

Balkanistic

Forum '15

БАЛКАНИСТИЧЕН
ФОРУМ 3



EMIGRANTS AND MINORITIES
THE SILENCED MEMORY OF
THE RUSSO-OTTOMAN WAR 1877 – 1878

Balkanistic

Forum '15

БЪЛГАРИСТИЧЕН 3
ФОРУМ

ИЗДАВА МЕЖДУНАРОДНИЯТ УНИВЕРСИТЕТСКИ
СЕМИНАР ЗА БЪЛГАРИСТИЧНИ ПРОУЧВАНИЯ И
СПЕЦИАЛИЗАЦИИ ПРИ ЮГОЗАПАДЕН УНИВЕРСИТЕТ
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Emigrants and Minorities: The Silenced Memory of the Russo-Ottoman War 1877 – 1878

Editor: Dominik Gutmeyr



Adjarian People, 1878, National Archive of Georgia, photo N 2-7433.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS ARE PART OF THE RESEARCH ACTIVITIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROJECT: POLITICS OF MEMORY AND MEMORY CULTURES OF THE RUSSIAN-OTTOMAN WAR 1877/1878: FROM DIVERGENCE TO DIALOGUE, SUPPORTED BY SEVENTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME MARIE CURIE ACTIONS PEOPLE INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH STAFF EXCHANGE SCHEME

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Introduction.

Voicing Alternative Interpretations of the Russo-Ottoman War 1877 – 1878

In 2012 a consortium consisting of scholars from eight scientific institutions from eight different countries, whose historical developments were influenced to different degrees by the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878, started working to thoroughly analyze the causes and consequences of that war. The present volume comprises one of the scholarly outputs of this EU-funded Marie Curie project “Politics of Memory and Memory Cultures of the Russo-Ottoman War 1877/1878: From Divergence to Dialogue” (MemoryROW). It brings together the project’s consortiums scholars for a third time, including contributions from all involved countries with different historical ties to the 19th century’s last Russo-Ottoman War, i.e. from Armenia, Austria, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Macedonia, Turkey, and the Russian Federation, thereby giving an insight into developments both in Southeastern Europe and the Caucasus region. The project started in February 2012 and will continue until January 2016. The project’s coordination is in the hands of the Centre for Southeast European History and Anthropology at University of Graz, Austria, while it should be emphasized that the project has been initiated by the Balkanistic Seminar at Southwest University of Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria. The other participating organizations are the following in alphabetic order: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece, the Armenian Academy of Sciences, Yerevan, Bilgi University of Istanbul, Turkey, the Institute for National History in Skopje, Macedonia, North-Caucasus Federal University of Stavropol’, Russian Federation, and Shota-Rustaveli University of Batumi, Georgia.

The first stage of the project has had the aim to investigate the contradictions in the respective memory cultures and has shown how political decisions and political conditions have dominated the various perceptions of the Russo-Ottoman War and its subsequent peace treaties at San Stefano (Yeşilköy) and Berlin. The second stage has emphasized the huge potential of materialized memory, showing how the war was interpreted and utilized in diverging political settings, spanning from monumental buildings and toponymy to various genres of written and visual representa-

tions of memory. Just like both of the first stages have led to special issues of the Balkanistic Seminar's journal "Balkanistic Forum", the volume the reader is holding in her or his hands right now is the result of a common research agenda and common discussions among the project's involved scholars. The present volume therefore results from the project's third work package "The Silenced Memory of the ROW – The Memory of Emigrants and Minorities", which was capped by a workshop of the same name at Bilgi University Istanbul.

In this workshop, scholars for the first time aimed at solely discussing alternative narratives of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878, trying to overcome dominant national perceptions which have been perpetuated over the last century and a third. These presentations and discussions have laid the foundation for the present volume and shall now increase the sensitivity about the war including and affecting more than the two name-giving empires. The sensitivity about the destiny of various denominational and ethnic minorities has been somewhat hampered by the very effective politics of memory, which had monopolized the war in order to strengthen a particular national narrative at the end of the 19th century in many of the countries involved. The circumstance that these dominating national narratives have successfully silenced alternative interpretations has made it necessary to especially focus on giving the latter a voice in order to get and disseminate new perspectives on a war that has caused not only new geopolitical or regional but also new social and cultural orders in its aftermath. Therefore it is also necessary to stop understanding the war simply as a clash of two great powers struggling in and for different spheres of influence but to start comprehending the huge implications the war had on all denominational and ethnic minorities in the multi-ethnic Russian and Ottoman Empires (which is also one of the reasons why the consortium had initially opted to commonly use the notion "Russo-Ottoman War" rather than the also widespread "Russo-Turkish War"). In order to counter the top-down national narratives and in order to gain a more adequate picture of the war's consequences, this project stage has had the aim to relate essentialist national narratives and doctrines with refugee flows, to research various ethnic minorities' roles in the war and to investigate the situation of denominational minorities in and after the war. The latter makes it essential to point out that while the war was often framed a confrontation of Christianity and Islam; it affected other confessional groups just as much, them being the Jewish population or the Yezidi – a Kurdish religious minority, whose religion includes elements of Judaism, Islam and Nestorian Christianity. This desire for new interpretations and perspectives, combined with a broad spectrum of methodological approaches, has led to a kaleidoscope of insights.

The present volume is the result of these endeavors and it opens with a contribution by Turkish colleague Bayram Şen ("Empires from the Margin: Bosnian Muslim Migrants between the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire – Petitions of the Returnees") for two reasons: Firstly, it demonstrates both the forced and voluntary mobility the war caused among many groups and secondly, the article emphasizes how the implications of the war affected a territory spanning from the Balkans all the way to the Caucasus region and also to the Near East. In his article Şen gives an overview over the migration movements towards the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 and the subsequent occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Since

the Bosnian Muslim emigration constitutes a niche in the study of 19th century Ottoman migration, so argues Şen, the ideal way to clarify peculiar characteristics about this group is to conduct a qualitative analysis of returnees' stories and petitions to overcome the lack of statistical data. By giving the Bosnian returnees a new voice, the article gives an insight into the conditions the migrants were confronted with and it also gives information about their motivation, expectations and hopes. By the statements of Şen it also becomes clear that the migration waves cannot be understood as a linear but a circular and permanent movement and they provide an understanding going beyond denominational or ethnic boundaries.

A similar approach has been chosen by the Macedonian project member Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska in her article ("Remembrance on the Migration Movements in Macedonia after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878"). She gives an overview over how the migration processes were reflected in various forms of stored memories and memorized history and concludes that forced migration in general as well as in Macedonia's case is a traumatic act, no matter who is involved and in what direction the displacement may lead. Ristovska-Josifovska has analyzed the many memories that have been put down on paper by Macedonian residents and comes to the conclusion that in all recollections elements of fear, force, homesickness and the pure struggle for existence are ever-present while one can also encounter the local population's resistance the migrants had to experience in their new environment, their new home.

The following contribution is the collective work of the project's Georgian team, consisting of Marine Aroshidze, Tamaz Phutkaradze, Marina Shalikava and Kakhaber Surguladze, who rely on specialties in different fields of study, which can be easily seen when reading their paper ("Local and Family Memory of Georgian Muslims and its Role in Cultural Development"). The Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 and its subsequent treaties had caused the Southwestern Georgian province of Ajara to be ceded from the Ottoman to the Russian Empire. With the native population being of Muslim confession, it became a denominational minority in its new geopolitical surrounding and with Russian authorities not considering them as Georgians and with Ottoman authorities not seeing fellow citizens in them, the religious difference became the precondition of an alienation from the province's rest of the population. Again, a lack of official data had yet deterred scholars to address the question of Ajara's population during and after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 but with a variety of sources and by conducting interview on the territories of today's Turkish and Georgian republics, the authors have managed to make the preserved memory of Georgian Muslims visible again, giving a minority a voice that found itself caught between two stools after the war.

The article by the Russian contributors Alla Kondrasheva and Olga Chernyshova ("The Influence of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 on the Historical Memory of the North Caucasus Peoples") points at a similar situation the native population of the Caucasus found themselves in during and after the war. The end of the Caucasus War in 1864 had affirmed Russian control over the North Caucasus a last time and with it the Muslim majority of its population had become Russian citizens. 13 years later, the framing of the Russo-Ottoman War as a clash between Christianity and Islam had caused the new Russian Empire's citizens' alienation in

the national narrative. Kondrasheva and Chernyshova approach this delicate issue by analyzing the Dagestani and Chechen uprisings and by taking a look at the migration of North Caucasus peoples to the Ottoman Empire before highlighting the question's importance within the North Caucasus' native population's collective memory at hand of folklore and poetry. This episode's outstanding importance, the authors conclude, has led to mnemonic wars in both political and scientific discourses, mounting in fierce debates about how to remember and interpret the war, the uprisings and the migration process, the so-called *muhajirstvo*.

Spyridon Sfetas' article ("Minorities in Conflict: The Russian Advance from Plevna to Adrianople (1877 – 1878) and Ottoman Repressive Measures against Greek Ottoman Subjects") is also related to the situation of a denominational minority in an empire, i.e. the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire. His research reveals that the memory of Greeks in the European Ottoman provinces was dominated by the experience of the harsh repressive measures taken by the Ottoman authorities, who were worried that any Greek uprising could encourage other minorities in other provinces to express their discontent. Based on contemporary newspaper articles, Sfetas shows at hand of the examples Thessaly, Crete and Eastern Thrace how the Greek subjects reacted to the Russian advance in Southeastern Europe and how the Ottoman authorities reacted to any expression of unrest. He concludes that the harsh measures also caused the Congress of Berlin's negotiators to urge Greece, Serbia and Montenegro not to discriminate the Muslim citizens in the territories acquired from the Ottoman Empire, obviously fearing reprisals similar to those during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878.

The military clergy is in the focus of interest in Anastasiya Pashova's and Petar Vodenicharov's paper "The Military Clergy in the Russo-Ottoman War 1877 – 1878 – East Orthodoxy and Other Confessions". While the authors put the military Orthodox clergy at the heart of their study, they have also researched the function of the priests of other denominations, i.e. of Catholic, Protestant, Muslim or Jewish confession. The Russian Army's composition in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 gives them the ideal example to illustrate the roles of the military clergy at the front. The authors give answers to the questions about which duties the priests of different confessions had to fulfil during the war and also into how the priests themselves experienced and remembered the war. After elaborating on the mechanisms of using religion for military purposes they give an insight into how the system of a military clergy has been restored in today's Russian Federation and to which controversies this measure has led.

The last three articles of the present volume are all concerned with non-dominant groups on Armenian territory. This section is opened with a contribution by Grigor Aghanyan and Karine Bazeyan ("National Minorities of Armenia during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878"). The authors stress that the Russian authorities conscripted residents of all ethnic and confessional groups, making the Armenian divisions consist of Muslim Kurds, Yezidi, Assyrians, Greeks, Tatars, Lom people (Boshas), and other groups.

The perspective of getting rid of Ottoman rule, so Aghanyan and Bazeyan argue, inspired all levels of Armenian society to side with the Russian Army. However, these ethnic and denominational non-dominant groups partly also supported the

Ottoman Empire, which subsequently led to inner- and interethnic tensions, for which the paper gives insightful examples and materials.

Whereas Aghanyan's and Bazeyan's focus rests on giving an overview over the many minorities in Armenia during war time, the following article by Milena Angelova ("Yezidis in the Yerevan Gubernia (Province) after the Russo-Ottoman War (1877 – 1878)") gives the reader detailed information about the destiny of one particular non-dominant group in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878. She not only elaborates on how the Yezidi settlements in the South Caucasus and especially in the Yerevan Province came into existence but how these settlements were affected by the Russo-Ottoman War and how the Yezidi were forced to migrate at war time and in the aftermath of it. Having researched in the National Archives of Armenia, Angelova is able to map how the Yezidi's migrations looked like and which kind of problems were connected with the Yezidi's resettlements, thereby giving an outlook beyond the years of war.

The volume is concluded with fellow Bulgarian colleagues Mariyana Piskova's and Kristina Popova's contribution on another minority in the Russian Empire's southern provinces ("The Gullet of the War". The Molokans from the District of Yerevan and the Rusk Preparation for the Caucasus Front in 1877"). The Molokans as one of the Christian sects living in the Russian Empire rejected the participation in war because of their religious belief. However, Piskova and Popova show how they still played an important role in both the Russian Empire's war preparation and the war itself. Denominational minority groups like the Molokans were mobilized to support the war industry large-scale, as the authors show at hand of the rusk preparation for the Caucasus Front. Despite opposing violence and war for religious reasons, the Molokans were among those sectarians, whose settlements still took part in important work for military use, thereby always maneuvering between their strong conviction of war resistance and their factual participation in war activities. In their conclusions, Piskova and Popova also point at another important distortion in the perception of the war, namely the necessity to counter the masculinization of the war by giving women's memory a voice – something critically exemplified by the authors using the example of Molokan rusk production and something being in the center of interest in the project's next stage and subsequent publication.

In reading these nine contributions one gets acquainted with stories, narratives and memories that massively deviate from dominant national doctrines related to the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878. This volume constitutes a compilation of many voices, which certainly have the potential to widen the careful reader's horizon in respect to the motivation, effects and consequences of a war often discussed only in the framework of diplomatic affairs. However, this volume shows that the war constituted more than just a military clash of two great powers but is connected to many other social, cultural or economic questions. While the contributing scholars' ability to make alternative narratives visible draws our attention to the many minorities described, the present volume as well as the project "MemoryROW" per se understands itself as the attempt and the opportunity to create and foster a dialogue and to overcome prevailing divergences. The volume is supposed to open the floor to other contributions showing that the Russo-Ottoman War and its subsequent treaties did not only redraw borders but did raise many other socio-political ques-

tions of which many have not been adequately answered and some not even addressed at all yet. After having carefully read all the papers one has to come to the conclusion, that 137 years after the end of the war the need to give alternative narratives and countermemories a voice is as strong as ever.

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Empires from the Margin: Bosnian Muslim Migrants between the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire – Petitions of the Returnees**

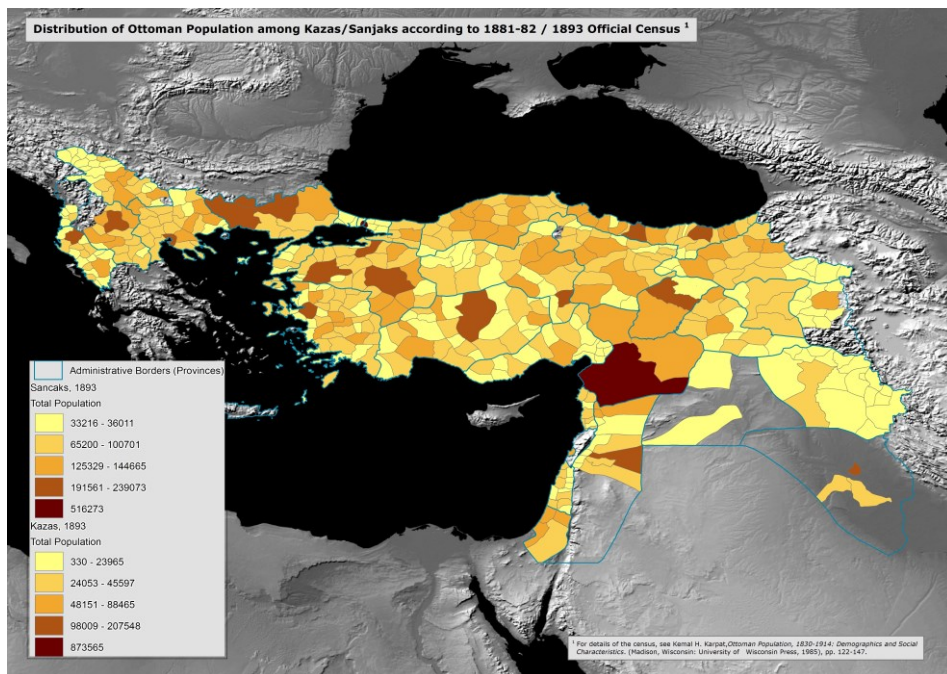
Abstract: *In this article, I will briefly describe the 19th century migration movements towards the Ottoman Empire just after the Russo-Ottoman War (known as 93 Harbi) and I will give some figures about the Bosnian migration. Later on, I will deal directly with Bosnian Muslim returnees who migrated to the Ottoman Empire after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1878 and their petitions for their returns.*

Introduction

It is possible to mention about the continuous migration of communities at the end of the Ottoman Empire with the effect of the lost territories, which was grounded and fostered by diverse ideological and political backgrounds. After the wars with the Russian Empire since the beginning of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire had settled the groups who were “ethnically” Turk or religiously Muslim to the Balkans. This act can be described as Ottomans were still defining themselves from the perspective of the “Empire”. Especially after the 1850s, Circassians, Nogais, Tatars, and Abkhazians etc. were settled to the Balkans as a preparation to a possible attack from the Balkans or from the West but also they still hang onto the idea of taking the lost lands back.¹ These settlements were themselves related to the imperial and Islamist policies of the Ottoman Empire, which specifically took place during the rule of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecit.² Nevertheless, during the rule of Abdülhamit II and especially after the Russo-Ottoman War’s (1877 – 1878) migration from the Caucasus and the Balkans towards Anatolia, the Muslim identity was equally important for the policies of the Ottoman Empire. However, Abdülhamit II had a dual position towards the immigrants from both the Balkans and the Caucasus. He was firstly not very supportive of the migration from Bosnia after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as he had the idea to regain those territories. After the total loss of the region, both politically and economically, the Ottoman

administration started the project to Islamize the Anatolian population. A slow but steady increase of the Muslim population as a result of forced migrations after 93 *Harbi* was decisive in Abdülhamid II's Islamist policies.

