new agents. But the situation became controversial, as Czajkowski (Sadyk) supported Bulgaria's desire to create an independent Bulgarian church based on personal considerations, while Hotel Lambert's agents worked for purely ideological reasons in favour of union with the Catholic Church. Vladislav Yordan, the new chief agent of Hotel Lambert in Istanbul, testifies to the change in the attitude of Czajkowski, who became a Turkish pasha. In his report in January 1862, he expressed outrage that Sadyk Pasha had intervened in the Uniate movement and supported the aspirations of the Bulgarians for an independent church. Czajkowski, using close ties with Kibryzli Pasha (then Grand Vizier), submitted a petition of Plovdiv citizens to the Porte government requesting the establishment of an independent Bulgarian church. He continued to maintain ties with the autocephalous through Ranov and Stoyan Chomakov. When the sultan issued a decree on an independent Bulgarian church in 1870, Czajkowski's Cossack detachments greeted the reading of the sultan's firm with a music parade, as Sadik rightly believed that his work in proclaiming the Bulgarian church was a success²⁷.

How to explain this unexpected change in Sadik's attitude to the Bulgarian church issue? In the next period of his life, when Czajkowski asked the Russian tsar for pardon and returned

27 V.Smohovska-Petrova, "Mikhal Chaykovski – Sadyk pasha i Bolgarsko vozrazhdene", Sofiya, 1973, S. 188-189.

to Ukraine, he explained his patronizing attitude to the Bulgarian struggle for an independent church by ideological arguments and attacked the Poles no less sharply than G. Rakovsky for their attempts to convert the Bulgarians to Catholicism. He claims in his memoirs that he always worked for the independent Bulgarian Church and against the union with Rome because he was convinced that Orthodoxy was the only correct religion of the Slavs. In a pathetic phrase, he testified that he invariably opposed the spread of Catholicism among the southern Slavs, who did not need another religion because they had "their own Orthodox Slavic Church, founded by Cyril and Methodius." But in fact, as is known from the documents, Czajkowski, even in 1861, did not deny the movement of the Bulgarians towards a union with Catholicism. Later, seeing that new agents of the Hotel Lambert, led by Vladislav Jordan, had emerged at the head of the Uniate movement launched after the Crimean War by Dragan Tsankov and the Macedonian Bulgarians, Sadyk Pasha changed his attitude toward the Uniates. In 1866, he became a consistent supporter of the formation of Orthodox Bulgarian autocephaly. In 1866, Czajkowski wrote from Sliven to his comrade Bystronovsky: "As for the Bulgarians, I repeat that they should be given a national church."

Taking into account his personal views, proclaimed in his literary works, Sadyk Pasha spoke in favor of the Bulgarian church struggle. It was in the cities where the Cossacks were stationed (Sliven, Kotel, Yambol, Gabrovo, Shumen) that the church struggle took bolder and more decisive forms. In the eyes of the local Turks, the Bulgarian church and school movements gained more authority and weight, as Sadyk Pasha as a high-ranking military figure publicly declared his support for them²⁸. Czajkowski's public position undoubtedly had an encouraging effect on Bulgarian teachers and students.

Conclusion

There were three periods in Michal Czajkowski's project activity in the Ottoman Empire. The first was the time when Czajkowski headed the Eastern Mission of the Hotel Lambert in Istanbul. The concept of the South Slavic federation, created by Adam Czartoryski, provided for the liberalization of the Ottoman Empire's policy towards the Christian population and the promotion of the Uniate movement among the Orthodox. The second period was the time before and immediately after the Crimean War, when Czajkowski became the Ottoman military and headed the Cossack corps. At this time, his projects became free from the influence of Czartoryski. The idea of forming a Ukrainian-Bessarabian principality was headed by a hetman who appeared. The third period was the 1860s, when Sadyk Pasha promoted the proclamation of the Bulgarian Autocephalous Church, entered into open conflict with former colleagues at the Hotel Lambert, and at the same time began to justify the concept of Pan Slavism.

28 Ye.Khadzhinikolova, "Mikhail Chayka-Chaykovski (Mekhmed Sadyk pasha) i bolgarite v Tulchanski sandzhak (50-70-te godini na XIX v.)", *Chornomors'ka mynushyna*, 2010, №3

Thus, Michal Czajkowski's project work deserves our attention because it played an important role on the Balkan Peninsula, sometimes contrary to Sadik Pasha's intentions. For the first time, the Bulgarians received a patron in the upper circles of the Ottoman Empire, which was marked primarily by the successful proclamation of the autocephaly of the Bulgarian Church in 1870. The Ottoman Cossacks, led by Czajkowski, had a positive influence on the processes of national revival in the 1860s. The Cossacks laid the foundations of European cultural influence on the population of Balkan cities. The Cossacks softened the Ottoman administration's actions against the insurgent movement in the 1860s.

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The Southern Bug - Dnister Interfluve During World War II: Administrative Organization, Staffing and Statistics

Mykola Mykhailutsa¹ , Igor Niculcea² 



¹Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:
Mykola Mykhailutsa (Prof. Dr.), Odessa
National Maritime University, Head of the
Department of Ukrainian Studies, Historical
and Legal Disciplines and Linguistic
Disciplines, Odessa, Ukraine.
E-posta: michailuca@ukr.net
ORCID: 0000-0003-4896-0580

²Igor Niculcea (Research Fellow), State
University of Moldova, Center for Study of
Totalitarian Regimes & Cold War,
Kishinev Moldova.
E-posta: Ingvarnik@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0000-0000-0000

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ABSTRACT

The article presents a modern view of the administrative and territorial component of the occupation policy of Romania in the Ukrainian lands between the Dniester and Southern Bug during World War II. This territory called the *Transnistria Governorate* was a specific delimitation of the military and political interests of the warring countries - Romania, Germany, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), which determined the structural changes in the territorial and administrative plan. Based on a wide range of important documents from the archives of Romania, Moldova, and the south of Ukraine, using various methods, including the quantitative method, the authors presented the administrative structure of the governorate and statistics on the staffing of the occupation system by the functionaries in the ratio: the locals and the occupiers.

Keywords: World War II, Transnistria, Occupation, South of Ukraine, Administrative Structure



A decade ago, the problem that we actualized remained far beyond the limits of the research epicenter which mainly stimulated a scientific discourse around the topic of the Nazi politics of the Third Reich in Eastern Europe from 1930 to 1945 among academics concerned. At the same time, the problems of the administrative structure and the essential characteristics of the occupation policy of one of Germany's allies in World War II – authoritarian Romania, remained terra incognita in Ukrainian historiography until the very beginning of this millennium. And if in Romania itself, and partly in Moldova, for a quarter of a century, there was a sharp confrontation between the old, conservative adherents of the idea of "Greater Romania" on the one hand, and young, progressive modernist scientists (J. Ancel¹, A. Golopentia², A. Moraru³, A. Petrencu⁴, R. Solovei⁵, O. Verenca⁶ and others) on the other hand, in Ukraine it became possible to implement scientific plans in this direction only after the declaration of independence. To a certain extent, this was facilitated by the intermingling of several factors, the importance of which can hardly be overestimated: it was at the beginning of the 1990s, when previously closed archival files of the World War II period, the so-called "occupation" ones, were opened for researchers (in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) these funds were not made public for mainly ideological reasons); the prevailing part of a huge layer of various sources of the occupation period were written in Romanian, which also made them not very popular because of the lack of knowledge of the language of the neighbour in the Danube border area; the time required to familiarize Ukrainian scientists with the results of research on this issue passed, etc. Our creative tandem was among the first to study the history of the occupation policy of Romania in the interfluvium of the Southern Bug and the Dniester, the territory that went down in history as the Transnistria Governorate, i.e., the land beyond the Dniester. A small essay was first published in the Encyclopedia of History of Ukraine, as well as a series of works on related topics, including education and religious life in Transnistria⁷. However, only the second decade of the 21st century became somewhat fruitful. The issue of the administrative structure and governing bodies on the territory of southwestern Ukraine was studied mainly

1 Ancel Jan, *Contribuții la istoria României. Problema evreiască*. Vol. II, 1933-1944, București: Editura Hasefer; Yad Vashem, 2003.

2 Golopentia Anton, *Români la Est de Bug*. Vol. 2. București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2006, pp. 25-26.

3 Moraru A., *Istoria românilor. Basarabia și Transnistria*. 1812-1993, Chișinău: Epigraf, 1995.

4 Petrencu Anatol, *Romania și Basarabia în anii celui de-al doilea război mondial*. Chișinău: Epigraf, 1999.

5 Solovei Rodica, *Activitatea Guvernământului Transnistriei în domeniul social-economic și cultural*: 19 aug. 1941 – 29 ian. 1944, Iași, 2004.

6 Verenca O., *Administrația civilă română în Transnistria*, Chișinău: Universitas, 1993; Ibid. *Administrația civilă română în Transnistria, 1941-1944*, București: Vremia, 2000.

7 Mykhailutsa Mikola & Nikulcha Igor, *Transnistriia* [Elektronnyi resurs]. Rezhym dostupu: <http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Transnistriia>; Mykhailutsa Mikola & Nikulcha Igor, *Bohoslovska osvita v "Transnistrii" za rumunskoho volodariuvannia (1941-1944)*. Literatura ta kultura Polissia. Vyp. 27. Nizhyn: Nizhynskiy derzhavnyi pedahohichnyi universytet imeni M. Hoholia, 2004, s. 230-233; Mykhailutsa Mikola, *Relihiina polityka rumunskoi okupatsiinoi vlady v Pivdennii Bessarabii i Transnistrii (kinets 1930-1944 rr.)*. Odesa: "Optimum", 2006, 237 s.; Mykhailutsa Mikola, *Pravoslavna tserkva na Pivdni Ukrainy v roky Druhoi svitovoi viiny (1939-1945)*. Odesa: "VMV", 2008, 392 s.

in the context of the general policy of the dictator I. Antonescu in the dissertations written by V.Shchetnikov⁸, N. Terefera⁹, O.Lysenko and V.Nesterenko¹⁰, O.Novoselov¹¹, and in the articles by I.Tarnavsky¹², Yu.Levchenko¹³. However, all these works suffer from a lack of a solid source basis since the Romanian archives were completely ignored. Our task is to present the reader with the best practices based on primary documents of Romanian origin from a wide range of archival institutions of Romania, Ukraine and Moldova, which significantly enhances the scientific product compared to the existing studies.