A general look at the nineteenth century mass migrations



MAP I: Administrative divisions based on the geo-referenced reproduction of R. Huber's map of Ottoman Empire's administrative divisions according to the yearbook (*salname*) of 1899.³ The administrative divisions are revised following Justin McCarthy's⁴ listings of *sancaks* and *kazas* taken from 1884 – 1885 and 1898 – 1899 *salnames* as well as the divisions followed in the census. Even though the title of the map refers to the "Ottoman Empire" certain provinces were excluded from the census and therefore lacked a detailed population data at the level of *kaza* or *sancak* divisions. The excluded provinces are as follows: Asir and Yemen, Hejaz, Trablusgarb, Bengazi and special administrative or autonomous units such as Egypt, Tunisia, Eastern Rumelia, the Principality of Bulgaria, Crete, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cyprus, Mount Lebanon and Samos.⁵

After 93 *Harbi*, there was an influx of Muslim population from the Balkans to Anatolia. Bosnian Muslims made up a small but significant part of this influx. In fact, the 19th century was the century of demographic mobility in which Rumelia and then Anatolia faced mass migrations due to massive territorial losses. The first wave of these mass migrations was triggered by the loss of Crimea. The Crimean Tatars, Nogais and others were forced to migrate to the Ottoman Empire and mostly settled in Rumelia. The second wave of migrations was triggered by the Russian expansion towards the Caucasus and reached its peak after the incorporation of the Southern

Caucasus into the Russian Empire, resulting in the emigration of Caucasian tribes to Anatolia. The third wave was the direct consequence of the Ottoman Empire's defeat in 93 *Harbi*. The loss of Rumelian lands as well as some parts of Eastern Anatolia meant that both the migrants of the first wave and second wave alongside the new ones flowed into Anatolia. Even though the fourth and the fifth waves⁶ were out of this articles' scope, they were interrelated to the former ones to the extent that all of these mass migrations had no expiration date. That is to say, all of these mass migration waves were intermingled as overlapping processes.

Despite the fact that these mass migrations changed the social, political and cultural outlook of the entire Ottoman Empire, there is no exact detailed statistical data on their origins, settlement zones and more importantly numbers. The "archival turn" of the 1990s produced empirically rich and invaluable monographs in the field of historical migration studies. The first example of such a research was Nedim İpek's monograph on Balkan migrations to Anatolia during and after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878.⁷ The basic structure of his narrative is replicated in other monographs: An introduction dealing with the political historical background and settlement of the migrants in reference to state policies and governmental organization of the settlement process which is followed by a limited account of administrative and economic problems experienced by the Ottoman state. The whole story is usually narrated from the perspective of the Ottoman state.⁸ Thanks to these empirical researches trying to reconnect journal articles, memoirs with archival sources part of which still wait to be catalogued, therefore being unavailable, we have a fairly deepened knowledge about the Ottoman state's immigration policies, regulatory institutions, etc. But, all of these contributions remain without a framework that encompasses regionally parceled narratives of migration. Thus, it is hard to analyze the mass migrations and their impact on the late Ottoman society from a wider perspective. Without replacing their focus on settlement by a focus on the migration as a process which does not end once the migrants settled down, it is impossible to see the continuities and ruptures, re-settlement practices and even internal migration patterns triggered by the mass migrations of the nineteenth century. In addition, they lack definitive data on the statistical aspects of these migrations. This lack of information began to be filled by the recent literature based on Ottoman registers found "here and there" scattered across the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri*⁹ (Department of Ottoman Archives under the General Directorate of State Archives).

According to an abridged statistical list dated to 27 November 1878 and prepared for the immediate use of newly established *İdare-i Umumiye-i Muhacirîn Komisyonu* (General Commission for the Administration of Immigrants), the population of immigrants arriving in the Ottoman Empire and waiting to be settled, or transported to Anatolia and scattered over different provinces and sub-provinces, was 729,127.¹⁰ This total number corresponds with what the existing literature came up with before, even though the list has a note indicating that the numbers represented the number of migrants whose daily subsidies were cut and transported, or left by their own means to their settlement zones. It is hard to guess whether this total numbers correspond to the settled migrants or not. When they are compared to the numbers provided by the existing literature, it is clear that these numbers only

represented a snapshot of the current situation in 1878. Most of the provinces with large number of immigrants were acted as stations for temporary accommodations before departing to settlement zones.¹¹ But it is also probable to suggest by looking at the differences that most of the immigrant groups were settled in the same province without a change in their final settlement destination. At least, the majority of the figures provided by this list correspond with the statistics given to Talat Paşa (1874 – 1921) for assessing the demographics of the Ottoman Empire in 1916 – 1917.¹²

Total number of immigrants according to five sources

Vilayet/Sancak	3 Reg. ¹³	Erkan 1996 ¹⁴	İpek 2013 ¹⁵	Y.Prk.Kom 1878 ¹⁶	Bardakçı ¹⁷
Adana		6,464	6,464	16,351	5,737
Ankara	44	20,735	20,735	15,000	29,785
Aydın	2,838	52,958	51,938	44,181	89,603
Beyrut			2,542		1,019
Kala-ı Sultaniye	1,615	32,169	22,440		29,495
Canik	12,555			15,000	
Çatalca		1,557	1,557		8681
Diyarbakir		450	450	5,000	
Edirne		110,997	110,997	50,000	112,119
Erzurum		34,660	19,572		5,104
Haleb	2,718	1,556	1,556	15,586	1,068
Hüdavendigâr		171,157	169,283	68,513	214,310
İstanbul	35,224*			110,060*	
İşkodra	6410	8,178	2,346		2,800
İzmid	6,297	46,463	46,463		56,373
Karesi	15,524				65,565
Kastamonu		29,074	28,815	65,000	34,308
Konya		12,463	11,908	15,000	126,295
Kosova		63,336	58,535	95,000	61,314
Mamuretü'l-aziz	443	809	809		336
Manastır		3,310	1,651		2,192
Niğde	1,538				
Selanik	23,279	14,136	6,462	130,000	4,846
Sinop	6,346				

Sivas	58,150	57,259	30,000	61,171
Suriye	6,711	10,859	10,789	34,436
Tokad	3,865			
Trabzon	1,131	38,076	35,189	
Yanya			10,000	

These kinds of summarized statistical information on migrants were, possibly, derived from other kinds of detailed registers of immigrants (*muhacirin defterleri*) in which the immigrants were categorized according to ethnic/religious affiliations, place of origin, gender and age. The size and comprehensiveness of these registers vary according to bureaucratic priorities. These registers cover a long span of time, differentiate between different migration periods (most of the time they made a distinction whether the migrants arrived before or after the 93 *Harbi*) and provide a systematic division of migrants according to their ethno-geographical or ethno-religious origins in conjunction with their settlement locations at the level of a *sancak*, or a *vilayet*.¹⁸ These registers provide a bird-eye view of settlement processes at the time they were produced. So they lack what others have; more detailed information on the migrants. In other words, these registers can at least shed light on the ethnic/religious composition of the immigrants after the 93 *Harbi*. The first known example of these registers dates back to 13 November 1881 and covers the migrants settled in two provinces and one special district (*mutasarrıflık*), which are respectively Selanik, Sinob and İzmid.¹⁹ The second example is more comprehensive in nature, compiled in the same month of 1881 and comprised of ethnic/religious distribution of immigrants across Biga, Niğde, Aydın, Ankara, Trabzon and Canik according to gender and arrival time.²⁰ The third and last example covers Karesi, Haleb, Mamuretü'l-aziz, Erbaa, İşkodra.²¹ All three registers follow a standard categorization; they divide the immigrants according to their arrival time under religious/ethnic groups, and then, subdivide them according to gender. The first and the second registers provide detailed settlement information dividing the *vilayets* according to sub-administrative divisions but the last one only uses the provincial level for that information. The ethnic/religious groups are listed under three headings for the period before the 93 *Harbi*, and seven headings for the period after 93 *Harbi* including Circassians, Crimean Tatars and Nogais, Dagestanis, Sukhumis, Batumis for the ones originating from the Caucasus and Rumelian Turks, Albanians / Bosnians for the ones originating from Rumelia.

According to these three registers, which lack some significant immigration zones like Sivas, a total of 89,796 immigrants settled in the above-mentioned provinces and *sanjaks* in 1882. It is possible to suggest that this low figure does not necessarily represent the longevity of migration movements when it comes to Bosnian emigration to the Ottoman Empire. As it can be observed in Table II, the Bosnians (including Albanians) were part of the mass migration but it is not possible to say that there was a Bosnian Muslim mass emigration after the 93 *Harbi*.

Bosnian emigrants after the 93 *Harbi* according to three registers

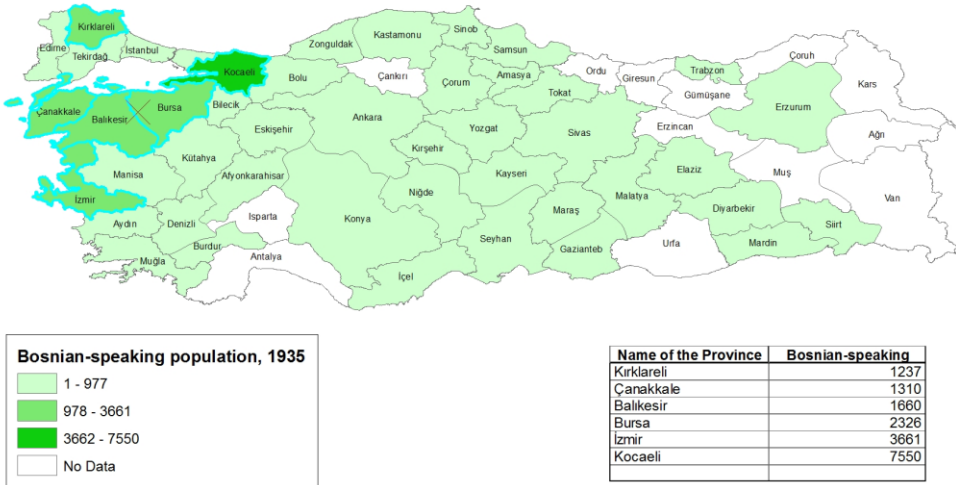
Source	Date	İşkodra		Karesi		Other Provinces	
		Emi-grants	% of Total	Emi-grants	% of Total	Emi-grants	% of Total
Y.Prk.Kom 3/49	1882	6410	87,67	32	0,48	0	0
BEO 291/1	1881	0	0	0	0	0	0
Y.Prk.Kom 3/22	1881	0	0	0	0	0	0

Bosnian Muslim emigration, as a part of the general mass migration statistics, constitutes a small portion of the problem because Bosnian Muslim emigration was a continuous and dynamic process which spread over a long time. Bosnian Muslim emigration therefore, constitutes a niche in the study of mass migration in the 19th century Ottoman context. The best way to clarify this peculiar characteristic is to look at the returnees. The qualitative analysis of returnees' stories clarifies the absence, or relatively weak presence, of Bosnian Muslim emigrants in the statistical data even if the data source is detailed.

Disillusionment: The returnees

Someone sitting cross-legged on the corner first took off his shoes and later his socks, telling something in Bosnian to the men next to him while a shine gushed from his skinny face. The man sitting next to him was as yellow, red and young as a Serbian villager. How sorely he was laughing? We are really weak to discover the state of mind of the people that we don't understand their language of. We presume they talk something different, more important than what we talk every day. Even though we are interested in them for a while, a little later we forget them and return back to us, to our language and our environment, that is to say to ourselves [...].²²

The Distribution of Bosnian-speaking population in Turkish Republic according to 1935 Census



MAP II: Map of Turkey, dated 1935 after the first census of population. Unfortunately, the first population census after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1927 did not include nations and mother tongues. This map shows that the existence of the Bosnians who declared that their mother tongue was Bosnian. Although it didn't give exact figures or the exact situation of Bosnians in Turkey (because some probably did not declare their mother tongue as Bosnian or, as we can see from the other (1935-) census, did not include the second language of the people), it is important to give some clues about the existence of the Bosnian population.

Historiographical discussion about the Bosnian returnees

The scholarly literature focusing on emigration mostly analyzes the process of disillusionment from the perception of the place where the migrants came to, or in other words: the settlement policies of the receiving place²³. Although there are many studies about the immigration/emigration of the Bosnian Muslims to/from the Ottoman Empire, they analyze the process as an instrument of a state/empire. When migration analysis is tied to the idea of re-animated centrality of the empire as the ideal political setting²⁴, some studies tend to base their conclusions under subtitles, such as “pull-push discussion”²⁵, from *Dar'ül Harb* (places still under non-Muslim administration therefore open to Holy War) to *Dar'ül Islam* (just the opposite)²⁶, “focusing on the statistical data”²⁷, and “migrants as national/religious heredities of the empires”²⁸. Returnees, on the other hand, are mostly ignored when dis-

curring the re-flourished interest on the empires in contemporary political thought, and/or assimilation policies. The emigration to the Ottoman Empire was not a “one-way trip” for some of the emigrants.²⁹ Although the available sources show that the number of the migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina was much smaller than the number of the entire Balkan migrants, the percentage of the returnees to Bosnia and Herzegovina was at the top approximately 15% or 20% of the total migrant population. The discussion is more common on emigration than the discussion on returnees in Bosnian Muslim emigration historiography. We may say that Gaston Gravier was the first historian who mentioned the existence of the returnees in his Bosnian Muslim migration article in 1911 on “Revue de Paris” (it was also published in “Pregled”, a couple of months later in 1911).³⁰ Gravier gave some important clues, such as numbers till 1911 and the regulations about the emigration and return processes. Almost along the same context, Vojislav Bogičević was mentioning the historical process and the legal status of the returnees in his article in “Historijski zbornik” in 1950.³¹ Tomislav Kraljačić, on the other hand, directly dealt with the returnees in his article (“Povratak muslimanskih iseljenika iz Bosne i Hercegovine u toku Prvog balkanskog rata” in “Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina”) in 1990.³² He specifically wrote on the returnees during the Balkan Wars, however giving some statistical information about them by using archival sources (for example in 1902 there were 305 migrants but 1,031 returnees, in 1903 194 migrants and 453 returnees, and in 1904 155 migrants and 246 returnees).³³

Bosnian emigrants and returnees in comparison

	1902	1903	1904
Number of Emigrants	305	194	155
Number of Returnees	1,031	453	246

After these early studies, we had to wait for the 2000s for an increasing interest on the subject. Mina Kujović from the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Archive wrote an article which includes a brief historiographical analysis of emigration and returnees in 2006.³⁴ Also in 2006, the book of Safet Bandžović called “Emigration of Bosnians to Turkey” has been published.³⁵ This monograph includes the entire period of emigrations of Bosnian Muslims from the whole Balkan region where the Bosnians live. Lastly on this issue, Sandra Biletić, also from the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Archive, published the most important examples of the returnees’ petitions of 1902 in “Građa” in 2013.³⁶

Apart from these specific studies on Bosnian migration, another recent work on Caucasian migration to the Ottoman Empire and the question of returnees is James Meyer’s paper about the Russian Muslims on the same period.³⁷ He argues against the “forced” nature of these movements. He offers a discussion of both return movement and migrants’ efforts to game the system through citizenship claims and appeals for aid. His main argument clearly demonstrates that the migrants were not passive actors in negotiating how they would be received or not during their quest back and forth between the Russian and Ottoman Empires. After those people migrated to the Ottoman Empire, they continued to live with their Russian passports for a period of time. For that matter, one can take a look at some

important Pan-Turkist writers for those kinds of migrants: Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Yusuf Akçura and Ali Hüseyinzade also kept their Russian passports while they were living in the Ottoman Empire and they went back and forth quite a lot.³⁸ So, can we see those kinds of movements in the Bosnian case? Yes, we can see those kinds of games among the Bosnian emigrants. Although there was no famous figure among them, some claimed that they had Austrian passports as soon as they faced any problems within the Ottoman Empire's borders.

When we take the returnees in Bosnia during the Austro-Hungarian Period into consideration, the nature of the movement was reshaped by the existence of the returnees. Moreover, the way from the "motherland" to the homeland for returnees depended on the records given to the Austro-Hungarian consulates in the Ottoman Empire or in case they had escaped from Bosnia and Herzegovina, it depended on the petition given to the provincial government that would accept the returnees or not. The reasons for the emigration, i.e. changes both in the administration and the settlement policies of the Ottoman Empire, can be accessed by an analysis of these returnees in more detail because one can observe their grievances, experiences, factual details, complaints. In short, the existence of returnees makes the migration process more visible.

One can get those petitions from the archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina, provincial government catalogues ("Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine zemaljska vlada") in Bosnia and one can also find samples from archives of the "Immigrants Commission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs" ("Dahiliye Nezareti Muhacirin Komisyonu") in the Ottoman Archives or journals published in Bosnia during the Austro-Hungarian period, such as "Bošnjak". Those petitions were given to the provincial government and they obviously contain some exaggerations about the living conditions of the petitioners in order to persuade the government to accept them. Due to the fact that they were written directly to the state administrations, they were written in a very formal way and this formal position hides the sincere thoughts of the petitioner. In some petitions only the names were changed but the rest stayed the same.

In spite of all these comments, analyzing those petitions critically gives invaluable details to basically understand the way of emigration and returnees, the social structure of the emigrants. In other words, the pattern of the migration movement of the Bosnian Muslims during the Austro-Hungarian period comes in sight.

The main reasons for their migration can be described as economic, religious or as related to family issues. What were their expectations before migration? The common answer to this question was a house, field, land, money, prosperity or in other words a better life. These immigrants were usually from poor societal segments (I have to say that not all of them, there are some other examples from other societal segments); some who were in a better financial situation bought land. In general, the petitioners indicated that some people convinced them that life would be better with a house, land, field etc. given to them in the Ottoman Empire, so that they sold whatever they had owned in Bosnia.³⁹

They mainly complained about the harsh living conditions and inadequate subsidies and nutrition on the side of the Ottoman state. Many of them lost some of their family members to illness, especially pertussis. They mentioned that they

didn't know Turkish and this caused lesser payments and worse behavior of the local people. For example, Alija Habibović declared that:

Although we had had a great desire to go to Turkey and although we had expected to find our Muslim brothers there, we were not really welcomed. Neither could we understand the Turkish people nor did they understand us [...] we went to our Bosnian consuls. They received us nicely and cared for us until the last night I arrived here. It would be better to be killed in Bosnia than to leave, migrate. I suggest that nobody should consider a hidžret.⁴⁰

Mahmud Arnautović from the Novoselija district office in Banja Luka wrote as follows:

I migrated to Ankara with my three children. My wife died 14 days before our migration. My brother Avdo previously migrated to Ankara, Haymana. He invited us to migrate there. I rented a room in Bekir Efendi Han. We were given aid per adult. I am over 60 years old and I had not worked in my life as hard as I worked in Turkey.⁴¹

The same sentiment as in Habibović's expression can be found among others. Usually they stated that the economic situation of their family in Bosnia was very poor as Abdulmecit Afgan described: He stated that they had nothing to lose and had no secure work or savings and they imagined that they would have better living conditions and employment in the Ottoman Empire.⁴² They clearly expressed that the state did not provide them an appropriate job opportunity. Some assistance was given to the families but not for single migrants. Some of them managed to live with their savings and their artisanship (as barbers, shoemakers, stone masons, etc.) but usually they had just temporary works in the fields or as servants. In addition, their housing conditions were not very good. Sulejman Mešinović from Banja Luka wrote as follows:

I migrated from Duhova in 1901 in 15 days together with my whole family: my mother Hatice, my sister Diba, my brother Avdo and my father Arif Tica with full permission. My mother caused our migration, all of us objected to the migration. My mother would like to go to her mother Aiša Mušička who is living in Inegöl but my grandmother also wants to return now. My father was not eager to migrate but my mother forced him. Because of this, my father was always crying. During our travel, I escaped from the train at Doboj but I was captured and well beaten, as I was the easy meat, I was just 12 years old. Our first destination was Ankara and then Keskin Maden. My mother and sister died when we were in Ankara. They allocated a house for my father, my brother and me. This house was built for the migrants, which had a very unhealthy condition with two rooms. Its roof was constructed with just a few timbers and covered with a rush mat and mud. At the first rain the roof was demolished. My brother died at Keskin Maden, when

he was 19 years old. We lived there in very unhealthy conditions. As we didn't have any earnings we pauperized. Other Bosnians were in the same situation. As far as I see, all of them will return. In Anatolia, in Turkey, people prioritize their own people. They don't give any chance to us, migrant Muslims, for living and earning our lives. I couldn't suffer to stay there more and now I returned to Bosnia. It took 23 days by foot from Keskin Maden to Izmir and still my feet are in pain. My father Arif Tica will return as soon as possible.⁴³

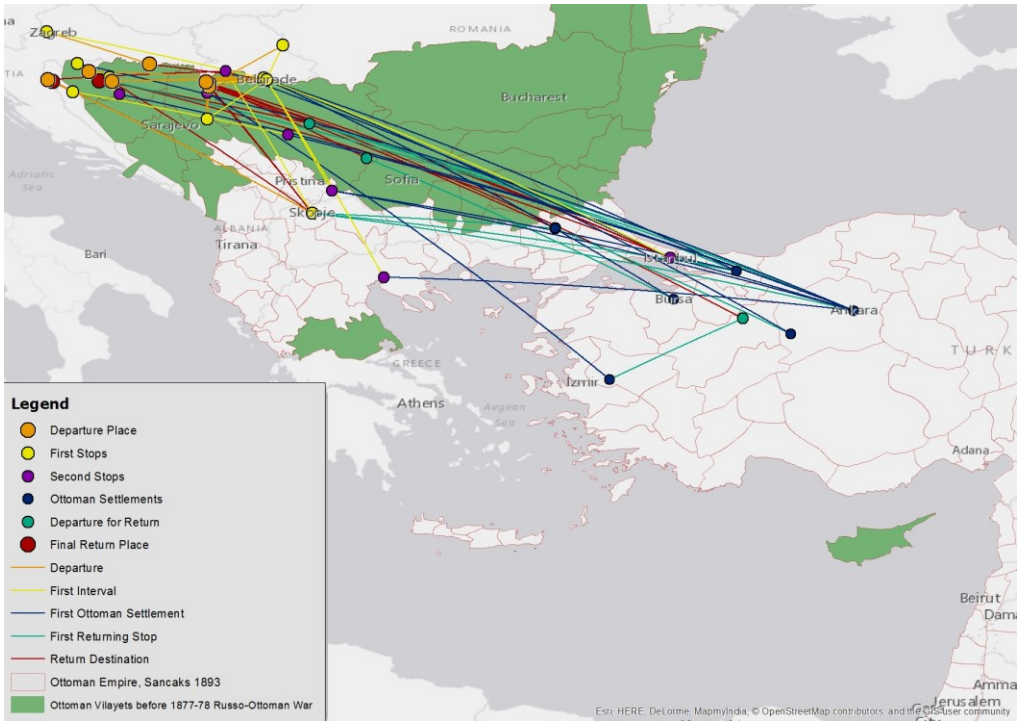
When one reads these petitions and observes the despair of the immigrants regarding their migration and return, it is useful to try to understand their living conditions in Bosnia and their motivations for migration. The entire story of migration was condensed into a one-page petition and as they returned there were only one or two lines about their previous conditions in Bosnia. These petitions were mainly letters of complaint about the harsh conditions in the Ottoman Empire and it seems as if their decision to migrate was spontaneous without any long elaborative deliberation. As Suleyman Mešić from Bosanska Gradiška indicated in his petition: "I had nothing to lose as I didn't have any assets and I chose to migrate."⁴⁴

Furthermore, previous migrants were perhaps in better condition as Hasib Mizinović indicated that "those who had money and better health were among previous immigrants and those who suffered were late immigrants" who migrated around 1900.⁴⁵ As can be seen from the petition of Süleyman Arapović and Mustafa Balić, some of the immigrants just deserted from compulsory military service in Bosnia under the Austro-Hungarian government.⁴⁶ Some of the immigrants did not sell their real estates and movable properties as illustrated by Džafer Džaferović. Nevertheless, Džafer Javor seized his house and dwelled there. Džaferović then went to court against him in order to make him quit his property.⁴⁷ Some of them, just as Huska Čolić, sold their property to Suljo Čolić and during his immigration to the Ottoman Empire Suljo Čolić resold this house to Karl Schmitzer and repurchased the house from Schmitzer. Čolić proposed to repurchase his house by way of a mortgage loan.⁴⁸

These petitions were, in general, written by men and they indicated their wives' and children's names as well in these petitions. There are fewer petitions written by women.⁴⁹ One interesting example is the petition of Ajka Suljić-Fazlić from Bijeljina after their migration to Ankara with her husband and children.⁵⁰ Her husband decided to stay to earn money but she decided to return by taking her children to Bijeljina by walking and she did it in three months. In fact, these petitions also provide detailed factual information on the route of migration that cannot be easily traced in other documents. There are lots of examples about the walking route for the migrants, in some cases they completed the whole route by walking; sometimes they walked till the Ottoman Empire's borders and then took a train by the help of Ottoman officers or while returning by the help of Austrian officers. Some of them indicated that in Skopje, the Ottoman gendarmes (*zaptiye*) tried to detain the returnees and to send them back to Asia Minor but the consulate of Austria-Hungary intervened and prevented their detainment.⁵¹ Another example is given by Nurija Serdarović from Zvornik:

I fled to Turkey on 24 October 1900 with my nephew, as we thought that we would have a better life there. We didn't say anything to anybody, not even to my mother. She learned that I migrated to Turkey when I sent her a letter from Constantinople. I firstly went to Šabac and then we arrived at Belgrade where we met Bosnian Muhajirins. There we talked with the Turkish Consul [...] We arrived in Constantinople in 17 days. From Constantinople, we crossed the water and went to İzmit and then arrived in Ankara by rail. I stayed there for about a month and then we went to Adapazarı. We lived worse than dogs, not knowing the language. The Ottomans did not consider us their equals. During the last two years I was in Asia Minor, I met many Bosnians. If they do not have money, they all live in very harsh conditions. Bosniaks are forever *fukara* [poor]. Three months ago I finally decided that I had enough of this life, and I realized that it is best to live in Bosnia and begged my mother to send me travel expenses [...] that is when I came to the Austrian Consul, who instructed me to wait until an answer comes from Sarajevo. But I did not wait, and I continued to walk for 15 days to Vranje-Niš-Leskovac-Sibenik-Šabac-Loznica-Mali Zvornik. I was so weak that I did not know where I was. I have travelled from Asia Minor over three months by foot. If necessary, I can even serve in the army. Please therefore forgive me as I escaped without a license.⁵²

After the 1900s, the usual initial settlement places of the returnees were Ankara, İzmit and Bursa. Generally, their migration route was Doblin, Mitrovica, Belgrade, Niš, Kumanovo, Skopje, Thessaloniki, İzmit and Ankara. The main gathering points were Belgrade, Skopje and Istanbul. After arriving at their destination points, some of them were replaced by the Ottoman Migration Office or they chose to change their first settlement place, opting for places such as İzmir, Adapazarı, Çanakkale or any place in the region of Thrace illegally.



MAP III. Sample Mapping of 19 Returnees

Conclusion

All in all, as we can see from these examples of returnees, this migration story affects both empires and it is not a linear movement as usually understood by researchers but a circular and permanent movement. By that, I mean that these kinds of movements cannot be perceived as pull-push, excluding the active role of the emigrants or by only focusing on the policies of the empires or basing these processes as a result of religious or ethnic bonds. Of course the religion is important but not at the point of deciding for migration but for the destination point. As far as I can see from the petitions, these people basically migrated because of better life conditions but as Muslims were migrating to the Ottoman Empire, Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the other hand migrated to Serbia. There are many examples of Serbian returnees from Serbia very similar to the Bosnian returnees.

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¹ There are many articles and books about those emigrations. For example cf. Mark Pinson, *Demographic Warfare: An Aspect of Ottoman and Russian Policy, 1854 – 1866*, Harvard, 1970; Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830 – 1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, Madison, 1985, 66-70; Maria N. Todorova, *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern: Demographic Developments in Ottoman Bulgaria*, Budapest; New York, 2006, 17-23; Brian Glyn Williams, *Hijra and Forced Migration from Nineteenth-Century Russia to the Ottoman Empire: A Critical Analysis of the Great Tatar Emigration of 1860 – 1861*, *Cahiers Du Monde Russe*, 41, 1 (2000), 79-108; Roumen Daskalov, *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans: Historiography of the Bulgarian Revival*, Budapest; New York, 2004, 218p.

² Although the mass immigration from the Balkans or the Caucasians to the Ottoman Balkans happened at the end of the 19th century, there were some important immigration periods also from the Balkans to the Ottoman Empire since the 17th century. Please cf. Antonina Zhelyazkova, *Islamization in the Balkans as an Historiographical Problem: The Southeast-European Perspective*. In: Fikret Adanır; Suraiya Faroqi (eds.), *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, Leiden; Boston, 2002, 235pp.; Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, New York; Oxford, 2001.

³ A detailed digital version of the map can be obtained from the Library of Congress web site. Web. 17.07.2015. <http://www.loc.gov/item/2007633930/>

⁴ Justin McCarthy, *The Arab World, Turkey, and the Balkans (1878 – 1914): A Handbook of Historical Statistics*, Boston, 1982, 13-25.

⁵ Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, 1, 150p.

⁶ The fourth wave was triggered by the Ottoman-Greece War of 1898 and the fifth, and may be the last one in an imperial setting, was triggered by the First Balkan War.

⁷ Nedim İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri 1877 – 1890* [Turkish Migrations from Roumelia to Anatolia 1877 – 1890], Ankara, 1994.