General Characteristics of the Situation

The zone of delimitation of territorial interests between the allies of Romania and Germany, the so-called Transnistria, included the territory between the Dniester and the Southern Bug with an area of 39,733 km²¹⁴ occupied by the Romanian troops. In our opinion, the determination of the total population in this region and its ethnic composition until the autumn of 1941, i.e., until the establishment of the actual occupation administration, remained an unresolved problem for many researchers. The main reason for this, in our opinion, is the internal policy of the Stalinist leadership of the USSR in the 1930s, based on a totalitarian regime, which undoubtedly had negative consequences in the demographic sense. "Terror by famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933"¹⁵, (named so by S. Kulchitsky), already recognized by many countries of the world as the genocide of the Ukrainian people, forced collectivization and mass deportation of peasant families to Siberia¹⁶, political repressions¹⁷, etc., led to a sharp reduction in the population of Ukraine as a whole, and the population of the Bug-Dniester region in particular. Certainly, this could not but determine the ethno-demographic situation on this territory directly during the war years, taking into account that the ethnic composition

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- 8 Shetnykov Vasil, Do pytannia pro vtraty sered tsyvilnoho naselennia na pivdnyi Ukrainy pid chas nimetsko-rumunskoi okupatsii 1941-1944 rr. (problema dzherel). *Storinky voiennoi istorii Ukrainy: zbirnik naukovih statei*. NAN Ukrainy, Institut istorii Ukrainy. Kyiv, 2005. Vyp. 9. Chast. 2, s. 351-358.
 - 9 Terefera Natalya, Okupatsiinyi rezhym na terytorii "Transnistrii" ("Zadnistrovia") v roky fashystskoi okupatsii kraiu (1941-1944 rr.). *Storinky voiennoi istorii Ukrainy: zbirnik naukovih statei*. NAN Ukrainy, Institut istorii Ukrainy. Kyiv, 2006. Vyp. 10. Chast. 1, s. 476-483.
 - 10 Lysenko Oleksandr & Nesterenko Vadim, Okupatsiinyi rezhym na Ukraini u 1941-1943 rr.: administratyvnyi aspekt. *Arkhivy okupatsii. 1941-1944*. Kyiv: Vydavnychiy dim "Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiia", 2006, s. 762-769.
 - 11 Novosolov Oleksandr, *Polityka Rumunii shchodo ukrainskykh zemel u period dyktatury I. Antonesku (1940-1944 rr.)*: avtoreferat dysertatsiyi. Chernivtsi, 2008.
 - 12 Tarnavsky Igor, Administratyvnyi podil ta orhany upravlinnia na terytorii pivdenno-zakhidnoi Ukrainy za chasiv rumunskoi okupatsii. *Istorychni i politychni doslidzhennia*. Kyiv, 2010. № 3-4. s. 210-216.
 - 13 Levchenko Yuriy, Upravlinskyi aparat rumunskykh administratyvno-terytorialnykh odynyt Ukrainy pid chas okupatsii 1941-1944 rr. *Naukovyi visnyk Skhidno-yevropeiskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni Lesi Ukrainky*. Seria: istorychni nauky. Lutsk, 2013, Vyp. 21(269), s.70-75.
 - 14 Arhiva Nationala a Republicii Moldova (ANRM), fund (f.) 706, inventori (inv.) 1, archive unit (a.u.) 482, sheet (sh.) 40.
 - 15 Kulchitsky Stanislav, *Holodomor 1932-1933 rr. v Ukraini yak henotsyd*, history.org.ua/JournALL/pro/14/14.pdf.
 - 16 Conquest Robert, *The Harvest of a sorrow: Soviet collectivization and the Terror-Famine*. London, 1986.
 - 17 Kostiuk Hryhory, *Stalinist Rule in Ukraine: A Study of Mass Terror (1929-1939)*. Munich, 1960.

of the population was very diverse, as Ukrainians, Russians, Moldavians (Romanians), Jews, Germans, Poles, Greeks, Bulgarians and other nations lived there. In addition, with the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June 1941, part of the population was evacuated to the east of the USSR due to hostilities in the Dniester and the Southern Bug interfluvium. For example, by October 16, 1941, about 200,000 inhabitants¹⁸ had left Odessa. As a result, the Romanian occupation administration had to deal with the statistical task. As early as November-December 1941, the administration had organized a general census of the population of Transnistria. To conduct the census, Inventory Commissions were established in each locality and district centres by Order No. 25 of the governor of Transnistria. The technical implementation of the census was provided by 143 employees of the Central Institute of Statistics of Romania, who were sent to the occupied lands¹⁹. According to the results, the population of Transnistria was 2,326,226 people²⁰.

Administrative Structure of Transnistria

The Romanian administration, headed by Governor G. Alexianu, defined the situation in the region as fully destroyed by the war, when there was not a single existing administrative body or establishment. Indeed, there was a real administrative, legal, and economic vacuum since the Soviet authorities, while retreating, destroyed and evacuated important objects of the economy, industry, etc., which led to administrative “paralysis” in this territory.

The poor population, deprived of faith and trust in the former government which had abandoned it and was hastily retreating, was very demoralized by the war. This situation required the restoration of internal order, control and prestige of the occupation power, administrative and economic reorganization, and stabilization of the moral and social condition of the population. In order to assist Governor G. Alexianu, the German Baron von Malhius²¹ was involved as a technical adviser, who initiated the application of the “Rosenberg norms”, used in the territories of the USSR occupied by the Nazis²², in Transnistria. They provided for the complete replacement of the Soviet system and the introduction of a new administrative organization of the territory. However, G. Alexianu decided that it would be more expedient not to introduce the system proposed by the Germans, but to organize life in Transnistria, making minor adjustments, attracting as many local specialists as possible to local authorities. In

18 *Odessa v Velikoj Otechestvennoj Vojne Sovetskogo Sojuza*. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov. Tom 2. Odessa: Odesskoe oblastnoe izdatel'stvo, 1949-1951, s. 4.

19 Golopentia Anton, *Românii la Est de Bug*. Vol. 2. Bucureşti: Editura Enciclopedică, 2006. p. 25-26.

20 *Gubernamantul Transnistriei, Transnistria. Un an de la caderea Odesei. 16 octombrie 1942-16 octombrie 1942*. Bucuresti: “Lucafarul” S.A.R., 1943, p. 9.

21 *Procesul mareşalului Antonescu. Documente*, Vol. 3. ed. Marcel Dumitru Ciucă. Bucureşti: Editura Saeculum, 1998. p. 453.

22 Dallin Al., *German Rule in Russia*. London, 1957; Schulte Th.J., *The German Army and Nazi Policy in Occupied Russia*. Oxford, 1989; Mulligan T.P., *The Politics of Illusion and Empire. German Occupation Policy in the Soviet Union. 1942-1943*. New York, 1988.

this context, it was supposed to create an administration that would work in the direction of “maximizing the use of the resources of the occupied territory in accordance with the laws of war”²³.

At that time, G. Alexianu proudly informed Marshal I. Antonescu that he had conceived and structured the occupation administration according to the “Führer principle” (German: Führerprinzip), which meant “One person, one direction, one responsibility”. According to G. Alexianu, the power scheme was as follows:

“The will of this one person is transmitted from the centre to the periphery, and this one will orders and fulfils. In Transnistria, the will of the Supreme Commander-in-chief Marshal Ion Antonescu, is transmitted through the civil governor to the most remote peripheral organs and is thereby fulfilled”²⁴.

On September 12, 1941, Governor G. Alexianu signed Order No. 8 on the administrative structure of the occupied territories. Transnistria was divided into communes and towns, districts and counties²⁵. All settlements in Transnistria formed communes (a rural community - village), which were governed by the mayor with the assistance of the village council consisting of 3 people²⁶. The mayor and council members were elected by the assembly of the village from among local residents and approved by the head of the district - a pretor. The administration of the commune was called the mayor's office. Within Transnistria, there were 1,363 rural communities, which included 2,568 villages and 74 hamlets²⁷.

The settlements that had a city administrative organization retained the status of a city. The city was governed by a mayor and one or two deputies, depending on the number of residents in the city. The mayor and his deputies were appointed by the prefect (the county head)²⁸. There were 15 cities on the territory between the Dniester and the Southern Bug, most of which had a county status: Ochakov (4,000 people), Mogilev (25,000 people), Ovidiopol (5,000 people), Kamenka (7,000 people), Rybnitsa (10,000 people), Dubossary (30,000 people), Grigoriopol (12,000 people), Bar (20,000 people), Tulchin (14,000 people), Balta (23,000 people),

23 Gherasim D., *Regulile ocupației de război. (Cu privirea specială la administrația germană din teritoriile ocupate în războiul actual)*. Extras din revista «Pandectele Române», nr. 2. București, 1944. p. 16.

24 State Archives of Odesa Region (SAOR), f. P-2242, inv. 1c, a.u. 677, sh. 18-196.

25 SAOR, f. P-2359, inv. 1, a.u. 1, sh. 1.

26 Arhiva Ministerului Apărării Naționale a României (AMApN), fund (f.) Armata a 4-a, rola (r.) 205, dosar (d.) 1079, file (f.) 14; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USMM), RG 25003M, f. Armata a 4-a, r. 12, d. 1079; ANRM, f. 706, inv.1, a.u. 41, sh. 321.

27 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 482, sh. 140.

28 AMApN, f. Armata a 4-a, r. 205, d. 1079, f. 14; USMM, RG 25003M, f. Armata a 4-a, r. 12, d. 1079; ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 41, sh. 321.

Berezovka (6,000 people) and Yampol (7,000 people)²⁹. In the largest cities, municipalities were organized, they were in the first (temporary) capital of Transnistria – Tiraspol (40,000 people) and in Odessa (272,378 people)³⁰, which became the capital of Transnistria on October 17, 1941³¹. In these cities, the mayors of the municipalities were appointed directly by the governor of Transnistria.

A district was the administrative and territorial unit, which the communes were subordinate to, and, accordingly, which included a certain number of settlements. The average area of the district ranged from 50-80 km², and the number of inhabitants ranged from 30,000 to 50,000 people. In fact, the district was the most important administrative and economic link, and it was upon this that the management system of the Transnistria Governorate was based. The district had the status of a legal entity and its own budget³². The Romanian occupation authorities kept the areas within the borders that existed during the Soviet power since the distribution of land, the organization of institutions, enterprises and public places had already been debugged, and any changes would have caused a disruption in normal life³³. The entire territory of the governorate was divided into 64 districts³⁴. Each district was under the authority of a pretor (the head of the district administration), appointed by the governor of Transnistria. At first, the management of the districts was carried out by the former local leaders, however, 64 pretors from Romania were soon sent from among the graduates of law faculties, who were selected as a result of a competition held by the Ministry of the Interior³⁵. Obviously, in order to maintain continuity in management, the former leadership of the districts was left in the service as assistant pretors. All district officials were subordinate to the pretor, regardless of whether they were administrative employees or specialists in various fields³⁶. The administration of the district was called the pretor's office, which was entrusted with the following functions (within the district): - administrative supervision of rural and urban communities; - supervision and maintenance of public order in the district with the help of the county police and the gendarmerie; - monitoring the administrative activities of the district specialists - a doctor, a veterinarian, an agronomist, an engineer, a head of the department of education, etc., applying disciplinary sanctions to them, if necessary³⁷. In accordance with Order

29 Popp Nicolae, *Transnistria. Încercare de monografie regională*. În Biblioteca revistei "Moldova Nouă", nr. 2, 1943, pp. 184-195.