⁸ Two well-known examples are Süleyman Erkan, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri (1878 – 1908): Tatarlar, Çerkezler, Abhazlar, Gürcüler, Ahıskanlılar, Dağıstanlılar, Çeçenler, Diğerleri* [Migrations from Crimea and Caucasia: Tatars, Circassians, Abkhazians, Georgians, Meskhetians, Daghestanis, Chechens, others], Trabzon, 1996; Abdullah Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri* [Crimean and Caucasian Migrations], Trabzon, 1996; Abdullah Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri, 1856 – 1876*, Ankara, 1997. For the latest example, cf. Nebahat Oran Arslan; Jülide Akyüz Orat; Mustafa Tanrıverdi, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Kafkas Göçleri (1828 – 1943)* [Caucasian Migrations starting from the Ottoman Period to the Republican Period (1828 – 1943)], Kars, 2011.

⁹ From now on abbreviated as BOA.

¹⁰ See below, Table I, Column titled “Y.PRK.KOM1878”.

¹¹ Compare the figures given for Adana, Kastamonu, Kosova, Selanik, Yanya in the Y.PRK.KOM1878 column to the figures given in the Erkan 1996 and İpek 2013 columns.

¹² Cf. Murat Bardakçı, *Talât Paşa'nın Evrak-ı Metrûkesi: Sadrazam Talât Paşa'nın Özel Arşivinde Bulunan Ermeni Tehciri Konusundaki Belgeler ve Hususî Yazışmalar* [The remaining documents of Talat Paşa: Documents and important correspondence found in the private archives of Sadrazam Talat Paşa about the Armenian deportations], 4th ed., İstanbul, 2009, 35.

¹³ This column is derived from three Ottoman registers of immigrants: Y.PRK.KOM 3/49 (03.06.1882) published in Kemal Gürülkan et al., *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kafkas Göçleri* [Caucasian immigrations in Ottoman documents], 2, İstanbul, 2012, 410-430. BEO 291/1 (16.11.1881) published in Berat Yıldız, *Emigrations from the Russian Empire to the Ottoman*

Empire: An Analysis in the Light of the New Archival Materials, MA-thesis, Bilkent University, 2006, 34p; 48; 53-58; 63-91; 95-104; 120-125. Y.PRK.KOM 3/22 (13.11.1881) published in Derya Derin Paşaoğlu, Muhacir Komisyonu Maruzatı'na Göre (1877 – 78) 93 Harbi Sonrası Muhacir İskânı [The settlement of immigrants after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 – 78 according to the immigrant commission report], *International Journal of History*, 5, sayı 2 (March 2013), 347-387.

¹⁴ Erkan, Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri, 8, 68p.

¹⁵ Nedim İpek, The Balkans, War and Migration. In: Hakan Yavuz (ed.), *War and Nationalism: The Balkan Wars, 1912 – 1913, and Their Sociopolitical Implications*, Salt Lake City, 2013, 651. Originally published in Nedim İpek, Balkanlar, Girit ve Kafkaslar'dan Anadolu'ya Yönelik Göçler ve Göçmen İskân Birimlerinin Kuruluşu (1879 – 1912) [Migrations from the Balkans, Crete, and Caucasia towards Anatolia and the establishment of immigrant settlement units], *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 1 (1995), 198-211. It is revised and enlarged as a part of chapter in: Nedim İpek, İmparatorluk'tan Ulus Devlete: Göçler [From empire to nation-state: migrations], Trabzon, 2006, 311-336. Probably the sources of the numbers are the same document Erkan uses.

¹⁶ BOA, Y.PRK.KOM, 1/52, 2 Z. 1295 (27.11.1878).

¹⁷ Bardakçı, Talât Paşa'nın Evrak-ı Metrûkesi, 12, 35.

¹⁸ For two distinct specimen of the type, see Yıldız, Emigrations, 13; Paşaoğlu, Muhacir, 13.

¹⁹ Y.PRK.KOM 3/22 (13.11.1881)

²⁰ BEO 291/1 (16.11.1881)

²¹ Y.PRK.KOM 3/49 (03.06.1882)

²² Sait Faik Abasıyanık, Semaver, İstanbul, 2002.

²³ Fahriye Emgili, Bosna-Hersek'ten Türkiye'ye Göç (1878 – 1934) [Migrations from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Turkey], PhD-thesis, Ankara University, 2011; Muammer Demirel, Türkiye'de Bosna Göçmenleri [Bosnian Immigrants in Turkey], *Atatürk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 12-2 (2008), 285-306; Züriye Çelik, Osmanlının Zor Yıllarında Rumeli Göçmenlerinin Türk Basınındaki Sesi: 'Muhacir' Gazetesi (1909 – 1910) [The voice of Roumelian immigrants in the Turkish press during the Ottoman's hard years (1909 – 1910)], MA-thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Atatürk İlke ve İlkeleri Tarihi, 2007; Amra Dedeić-Kırbaç, Tarih ve Gelenek Bağlamında Türkiye'de Boşnaklar [Bosnians in Turkey in the context of history and tradition], *International Journal of Human Sciences* 9-1 (January 2012), 696-711; Ayla Dedeoğlu Özhan; Elif Üstündağlı, Bosnian immigrants' acculturation to consumer culture experienced in İzmir, *Ege Akademik Bakış* 11-1, 2011, 1; İbrahim Erdal, Rumeli ve Anadolu muhacirlerinde kimlik ve vatan algısı [Identity and homeland sense of Anatolian and Rumelian refugees], *Millî Folklor*, 11-81, 2009, 78-82; Cemile Şahin; İsmail Şahin, Avusturya'nın Bosna-Hersek'i İşgalinden Sonra Anadolu'ya Yapılan Boşnak Göçleri: Eskişehir Lütfiye Köyü Örneği [Bosnian Migrations to Anatolia after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria: The case of Eskişehir Lütfiye village], *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, 42, 2014, 131-54; Gülay Arıkan; Tuğça Tacoğlu Poyraz; Adem Sağır, Boşnak göçmenlerde göç ve kültürel kimlik ilişkisi: Fevziye Köyü örneği [Relationship between migration and cultural identity in Bosnian immigrants: The examples of "Fevziye Mahallesi"], *International Periodical for the languages, literature and history of Turkish or Turkic*, 7/1, 2012, 1941-1965.

²⁴ For an important PhD-thesis that analyzes the Ottoman effects in Bosnia during the Austro-Hungarian Period cf. Leyla Amzi-Erdoğdular, Afterlife of Empire: Muslim-Ottoman Relations in Habsburg Bosnia Herzegovina, PhD-thesis, Columbia University, 2013.

²⁵ Some examples are as follows: İpek, *Rumeli'den* 7; H. Yıldırım Ağanoğlu, Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanlar'ın Makûs Talihî: Göç [Ill fate of the Balkans from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic: Migration], İstanbul, 2001; Hayri Kolaşinli, Muhacirlerin İzinde:

Bošnjakların Trajik Göç Tarihinden Kesitler [On the track of the immigrants: Slices of Bosnians' tragic migration history], 2nd ed., Ankara, 2004; Tufan Gündüz, Migracija u Bosni i Hercegovini prema Osmanskim dokumentima [Migration in Bosnia and Herzegovina according to Ottoman documents]. In: Izet Šabotić (ed.), *Zbornik radova: Naučni skupovi "Migracije u Bosni i Hercegovini"*, Tuzla, 2011, 125-35; Genç Osman Geçer, İşgal Sonrası Bosna-Hersek'te Göç Olgusunun Vatan Gazetesi'ne Yansımaları [The reflections of immigration in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Vatan Newspaper after the occupation], *TÜBAR (Türklük Bilimi Araştırmaları Dergisi)*, 15, 28 (2010), 191-205.

²⁶ Muhamed Mufaku Al-Arnaut, Islam and Muslims in Bosnia 1878 – 1918: Two Hijras and Two Fatwas, *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 5, 2 (1994), 242-253; Kemal Bašić, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Bosna – Hersek Müslümanlarıyla Dini İlişkileri (Ayrılıştan 1914'e) [Religious relations of the Ottoman state with Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims (From separation to 1914)], Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İslam Tarihi Ve Sanatları Anabilim Dalı, 1998; Önder Çetin, 20.yy Bosna'sında Bir Tartışma: Türkiye'ye Göç Hicret Sayılır Mı? [A discussion in 20th century Bosnia: Can migration to Turkey be considered a Hejira?], *Toplumsal Tarih*, 201 (Eylül 2010).

²⁷ For some examples, please cf. Kemal H. Karpat, The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789 – 1908, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 3 (July 1972), 243-281; Justin McCarthy, Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire, New York, 1983; Adem Handžić, Population Of Bosnia In The Ottoman Period: A Historical Overview, İstanbul, 1994; Engin Akarlı, Ottoman Population in Europe in the 19th Century: Its Territorial, Racial, and Religious Composition, MA-thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1972.

²⁸ Kemal H. Karpat, Balkanlar'da Osmanlı Mirası ve Ulusçuluk [Ottoman heritage and nationalism in the Balkans], Ankara, 2004; Kemal H. Karpat, Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays, Leiden; Boston; Köln, 2002. For some monographs of local historians, please cf. Safet Bandžović, Uzroci muhadžirskih pokreta iz Bosne i Hercegovine 1878 – 1912 [Causes for the muhajir movement from Bosnia and Herzegovina 1878 – 1912], *Almanah*, 48, 2010, 89-129; Alija Nametak, Jedna anonimna propagandna pjesma za iseljavanje Bosanskih Muslimana u Tursku, *Novi Behar*, IX, 20, 1936, 277pp.; Jovan Cvijić, O iseljavanju Bosanskih Muhamedanaca [On the resettlement of Bosnian Muhamedanians], *Književni Glasnik*, 16, 1910; Ferdo Hauptmann, Reguliranje zemljišnog posjeda u Bosni i Hercegovini i počeci naseljavanja stranih seljaka u doba Austrougarske vladavine [The regulation of land property in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the beginnings of foreign peasants in the period of Austro-Hungarian rule], *Godišnjak društva istoričara BiH*, XVI, 1965, 151-171.

²⁹ Selim Deringil, 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na Göç Olgusu Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler [Some reflections on the case of migration to the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century]. In: Bekir Kütükoğlu (ed.), Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan, İstanbul, 1991, 435-442.

³⁰ Gaston Gravier, L'émigration des Musulmans de Bosnie-Herzégovine [The Emigrations of Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina], *Revue de Paris*, 1911, 213-224. For the translation of his article, please cf. Gaston Gravier, Emigracija Muslimana iz Bosne i Hercegovine [The Emigrations of Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina], *Pregled*, 7-8, 1911.

³¹ Vojislav Bogičević, Emigracije Muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine u Tursku u doba Austrougarske vladavine 1878 – 1918. god. [The emigration of Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Turkey in the period of Austro-Hungarian rule 1878 – 1918], *Historijski Zbornik*, III, 1-2, 1950, 175-188. Cf. Also Muhamed Hadžijahić, Uz prilog Prof. Vojislava Bogičevića, *Historijski Zbornik*, III, 1-4, 1950.

³² Tomislav Kraljačić, Povratak muslimanskih iseljenika iz Bosne i Hercegovine u toku Prvog balkanskog rata [The return of Muslim emigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina during the

First Balkan War]. In: Nusret Šehić (ed.), *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina* [Migrations and Bosnia and Herzegovina], Sarajevo, 1990, 151-162.

³³ Ibid., 151p.

³⁴ Mina Kujović, O Bosanskim muhadžirima, povratnicima iz Turske u vrijeme austrougarske uprave [On Bosnian muhajirs, returnees from Turkey in the period of Austro-Hungarian administration], *Gračanički Glasnik*, 22, 2006, 71-78.

³⁵ Safet Bandžović, *Iseľjavanje Bošnjaka U Tursku* [The resettlement of Bosniaks to Turkey], Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava, 2006, n.d.

³⁶ Sandra Biletić, Iskustva Bosanskohercegovačkih povratnika iz iseljništva za vrijeme austro-ugarske uprave (1878. – 1903.) [Experiences of Bosnian-Herzegovinian returnees from emigration at the time of the Austro-Hungarian administration (1878 – 1903)], *Građa: Arhiva Bosne i Hercegovine*, 5, 2013, 20-182.

³⁷ James H. Meyer, Immigration, Return, and The Politics of Citizenship: Russian Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, 1860 – 1914, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 39, 2007, 15-32.

³⁸ Ibid., 26p.

³⁹ ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Đulaga Lović, from Turk Vakuf, Bosanska Gradiška, 20.11.1902, "I migrated together with Huska Hrnić and Izet Hoca who convinced me to emigrate. They said we would have a totally different life compared to the one in Bosnia and we would have a more beautiful house, land, money etc. and I sold whatever I had."; Idriz Čibukčić, from Bijeljina, 16.10.1902, "There were general talks and disturbances among the Muslims during the 1900s, so that there was a more beautiful and comfortable life in Turkey and Czar Sultan was giving out house, land, cattle, household goods and money to every Bosnian who migrated."

⁴⁰ ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Alija Habibović from Banja Luka, 12.03.1902.

⁴¹ ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Arnautović Mahmud from Novoselija district office in Banja Luka, 08.11.1902.

⁴² ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Afgan Abdulmeđid from Banja Luka, 22.04.1902.

⁴³ ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Sulejman Mešinović from Banja Luka, 08.11.1902.

⁴⁴ ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Sulejman Mešić from Bosanska Gradiška, 09.06.1902.

⁴⁵ ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Hasib Mizinović from Bosanska Gradiška, 26.07.1902.

⁴⁶ ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Sulejman Arapović from Prijedor, 12.01.1903; ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Mustafa Balić from Kozarac, 20.11.1902.

⁴⁷ ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Džaferović Džafer from Komičana, Kozarac, 06.10.1902.

⁴⁸ ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Huska Čolić from Komičana, Kozarac, 06.10.1902.

⁴⁹ Pemba Avdagić, who migrated from Banja Luka on 1901 and returned on 29.03.1903. ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Pemba Avdagić from Banja Luka, 29.03.1903.

⁵⁰ ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Ajka Suljić-Fazlić from Bijeljina, 05.12.1902.

⁵¹ ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Osman Halilbašić from Bosanska Gradiška, 26.07.1902; ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Ibrahim Hrnić from Turskog Vakuf, Bosanska Gradiška, 26.07.1902.

⁵² ABH, ZVS I.B. 803/1902, Nurija Serdarović from Zvornik, 13.12.1902.

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Remembrance on the Migration Movements in Macedonia after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878

Abstract: *The events in Macedonia, associated with the end of the Russo-Ottoman War (1877 – 1878), have created a complex situation. This paper focuses on migrations as consequences after 1878, when the politically motivated migrations dominated and especially the waves of refugees. The unsuccessful liberation actions in the Pijanec region (1878), the Kresna Uprising (1878/79) and the so-called Ohrid Plot (1880/81), the Berlin Congress and Macedonia remaining within the Ottoman Empire, the increased violence, the instability of the Ottoman state as a whole, immigration of Muslim refugees into Macedonia – resulted in a large wave of emigration of the Macedonian population. It is interesting to see how these processes were reflected in various forms of stored memories and memorized history.*

The migrations, understood as a movement of population, are a special civilizational phenomenon, which were taking place through all historical periods. They are the essence of ethno-cultural structuring and social-political organization. The migration of population is a fairly complex matter, which comprises an array of separate yet related activities of emigration and immigration. They should be seen as a process of arrival and departure, with the complexity of actions: starting from the motives and reasons, through the decision to move, movement and the process of adaptation, relocation or return. Simultaneously, the eviction process at the abandoned places occurs in the same order. It affects the culture, ethnicity, nation, and also all the aspects of a person's life. From a historical perspective, the Balkans has a long history of population movements, which have varied at different times in scope and intensity, as a part of the history and with a reflection to the tradition. And if you look at ethno-cultural processes of Macedonia, migration is an integral part of the historical layers, determining the ethnic processes. Migration is considered as a factor in the historical development, which has left its mark on the historical eras, while modern migrations are connected with the period after the establishment of the Macedonian national state (1944).¹

The main goal in this article is the remembrance of migrations associated with the end of the Russo-Ottoman War. At the same time, Macedonia played the role of a region receiver and transmitter of population, depending on the ethnicity and political circumstances. Large waves of immigration of foreign ethnic populations happened in Macedonia, while the Macedonian population has been displaced throughout the country and abroad.

The situation in Macedonia after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878

The libertarian atmosphere on the Balkans and especially the victories of the Russian forces, have encouraged the Macedonian liberation movement. In early 1878, some leaders of the Macedonian volunteers in the Serbo-Ottoman War (Joakim Čelopečki, Nikola Argunski, Bogdan Dlabočki, priest Jakim Staronagorički, Veljan Strnovski etc.) entered the North-Eastern part of Macedonia and organized an uprising, which has been used by Serbian politics and propaganda.² At that time, following the progress of the Russian army, some Macedonian *voivodes* (Dimitar Trifunov, Grigor Ognenov, Ćorĳija Pulevski, Ćorĳi Antonov etc.), headed by *voivode* Iljo Maleševski, entered in region of Pijanec and established a rebel authority.³

After the Berlin Treaty, a complex situation occurred in Macedonia, which was living the consequences of the international decisions, propaganda pressure, and weak internal situation in the Ottoman Empire from every aspect. All of that led to the rise of combative mood and armed resistance.⁴ The organization of detachments was enhanced throughout Macedonia and the Kresna Uprising started with the attack on the Turkish garrison in the village of Kresna (5/17 October 1878).⁵ In May 1879 the uprising was officially terminated but the revolutionary mood continued.⁶

The security situation was especially unfavorable in Western Macedonia, which enhanced the revolutionary organizing. This movement grew into the so-called Ohrid plot⁷ in the regions of Prilep, Kruševo, Ohrid and Kičevo, with its center being in Ohrid. A joint counseling was held in the Monastery of Slepče "St. Jovan Preteča" (18 January 1881), prepared by Ilija Delija. The delegates agreed to let the plot grow into an uprising in the upcoming spring.⁸

The ideology of the late 19th century was converted into higher forms of an organized activity by establishing the Macedonian League in 1879, founded by Macedonians emigrants, mostly volunteers in the Russo-Ottoman War and Kresna Uprising. In 1880 an Interim Government of Macedonia was declared, as well as a Macedonian Army and a Constitution for a state regulation of Macedonia.⁹

In order to perceive the full picture of the events in Macedonia in this period, it is necessary to consider the entirety of the newly created situation. In this respect, it is interesting to look through the discourse of the opposite side, through the eyes of the other. For example, concerning the post-war situation and the enhanced anti-Ottoman sentiment, Tahsin Uzer wrote in his memoirs that: "The Russian victory in the war of 1877 and the promise and guarantees for an independent form of government of Macedonia with article 102 of the Treaty of Berlin, spoiled and infuriated the Christians of Rumelia."¹⁰ Then he pointed out the consequences for the Otto-

man Empire, but he also identified the aspirations for conquest, which the new Balkan states will express towards Macedonia later: "After the victory of the Russians, the Ottoman Empire was strongly weakened. In the Balkans, separate states for the Bulgarians, Serbs and Greeks had to be recognized. Following this, Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece set their eyes on Macedonia."¹¹

Migrations in Macedonia as consequences

This was a period when the politically motivated migrations (emigration/immigration) dominated as consequences from the war and post-war conditions. The movements have occurred in all directions: arriving, departing abroad, crossing and relocating within Macedonia. The immigration generally concerned the Muslim refugees (so-called *muhadjirs*¹²), arriving or passing through the country, as a result of the anti-Ottoman liberation activities in the Balkan countries. Whenever part of the Ottoman Empire would be separated, the Muslim population (Turks, Bosniaks, Tatars etc.) were retreating in fear of revenge by the victors, following the withdrawal of Ottoman troops. Moreover, this population was settling in the areas that were still within the Empire and where they felt safe. Thus, after the liberation of Serbia and the recognition of its independence in 1878 and Montenegro in the same year, many Muslims settled in Macedonia. The decisions of the Berlin Congress also were referring to Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was detached from the Ottoman Empire and granted to Austria-Hungary. So, it contributed to the mass wave of migration to the southern Balkans.¹³ *Muhadjirs* moved mostly within Macedonia and a part left to Anatolia (later part of them returned to Macedonia because of unfavorable climatic conditions). Muslim families, which were emigrating from Greece and Bulgaria, settled in the area of Bregalnica. The mass settlements of Muslim refugees constituted a special problem. Arriving in Macedonia, they became a new burden for the Macedonian population and the authority used to award them with confiscated properties of Macedonians.¹⁴

The situation, which was confusing and very critical, was recorded in documents and recollections. The Russian minister of Foreign Affairs in his report on the situation in Macedonia as an area of active migration wrote in 1879: "The presence of Muslim refugees, who settled in Macedonia after the Russo-Turkish War from Northern Bulgaria, led to a terrible mess, brought terrible losses, turned the Christian families into own victims, into victims of the fanatical crowd [...]"¹⁵ Also, the French consul in Sofia, Jules Schefer, in his report to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris in January 1879 wrote:

But how big the misery of refugees may be, it cannot be compared with the misery of people in Macedonia at all [...] Macedonia became a refuge for some of the renegades of the Ottoman army, as well as for Muslims who fled from Bulgaria, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and even from some areas located south from Stara Planina.¹⁶

The populating of the Albanian *muhadjirs* in Macedonia should be considered as a separate topic.¹⁷ They migrated from Serbia, from the vicinity of Vranje, Surdulica and elsewhere, in the period after the Russo-Ottoman War and especially after

the Congress of Berlin. Their arrival was the result of the liberation actions in Serbia, escaping from the Serbian army, as well as after the war had ended. These refugees settled in the regions of Kumanovo, Skopje and Polog.¹⁸

In contrast to all that, the emigration from Macedonia was going on during the 19th century as a result of political, religious and economic reasons. It is said that the tradition of going to *pečalba* [earning] had begun first in North-West Macedonia, spread in the regions of Ohrid, Bitola, Lerin, Kostur and further.¹⁹ Speaking of the time after 1878, the liberation actions, in a combination of economic instability and permanent violence, caused mass refugee waves of the Macedonian population. After the dissolution of the free territory in the region of Pijanec and after the Kresna Uprising, a part of the population migrated (a part of it later returned to the abandoned villages).

The situation in Macedonia has been recorded in all diplomatic reports from the Balkans. For example, in 1879 the Ministry of External Affairs of Russia reported: "The sufferings, which have covered Macedonia, are also partially present in the other provinces of the Empire, but indeed it is particularly bad in this province."²⁰ About the consequences from the uprising, he wrote: "After the events in Kresna many of the local residents were forced to rescue themselves to the free Bulgaria [...]"²¹ On the other hand, we find data in the documents of the Macedonian League concerning the situation after the uprising about continuous armed activity but also for emigration. Thus, in the address of the Interim Administration of Macedonia (23.VI 1880), is said:

The četnik movement and the Kresna Uprising, in fact, were a protest against the Treaty of Berlin with the sole purpose to change the clauses and to liberate Macedonia by force and to create a Macedonian state [...] The uprising and its tragic end has expelled thousands of families from their homes, who suffer abroad and who are willing to return at the cost of their lives.²²

Forms of stored memories and memorized history of migrations

Remembrance of these events was strong and reflected differently. It is interesting to see how these processes were articulated in various forms of stored memories and memorized history. Except the documents as a main source for the historian, we can also use sources such as works of ethnography and folklore, travelogues as well as narrations, memoir literature, toponyms. All of them and many others could be considered as specific memorial spaces and memorial items, if we follow the categorization of places of memory as topographic and objective, traditional, as well as artistic works and texts.²³ The purpose of this article is not to achieve a comprehensive overview of all possible sources and evidences, but based on their comprehensive research to present many different examples viewed comparatively²⁴, which describe the general situation but also the emotional state of witnesses and storytellers. The research of the memories is a very complex endeavor, in which there is an interaction between the object of research, the time and the researcher.

Researching through comparison and scientific verification of different sources of information contributes to acquiring a new knowledge for various aspects. Thus, we find the names as significant historical monuments, as holders of information and integrated memories of the past, including the reflection of migrations and concerning both personal names and names of places.²⁵ So, traces of remembered migration are found in toponyms in the rural areas as well as micro-toponyms in the cities, as a dynamic fabric of society and important indicators of changes on each level.

The political stabilization in the first half of the 19th century led to the accelerated development of the Macedonian city in economic, social, cultural and architectural point of view, thereby forming a layer of wealthy people. However, the political situation in the Balkans had changed after the Ottoman bankruptcy (1875) and the Congress of Berlin (1878), whose results were the secession of Bulgaria, the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serbian expansion. Given that Macedonia remained within the Ottoman Empire, there was a weakening of the economy and a decline in the market.²⁶

The influence of the settlers can be detected through the city's history by studying of developmental changes on many levels.²⁷ The immigrants often influenced what the regions where they were mostly settled were called.²⁸ The populating of Muslim *muhadjirs* in Macedonia resulted in the creation of many settlements, some of them called after the name *muhadjir*. For example, in Skopje "Muhadjir mahala" (so-called Madzir/Madzar maalo) was created at the right side of the river Vardar. The neighborhood was constructed by Isa-beg, aimed for residential buildings. In the beginning it was the most urbanized part of the city. Later, a hamam (Muhadjirski hamam or Vardar banja) was built as well as the mosque of Faik-paša (known as Muhadjir-djamija).²⁹ That part of the city today is still called by the same name, regardless of the changed structure in every respect. Also, the settlement Madžari emerged near Skopje, which is one of the suburbs of Skopje today.³⁰ Similar settlements were created and named after the muhadjirs throughout Macedonia: in Kumanovo (Muadger maalo), Sveti Nikole (Madjirska), Strumica (Madjirska), Kavadarci (Muhadjirska), Bitola (Muhadjir) etc.³¹

Searching for places of stored memory of migrations and different possible angles of view – a testimony from self and a testimony from the other, we can address to different types of folk or authorial works and from different national provenances. Folklore is an interesting space of memorized history, whose basic core consists of the fact. However, through the prism of personal emotion and the environment at a certain time, it becomes a specific popular interpretation. Within the subject of our interest, that is migrations in the period after the Russo-Ottoman War, Macedonian folklore treats multiple motives that reflect historical events and zeitgeist. Examining our topic, only in few of them we find a motif concerning the participation in the war.³² The significant parts of it contain revolutionary themes³³ dedicated to the events and characters that enter the circle of national heroes. In that context we study the characters of the rebel leaders, commanders, combatants and other participants in the revolutionary developments in Macedonia after the war and the Kresna Uprising. All songs and stories with such topics created a specific revolutionary folklore.³⁴

Another very important type of folk's interpretation of reality could be defined in the domain of migrating for work and migrating as escape from danger. Thus, the migrations are among the most frequent topics in folklore, taking into consideration their mass participation in people's everyday lives. They usually stress the "destiny of the migrant", dedicating a central role to the motifs of separation, waiting, suffering and calling (by those who wait) or regret and hope for returning home (by those who departed). The creators show us how these actions were sublimated in everyday life, by singing for love, sorrow, work and earning, life and death abroad.³⁵

In terms of exploring the motifs that occur in artistic creation³⁶, it is not very different from those in folk creation. It is particularly interesting to underline a few verses written by Marko Cepenkov. For example, the song "Old Marko Cepenkov's Lament" clearly sings about bad conditions and migrating for work:

Good men brought to utter ruin / And in fear scattered away / From
their precious motherland / Roaming foreign lands / Foreign lands:
Bulgaria / Bulgaria and Serbia / And even Wallachia / Poor men walk-
ing desperately / helpless, barefoot, miserable / Their faces sallow and
pale / As if released from prison [...]³⁷

Traumatic experience of some historical events becomes a link between history and memory and thereby with literature. The memory can be an important factor for the reconstruction of historical events. Literary presentation of events and experiences in a post-memory varies depending whose memory was, whether it was experienced or it was transmitted over generations. Therefore, we recognize this memory in autobiographical texts but also in other types of trans-generational memories, preserved images, stories and documents.³⁸ The notes and testimonies, found throughout autobiographies and memoirs³⁹, provide insights into personal ideas and views. In narrations about themselves and others, the authors tell us about different aspects of the history of migrations, giving us specific information about events and people, often presenting the migrant's philosophy from within.⁴⁰

This survey covers the individual works, the contents which can serve as indicators of the historical and cultural circumstances. For example, in some literary texts of Eftim Sprostranov (a participant in the Ohrid plot, because of which he was forced to go into emigration), Valentina Mironska-Hristovska examined the existential question "Why did we move here?" She defines the consequences which someone experiences when deciding to depart – as "rockslide and torn up".⁴¹ A comparison of the different memories of people with different political, national, social and cultural origin can provide a picture of our object of study. Regarding the migrations after the Russo-Ottoman War, we also use the memoirs of Zafir Belev (one of the participants; sentenced to exile and forced to migrate to Bulgaria).⁴² His memoirs are a direct testimony of the Ohrid plot and its consequences. For example, Belev recollects the meeting of the plotters, mainly participants in the Balkan liberation actions and wars. Thus, he also remembered the "kapidan" Ilija Delija (a volunteer in the Russo-Ottoman War), looking most likely at his medals ("And then the Captain sees his insignia hardly, hardly"⁴³). However, Belev in his story also points out a whole range of socio-economic, cultural and psychological aspects in the life of the

Macedonians and migration philosophy from the late 19th century, when leaving the homeland has been seen as salvation. Belev personally was convicted in 1871, and left for Russia. Later, during the arrests of insurgents in the 80s of the 19th century, he was taken to prison before he could escape. The author retold his personal drama, especially the psychological turmoil of the prisoners during the investigation and methods of torture, illustrating the time and life.

It is interesting indeed to note the way in which people experience and interpret the events from own surrounding. So, Dimitrija Čupovski, another Macedonian emigrant, in his autobiography recalls the family moving from his native village, as a result of terror in the region in the late 19th century: "I was born in 1878 in Macedonia, Veles District in the village of Papradište, in a family of peasants. My father was poor, soon after my birth he died in a fight with the Turks, leaving my mother with a very large family."⁴⁴ He also recalled the family resettlement to Kruševo, after the destruction of Papradište 10 years later. According to some information from the press (1888), the village was burned by the Albanian bandit Fejzo and his gang.⁴⁵

Equally important sources for exploring people's memory are ethnographic records, written by various local writers and various historical époques. For example, Rista Ognjanovik-Lonoski has written a significant local history about his native village Galičnik in Macedonia. Among other things, he wrote about genealogies of families from this region and thus migration is an inevitable topic. Concerning the impact of the arrival of Albanians in some villages in the area, he wrote:

After the invasion of these Albanians oppressors, thieves, eight families of indigenous Christians moved to the nearby village Osoj, and the others displaced in the surrounding villages. Only one host Tripun remained, to whom the Albanians guarantee safety. This happened in 1877.⁴⁶

The variety of materials, such as historical, journalistic or artistic literature represents the historian's basis for the study of the historical culture, including the dynamics of interaction of images of the past and the thought of a certain époque.⁴⁷ The subjectivity can express the cultural and the historical characteristics of the particular time. Regarding the historians and their researches, they also need to experience the atmosphere and circumstances in the country which is the subject of their interest. So, in this regard, in the late 19th century Victor Bérard stayed in Macedonia and later published some descriptions and personal observations. Moreover, based on personal experience, he left us data on the migration of *muhadjirs* in Skopje according to narrated testimonials for themselves from actual people with whom he had met. He writes:

Around the old bazaar and around the maple trees and the cemetery of the old city, several neighborhoods are populated with muhadjirs (immigrants⁴⁸). A short Turk, Tatar type, with copper tan, who serves us as guide and hardly speaks Slavic; he was born in Belgrade, where his father was a concierge of the citadel. The old gendarme with three patches, who is accompanying us and who knows Greek, said he is Moreian: his family moved from Morea to Thessaly, during the Greek

independence, and he himself emigrated from Thessaly to Macedonia at the time of the annexation.⁴⁹

Travelogues have always been an important source for the historian, as a very intimate experience of their authors, their unique expression of feelings and views. From the period of Russo-Ottoman War, we can find such descriptions in the writings of various correspondents of press⁵⁰ and travellers. For example, the French correspondent Léon Huggenet remembered what he has experienced in 1878 at his trip through Macedonia during the withdrawing from Sofia via Kriva Palanka, Skopje to Salonika, from where he transferred to France. Among the other, he describes refugees who were wandering throughout Macedonia:

In the nightfall, the cursed ill refugee came, whom we saw last night in Palanka, trembling due to the temperature, so he sat down near the fireplace. He had not found a place in the Gendarmes station and wandered from one o'clock, half dead from the cold, in order to find an inn. But he still had not asked anything when the cruel Yankee brutally expelled him, shouting to him: YOK (not) one of few Turkish words that he had learned to pronounce incorrectly [...] I gave a task to Pietro, his translator, to ask the čorbadzhija to give him another shelter to the unfortunate mohadjir, which was done.⁵¹

Along the way forward, in Kumanovo, he testified for the crowd of refugees in all directions:

Many young Arnauts and refugees women, traveling in opposite directions, here they have already retained more days due to desires which are difficult to satisfy, without great exaggeration. These two streams in the opposite direction seem like they meet here. Nevertheless, among these passengers, coming from many distant places, there were minor thieves. A young Turkish orphan, half frozen and insufficiently clothed, was watching me for a long time, without daring to say a word to me. He stayed for hours in front of my door and followed me pitifully every time when I stepped out.⁵²

Huggenet testifies about the situation in Skopje and the trade occasions related to the immigration of the muhadjirs: "At this time many things are sold at a low price. The Circassians and the mohadjirs, being in powerlessness to feed the cattle, having neither time nor the necessary strength to slaughter it and to sell it; they got rid of it for any price or almost for free."⁵³

Records of recollections should not to be limited by national or religious frames. On the contrary, the opposite view is valuable for the historian as an inside look to the emotional experiences of reality, which is being investigated, exactly because of the discrepancy when viewed from different angles. Here we are displaying examples of memory, which was transferred through generations, from

different and opposite study-cases: immigrants in Macedonia and Macedonian emigrants abroad.