30 ANRM, f. 706, inv.1, a.u. 529, sh. 20.

31 Arhivele Nationale Bucuresti (ANB), f. PCM, a.u. 579/1941, sh. 5.

32 Verenca O., *Administrația civilă română în Transnistria 1941-1944*. Ediția a II-a îngrijită de Șerban Alexianu. București: Editura Vremea, 2000, p. 93.

33 Negulescu Paul, *Istoricul județelor în România*. În "Revista de drept public", nr.1-2, 1942, s. 105.

34 SAOR, f. P-2361, inv. 1, a.u. 47, sh.sh.1-30.

35 ANRM, f.706, inv. 1, a.u. 529, sh. 4.

36 *Gubernamantul Transnistriei, Transnistria. Un an de la caderea Odesei. 16 octombrie 1942 – 16 octombrie 1942*. Bucuresti: "Luceafarul" S.A.R., 1943, p. 11.

37 AMApN, f. Armata a 4-a, r. 205, d. 1079, f. 14; USMM, RG 25003M, f. Armata a 4-a, r. 12, d. 1079; ANB, f. PCM, a.u. 477/1942, sh. 11.

No. 8, the departments of agriculture, engineering, economy, finance, commerce, education, sanitary, roads, postal service and telephones, veterinary, transportation, and construction were created in each district. Accordingly, the department of administration was created for management and control³⁸.

Almost the entire staff of district officials and specialists was recruited from among the local residents who went to work according to Order No. 2, issued by the governor of Transnistria on August 28, 1941³⁹. The incomplete number of people was staffed by the officials from Romania. In each district, the number of administrative employees ranged from 24 to 45 people.

The counties, which included 3-8 districts, were created to guide the activities of the districts, control the pretors, and coordinate their work. The counties did not have the status of a legal entity and did not have their own budget⁴⁰. At the end of August 1941, the administrative bodies were formed in the western territory of Transnistria in the following districts: Tiraspol, Ananyev, Balta, Juguastu (Yampil) and Mogilev-Podolsky. As Wehrmacht troops and the Romanian army advanced eastward in October 1941, an administration was established throughout the occupied lands. Thus, 13 counties were created: Ananyev, Balta, Berezovka, Dubossary, Golta, Juguastu, Mogilev, Ochakov, Odessa, Ovidiopol, Rybnitsa, Tiraspol, Tulchin. The administration of each county was called a "prefecture" and was headed by a prefect (the head of a county), who had the functions of a general administrative inspector. The prefects were appointed by the governors from among the militaries, who mainly held the rank of colonel. The following prefects headed the districts respectively: K. Belintyanu, V. Nica, L. Pop, A. Batcu, M. Isopescu, Sh. Georgiade, K. Login, I. Constantinescu, M. Valcescu, N. Canar, K. Popescu-Korbu, P. Georgescu and C. Nesturas⁴¹. Each prefect had two deputies - sub-prefects who spoke local languages (Ukrainian, Russian, Bulgarian, Moldavian/Romanian). Usually, one of them was a representative of the local population, and the other was from Bessarabia⁴². The incomplete prefectural staff, in most cases, was filled with the local residents, former Soviet officials. The number of employees in the prefectures ranged from 10-12 people⁴³. The police and gendarmerie were subordinate to the prefect, which gave him exclusive authority in the county. Under the rules established by the governor, the prefect had the right to appoint or remove any official in the county, including the mayors and their assistants, to approve village councils and so on⁴⁴.

38 ANRM, f.706, inv. 1, a.u. 41, sh.sh. 32-35.

39 ANRM, f.706, inv. 1, a.u. 37, sh.sh. 39-51.

40 Negulescu Paul, *Istoricul județelor în România*. în "Revista de drept public", nr.1-2, 1942, p. 105.

41 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 1054-1, sh. 12; SAOR, f. P-2242, inv. 1, a.u. 6926, sh.sh. 91-92; SAOR, f. P-2242, inv. 4c, a.u. 50, sh.sh. 81-82.

42 ANB, f. PCM, a.u. 597/1941, sh. 3.

43 *Gubernamantul Transnistriei, Transnistria. Un an de la caderea Odesei. 16 octombrie 1942 - 16 octombrie 1942*. București: "Luceafarul" S.A.R., 1943, p. 11.

44 Verenca O., *Administrația civilă română în Transnistria 1941-1944*. Ediția a II-a îngrijită de Șerban Alexianu. București: Editura Vremea, 2000, p. 94.

If the district prefecture was the main economic administrative unit, the county prefecture carried out political and coordinating functions. To ensure effective management, the entire Romanian occupation administration in Transnistria was directly subordinated to the Commander-in-chief of the Romanian Army Marshal I. Antonescu, and the civilian governor of Transnistria G. Alexianu⁴⁵, who was appointed by I. Antonescu. It should be noted that G. Alexianu held a professorship and was considered an authoritative specialist in the field of constitutional and administrative law in legal circles⁴⁶. At the same time, he had extensive managerial experience as a royal resident of the districts of Suceava and Bucegi (Bucegi had about the same area (40,879 km²) as Transnistria, but a significantly larger population (3,806,744 people)⁴⁷. In our opinion, these qualities of Prof. G. Alexianu played a decisive role in his appointment to the position of the civilian governor of Transnistria.

The governor, respectively, was the chief administrator and authorized officer of the Commander-in-chief of the army in the occupied territory and had a number of broad powers, among which we would like to highlight the following ones: to implement the policy pursued by the Commander-in-chief of the army in Transnistria; to exercise control over all bodies subordinate to him and their documentation as the highest head of the entire administrative staff of the governorship; to develop decisions, instructions, and issue orders applicable throughout the territory of Transnistria as a representative of the ultimate authority in the governorate; as the chief of police, he was responsible for public order, he could give orders to the police and the Siguranza and, if necessary, even demand the use of the army⁴⁸.

Thus, the power vertical in Transnistria was presented as follows: The Supreme High Command (Supreme Commander) - the central apparatus of the Transnistria Governorate (governor) - county prefectures (prefect) - district pretors' offices (pretors) - rural communities (mayors), and cities (mayors).

The governor exercised his leadership through the departments created by Decree No. 1 of August 19 1941, together with the relevant services. Initially, the Department of Administration and Communications, the Department of Agriculture and Economy, the Department of Education and Propaganda, the Department of Health, and the Department of Finance functioned⁴⁹. As the activities of the Romanian occupation administration in Transnistria

45 ANB, f. PCM, a.u. 597/1941, sh. 3.

46 George Alexianu was one of the founders of the Romanian Institute of Administrative Sciences in Bucharest. He was also a member of the Institute of Philosophy of Law, a member of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences in Brussels. Professor George Alexianu wrote a number of scientific works and monographs: Alexianu Gh. *Curs de drept constituțional*. Vol. I-III. București, 1930-1937; Alexianu Gh. *Repertoriul general alfabetic al tuturor codurilor, legilor, decretelor-legi*. 1 ianuarie 1860 – 1 ianuarie 1940. Vol. I-II, București, 1940; Negulescu P., Boilă R., Alexianu Gh. *Codul administrativ adnotat*. București, 1930; Negulescu P., Alexianu Gh. *Tratatul de drept public*. Vol. 1-2. București, 1942-1943.

47 Verenca O., *Administrația civilă română în Transnistria*. Chișinău: Universitas, 1993, p. 222.

48 Nistor I., *Istoria românilor din Transnistria*. Bucuresti: Editura Eminescu, 1995, p. 89.

49 ANB, f. PCM, a.u. 597/1941, sh. 2.

changed, the departments, which were created by Decree No. 1/1941 and covered several directions, were divided and the new ones arose. Thus, their number grew to 22⁵⁰. In addition to the aforementioned departments, the Bureau of Studies, the Bureau of Statistics, the corps of general administrative inspectors, the police and the gendarmerie were under the direct supervision of the governor⁵¹.

At the same time, the administrative organization of the southern and south-eastern territory of Transnistria and, in particular, the city of Odessa became possible after the cessation of hostilities and the seizure of Odessa on October 16, 1941. Therefore, until the end of October 1941, Ovidiopol, Ochakov and Odessa counties were partially controlled by the commanders of labour battalions serving as prefects of these counties.

It is also important to focus on administrative tasks since along with the civil administration in Odessa, there was a military command. Its mission was to ensure order and security of the city, as well as land, sea and air defence of Odessa and its suburbs. In addition, the military administration was supposed to save communal property (plants and factories, technical structures, warehouses, state institutions, cultural and educational institutions, etc.) from destruction and devastation⁵². Immediately after the entry of the troops into the city, the military command had to take all necessary measures to establish and organize the work of the occupation civil authorities. To accomplish these tasks, the Romanian military were carrying out the planned actions in two stages. In the first stage, after having captured the city, they immediately seized the property and city objects that had not been evacuated, taking them under control. In the second stage of the transfer of power from the military to the civilian authorities, it was envisaged to carry out accounting of the city property, commissioning various industrial enterprises and normalizing city life⁵³.

Following October 16, 1941, to ensure order and quick restoration of the resilience of the city, all civil authorities were subordinate to the military command of Odessa⁵⁴. As the administrative bodies began to function using their own civilian forces and personnel, the guardianship of the military command was limited only to their direct functions. For example, with the assumption of duties of the civil governor of Transnistria G. Alexianu, the military commandant, having the city police prefecture in his subordination, solely carried out the function of ensuring order and security, protecting enterprises and institutions, and the organizational and administrative function passed into the hands of the civilian authorities⁵⁵. The police in the city of Odessa remained under the control of the military until the Transnistrian Gendarmerie Inspectorate, which was subordinate to the governor

50 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 53, sh. 26.

51 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 529, sh. 6.

52 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 499, sh. 35.

53 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 499, sh. 40.

54 AMApN, f. Armata a 4 A, r. 20/3, p. 684; USMM, RG 25003M, f. Armata a 4-a, r. 12, d. 870.

55 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 529, sh. 6-7.

and which did not subjugate the prefecture of the police of Odessa, citing the achievement of unity of action and information⁵⁶.

On October 18, 1941, by Decree No. 1559, G. Pântea⁵⁷, a native of Bessarabia, was appointed the mayor of Odessa. V. Ciorescu, E. Sinikliu, K. Vidraška were deputy mayors (vice mayors), and A. Costinescu was the General Secretary. Later, two more deputies from among the local residents – V. Kundert and M. Zaevloshin – were appointed⁵⁸.

Before the war, Odessa was the largest seaport of the Soviet Union on the Black Sea as well as being a large industrial, commercial, and cultural centre with a population of 500–600 thousand people⁵⁹. The defence of Odessa from capture by the Romanian army lasted 73 days, until October 16, 1941. During this period, the Soviet authorities managed to evacuate 23,000 tons of weapons, ammunition and military equipment, 188,000 tons of industrial equipment (factories, plants) and approximately 200,000 civilians and the military⁶⁰. As throughout Transnistria, the situation in Odessa was also catastrophic – with a devastated and ruined city, the economic life was destroyed as well as the entire city infrastructure. To restore the city's life and to repair and put into operation industrial enterprises (primarily the food industry), it was necessary to reorganize and equip all public utilities and municipal services. Five departments were created in the mayor's office, which covered various areas of social and economic activities: economic sphere, municipal services, culture, and communal property, registry office and technical department. Each of these departments was managed by one of the mayor's assistants⁶¹.