The Turkish infantry captain Şemsudin Selanikli, who was born in Salonika, wrote his views about the events and the general opinion of the Ottoman society in the book "Macedonia - history of the revolutionary period" (1908). So, concerning the Russo-Ottoman War and the migration of the Muslim refugees, Selanikli explained his personal understanding, viewed from the Ottoman side and expressed with his own terminology:

The Treaty of San Stefano was signed to humiliate our honest people. The Muslim Islamic population was forced to move in extremely poor conditions. The accommodation of Muslim refugees, who poured into Istanbul and Rumelia, could not be resolved and it was running into confrontation from all sides.⁵⁴

The moment of leaving the house and beginning the relocation is crucial and it is memorized. For instance, through the stories of the descendants of the mu-hadjirs, who moved into Macedonia, we find the interesting memory of Čelebija Arnautović (Dudina), who was born in Nikšić in 1869 and died in 1935 in the village Hasanbegovo⁵⁵ near Skopje. Her recollection was transferred through the Memoirs of Djemail A. Mehmedović, who's great-grandfather Selim and grandfather Mehmed have moved from Nikšić to the village Hasanbegovo in the 80s of the 19th century. According to this remembrance, concerning the decision of the inhabitants for migrating:

An agreement was made all together to go after the end of prayer (ikjindija), and until then all to prepare for departure [...] Departing for a journey, as usual, each family was taking a little soil with themselves and all in a row were kissing the doorstep of the house in hope that one day Allah will have mercy and will return them in their homes.⁵⁶

The migrations were reflected in the memories in the stories of the descendants of the emigrated Macedonians also. Actually, an indirect tradition of several generations ago can be found in their memory, although much of the memories miss information and details of the initial migration. For example, the prehistory of the emigration from Macedonia towards the region Tuzluk in Bulgaria can be followed since the end of the 19th century, that is to say since the events around the end of the Russo-Ottoman War, the liberation of the Pijanec region and the Kresna Uprising. It is recorded that 7,000 Macedonian migrants, which had arrived in the regions of Kjustendil and Dupnica during the winter of 1879/80 were dispersed in different directions a few months later. A part of them moved in some villages in Tuzluk.⁵⁷ There they settled at the places of the Muslim population which moved out after the foundation of the Bulgarian state. Concerning the way of coming of the settlers, their descendants retell many stories. Thus, Marija Bogdanova from Dolna Zlatica says:

At that time, moving from Macedonia was connected with many difficulties [...] They set out on a very difficult journey – with young children, families with many members, along the way they found parts of defeated Turkish army, they have to stop, to hide. The moving lasted for years. According to great-grandmother Elena during one such meeting with the Turkish army, they were so frightened, so they fled to hide in a nearby forest and lost her youngest child. They had several children. Once the danger passed, the mother returned and found the baby alive. The settlers were moving organized – with their own leaders according to an established order and rules [...] ⁵⁸

Testimony based on memory, especially when it is related to a traumatic event, carries information about historical events, which were experienced through personal perception, and of course can also be treated as a historical source. Exemplified by the story of a 103-year-old grandmother in the village Pirinec (in the region Tuzluk), which Ć. D. Andonov remembered from his childhood, is perhaps the most illustrative example. He tells how suddenly she was beginning to yell: “Oh, run, children, Turks come to slaughter us” (which may refer to the possibility that she could remember the traumatic experience from her birthplace). ⁵⁹

Searching for answers through recollections concerning the migration, the time and reasons for the emigration as well as how the immigration took place, at the base of all representations and interpretations of the historical events, we can draw some basic factual information and thus to understand the experiences and the different discourses. Forced migration is a traumatic act, regardless of the subjects involved and direction of displacement. At each of the sides, we find the elements of force, fear, feeling sorry for home, struggle for existence, or unbearable burden from the immigration of the strangers, dissatisfaction and resistance against the newcomers, fighting for survival. The study of the life of migrant begins with the escape from the homeland, the migration into the receiving country, and then through the stages of the functioning in the new environment, earning a living and participating in the social and cultural life.

¹ Нијази Лиманоски, Исламизацијата и етничките промени во Македонија [The Islamization and Ethnic Changes in Macedonia]. In: Македонци муслимани. Материјали од Првиот научен симпозиум одржан на 3 и 4 октомври 1981 во Кичево и од другите културни и научни средби на Македонците-муслимани, Скопје, 1984, 12-61; Александар Матковски, Македонскиот полк во Украина [Macedonian Regiment in Ukraine], Скопје, 1985, 9-46; Глигор Тодоровски, Демографските процеси и промени на населението во Македонија од крајот на XIV век до Балканските војни [Demographic Processes and Changes of the Population of Macedonia since the End of the 14th Century until the Balkan Wars], Скопје, 2000; Глигор Тодоровски, Демографските процеси и промени во Македонија од почетокот на Првата балканска војна до осамостојувањето на Македонија [Demographic Processes and Changes in Macedonia since the First World War until the Independence of Macedonia], Скопје, 2001; Танас Вражиновски, Македонското иселеништво – состојби и перспективи во неговото проучување [Macedonian Emigration – Situation and Perspectives in Its Study]. In: Прв меѓународен научен собир „Иселеништвото од

Македонија од појавата до денес“ (Крушево 3-5 август 2000), Скопје, 2001, 5-19; Весна Јанеска, Особености на современата емиграција на работната сила од Република Македонија [Specifics of Modern Labour Emigration from Republic of Macedonia]. In: Прв меѓународен научен собир „Иселеништвото од Македонија од појавата до денес“ (Крушево 3-5 август 2000), Скопје, 2001, 97-111; Лидија Стојановиќ-Лафазановска, Миграција и хабитус. Македонската емиграција во Германија [Migration and Habitus. Macedonian Emigration in Germany], Скопје, 2008, 26-31; Тодор Чепреганов, Историски фази на миграциите од Македонија [Historical Stages of Migration from Macedonia]. In: Петко Христов (съст.), Балканската миграционна култура: исторически и съвременни примери от България и Македония [Balkan Migration Culture: Historical and Contemporary Examples from Bulgaria and Macedonia], София, 2010, 210-225; Драгица Поповска, Надминување на предрасудите за внатрешна кохезија на Македонците [Overcoming the Prejudices for Internal Cohesion of the Macedonians]. In: Зборник на трудови од Научната трибина „Македонците со исламска вероисповед – меѓу националната припадност и религиската определба“ одржана на 15 февруари 2011, IV, Скопје, 2011, 35-42; Билјана Ристовска-Јосифовска, Миграциите низ документација и традиција (врз примери од Русе, Варна и областа Тузлук во Бугарија) [Migrations through Documentation and Tradition (on Case-Studies from Ruse, Varna and the Region Tuzluk in Bulgaria)]. In: Билјана Ристовска-Јосифовска (ред.), Миграции на Балканот. Билатерални истражувања, Скопје, 2011, 13-23.

² The Insurgents' center was created in the monastery Zabel near Kumanovo. In May 1878, the rebel forces were defeated by the Ottoman army – Cf. Блаже Ристовски, Историја на македонската нација [History of the Macedonian Nation], Скопје, 1999, 53pp.; Александар Трајановски, Нови сознанија за животот и дејноста на војводата Иљо Марков-Малешевски 1805 – 1898 [New Data about Life and Activity of Voivode Iljo Markov-Maleševski 1805 – 1898]. In: Војводата Иљо Марков-Малешевски и неговото време. Меѓународна конференција 6-7 Мај 2000 во Берово, Берово, 2002, 20pp.

³ The Voivode Dimitar Popgeorgiev Berovski joined with its company that acted since the Razlog Uprising (1876). The rebel government was composed of rebel groups, village elders, temporary police guard and a commission called “government”, which several Christian and Muslim dignitaries entered. After a protocol signed in Vranje in February, the liberated regions remained under Ottoman rule and, following the Russian orders, Maleševski and Berovski with their detachments moved towards Kjustendil. Any further actions were delayed and the liberated territory was abandoned. Cf. Ристо Поплазаров, Ослободителните вооружени борби на македонскиот народ во периодот 1850 – 1878 [Armed Struggles for Liberation of the Macedonian People in the Period 1850 – 1878], Скопје, 1978, 314pp.; Славе Гоцев, Национално-револуционни борби в Малешево и Пијанец 1860 – 1912 [National-Revolutionary Struggles in the Maleševo Region and Pijanec 1860 – 1912], София, 1988, 100-104; Благој Стоичовски, Двомесечната слобода на Пијанечката Република [Two Months of Freedom of the Pijanec Republic]. In: Војводата Иљо Марков-Малешевски и неговото време. Меѓународна конференција 6-7 Мај 2000 во Берово, Берово, 2002, 36-47).

⁴ Поплазаров, Ослободителните, 3, 317-329; Билјана Ристовска-Јосифовска, Иљо Малешевски и Ѓорѓија Пулевски во ослободителните борби [Iljo Maleševski and Ćorĝija Pulevski in the Liberation Struggles]. In: Војводата Иљо Марков-Малешевски и неговото време Меѓународна конференција 6-7 Мај 2000 во Берово, Берово, 2002, 90-102; Д. В. Mikolenko, Македонське питання у 1878 – 1919 гг. [The Macedonian Question 1878 – 1919], Харків, 2011, 39-44.

⁵ It was led by Stojan Karastoilov and Dimitar Berovski. But, there was constant interference from outside concerning the management of the uprising, political games, prohibition of activities on the territory that the Ottoman Empire possessed, not getting help from the neighbors

and major powers. Cf. Георги Кацаровъ и Иван Кеповъ, Документи по Кресненското въстание отъ 1878 год. [Document about Kresna Uprising 1878], София, 1940, 20; 22; Француски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ [French Documents for the History of the Macedonian People], VI, I (1878 – 1879), Скопје, 1969, 62p.; 87p.; Михајло Миновски, Борбата на месните македонски водачи за зачувување на самостојноста во раководењето со Кресненското востание [The Struggle of Local Macedonian Leaders to Preserve Autonomy in Managing the Kresna Uprising], *Гласник*, 1, XVII, Скопје, 1973, 87-110; Манол Пандевски, Кресненското востание во Македонија од 1878 – 1879 година. Претпоставки, надворешно влијание, тек, карактер [Kresna Uprising in Macedonia from 1878 – 1879. Assumptions, External Influence, Flow, Character]. In: Кресненското востание во Македонија 1878 – 1879. Материјали од Научниот собир одржан по повод 100-годишнината од востанието Берово, 2-4 октомври 1878 година, Скопје, 1982, 36-51; Крсте Битовски, Македонија во времето на Големата источна криза 1875 – 1881 [Macedonia during the Great Eastern Crisis], Скопје, 1982, 215-226.

⁶ Христо Андонов-Полјански, Учество на Мирослав Хубмаер во Кресненското востание [The Participation of Miroslav Hubmaer in Kresna Uprising], Одбрани дела, 2, Скопје, 1981, 371-372; Славко Димевски; Владо Поповски; Светомир Шкарик; Михаило Апостолски, Македонската лига и Уставот за државно уредување на Македонија од 1880 [The Macedonian League and the Constitution for the State Foundation of Macedonia from 1880], Скопје, 1985, 105pp.; Ристовски, Историја, 2, 45-53.

⁷ The movement was also known as the Brsjak Rebellion, the Ohrid-Demirhisar conspiracy, the Kruševo plot. Cf. the preface in Зафир Белев, Мемоарски записи за Охридскиот заговор (расказ на македонски јазик) [Memoir Notes Concerning the Ohrid Plot (A Novel in Macedonian Language)]. Подготвиле: Блаже Ристовски и Никола Целакоски, Охрид, 2001, 8.

⁸ However, two criminals were killed soon (Ali-Kjehaja and Kjatip-Muhadjir), which provoked the Ottoman authorities to take measures to suppress the movement by arresting more than 700 people (Ibid., 8-16).

⁹ In May, the Macedonian National Assembly was held on Kremen-Teke and the Provisional Government of Macedonia was founded. In June, in the Pirin Mountain, the Manifesto of the General Headquarters of the Macedonian army was released as well as the Constitution for a State Regulation of Macedonia, with two documents: the Military Instruction for Structure of Macedonian Army in the autonomous state Macedonia and the Interim Instruction for Activity of Macedonian Army (Правилата – Уставот на Македонскиот вистанички комитет во Кресненското востание [The Rules – Constitution of the Macedonian Uprising Committee in the Kresna Uprising], Скопје, 1980; Димевски; Поповски; Шкарик; Апостолски, Македонската лига, 6, 237-312; Ристовски, Историја, 2, 58-85).

¹⁰ Тахсин Узер, Тахсин Беј ја објаснува Македонија (историја на комитството во Македонија и последната османлиска управа) [Tahsin Bey Explains Macedonia (History of the Komitadjis in Macedonia and the Last Ottoman Administration)], Скопје, 2013, 136.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² The term *muhadjir* is used to refer to an expatriated man, a refugee, an immigrant, an emigrant. In Macedonian language different forms are in use, also as: *moadjiri*, *muadjiri*, *madjiri* etc. Cf. Реџеп Шкријељ, Мухаџирската криза и населувањето на Бошњациите во Македонија 1875 – 1901 [Muhadjir's Crisis and Immigration of Bosniaks in Macedonia 1875 – 1901], Скопје, 2006, 65-71.

¹³ For the phases of migration and colonization of Bosniaks cf. *ibid.*, 129pp.

¹⁴ Димевски; Поповски; Шкарик; Апостолски, Македонската лига, 6, 28-32; Шкријељ, Мухаџирската криза, 12, 43pp.

¹⁵ Растислав Терзиоски, Руски извори за состојбите во Македонија и за делувањето на Илија Малешевски (1875 – 1879) [Russian Sources about the Situation in Macedonia and the Activity of Ilija Maleševski (1875 – 1879)]. In: Војводата Иљо Марков-Малешевски и неговото време Меѓународна конференција 6-7 Мај 2000 во Берово, Берово, 2002, 142p.

¹⁶ Француски документи, 5, 98.