Between the beginning of November 1941 and February 1942, a population census was conducted in Odessa by the municipal authorities using the employees of the legal bureaus of nine police stations in the city⁶². The total population of the city was 272,378 people⁶³. It should be taken into consideration that the Jewish inhabitants were not included in this number; some of them were killed because of mass repressions of the occupation authorities in late October – early November 1941. Obviously, the Jews who were deported in several waves from Odessa in November by the Nazis, were not included in the indicated number in November 1941 according to Order No. 35 of 02.01.1942 by the governor of Transnistria G. Alexianu, starting January 10, 1942⁶⁴.

56 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 529, sh. 6.

57 Pântea German (1894-1967), a Bessarabian, received his education in Odessa and Kiev. During World War I he served in the army of the Russian Empire; he was a member of the Parliament – “Sfatul Tsarii” in Bessarabia. Former mayor of Kishinev. He was fluent in Russian.

58 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 518-1, sh. 242.

59 Dallin Al., *Odessa, 1941-1944: A Case study of Soviet Territory under foreign rule*. California, Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1957, p. 56.

60 *Odessa v Velikoj Otechestvennoj Vojne Sovetskogo Sojuz*. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov. Tom 2. Odessa: Odesskoe oblastnoe izdatel'stvo, 1949-1951, p. 4.

61 SAOR, f. P-2272, inv. 1, a.u. 12, sh.sh. 5-6.

62 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 1219-2, sh. 287.

63 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 1219-2, sh. 291.

64 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 37, sh. 66.

To establish the functioning of the administration and ensure livelihoods in the occupied territory, the Romanian authorities felt the need for qualified personnel in various areas of economy, transport, and management. The personnel, hired by the civilian administration of Transnistria, represented mainly two categories:

1. Officials, employees, and specialists seconded from various institutions of Romania or directly employed by the governorate in Romania. They were mainly distributed in the central apparatus of the governorate and in local authorities: in the prefectures of the districts, municipalities, and cities, as well as in various central institutions and enterprises of the governorate.

2. Officials, employees and specialists hired from the local population, who mainly worked in non-senior positions in the administration, enterprises, prefectures, districts, agricultural communes, factories and other industries. In addition to these categories, immigrants from Bessarabia were part of the staff, and according to A. Dallin, they were fluent in Russian and Ukrainian and before the annexation of the USSR (until the summer of 1940) were considered to be Romanian citizens⁶⁵.

On August 28, 1941, the governor of Transnistria G. Alexianu, issued Order No. 2, which obligated:

“All persons who held any positions or were in charge of property on collective farms or state farms shall come to the local authorities to obtain permission for further activities”⁶⁶.

In fact, by this order, the Romanian administration gave the “green light” to attract local people to cooperate and to recruit central and local authorities for administrative and economic structures of the Transnistria Governorate. Work experience, professionalism and loyalty to the new government played a decisive role in hiring. Naturally, persons who performed the leading functions in the All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks) (VKP(b) and in the repressive organs of the Soviet power (the State Political Administration (GPU), the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) under the Soviet regime were deprived of the right to occupy leading administrative and economic positions and functions. Nationality did not play a significant role in employment. On the contrary, if, for example, the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement were Ukrainians, Ukrainian employees were attracted. Persons of Moldavian and German nationalities had certain preferences in employment. But eventually, the professionalism of the employee played a defining role. Jews, for well-known reasons, dictated by the anti-Semitism of the ruling regime of I. Antonescu, were excluded from all spheres of the life of the governorate.

65 Dallin A., *Odessa, 1941-1944: A Case study of Soviet Territory under foreign rule*. California, Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1957, p. 81.

66 USMM, RG 25003M, f. Armata a 4-a, r. 12, d. 1079.

For Romanian officials and specialists sent from Romania to work in Transnistria, according to Art. 4 of Decree No. 1 of August 19, 1941, “double salary in lei and a supporting allowance in R.K.K.S.⁶⁷ up to double salary in lei⁶⁸” were paid. The Decree-law No. 3247, signed by vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of Romania M. Antonescu on November 22, 1941, specified:

“All the functionaries of the civil governorate, under Military occupation command in Transnistria, are mobilized at the place of their work, at the time of the publication of this Decree-law, under the conditions provided for in Article 11 of Law No. 105 (1933) on the organization of the nation and territory during the war, as amended by the Decree-law published in the Official Gazette No. 189 (1939) and supplemented by the Decree-law No. 642 (1941) published in the Official Gazette No. 61 in 1941”⁶⁹.

As a result, 8,445 officials and specialists were sent from Romania, of which 4,471 were sent by various authorities from Romania, and 3,674 were hired directly by the governorate⁷⁰. The immigrants from Bessarabia and Bukovina accounted for a large part among this category of officials. In the governorate, the total number of functionaries (administrative employees and officials, specialists), who worked both in central administrative bodies, institutions, institutes and enterprises, and in local government and economy structures, amounted to 37,856 people. Of these, respectively, 11,423 people worked in the central organs of the governorate, and 26,433 people worked in local governments. Of the employees who came from Romania, as mentioned above, only 2,363 were administrative officials, and the majority (6,082 people), were hired specialists. More than half (3,473 people) of this number were railway workers, and transport and technical specialists⁷¹. In Transnistria, 9,135 administrative officials and 20,276 specialists, who were recruited from the local population, worked.

In total, 3,216 Romanian and 8,207 local employees worked in the central structures of the Transnistria Governorate, and 21,411 officials and employees from Transnistria and 5,229 officials and specialists from Romania worked in county, district and local authorities⁷².

It should be noted that in most cases the senior administrative positions of the first level in the vertical of power (prefects, pretors, heads of power structures) and horizontally in power (heads of departments of the governorate) were occupied only by Romanian citizens. The locals who worked in the Transnistrian administration generally performed technical functions.

67 R.K.K.S. (Reichskreditkassenschen) – the monetary unit that operated in Transnistria and was issued by Germany specifically for the occupied territory (1 R.K.K.S. = 60 lei).

68 ANB, f. PCM, d. 597/1941, sh. 2.

69 Verenca O., *Administrația civilă română în Transnistria*. Chișinău: Universitas, 1993, pp. 30-31.

70 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 518-1, sh. 8.

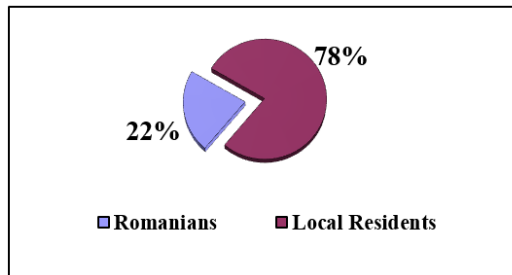
71 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 518-1, sh. 7-8; SAOR, f. P-3366, Транснистрия, 1941-1943, sh. 30.

72 ANRM, f. 706, inv. 1, a.u. 518-1, sh. 9.

Diagram I.**The ratio of the number of officials and specialists in Transnistria during the Romanian occupation between 1941 and 1944 (%)**

In the same context, analysing the statistical indicators for administrative officials and for employees and specialists separately, it is possible to reconstruct the following picture: among administrative officials, the proportion of the representatives of the local population was 79%, and Romanians was 21%. Among the employees and specialists (representatives of different professions) who worked in budgetary institutions and at the enterprises of the Transnistria Governorate, these indicators are as follows: 77% and 23%, respectively.

Consideration of the representation of local officials, employees, specialists on the one hand, and Romanian officials, employees, specialists in the central and local administrations of the Transnistria Governorate, on the other hand, gives us slightly different results: 71.84% of the local residents worked in the central administration, and Romanians accounted for 28.2%. In the institutes and the bodies of local administrations, these indicators were as follows: 80.2% and 19.8%, respectively. As you can see, the difference of about 8% does not significantly change anything, although a tendency in favour of the occupiers is observed. Obviously, this is due to the distrust of the occupation authorities towards the local population, at the lower administrative level, and the desire to concentrate power and managerial tools in the hands of the central apparatus of the occupation administration. In fact, it made the system of subordination and control over the economy in the occupied territory, as well as the exploitation of labour and population resources, more efficient.



Thus, on the basis of a set of documentary materials and statistical data, it is possible to assert that the Romanian administration in Transnistria relied mainly on the involvement of local staff. The ratio of the representatives of the local population and Romanian citizens working in the system of the Romanian occupation administration was approximately 1:4. The high level of cooperation of the local population with the occupying Romanian authorities is a characteristic and a distinctive feature of the Romanian occupation regime in Transnistria, which, in comparison with the Nazi regime of the German Reich, was significantly more liberal

in some ways (entrepreneurship, trade, religious and cultural life). It is very difficult to determine the ethnic and social composition of the local and involved collaborators, which may be the subject of further research. One thing is sure: persons of Jewish and Roma nationalities, who were subjected to destruction and deportation, were the exception. Their representatives were completely excluded from the public, economic, social and cultural activities, and everyday life of Transnistria. For the rest, the Romanian authorities did not carry out pronounced ethnic discrimination when hiring the local population for working in the state and economic structures of the Transnistria Governorate, although preferences extended to ethnically close Moldavians and allies in the anti-communist block of Germans.

The Final Months of the Occupation

On January 29, 1944, by order of Marshal Antonescu, the civil governor of Transnistria G. Alexianu, was replaced by General G. Potopianu. By this decision, power was transferred from the civilian administration of Transnistria to the “Romanian military administration in the territory between the Dniester and the Bug”⁷³. General G. Potopianu, even at the beginning of the Romanian civil administration in Transnistria, acted as a secretary-general of the governor of Transnistria, i.e., he was Alexianu’s Deputy. Potopianu assumed the position of the head of the Romanian military administration on February 2, 1944. The simplification of the administrative apparatus was one of the first measures taken by him. As can be seen from the above, it was a very complex and overly centralized body that subordinated even small administrative institutions to the governor. General G. Potopianu reduced the number of the departments, defining their tasks in more detail. At the same time, the administrative and territorial system was simplified, the number of prefects was reduced by half (from 13 to 6), which corresponded to the so-called military sectors, grouped into two regions: northern and southern⁷⁴.

On March 13, 1944, the Romanian military administration began transferring the province to German troops as a result of the Soviet offensive⁷⁵, and five days later the territory between the Dniester and the Southern Bug, as A. Hillgruber emphasizes, became a zone of military operations controlled by the Germans⁷⁶. According to I. Nistor, the Romanian administration of Transnistria was finally eliminated on April 1, 1944⁷⁷. The offensive advance of the Red

73 Verenca O., *Administrația civilă română în Transnistria 1941-1944*. Ediția a II-a îngrijită de Șerban Alexianu. București: Editura Vremea, 2000, pp. 200-201.

74 Kirițescu C., *România în al doilea război mondial*. Vol. 2. Text stabilit și îngrijit, adnotat și comentat; însoțit de un indice general de nume și de o bibliografie curentă de referință de Gh. Buzatu. Cu un cuvânt înainte de acad. Costin C. Kirițescu. București, 1996, p. 63.

75 USHMM, RG-25004M, Serviciul Roman de Informații (SRI), r. 20, f. 40010, vol. 96, p. 50.

76 Hillgruber A., *Hitler, Regele Carol și Mareșalul Antonescu. Relațiile germano-române (1938-1944)*. București: Editura Humanitas, 1994, p. 222.

77 Nistor Ion, *Istoria românilor din Transnistria*. București: Editura Eminescu, 1995, p. 97.

Army predetermined it. It was during this period when the troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front, commanded by General I. Konev, reached the north of Romania, and the front line was temporarily set at 120 kms from the Romanian city of Iași. Meanwhile, the troops of the 3rd Ukrainian Front, under the command of General R. Malinovsky, continued their offensive along the Black Sea coast and liberated Odessa on April 10, 1944⁷⁸. The liberation of this territory from German and Romanian troops became a fact.

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Romanya'nın Eski Kraliyet Döneminde Osmanlı Diplomatları ve Osmanlı Topluluğu: 1878-1908 Yılları Arasında Osmanlı-Rumen İlişkileri

Ottoman Diplomats and Turkish Community in the Romania Old Kingdom: Ottoman-Romanian Relations between 1878 and 1908

Mariana Budu¹



Sorumlu yazar/Corresponding author:
Mariana Budu (Öğr. Gör. Dr.),
İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Slav
Dilleri ve Edebiyatları Bölümü Leh Dili ve
Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, İstanbul, Türkiye.
E-posta: mariana.budu@istanbul.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0001-9000-4029

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Silvana Rachieru, Osmanlı Devleti ve Romanya ilişkilerinin tarihi üzerine çalışmalar yapan, önde gelen çağdaş Rumen mütehassıslardan birisidir. Rachieru, 2010 yılında Bükreş Üniversitesi Tarih Bölümü'nde *Osmanlı-Rumen İlişkileri: 1878-1908* başlıklı tez ile doktorasını tamamlamıştır. Hâlen Bükreş Üniversitesi Tarih Bölümü'nde doçent olarak görev yapmaktadır. Osmanlı Devleti ve Romanya diplomatik ilişkileri, Romanya'nın modernleşmesi üzerine Osmanlı bakış açısı, Osmanlı tarihi, 19. yüzyılın Osmanlı-Rumen ilişkileri ve cinsiyet araştırmaları üzerine otuzdan fazla çalışmaya sahip olan Doç. Dr. Silvana Rachieru, 2018 yılında *Romanya'nın Eski Kraliyet Döneminde Osmanlı Diplomatları ve Osmanlı Topluluğu: 1878-1908 Yılları Arasında Osmanlı-Rumen İlişkileri* başlıklı kitabını yayımlamıştır. Kitap büyük ölçüde yazarın *Osmanlı-Rumen İlişkileri: 1878-1908* konulu doktora tezine dayanmaktadır.

Çalışmada Berlin Antlaşması (1878) sonucu bağımsızlığının tanınmasının ardından Romanya ile Osmanlı Devleti arasında gelişen diplomatik ilişkilerin gidişatı geniş bir bakış açısıyla incelenmiştir. 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından sonra Osmanlı diplomasisi Avrupa sistemine katılmıştır. Bu süreç, Hariciye Nezâreti'nin II. Abdülhamid döneminde daha önce görülmemiş yüksek profesyonellik seviyesine ulaşması ile sonuçlanmıştır. Osmanlı diplomatik sisteminin modernleşmesi ve profesyonelleşmesi, 1878'den sonra Osmanlı-Romanya ilişkilerini oldukça etkilemiştir. Osmanlı Devleti'ni temsil etmeye gönderilen diplomatların, sistemin gelişmesine katkı sağladıkları kabul edilmektedir. Romanya'ya gelen temsilciler yerel diplomatik unsurlarla iyi bir şekilde entegre olmuştur. Osmanlı temsilcileri, 38 yıl devam eden diplomatik ilişkiler süresince misyonun gerektirdiği şekilde Romanya hakkında ayrıntılı raporlar sunmuştur. Bu raporların incelenmesi ve analiz edilmesi kitabın ana konusunu oluşturmaktadır.

Yazar, 38 yılı kapsayan Osmanlı dış temsilciliği arşivindeki yazışmaları, Rumen Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın arşivini, Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes'in yanında konu ile ilgili yapılan Türkçe, Rumence, Fransızca ve İngilizce çalışmaları etüt etmektedir.

Romanya'nın Eski Kraliyet Döneminde Osmanlı Diplomatları ve Osmanlı Topluluğu: 1878-1908 Yılları Arasında Osmanlı-Rumen İlişkileri adlı eser 291 sayfadan ibaret olup giriş, beş bölüm, sonuç, ekler, kaynakça, geniş İngilizce özet ve indeks şeklinde düzenlenmiştir.

Giriş (ss. 9-28) kısmında, araştırmancın kaynaklarından bahsedilmektedir. Yazar konu ile ilgili Türkiye'de Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi'nde bulunan Hariciye Nezareti Evrakı (hukuk, siyasî ve mütenevvia kısmı), Romanya'daki Dışişleri Bakanlık Arşivi ve Merkezi Ulusal Tarih Arşivleri'nde bulunan katalogları ve Fransa'daki Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes'te bulunan katalogları tanıtmıştır. İncelenen katalogların, kitabın hangi bölümde kullanıldığı da belirtilmiştir. Osmanlı Devleti'nin son dönemini çalışan Bernard Lewis, Şerif Mardin, Roderic Davison, Niyazi Berkes, İlber Ortaylı, Donald Quataert, Selçuk Akşin Somel, Oliver Bouquet gibi önemli yazarların görüşlerine de yer verilmiştir. Yazar bu kısımda ayrıca çalışmada kullandığı metodolojiden detaylı olarak bahsetmiştir.

Modernizarea Sistemului Diplomatic Otoman și Influența Sa Asupra Relațiilor Otomano-Române După 1878 [Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Diplomatik Yapısının Modernleşmesi ve 1878 Sonrası Rumen İlişkilerine Etkisi] (ss. 29-58) şeklinde adlandırılan birinci bölümde, 1878-1916 yılların arasında padişah temsilcilerinin Romanya'ya gönderdikleri diplomatik raporlar kaynakça olarak kullanılmıştır. Yazar, kitabın bu bölümünü üç alt bölüm altında incelemiştir. İlk olarak (Umur-ı) Hariciye Nezareti'nin kuruluş öncesi Osmanlı dış diplomasisinden kısaca bahsedilmiştir. Devamında Hariciye Nezareti'nin ve Tercüme Odası'nın kuruluşu, yapısı ve fonksiyonları incelenmiştir. Yazar, Hariciye Nezareti'nin yapısını incelerken Carter V. Findley'nin *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire. The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* adlı çalışmada oluşturduğu şemayı kullanmıştır. Findley'in şemasına ilaveten, yazar bazı kronolojik detaylar ekleyerek çalışmasına uygun bir formt oluşturmuştur. Bu şekilde Hariciye Nezareti'nin yapısında yer alan (Osmanlı bürokratları) diplomatlar, konsolosluklar, büyükelçiler ile ilgili detaylı bilgiler vermektedir. Yazar, bunların ilk göreve başladıklarında yaş, etnik ve dini profili, görevlerin süresi ve diplomasideki faaliyetlerinin süresini incelemektedir. Bu kısımda yazar aynı zamanda Sinan Kuneralp'in, *Son Dönem Osmanlı Erkân ve Recali (1839-1922. Prosopografik Rehber* çalışmasını da kaynak olarak kullanmıştır. Buna ilâveten Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi ve Romanya'daki arşivlerde elde ettiği belgeleri kullanmıştır. Yazar bu bölüm içinde Osmanlı dış diplomasisinin modernleşmesine katkısı olan telgraftan da bahsetmektedir. Sonuç olarak yazar III. Selim dönemindeki modernleşmeye yönelik ilk inisiyatifleri ve bu inisiyatiflerin gerçekleştirilememesinin nedenlerini analiz etmiştir.

Reprezentanță Diplomatică Otomană în România [Romanya'da Osmanlı Diplomatik Temsili] (ss. 59-107) adlı ikinci bölüm, dört alt başlık altında incelenmektedir. Yazar, "Osmanlı Elçileri Bükreş'te" adlı alt başlıklı bölümde 1878-1916 yılları arasında Bükreş Elçiliğine atanan sekiz elçiyi (Süleyman Sabit Bey, Ahmet Ziyâ Bey, Mehmed Feridun Bey, Edouard Blak Bey, Mehmed Şemseddin Bey, Mustafa Reşid Bey, Hüseyin Kazım Bey, Abdülâtilif Safa Bey) görev yaptıkları yıllara göre sırasıyla tanıtmıştır. Her bir diplomata dair görev süresi, yaş, eğitim, ailevi durum gibi detaylı bilgiler vermiştir. Yazar, Romanya'ya gönderilen Osmanlı diplomatlarının iyi yetişmiş, yabancı dil bilen, II. Abdülhamid döneminin bürokratik geleneğe sahip elit tabakadan gelen kişiler oldukları sonucuna varmıştır. İkinci alt bölümde yazar, Osmanlı Elçiliğinin Bükreş'teki adresi ve elçilikte çalışmış olan heyetlerden bahsetmektedir. Üçüncü alt bölümde, Romanya'daki konsoloslar ve viskonsüller hakkında bilgi verilmektedir. Böylece, 1879-1916 yılları arasında Romanya'da bulunan yedi konsolos (Bükreş, Köstence, Brail, Galati, Yaş, Turnu Severin, Craiova) ve beş viskonsül (Tulça, Sulina, Yergögü, Kalafat, Deliorman) hakkında detaylı bilgiler verilmiştir. Osmanlı diplomatların modelini çizen yazar, elçilerin büyük çoğunluğunun Müslüman, konsolosların ise sadece %59'unun Müslüman olmasını Babiâli'nin Hariciye Nezareti'ndeki Osmanlıcılık politikasının bir uygulaması olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Yazar, genellikle heyetlerin uzun süre kalmaları (2-12 yıl arası) elçilerin ülkenin yerel meselelerini ve dilini öğrenmelerine olanak sağlandığını da vurgulamıştır. Kadroların,

genç ve kariyerinin başlangıcında bulunan ya da İstanbul'dan “personae non gratae” olarak sürgüne gönderilmiş memurlar olduklarını da tespit etmiştir. Yazar, elçilerin ilettiği belgeleri inceleyerek Osmanlı yetkililerinin savaş öncesi hükümdar-vasal yaklaşımıyla dönem itibarıyla bağımsız Romanya ile temaslarını değerlendirmiştir. Bu amaçla, Bükreş'te görevde bulunan büyükelçiler İstanbul'a göndermiş oldukları raporlarında yeni statü ile güncel ve yürürlükteki yasaları zaman zaman açıklamıştır.