¹⁷ The role of a region-receiver of Albanian settlers mainly concerns the history of immigration from Albania. They migrate mainly in the Western and North-Western parts of Macedonia, by individual initiatives, within the planned colonization by the Ottoman Empire or as participants in military and civil Ottoman authorities (nominated as ruling cluster of the society). The major settling in Macedonia was happening towards the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century. Cf. Jovan Trifunovski, Albansko stanovništvo u Makedoniji [Albanian Population in Macedonia], Beograd, 1988, 34p.; 48p.

¹⁸ Ibid., 36p.; Марија Пандевска, Присилни миграции во Македонија во годините на Големата источна Скриза (1875 – 1881) [Forced Migrations in Macedonia during the Years of the Great Eastern Crises (1875 – 1881)], Скопје, 1993, 117-138.

¹⁹ Tomo Smiljanić, Mijaci, Gorna Reka i Mavrovsko Polje. Naselja i poreklo stanovništva [Mijaks, Gorna Reka and Mavrovsko Pole. Settlements and Origin of the Population], Beograd, 1925, 67-68; Лепосава Спирковска, За некои мијачки печалбарски обичаи, посебно од Галичник [On Some of the Mijaks' Emigration Customs, Especially from Galičnik]. In: Харалампие Поленаковиќ и др. (Ред.), Бигорски научни и културни средби, I, Гостивар, 1971, 259-263; Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska, Personal and Collective Identity (One Historical Profile in Modern European Perspective). In: Elena Marushiakova (ed.), Dynamics of National Identity and Transnational Identities in the Process of European Integration, Cambridge, 2008, 305-313; Ник Анастасовски, Борбата за македонскиот идентитет 1870 – 1912 [The Contest for Macedonian Identity 1870 – 1912], Скопје, 2012, 254-274.

²⁰ Cf. Терзиоски, Руски извори, 15, 142.

²¹ Ibid. The emigration towards Bulgaria was enhanced as it was a free country, but the number of emigrated Macedonians cannot be determined with certainty. Cf. Иван Катарџиев, Македонската емиграција во Бугарија 1944 – 1950 [Macedonian Emigration in Bulgaria 1944 – 1950], Скопје, 2008, 8pp.; Александър Гребенаров, Македонските беганци от Македония 1878 – 1944 [Macedonian Refugees from Macedonia 1878 – 1944]. In: Прв меѓународен научен собир „Иселеништвото од Македонија од појавата до денес“ Крушево 3-5 август 2000, Скопје, 2001, 78).

²² Addressed to the ministers of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary and Italy, as participants of the Congress of Berlin, and as a copy to the Commission of the European Forces for Reforms in European Turkey in Istanbul. Cf. Димевски; Поповски; Шкарик; Апостолски, Македонската лига, 6, 324.

²³ Ката Кулавкова, Дискурсот на меморијата и неговото толкување. Кодот на меморијата [Discourse of Memory and Its Interpretation. Code of Memory]. In: Ката Кулавкова (ред.), Интерпретации. Европски проект за поетика и херменевтика. Меморија и интерпретација, Скопје, 2008, 41pp.

²⁴ Герт Дресел, Историческа антропология. Въведение [Historical Anthropology. Introduction]. Благоевград, 1997, 108pp.

²⁵ Трајко Стаматоски; Маринко Митков, Јазикот на имињата [Language of Names], Скопје, 2000, 7-14.

²⁶ Борис Шипан, Македонските градови во XIX век и нивната урбана перспектива [The Macedonian Towns in the 19th Century and Their Urban Perspective], Скопје, 1978, 23-26. On the Balkan cities in the Ottoman Empire cf. Karl Kaser, The Urban Space of the Turko-Balkan City, in: *Balkanistic Forum*, 2011/3, Blagoevgrad, 63-69.

²⁷ On the method how to research the city cf. Мерлена Златкова, Градският палимпсест или как да изследваме града в преход: за един възможен етносоциологически подход в градските изследвания [City Palimpsest or How to Research the City in Transition: on a Possible Ethno-Sociological Method in City Researches]. In: Маггарита Карамихова (съст.), Четива за историята и културата на Балканите, София, 2010, 321-324.

²⁸ For example, in the city of Ruse many streets related to the immigration from Macedonia were recorded: Bitola, Vardar, Veles, Voden, Debar, Melnik, Drama, Kavala, Kičevo, Kostur, Kruševo, Skopje, Solun, Ser, Tetovo, and others. Cf. Симеон Симеонов, Русе в миналото и днес. Исторически, географски и статистически бележки с план на града [Ruse in the past and today. Historical, Geographical and Statistical Notes with a City Map], Русе, 1929, 85–95. Cf. also Ристовска-Јосифовска, Миграциите, 1, 46р.

²⁹ Драги Ѓоргиев, Мухаџир Махала у Скопљу крајем XIX века [Muhadžir Mahala in Skopje at the End of the 19th Century]. In: Бојана Миљковић-Катић (ред.), Просторно планирање у Југоисточној Европи (до Другог светског рата) [Spatial planning in Southeastern Europe (until World War II)], Београд, 2011, 493-506.

³⁰ Борис Шипан, Македонските градови, 26, 64.

³¹ Шкријељ, Мухаџирската криза, 12, 168р. As a result of the immigration of muhadjirs from Bosnia, the ethnic name Bošnjak begins to participate in the system of names. For example, the neighborhoods called Bošnjačko and Bošnjaci in Skopje testify the migration of Bosnian muhadjirs. However, linguists do not believe that the ethnonym Bosniak (Bosnian immigrated muhadjirs) influenced the occurrence of some surnames (e.g. Bošnjakovska, Bošnački), because of the short period to solidify as a form of personal name, nickname or surname. Cf. Стаматоски; Митков, Јазикот, 25.

³² Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska, Exploring the Russo-Ottoman War (Macedonian Memory and Presentations). In: Dominik Gutmeyr; Petar Vodenicharov (eds.), National Models of Memory. The Russo-Ottoman War 1877 – 1878, *Balkanistic Forum*, 2013/1, Blagoevgrad, 112-126. In the song “Hey, Eaglet, Eaglet, Winged Birdie” [„Xoj, орле, орле, крилато пиле“], recorded according to Marija Sarkovska from the village Mačevo, the courage of Macedonian volunteers in the war is celebrated: “Neither Russia has taken Pleven / nor Bulgaria crashed Pirot / but Macedonians fought / Macedonians – glorious descendants / they shed blood – they want freedom!” Cf. Иван Бошначки, Војводата Дедо Иљо Малешевски низ народните песни од Малешевијата и од Пијанец [Duke Grandpa Iljo Maleševski through the Folk Songs from the Region of Maleshevo and Pijanec], in: Војводата Иљо Марков-Малешевски и неговото време. Меѓународна конференција 6-7 Мај 2000 во Берово, Берово, 2002, 222.

³³ Regarding the classification of Macedonian combat folk songs, Blaže Ristovski suggested a general one: Folk songs about heroic deeds of feudal heroes (before the arrival of the Ottomans), folk songs for ajduts in Macedonia (15th – 19th centuries) and revolutionary folk songs chronologically divided into five subgroups (the first one refers to the time 1876 – 1893. Cf. Блаже Ристовски, Македонскиот фолклор и националната свест. Истражувања и записи [Macedonian Folklore and National Consciousness. Researches and Records], Скопје, 2013, 127-133.

³⁴ Блаже Ристовски, Ѓорѓија М. Пулевски и неговите книшки „Самовила Македонска“ и „Македонска Песнарка“ [Ѓорѓија М. Pulevski and His Books “Macedonian Fairy” and “Macedonian Poetry-Book”], Библиотека на списанието „Македонски фолклор“, 1, Скопје, 1973, 39-43; Бошначки, Војводата, 32, 214-224.

³⁵ For themes related to migration for work in the folk songs, tales and adages cf. Лазо Каровски, Печалбарството во македонската литература [Migration for Work in Macedonian Literature], Скопје, 1974, 22-37; 79-102.

³⁶ Каровски, Печалбарството, 35, 54-78. On the motif of waiting in the Macedonian everyday dramas cf. Валентина Миронска-Христовска, Македонската преродба [Macedonian Revival], Скопје, 2007, 183-193.

³⁷ Macedonian Literary Manifestations. From Lozans to the Society. Selected and edited with a preface and commentary by Academician Blaže Ristovski, Skopje, 2014, 124p.

³⁸ Cf. Марија Ѓорѓиева, Книжевност, историја, меморија [Literature, History, Memory]. In: Кулавакова (ред.), Интерпретации, 23, 137pp.

³⁹ For the autobiography in Macedonian literature cf. Наташа Аврамовска, Автобиографијата во македонскиот литературен XIX век [The Autobiography in the Macedonian Literary 19th Century], Скопје, 2004, 16-26.

⁴⁰ Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska, The Migrations as Reflected in Narratives Written by Migrants (Self-Identification and Presentation for Posterity), *Ethnologia Balkanica*, 13/2009, 107-119.

⁴¹ Миронска-Христовска, Македонската преродба, 36, 122-127.

⁴² According to some contemporaries, he served 15 years in prison and was amnestied around 1890. The records were probably created immediately after and the manuscript was published in 2001. Cf. Блаже Ристовски, Мемоарските записи за Охридскиот заговор на македонски јазик од Зафир Белев [Memoir Entries of Ohrid Plot in Macedonian Language from Zafir Belev], Скопје, 2001, 25-135. Cf. also Наташа Аврамовска, Записи за секидневниот дипломат (Зафир Г. Белев, 1845, Охрид – 1907, с. Костец) [Entries for the everyday diplomat (Zafir G. Belev, 1845, Ohrid – 1907, v. Kostec)], *Книжевен контекст. Споредбени проучувања*, Скопје, 2002, 129-140; Биљана Ристовска-Јосифовска, Автобиографическите тексты литературных деятелей г. Охрида Григора Прличева и Зафира Белева (в культурологическом контексте) [Autobiographical Texts of the Literary Figures from the City of Ohrid Grigor Prličev and Zafir Belev (In a Cultural Context)]. In: *Мировая литература контексте культуры*, Пермь, 2006, 159-164.

⁴³ Белев, Мемоарски записи, 7, 38.

⁴⁴ Блаже Ристовски, Димитрија Чуповски (1878 – 1940) и Македонското научно-литературно другарство во Петроград [Dimitrija Čupovski (1878 – 1940) and the Macedonian Scientific-Literary Society in Petersburg], Скопје, 2012, 91.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁴⁶ Риста Огњановиќ-Лоноски, Галичник и Мијаците [Galičnik and the Mijaks], Скопје, 2004, 94. Cf. Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska, The Terror in Galičnik through its Writers' Eyes. In: Petar Vodenicharov and others (eds.), *Terrorism, Intellectualism-Balkan Troubles*, Blagoevgrad, 2005, 29-39.

⁴⁷ Лорина Петровна Репина, Историческая память и современная историография [Historical Memory and Modern Historiography], *Новая и новейшая история*, 5, 2004, 40.

⁴⁸ In the original text: “*mohadjirs*” (émigrés), cf. Victor Bérard, *La Macédoine* [Macedonia], Paris, 1900, 55.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ On visual representations of the war in the press cf. Martina Baleva, The Empire Strikes Back Image Battles and Image Frontlines during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 – 1878, *Ethnologia Balkanica*, 16/2012, 273-293.

⁵¹ Александар Матковски (подгот.), Македонија во делата на странските патописци 1875 – 1878 [Macedonia in the Works of Foreign Travel Writers 1875 – 1878], Скопје, 2001, 325p.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 330p.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 348.

⁵⁴ Шемсудин Селаникли, Македонија – историја на револуционерниот период [Macedonia – History of the Revolutionary Period], Скопје, 2011, 138p.

⁵⁵ Later it became a settlement in Skopje called Singeliќ, today's Metodija Andonov-Čento.

⁵⁶ Cf. Шкријелъ, Мухацирската криза, 12, 141р.

⁵⁷ Тоня Любенова, По въпроса за демографското обвързване на кюстендилския и търговския край (1878 – 1960) [On the Issue of a Demographic Linking of the Kjustendil and Targovište Regions (1878 – 1960)]. In: Кина Атанасова и др. (съст.), Памет за Тузлука. История и култура, Велико Търново, 2005, 92.

⁵⁸ Памет за Тузлука (спомени на съвременници) [Memory about Tuzluk (Memories of Contemporaries)]. In: Кина Атанасова и др. (съст.), Памет за Тузлука, 57, 187р.

⁵⁹ Ристовска-Јосифовска, Миграциите, 1, 34.

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Local and Family Memory of Georgian Muslims and its Role in Cultural Development

Abstract: *After the end of the Russo-Ottoman War, Ajara was reunited with Georgia. Therefore, the native population stayed on their own ethnical territory. They maintained their lifestyle and cultural habits, but religion-wise transformed which made them a minority (of Muslim faith) in their own country. Religious differences became a precondition of alienation from the rest of the population. Russian authorities did not consider the newly reunited population as Georgians, but on the other hand, the Ottomans did not recognize them as Turks. Georgian intellectuals were trying to improve the situation by reintegrating them into society but they lacked governmental help and support. In addition to that, there were other factors influencing the process of migration: social and economic issues, the unbearable regime of Porto-Franco, political interests of Russia and Turkey. This process of migration is known as muhajir resettlement and is described in official letters, newspapers and magazines from that period, which are kept in the archives.*

In a part of Ajara's population, there are still some who keep the memory of their family members and friends being repopulated to different areas. In almost all villages in Ajara, people still remember the people who stood against *muhajirism*. Some of them were even Muslim spiritual leaders: Loman Efendi Kartsivadze from Oladauri, Akhmed Khalifashvili from Keda, Gulo Kaikatsishvili from Kobuleti, etc. According to Iskender Beridze, aged 84 and from the village of Darchidzeebi, a lot of villages had been emptied, for instance the locals of the village Djumushauri were all resettled.¹ Munur Gultekin says that the Turkish officials were giving the choice of where to settle to the ones who willingly wanted to migrate.² This led to the rise of the number of people migrating. Nebile Surmanidze calls this policy of the Turkish officials as "treacherous".³ Respondents also mention that migrants, who chose lands to settle, were choosing the ones that looked like the place they used to live. Some of the interviewees say that in many cases the conditions in the places, migrants moved to, were unbearable. 70 year old Riza Putkaradze from the

village of Tselati says that later on, many wanted to go back but they were not allowed to do so.⁴ However, the Turkish historiography is full of the idea that the liberated population was against the reunification with a Georgian motherland. According to their understanding the Ajarians' motherland was not Georgia but Turkey.⁵ Nowadays, a part of Ajara's population remains Muslim and the rest returned to the religion of their ancestors – Christianity. Despite the religious beliefs, the Muslim population identifies itself as Georgians (Georgian ethnical identity). They participate in political and cultural activities and take part in societal development. Many of the still existing cultural and educational institutions (teacher training college, theatre, and others) have been created on the initiative of the local leaders.

The history of resettlement and events of that period are well preserved in the memory of the *muhajirs*. Today, they represent an ethnical minority in Turkey. During a field expedition, we were able to record several stories of resettlement of *muhajirs*. Respondent Summan Gumish feels sorry that Georgians chose infertile soil to settle on: "Gurgies⁶ have chosen nice forests, good water, good nature but infertile places; Laz people have settled on good and fertile lands."⁷

Archival data

Interesting materials are kept in the Central Archive of Georgian History. There are several topics which are presented and studied in course of the present article:

1. Administrative control
2. Dates of resettlement
3. General goals of Russian and Ottoman authorities
4. Reasons of *muhajir* resettlement
5. Number of *muhajirs* and other related topics

Administrative control

From the archive materials we find out that a special committee was formed in order to govern and make decisions concerning the administrative control of the reunited region. The committee has decided that Turkish forces had to leave Kobuleti, Chakvi and the rest of Ajara until 23 – 25 August 1878.⁸ It has to be mentioned that by that time the majority of the population of Kobuleti and nearby districts had fled.