“Görev Değişikliği” adlı dördüncü alt başlıkta, Osmanlı büyükelçilerinin Rumen eliti ve Kral I. Carol ile münasebetleri, kariyerlerin tipi ve konsolosluğun idari ve iktisadi sorunları ele alınmaktadır. Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı ile başlayan ve Birinci Cihan Harbi ile sona eren dönemde Birinci Balkan Savaşı'nın (1912-1913) haricinde Babiâli ile Romanya arasındaki ilişkilerde ciddi bir kriz görülmediği de tespit edilmiştir.

Politică și Economie în România Modernă din Perspectivă Otomană [Modern Romanya'da Siyaset ve Ekonomiye Osmanlı Bakış Açısı] (ss. 109-141) adlı üçüncü bölümün birinci alt bölümünde yazar, Romanya-Osmanlı diplomatik ilişkilerin başlamasını incelemektedir. Berlin Anlaşması'ndan sonra Osmanlı Devleti'nde açılan ilk konsolosluklar ve Babiâli'de kabul edilen ilk diplomat *Dimitrie Braiteanu* hakkında bilgi verilmektedir. Ayrıca yazar, Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı ile başlayan ve Birinci Cihan Harbi ile sona eren dönemde, Birinci Balkan Savaşı'nın (1912-1913) haricinde Babiâli ile Romanya arasındaki ilişkilerde ciddi bir kriz görülmediğini de vurgulamaktadır. İkinci alt bölümde yazar Hariciye Nezâreti'nin belgelerine dayanarak 1881'de Romanya'da kraliyetin ilan edilmesi, yönetim değişimleri, parlamenter demokrasinin krizleri, kralın siyasal yetkileri gibi sıklıkla işlenmiş meselelerin üzerinde durmaktadır.

Bölümün diğer kısmında ise ülkenin genel iktisadi, özellikle köylülerin durumu, 1907'deki Köylü İsyanı ve bu olayın Osmanlı tebaası üzerine etkilerinden bahsedilmektedir. *Dobruca meselesi* Osmanlı diplomatlarının faaliyetlerinde önemli bir yer teşkil etmektedir. Büyükelçiler, sürekli olarak idari ve adli yeni kanunları, vatandaşlık sorunları ile ilgili ve yeni rejime dair bilgileri İstanbul'a göndermektedirler. Ayrıca Kral I. Carol'un bölgede ülkenin birlik ve bütünlüğünü sağlayan ziyaretleri Osmanlı kaynaklarına dayandırılarak son alt bölümde detaylı olarak zikredilmektedir.

Convenții între Imperiul Otoman și România [Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Romanya Arasındaki Antlaşmalar] (ss. 143-168) isimli dördüncü bölümde, iki ülke arasında 40 yıl içerisinde imzalanan iki anlaşma üzerinde durulmaktadır. Bu anlaşmalardan biri 1878'de Osmanlı savaş esirlerinin geri gönderilmesine dair sözleşme, diğeri ise 1887, 1897, 1901, 1907 yıllarında imzalanan ticari anlaşmalardır. Bu konularla ilgili yazar, BAO arşivinde bulunan HR.SYS. 1060/4 dosyası ve Romanya AMAE fond Constantinopol dosyasını incelemiştir. Yazarın edindiği bilgilere göre savaş sonrası Romanya'da 6000 Osmanlı esiri bulunmaktadır. Bu problemi görüşmek üzere, Nisan 1878 yılında sultan tarafından Romanya'ya Azaryan Efendi gönderilmiştir. Konu ile ilgili Romanya'da bir komisyon oluşturulmuştur. Esirlerin geri gönderilmesine karşı çıkmamıştır, fakat Rumen temsilcilerin talep ettikleri esirlerin bakım masrafları Osmanlı Devleti'ni memnun etmediğinden bahsedilmektedir.

“Ticari Anlaşmalar” alt bölümünde yazar, 1887 yılında imzalanan sözleşme ve daha sonra 1897, 1901, 1907 yıllarında yenilenen ticari sözleşmelerin detaylarından bahsetmektedir. Yazar, Azaryan Efendi’nin raporuna dayanarak, 1901 yılında yenilenen sözleşmenin kuralları ve bu sözleşmede yer alan, ihracatı yapılan ürünlerin (orijinal adlarla) listesine de yer vermektedir.

Comunitatea Otomană în România [Romanya’daki Osmanlı Topluluğu] (ss. 169-239) isimli beşinci bölümünün ilk kısmında, Romanya’nın bağımsızlığını kazanması, Osmanlı Devleti’nin Romanya’da sayısız diplomatik ilişkilerin varlığı ve konsoloslukların anlaşmalarının Osmanlı tebaasının korunmasına sebep olduğu belirtilmektedir. Bu kısımda yazar, Osmanlı Devleti’nin 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısındaki “vatandaş-tebaa-i Osmanî” kavramlarını terminolojik ve tarihi açıdan analiz etmektedir. Devamında, Romanya’da ikamet eden Osmanlı tebaası ile ilgili ayrıntılı bilgiler verilmektedir. Söz konusu dönemde, Romanya’da ikamet eden ikinci en kalabalık yabancı toplumu olarak sayılmıştır. 1899 yılında ülkenin %4’ünü oluşturdukları tespit edilmiştir. Bu toplumun en önemli özelliklerinden biri, yüksek oranda gayrimüslim (sadece %19’u Müslüman), eril (%77’i erkek) ve aktif (%43’ü 20-30 yaş arası) olmalarıdır (s. 195). Silvana Rachieru, Osmanlı tebaasının dini, cinsiyeti, eğitim seviyesi ve coğrafi yayılımını belirterek yararlı bir tablo oluşturmaktadır. Yazar, bu bölümde aynı zamanda kısaca Romanya’da ikamet eden Osmanlı tebaasının hakları hakkında kısaca bilgi vermektedir. Rachieru, Osmanlı tebaasının Romanya’da yaptıkları meslekler hakkında da yararlı bir tablo oluşturmuştur. 119 kişinin adları ve soyadları ile birlikte meslekleri ve ikamet ettikleri adresleri vermektedir. Yazarın tespitlerine göre en çok yapılan meslekler tüccarlık, bakkalcılık, lokantacılık, fırıncılık ve marangozluktur.

Romanya’daki Osmanlı tebaasının okur yazarlık durumuna da değinilmektedir. Yazar, yararlı bir tablo oluşturarak Moldova, Oltenia, Muntenia ve Dobruca’da yaşayan 7-15 ile kız/erkek ve 15 yaş sonrası kadın/erkek okur yazar oranlarını göstermiştir. Sonuç olarak yazar, 15 yaş üstü kadınların okuma-yazma oranının %30, 15 yaş üstü erkeklerin okuma yazma oranının ise %44 olduğunu tespit etmiştir.

Yazar, Romanya’da ikamet eden Osmanlı tebaasının hukuki sorunlarını de ele almıştır. Yazar 1878-1916 yılları arasındaki diplomatik belgelere dayanarak Osmanlı tebaasının yaşadıkları adli sorunlarını bölümün ikinci kısmında açıklamaktadır. Özellikle, Dobruca bölgesinde görülen mülk ve miras, vatandaşlık, kimlik kartı (doğrulama veya satma), askerlik hizmeti gibi sorunlar dile getirilmektedir. 1907 *Köylü İsyanı*’nın Osmanlı tebaası üzerine etkisi, kaydedilmiş zararları ve tazminatlarından bahsedilmektedir. Yazara göre başlıca sorunlar şunlardır: a) gayrimenkul ve araziler; b) miras; c) askerlik hizmetleri; d) ailevi sorunlar ve e) kazalardır. Araştırmaya göre 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında İstanbul ve Karadeniz bölgelerinden işgücü alan Romanya’da, mütenevvi aile meseleleri (terk etme, boşanma) ile sonuçlanmaktadır (ss. 227-231).

Çalışmanın devamında Sonuç (ss. 241-245), Ekler (ss. 249-268), Kaynakça (ss. 269-281), İngilizce özet (ss.283-287) ve İndeks (ss. 289-291) kısımları yer almaktadır. Kitapta

yer alan çeşitli koleksiyon resimleri, grafikler, haritalar ve tablolar, metni zenginleştirmiş ve anlaşılır kılmıştır.

Silvana Rachieru, ciddi bir metodoloji ve kaynakları iyi kullanan bir yaklaşımla, daha önce çalışılmamış olan Osmanlı Devleti ve Rumen diplomatik ilişkileri çalışmasıyla önemli bir boşluğu doldurmuştur. Eser, bu alandaki hem Romanya hem Türkiye'deki çalışmalar için atılan önemli bir adım olarak nitelendirilebilir. Görülen o ki eser, Romanya'daki Osmanlı ve Türk araştırmalarının yeniden canlandırılmasına da katkı sağlayacaktır.

TANIM

Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi , İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi'nin 1972'den beri yayımlanan hakemli, açık erişimli, bilimsel yayın organıdır. Araştırma ve derleme makalelerinin yanı sıra derginin yayın kapsamına uygun kitapların tanıtım ve değerlendirme yazıları yayımlar. Dergi yılda iki sayı olarak çıkar. Yayın dili Türkçe, İngilizce, Almanca, Fransızca ve yayın kurulunun belirlediği hallerde Güneydoğu Avrupa ülkelerinin yerel dilleridir.

AMAÇ VE KAPSAM

Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi, uluslararası yayın standartlarına uygun yüksek kalitede makaleler yayımlayarak bilimsel bilginin yayılmasına katkıda bulunmayı ve odaklandığı Güney-Doğu Avrupa tarihi ve araştırmaları alanında bilim camiasına katkı sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Türkiye üniversite ve araştırma kurumlarında üretilen akademik bilgi ve bulguları, başta Güneydoğu Avrupa ülkeleri olmak üzere, uluslararası araştırmacıların çalışma sonuçlarıyla bir araya getirmek derginin önemli hedeflerinden biridir. Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi bir tarih ve arkeoloji dergisidir. Bununla birlikte Güneydoğu Avrupa tarihiyle ilgili olmak kaydıyla sanat tarihi, edebiyat, iktisat, ilahiyat ve dilbilim sahaslarından yazılar kabul edilir. Dergi yayın kurulu, amaç ve kapsam bakımından Güneydoğu Avrupa eskiçağ tarihi ve arkeolojisi ve Osmanlı tarihine ilişkin makale ve kitabyat yazılarını özellikle teşvik eder.

POLİTİKALAR

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Dergi yayın etiğinde en yüksek standartlara bağlıdır ve Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE), Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), Open Access Scholarly Publishers Association (OASPA) ve World Association of Medical Editors (WAME) tarafından yayınlanan etik yayıncılık ilkelerini benimser; Principles of Transparency and Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing başlığı altında ifade edilen ilkeler için: <https://publicationethics.org/resources/guidelines-new/principles-transparency-and-best-practice-scholarly-publishing>

Gönderilen makaleler derginin amaç ve kapsamına uygun olmalıdır. Orijinal, yayımlanmamış ve başka bir dergide değerlendirme sürecinde olmayan, her bir yazar tarafından içeriği ve gönderimi onaylanmış yazılar değerlendirmeye kabul edilir.

Makale yayımlanmak üzere Dergiye gönderildikten sonra yazarlardan hiçbirinin ismi, tüm yazarların yazılı izni olmadan yazar listesinden silinemez ve yeni bir isim yazar olarak eklenemez ve yazar sırası değiştirilemez.

İntihal, duplikasyon, sahte yazarlık/inkar edilen yazarlık, araştırma/veri fabrikasyonu, makale dilimleme, dilimleyerek yayın, telif hakları ihlali ve çıkar çatışmasının gizlenmesi, etik dışı davranışlar olarak kabul edilir. Kabul edilen etik standartlara uygun olmayan tüm makaleler yayından çıkarılır. Buna yayından sonra tespit edilen olası kuraldışı, uygunsuzluklar içeren makaleler de dahildir.

İntihal

Ön kontrolden geçirilen makaleler, iThenticate yazılımı kullanılarak intihal için taranır. İntihal/kendi kendine intihal tespit edilirse yazarlar bilgilendirilir. Editörler, gerekli olması halinde makaleyi değerlendirme ya da üretim sürecinin çeşitli aşamalarında intihal kontrolüne tabi tutabilirler. Yüksek benzerlik oranları, bir makalenin kabul edilmeden önce ve hatta kabul edildikten sonra reddedilmesine neden olabilir. Makalenin türüne bağlı olarak, bunun oranını %15 veya %20'den az olması beklenir.

Çift Kör Hakemlik

İntihal kontrolünden sonra, uygun olan makaleler baş editör tarafından orijinallik, metodoloji, işlenen konunun önemi ve dergi kapsamı ile uyumluluğu açısından değerlendirilir. Editör, makalelerin adil bir şekilde çift taraflı kör hakemlikten geçmesini sağlar ve makale biçimsel esaslara uygun ise, gelen yazıyı yurtiçinden ve /veya yurtdışından en az iki hakemin değerlendirmesine sunar, hakemler gerek gördüğü takdirde yazıda istenen değişiklikler yazarlar tarafından yapıldıktan sonra yayınlanmasına onay verir.

Açık Erişim İlkesi

Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi'nin tüm içeriği okura ya da okurun dahil olduğu kuruma ücretsiz olarak sunulur. Okurlar, ticari amaç haricinde, yayıncı ya da yazardan izin almadan dergi makalelerinin tam metnini okuyabilir, indirebilir, kopyalayabilir, arayabilir ve link sağlayabilir. Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi'nin makaleleri açık erişimlidir ve Creative Commons Atıf-GayriTicari 4.0 Uluslararası (CC BY-NC 4.0) (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/deed.tr>) olarak lisanslıdır.

İşleme Ücreti

Derginin tüm giderleri İstanbul Üniversitesi tarafından karşılanmaktadır. Dergide makale yayını ve makale süreçlerinin yürütülmesi ücrete tabi değildir. Dergiye gönderilen ya da yayın için kabul edilen makaleler için işleme ücreti ya da gönderim ücreti alınmaz.

Telif Hakkında

Yazarlar dergide yayınlanan çalışmalarının telif hakkına sahiptirler ve çalışmaları Creative Commons Atıf-GayriTicari 4.0 Uluslararası (CC BY-NC 4.0) olarak lisanslıdır. CC BY-NC 4.0 lisansı, eserin ticari kullanım dışında her boyut ve formatta paylaşılmasına, kopyalanmasına, çoğaltılmasına ve orijinal esere uygun şekilde atıfta bulunmak kaydıyla yeniden düzenleme, dönüştürme ve eserin üzerine inşa etme dâhil adapte edilmesine izin verir.

ETİK

Yayın Etiği Beyanı

Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi, yayın etiğinde en yüksek standartlara bağlıdır ve Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE), Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), Open Access Scholarly Publishers Association (OASPA) ve World Association of Medical Editors (WAME) tarafından yayınlanan etik yayıncılık ilkelerini benimser; Principles of Transparency and Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing başlığı altında ifade edilen ilkeler için: <https://publicationethics.org/resources/guidelines-new/principles-transparency-and-best-practice-scholarly-publishing>

Gönderilen tüm makaleler orijinal ve yayınlanmamış olmalı; başka bir dergide değerlendirme sürecinde olmamalıdır. Yazar makalenin orijinal olduğu, daha önce başka bir yerde yayınlanmadığı ve başka bir yerde, başka bir dilde yayınlanmak üzere değerlendirmede olmadığını beyan etmelidir. Uygulamadaki telif kanunları ve anlaşmalar gözetilmelidir. Telif bağlı materyaller (örneğin tablolar, şekiller veya büyük alıntılar) gerekli izin ve teşekkürle kullanılmalıdır. Başka yazarların, katkıda bulunanların çalışmaları ya da yararlanılan kaynaklar uygun biçimde kullanılmalı ve referanslarda belirtilmelidir. Her bir makale en az iki hakem tarafından çift kör değerlendirilmeden geçirilir. İntihal, duplikasyon, sahte yazarlık/inkar edilen yazarlık, araştırma/veri fabrikasyonu, makale dilimleme, dilimleyerek yayın, telif hakları ihlali ve çıkar çatışmasının gizlenmesi, etik dışı davranışlar olarak kabul edilir. Kabul edilen etik standartlara uygun olmayan tüm makaleler yayından çıkarılır. Buna yayından sonra tespit edilen olası kuraldışı, uygunsuzluklar içeren makaleler de dahildir.

Araştırma Etiği

Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi araştırma etiğinde en yüksek standartları gözetir ve aşağıda tanımlanan uluslararası araştırma etiği ilkelerini benimser. Makalelerin etik kurallara uygunluğu yazarların sorumluluğundadır.

- Araştırmanın tasarlanması, tasarımın gözden geçirilmesi ve araştırmanın yürütülmesinde, bütünlük, kalite ve şeffaflık ilkeleri sağlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma ekibi ve katılımcılar, araştırmanın amacı, yöntemleri ve öngörülen olası kullanımları; araştırmaya katılımın gerektirdikleri ve varsa riskleri hakkında tam olarak bilgilendirilmelidir.
- Araştırma katılımcılarının sağladığı bilgilerin gizliliği ve yanıt verenlerin gizliliği sağlanmalıdır. Araştırma katılımcıların özerkliğini ve saygınlığını koruyacak şekilde tasarlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma katılımcıları gönüllü olarak araştırmada yer almalı, herhangi bir zorlama altında olmamalıdır.

- Katılımcıların zarar görmesinden kaçınılmalıdır. Araştırma, katılımcıları riske sokmayacak şekilde planlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma bağımsızlığıyla ilgili açık ve net olunmalı; çıkar çatışması varsa belirtilmelidir.
- Deneysel çalışmalarda, araştırmaya katılmaya karar veren katılımcıların yazılı bilgilendirilmiş onayı alınmalıdır. Çocukların ve vesayet altındakilerin veya tasdiklenmiş akıl hastalığı bulunanların yasal vasisinin onayı alınmalıdır.
- Çalışma herhangi bir kurum ya da kuruluşta gerçekleştirilecekse bu kurum ya da kuruluştan çalışma yapılacağına dair onay alınmalıdır.
- İnsan ögesi bulunan çalışmalarda, “yöntem” bölümünde katılımcılardan “bilgilendirilmiş onam” alındığının ve çalışmanın yapıldığı kurumdan etik kurul onayı alındığı belirtilmesi gerekir.

Yazarların Sorumluluğu

Makalelerin bilimsel ve etik kurallara uygunluğu yazarların sorumluluğundadır. Yazar makalenin orijinal olduğu, daha önce başka bir yerde yayınlanmadığı ve başka bir yerde, başka bir dilde yayınlanmak üzere değerlendirmede olmadığı konusunda teminat sağlamalıdır. Uygulamadaki telif kanunları ve anlaşmaları gözetilmelidir. Telifle bağlı materyaller (örneğin tablolar, şekiller veya büyük alıntılar) gerekli izin ve teşekkürle kullanılmalıdır. Başka yazarların, katkıda bulunanların çalışmaları ya da yararlanılan kaynaklar uygun biçimde kullanılmalı ve referanslarda belirtilmelidir. Gönderilen makalede tüm yazarların akademik ve bilimsel olarak doğrudan katkısı olmalıdır, bu bağlamda “yazar” yayınlanan bir araştırmanın kavramsallaştırılmasına ve dizaynına, verilerin elde edilmesine, analizine ya da yorumlanmasına belirgin katkı yapan, yazının yazılması ya da bunun içerik açısından eleştirel biçimde gözden geçirilmesinde görev yapan birisi olarak görülür. Yazar olabilmenin diğer koşulları ise, makaledeki çalışmayı planlamak veya icra etmek ve / veya revize etmektir. Fon sağlanması, veri toplanması ya da araştırma grubunun genel süpervizyonu tek başına yazarlık hakkı kazandırmaz. Yazar olarak gösterilen tüm bireyler sayılan tüm ölçütleri karşılamalıdır ve yukarıdaki ölçütleri karşılayan her birey yazar olarak gösterilebilir. Yazarların isim sıralaması ortak verilen bir karar olmalıdır. Tüm yazarlar yazar sıralamasını Telif Hakkı Anlaşması Formunda imzalı olarak belirtmek zorundadırlar. Yazarlık için yeterli ölçütleri karşılamayan ancak çalışmaya katkısı olan tüm bireyler “teşekkür/bilgiler” kısmında sıralanmalıdır. Bunlara örnek olarak ise sadece teknik destek sağlayan, yazıma yardımcı olan ya da sadece genel bir destek sağlayan, finansal ve materyal desteği sunan kişiler verilebilir. Bütün yazarlar, araştırmanın sonuçlarını ya da bilimsel değerlendirmeyi etkileyebilme potansiyeli olan finansal ilişkiler, çıkar çatışması ve çıkar rekabetini beyan etmelidirler. Bir yazar kendi yayınlanmış yazısında belirgin bir hata ya da yanlışlık tespit ederse, bu yanlışlıklara ilişkin düzeltme ya da geri çekme için editör ile hemen temasa geçme ve işbirliği yapma sorumluluğunu taşır.

Editör, Hakem Sorumlulukları ve Değerlendirme Süreci

Baş editör, makaleleri, yazarların etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, uyuğundan, dini inancından ve siyasi felsefesinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirir. Yayına gönderilen makalelerin adil bir şekilde çift taraflı kör hakem değerlendirmesinden geçmelerini sağlar. Gönderilen makalelere ilişkin tüm bilginin, makale yayınlanana kadar gizli kalacağını garanti eder. Baş editör içerik ve yayının toplam kalitesinden sorumludur. Gereğinde hata sayfası yayınlamalı ya da düzeltme yapmalıdır. Baş editör; yazarlar, editörler ve hakemler arasında çıkar çatışmasına izin vermez. Hakem atama konusunda tam yetkiye sahiptir ve dergide yayınlanacak makalelerle ilgili nihai kararı vermekle yükümlüdür. Hakemlerin araştırmayla ilgili, yazarlarla ve/veya araştırmamanın finansal destekçileriyle çıkar çatışmaları olmamalıdır. Değerlendirmelerinin sonucunda tarafsız bir yargıya varmalıdırlar. Gönderilmiş yazılara ilişkin tüm bilginin gizli tutulmasını sağlamalı ve yazar tarafında herhangi bir telif hakkı ihlali ve intihal fark ederlerse editöre raporlamalıdırlar. Hakem, makale konusu hakkında kendini vasıflı hissetmiyor ya da zamanında geri dönüş sağlaması mümkün görünmüyorsa, editöre bu durumu bildirmeli ve hakem sürecine kendisini dahil etmemesini istemelidir. Değerlendirme sürecinde editör hakemlere gözden geçirme için gönderilen makalelerin, yazarların özel mülkü olduğunu ve bunun imtiyazlı bir iletişim olduğunu açıkça belirtir. Hakemler ve yayın kurulu üyeleri başka kişilerle makaleleri tartışamazlar. Hakemlerin kimliğinin gizli kalmasına özen gösterilmelidir. Bazı durumlarda editörün kararıyla, ilgili hakemlerin makaleye ait yorumları aynı makaleyi yorumlayan diğer hakemlere gönderilerek hakemlerin bu süreçte aydınlatılması sağlanabilir.

Hakem Süreci

Daha önce yayınlanmamış ya da yayınlanmak üzere başka bir dergide halen değerlendirmede olmayan ve her bir yazar tarafından onaylanan makaleler değerlendirilmek üzere kabul edilir. Gönderilen ve ön kontrolü geçen makaleler iThenticate yazılımı kullanılarak intihal için taranır. İntihal kontrolünden sonra, uygun olan makaleler baş editör tarafından orijinallik, metodoloji, işlenen konunun önemi ve dergi kapsamı ile uyumluluğu açısından değerlendirilir. Baş editör, makaleleri, yazarların etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, uyuğundan, dini inancından ve siyasi felsefesinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirir. Yayına gönderilen makalelerin adil bir şekilde çift taraflı kör hakem değerlendirmesinden geçmelerini sağlar. Seçilen makaleler en az iki ulusal/uluslararası hakeme değerlendirmeye gönderilir; yayın kararı, hakemlerin talepleri doğrultusunda yazarların gerçekleştirdiği düzenlemelerin ve hakem sürecinin sonrasında baş editör tarafından verilir. Hakemlerin değerlendirmeleri objektif olmalıdır. Hakem süreci sırasında hakemlerin aşağıdaki hususları dikkate alarak değerlendirmelerini yapmaları beklenir.

YAZARLARA BİLGİ

- Makale yeni ve önemli bir bilgi içeriyor mu?
- Öz, makalenin içeriğini net ve düzgün bir şekilde tanımlıyor mu?
- Yöntem bütünlüklü ve anlaşılır şekilde tanımlanmış mı?
- Yapılan yorum ve varılan sonuçlar bulgularla kanıtlanıyor mu?
- Alandaki diğer çalışmalara yeterli referans verilmiş mi?
- Dil kalitesi yeterli mi?

Hakemler, gönderilen makalelere ilişkin tüm bilginin, makale yayınlanana kadar gizli kalmasını sağlamalı ve yazar tarafında herhangi bir telif hakkı ihlali ve intihal fark ederlerse editöre raporlamalıdır. Hakem, makale konusu hakkında kendini vasıflı hissetmiyor ya da zamanında geri dönüş sağlaması mümkün görünmüyorsa, editöre bu durumu bildirmeli ve hakem sürecine kendisini dahil etmemesini istemelidir. Değerlendirme sürecinde editör hakemlere gözden geçirme için gönderilen makalelerin, yazarların özel mülkü olduğunu ve bunun imtiyazlı bir iletişim olduğunu açıkça belirtir. Hakemler ve yayın kurulu üyeleri başka kişilerle makaleleri tartışamazlar. Hakemlerin kimliğinin gizli kalmasına özen gösterilmelidir.

YAZIM KURALLARI

Dil

Dergide Türkçe, İngilizce, Almanca, Fransızca ve yayın kurulunun belirlediği hallerde Güneydoğu Avrupa ülkelerinin yerel dillerinde makaleler yayınlanır. Gönderilen makalelerde makale dilinde öz, İngilizce öz ve İngilizce geniş özet olmalıdır. Ancak makale İngilizce ise, İngilizce geniş özet istenmez.

Yazıların Gönderimi

Aksi belirtilmedikçe gönderilen yazılarla ilgili tüm yazışmalar ilk yazarla yapılacaktır. Makale gönderimi online olarak <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/iugaad> sayfasından erişilen <http://dergipark.gov.tr/login> üzerinden yapılmalıdır. Gönderilen yazılar, makale türünü belirten ve makaleyle ilgili detayları içeren (bkz: Son Kontrol Listesi) Kapak Sayfası; yazının elektronik formunu içeren Microsoft Word 2003 ve üzerindeki versiyonları ile yazılmış elektronik dosya ve tüm yazarların imzaladığı Telif Hakkı Anlaşması Formu eklenerek gönderilmelidir.

Yazıların Hazırlanması

Aksi belirtilmedikçe gönderilen yazılarla ilgili tüm yazışmalar ilk yazarla yapılacaktır. Makale gönderimi online olarak <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/iugaad> üzerinden yapılmalıdır. Gönderilen

yazılar, yazının yayınlanmak üzere gönderildiğini ifade eden, makale türünü belirten ve makaleyle ilgili bilgileri içeren (bkz: Son Kontrol Listesi) bir mektup; yazının elektronik formunu içeren Microsoft Word 2003 ve üzerindeki versiyonları ile yazılmış elektronik dosya ve tüm yazarların imzaladığı Telif Hakkı anlaşması Formu eklenerek gönderilmelidir.

1. Çalışmalar, A4 boyutundaki kağıdın bir yüzüne, üst, alt, sağ ve sol taraftan 2,5 cm. boşluk bırakılarak, 12 punto Times New Roman harf karakterleriyle ve 1,5 satır aralık ölçüsü ile hazırlanmalıdır.
2. Çalışmalar 3500 – 10.000 sözcük arasında olmalı ve sayfa numaraları sayfanın altında ve ortada yer almalıdır.
3. Yazar/yazarların adları çalışmanın başlığının hemen altında sağa bitişik şekilde verilmelidir. Ayrıca yıldız dipnot şeklinde (*) yazarın unvanı, kurumu ve e-posta adresi sayfanın en altında dipnotta belirtilmelidir.
4. Giriş bölümünden önce 180-200 sözcük arasında çalışmanın kapsamını, amacını, ulaşılan sonuçları ve kullanılan yöntemi kaydeden Türkçe (ya da makalenin yazı dili) ve İngilizce öz ile 600-800 kelimecik İngilizce genişletilmiş özet yer almalıdır. Çalışmanın İngilizce başlığı İngilizce özün üzerinde yer almalıdır. İngilizce ve Türkçe (ya da makalenin yazı dili) özlerin altında çalışmanın içeriğini temsil eden 5 İngilizce, 5 Türkçe (ya da makalenin yazı dili) anahtar kelime yer almalıdır. İngilizce genişletilmiş özet Türkçe ve diğer dillerdeki makaleler için zorunludur.
5. Çalışmaların başlıca şu unsurları içermesi gerekmektedir: Başlık, Türkçe (ya da makalenin yazı dili) öz ve anahtar kelimeler; İngilizce başlık, İngilizce öz ve anahtar kelimeler; İngilizce genişletilmiş özet, ana metin bölümleri, son notlar ve kaynaklar.
6. Araştırma makalelerinde bölümler şu şekilde olmalıdır: "GİRİŞ", "AMAÇ VE YÖNTEM", "BULGULAR", "TARTIŞMA VE SONUÇ", "SON NOTLAR" "KAYNAKLAR" ve "TABLOLAR VE ŞEKİLLER". Derleme ve yorum yazıları için ise, çalışmanın öneminin belirtildiği, sorunsal ve amacın somutlaştırıldığı "GİRİŞ" bölümünün ardından diğer bölümler gelmeli ve çalışma "TARTIŞMA VE SONUÇ", "SON NOTLAR", "KAYNAKLAR" ve "TABLOLAR VE ŞEKİLLER" şeklinde bitirilmelidir.
7. Çalışmalarda tablo, grafik ve şekil gibi göstergeler ancak çalışmanın takip edilebilmesi açısından gereklilik arz ettiği durumlarda, numaralandırılarak, tanımlayıcı bir başlık ile birlikte metin içinde veya "KAYNAKLAR" bölümünden sonra verilmelidir. Demografik özellikler gibi metin içinde verilebilecek veriler, ayrıca tablolar ile ifade edilmemelidir.
8. Yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen makale ile birlikte yazar bilgilerini içeren kapak sayfası gönderilmelidir. Kapak sayfasında, makalenin başlığı, yazar veya yazarların bağlı oldukları kurum ve unvanları, kendilerine ulaşılacak adresler, cep, iş ve faks numaraları ve e-posta adresleri yer almalıdır (bkz. Son Kontrol Listesi).

9. Kurallar dâhilinde dergimize yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen çalışmaların her türlü sorumluluğu ve çalışmada geçen görüşler yazar/yazarlarına aittir.
10. Referanslar derginin benimsediği Modern Humanities Research Association (MHRA) 3 stiline uygun olarak hazırlanmalıdır.

Referans Stili ve Formatı

Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi, metin içi alıntılama ve kaynak gösterme için MHRA (Modern Humanities Research Association) kaynak stiline 3. edisyonunu benimser. MHRA 3. Edisyon hakkında bilgi için:

- Modern Humanities Research Association. (2013). MHRA Style Guide. A Handbook for Authors and Editors. (3th Ed.), London.

-<http://www.mhra.org.uk/>

Kaynakların doğruluğundan yazar(lar) sorumludur. Tüm kaynaklar metinde belirtilmelidir. Kaynaklar aşağıdaki örneklerdeki gibi gösterilmelidir.

Metin İçinde Kaynak Gösterme

Kaynaklar sayfa altı notu şeklinde yazarların adı ve soyadı ve yayının künyesi yazılarak belirtilmelidir.

Birden fazla kaynak gösterilecekse kaynaklar arasında (;) işareti kullanılmalıdır. Kaynaklar yayın tarihlerine göre sıralanmalıdır

Örnekler:

KİTAP

Dipnot: Ömer Gezer, *Kale ve Nefer. Habsburg Serhaddinde Osmanlı Askeri Gücü (1699-1715)*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2020, s. 109-136. Kısa not: Ö. Gezer, *Kale ve Nefer*, s. 109-136.

Bibliyografya: Gezer, Ömer, *Kale ve Nefer. Habsburg Serhaddinde Osmanlı Askeri Gücü (1699-1715)*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2020.

İki veya üç yazar

Dipnot: Mehmet İnbaşı ve Eyüp Kul, *Balkanlarda Bir Türk Şehri Üsküp. Fetihten XVIII. Yüzyıla Kadar*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2018, s. 40.

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Dört ve daha fazla yazar

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