The committee decided to divide the reunited territory into the city-port Batumi and further three separate districts: Batumi district (Batumi, Kintrishi, and Gonio), Ajara (Upper and Lower Ajara) and Artvin (consisting of Artvin, Artanuji and Shavshet-Imerkhevi).⁹

The documents in the archives describe the process of the Turkish forces leaving Ajara. No incidents were documented concerning the stationing of Russian forces in the region. According to the official statement made by the Russians, religion and property of the locals were not to be touched. Also, the local

government was not going to be replaced. At the same time, everyone who wished to leave Ajara was able to do so.¹⁰

Dates of Resettlement

The official dates of population resettlements are given from 3 February 1879 to 3 February 1882 but in reality the process started on 8 February 1879.¹¹

General goals of Russian and Ottoman authorities

Archive documents clearly show the true motive and goal of the Russian Imperial forces – to empty newly gained regions from the local population. The Ottoman Empire on the other hand was interested in populating the uninhabited rural areas of Turkey. At the same time, this would be the part of the population who would have a hostile attitude towards Russia in the future.

Some of the documents clearly show the real intentions of the Russian Empire, as in one of the letters we read it says:

The primary purpose of peacefully occupying Batumi has been reached. Now we have to work on implementing our long term goals. This goal has a military advantage. By reuniting Batumi we have gained the strongest point in the weakest part of the Empire on the Caucasus. Unfortunately it is populated with the uncontrolled warrior people. In addition to that, they are connected with Turks through the religion which makes them even more dangerous to us. This is the main reason why it is unacceptable to leave them on the border of the Empire. Assimilation or resettlement of this population is vital. Until it's done, all the efforts to regain this territory will be lost. In the interest of the Empire we have to act now, despite the losses we might sustain. It is necessary to empty the territory from the locals (Batumi districts). Even if a small percentage is left; they will be less dangerous and easier to control in the future.¹²

The process of resettlement was accompanied with repopulation and colonization of the emptied territories in accordance with the plan of the Russian forces. Svjatopolk-Mirskij in one of his letters writes:

Muhajirism has a vital role in strengthening of the Empire's border line with Turkey and its influence in the Caucasus region in general. That is why: 1. Directly or indirectly we should not stop the Muslims from migrating to Turkey; 2. We have to make sure that the territories left by the Muslims will be transferred to the government, even if expenses reach a million, it has to be done – we have to populate these lands with Russians. Otherwise we will have to forget about the plan of populating the Caucasus with Russians. This has political, economic

and military importance. Repopulating territories with Russians will make local Turks want to move to Turkey.¹³

Later many Russian colonies emerged: Smekalovka near Kobuleti (named after Governor-General Smekalov), Komarovka – in honor of the first governor of the Batumi district Komarov, Romanovka, Cholodnaja Sloboda (nowadays Boni), Stepanovka, Gorodok, Alekseevka, etc. Currently, one can find many toponyms influenced by the events of that period – Sinicin, Bykov, Sacharov, and others.

Reasons for the *muhajir* resettlement

Social and economic reasons

The resettlement of *muhajirs* was caused by the combination of various reasons and factors. Historical documents in this regard can be found in a variety of archival materials. One of the main reasons of this resettlement were the social and economic conditions created by the Russian Empire in order to make life for the local population unbearable. Russian governors introduced additional taxes, changed trade tariffs on the river Chorokhi and introduced money tax instead of tax in kind. The Ottoman government on the contrary was planning to reduce taxes and offer tax breaks.¹⁴ The newspaper “Droeba” names it as one of the reasons why hundreds of families gathered their belongings and migrated to territories in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵ Historical documents contain interesting information, which shows that the local population was asking for an improvement of the economic conditions but that the Russian government ignored the requests and called them untrustworthy people, confronting the government.¹⁶

The archive materials also show other motives of resettlement for social and economic reasons. The Russian government cancelled pension payments to the nobles granted by the Ottomans. Before the Berlin Congress, 19 nobles were getting similar pensions in Ajara.¹⁷ In one of the documents we find the following: “Pensions paid by the Ottomans to the nobles for seized lands are too high. Paying such amounts is impossible, because the treasury would lose a substantial amount of money. Therefore it was decided to pay pensions only to the nobles who will stay here.”¹⁸

Harassment of the local population and humiliation of personal dignity

Tsarist officials were trying to create comfortable living conditions for themselves at the expense of the locals’ interests. They were trying to insult customs and traditions of the locals and to humiliate them, which became one of the factors for *muhajir* resettlements. In one of the documents we find that general Komarov built a bakery in the city. In order to have a good location for the building, he ordered to evict local residents and to forbid them from using the main street.¹⁹

Russian authorities were trying to sell seized real estate on the auctions. This way the government was getting substantial profits for the Batumi municipal budget. The military governor wrote to the highest authorities: “Real estate should be sold

four times, because the market becomes very active right now, and we should support development of this process.”²⁰ Materials in the seventh fund show that later thousands of rubles were spent on the settling of colonists of Russian and German origin.²¹

Propaganda of Muslim spiritual leaders

Obviously, the attitude of the Russian authorities towards the local population stimulated the process of resettlement and the wish to move to the territories of Ottoman Empire. Using the situation, Muslim nobles and spiritual leaders were campaigning to encourage local residents to settle in Turkey.²² But according to the local media, propaganda of spiritual leaders was not the sole reason of *muhajir* resettlement, rather than that it was caused by the complex of different reasons.²³ Despite that, we cannot exclude their influence. Some spiritual leaders “started to encourage people to move to Turkey, because they didn’t have any income at the moment.”²⁴

Regime of Porto-Franco

Some documents reveal the regime of Porto-Franco as one of the reasons taking influence on *muhajir* resettlement. According to the paragraphs 14 and 15 of the Porto-Franco Statute, everyone entering or leaving the Porto-Franco zone had to be cleared and searched at the checkpoints. Export of goods was possible only from the exits that had customs offices. The only tax-exempt goods were those of Russian origin. Violation of any rules was strictly forbidden and consequently punished by law.²⁵

In 1880, Rear-admiral Greve in his letter to the chiefs of the armed forces, names the Porto-Franco regime as one of the reasons of *muhajir* resettlement. The correspondence shows that he is interested in the process of resettlement and during the conversations with the *muhajirs* he gets the following response from one of them:

When the city was under the rule of Sultan, we used to bring eggs, milk, honey and other goods from the villages for trade. With the money we got, we used to buy the necessary things we needed. Nobody was bothering us, but now, we are being searched like some kind of thieves which is insulting, they are also searching and checking our women. This is against our beliefs; we can’t stay here any longer, thus we have to leave.²⁶

Number of *muhajirs*

We possess some statistical data concerning the number of *muhajirs* who migrated to the territories of the Ottoman Empire. According to the documents of Governor-General Komarov, the following number of *muhajirs* left the Batumi district: From Batumi, Kintrishi, and Gonio districts, in 1878 – 1880, 1,813 people

have left (897 men and 916 women); from upper and lower Ajara and Machakhela – 12,351 people (6,197 men and 6,154 women), in total – 14,164.²⁷ However, one can assume that the total number of *muhajirs* was much higher. Other documents show that for instance, the governor of Akhaltsikhe requested to resettle 1,500 families from Akhaltsikhe to the territories in Turkey,²⁸ as well as various other requests to resettle Muslims to Turkey²⁹ and about the resettlement of Abkhazians to Turkey.³⁰

Materials from the Central State Archive of Ajara

One can find only a few materials concerning the Russo-Ottoman War in the Central State Archive of Ajara. However, some materials which are directly or indirectly connected with that topic can be found in the British collection (copies of documents preserved in the British archives – these materials were obtained by Georgian in 2006). The British documents contain information which shows the importance of Ajara returning to Georgia. They also describe the negative sides of this fact, namely that a lot of people were exiled from the old Georgian regions. People, targeted for exile, were Ajarians, Laz people and other ethnic groups of Georgians, but also Abkhazians and peoples from the Northern Caucasus. The issue of Laz people is discussed more thoroughly. The documents show that this issue was also discussed at the Congress of Berlin. The British were against the reunification of Batumi with Georgia and it eventually getting under Russian control. That's why they suggested the creation of a Lazistan khanate. It looks like they intended to use the Laz people against the Russians.³¹

In the letter, dated with the 21 August 1878 and addressed to Marquis Solsberg, we find that the Turks were in favor of moving the native population to Turkish territory. Derviş Paşa ordered to inform people that the Russians would enter Batumi on the 27th and that the ones, who wanted to emigrate, had to do so before. It was suggested that the ships would have to be used for transportation of the *muhajirs* and their belongings. After the defeat of the Turks, the word was spread in Batumi; if some people would not migrate at this stage, they would be able to do that at any time within the next three years. Before their migration, they would stay under the control of the Russians. The Turkish agents were actively working to assist the *muhajirs*.³²

This is the period when the Ottomans still believed that with the help of Britain they would gain the territories that were lost during the war. In the document created on 18 September 1878, one can find that Batumi was ready for evacuation and that the Russian army was stationed in Tsikhisdziri, planning to enter Artvin.³³ According to the documents, Ali Paşa insisted that the Russians were forcing Ajarians and Laz people to migrate to Turkish territories. On the other hand, the Turkish consul thought that the Russians were asking them to stay where they were.

Fact is that the migration of the locals to Turkish territories was advantageous for both sides. In this case, the Russians were able to use free land and the Turks would populate unsettled territories with people who in future would have a negative

attitude towards the Russians. General-adjutant Svjatopolk-Mirskij writes in his correspondence:

The *muhajir* movement is of great importance in sense of creating a stronger border with the Turks and improving our political situation in the Caucasus region [...] And for that we should do the following:

1. We should not prevent (in direct or indirect way) Muslims from migrating to Turkey.
2. The property left by the *muhajirs* must be transferred in possession of the government.

The most important thing is to enhance the settlements with Russians, otherwise we can forget about populating the Caucasus with the Russian people. It is a pity that the rich lands of Akhaltsikhe and Aleksandropol' were not populated by Russians, but by Armenians, Greeks, and migrants from Turkey. Mistakes like that should not be forgiven. We all know how advantageous it would be if we had Russians settled in different parts of the Caucasus. It is of great political, economic and military importance.

The Population should be formed under the principle of religion and it should be Christian. The majority must be represented by Russians. The existence of Russian settlements will make Turks willing to migrate to Turkey. For consideration, on the first stage, 18,000 Russians could be settled, also Greeks and Armenians evenly, but not exceeding 6,000 people.³⁴

According to the archive documents, the loss of Georgian provinces and defeat in war with Russia was a tragedy for Yusuf Paşa, the governor of Trabzon. He left the city of Batumi the day before it was ought to be handed to Russians. "I would become ill if I had to stay in the city for a few more days", said the Governor.³⁵

The British had a very practical approach to the idea of *muhajirism*. The creation of a Lazistan khanate was supposed to stop handing over Batumi to the Russians. Also, the great-power policy of Russia towards newly occupied territories was obvious.

Museum of Khariton Akhvlediani

The manuscripts preserved in the museum of Khariton Akhvlediani present information on the reasons of *muhajir* resettlement and the attitude of the tsarist authorities. One of the main goals of the Russian government was to evict the local population and to use the lands in order to create Russian settlements. Later, the Russian authorities created colonies with people of Russian, German and of other origins. They would eventually represent the necessary support to implement Russian policies in the future. According to Keskin Nijharadze, in the period of Governor Komarov's command, several generals (Gredevič, Safarovskij, Oganovskij, Eglevskij, etc) moved to Ajara to live there.³⁶

Local media

Periodicals of that time like “Droeba” [The Times], “Iveria”, “Golos” [The Voice], “Ozor” [The View], and magazines like “Iveria” and “Kvali” [The Mark] contain vast information on the events taking place during the conflict of 1877 – 1878, the reasons of *muhajir* resettlement and the true intensions of the tsarist government. In published materials of the local media, one can find interesting information on the regime of Porto-Franco, *muhajir* resettlement, social and economic conditions, the influence of religion, violation of human rights and private property, the policies of Russia and Turkey, the number of *muhajirs*, and the banquet organized in Tbilisi. It is worth mentioning that the policy of the Russian government towards the *muhajirs* was opposite to the attitude of the local population towards them.

Dispute on establishing the regime of Porto-Franco

Periodicals paid particular attention to the status of Batumi as a free trade city – Porto Franco. The publication describes the attitude of the Russian government, which was indecisive on that matter, which was disturbing for the other participants of the Congress of Berlin.³⁷ During the session held on 6 July, Gorčakov agreed to hand in the cities of Erzurum, Bayazıt, and Alashkert and declared Batumi as Porto-Franco, which was in the interest of all trade countries.³⁸

Muhajir resettlement – The social and economic situation as reflected in the periodical press

Periodical newspapers show the political, social, and economic situation after declaring Batumi as Porto-Franco. Different powers influenced the process of *muhajir* resettlement and tried to stimulate the process. Derviş Paşa ordered 160 horsemen to ride into the villages of Kobuleti and to force the locals to migrate to the territories of the Ottoman Empire.³⁹ According to one of the publications, they were targeting women and children first, because they knew that the men would not leave their families and eventually would migrate with them.⁴⁰ Several nobles were trying to stop this process. One of them was Nuri Tavdgiridze who informed Grigol Gurieli about this. Gurieli sent armed units to prevent the resettlement and according to the newspaper “Droeba” they managed to stop part of the population from migrating.⁴¹

Information presented in the newspaper “Obzor” shows that the majority of Ajara’s population was against the *muhajir* resettlement and in many cases it was acting on their own to prevent this process, which often resulted in local struggles with the Ottomans. Newspaper articles describe a similar conflict situation, involving the locals from Kobuleti and the Ottomans.⁴²

In one of the publications of the newspaper “Droeba” one can read that the Ottomans were secretly sending an agent or a group of agents, whose responsibility it was to support locals with money or other means in order to motivate them to move to the territories of the Ottoman Empire. Agents or groups of

agents would do anything in their power to organize as many people as possible for resettlement.⁴³ It is noteworthy that the Ottomans continued recruiting people for resettlement despite the fact that the government was represented by Russian officials. The newspaper "Droeba" writes:

The tough winter and the sudden rise in prices negatively reflect on the newly reunited Muslim part of Georgia; people have to cope with poor economic conditions and the Ottoman recruits are using this situation in their favor. They spread the word that god would punish them for living under the rule of Christians and that they would live ten times better in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the population from lower Ajara has moved to Turkey and many more are getting ready to do the same.⁴⁴

Similar information is presented in another publication: "Spiritual leaders from Istanbul are preaching to the people: Let's go to Turkey, you don't have anything here to hold on to, you won't survive under the rule of Russians."⁴⁵

The population used to live in very tough conditions under Ottoman rule. In 1876, people in the Ottoman Empire had to pay taxes for two years. Soon, the war started and as a result, a number of villages in Kobuleti district were burned down: Khutsubani, Kakuti, Kobuleti, Tsikhisdziri, Mukhaestate, Leghva, Sameba, Kvirike; the village of Gvara disappeared completely. Farms and houses were destroyed.⁴⁶ Giorgi Tsereteli writes: "Kobuleti lands on the side of Kintrishi were plundered. Instead of rich villages you will find houses burned down with only their chimneys left. It was impossible to stay in Khutsubani. The ones who did not want to starve to death had to leave this unfortunate place."⁴⁷ Under these circumstances the Ottomans were offering financial help and the Russians on the contrary were raising the taxes. Niko Nikoladze writes: "The people didn't even have time to heal after the war and the Russians were already collecting taxes raging from six to ten rubles while using the worst methods to do so."⁴⁸

The regime of Porto-Franco according to the periodical press

Public figure Giorgi Tsereteli in his publication warns the Russian authorities about the negative reforms implemented under the Porto-Franco regime: "Whatever peasants are planning to buy or sell makes them stand in lines just to get a stamp to get cleared from the customs, even for the fruits they grow in their own gardens they have to wait for an official approval to make a sale."⁴⁹ Sergej Meschi, another public figure, writes:

The people can't even buy clothes or other goods without having it stamped first. Before, people used to come to Batumi, buy Ottoman or French goods without having to fear that customs control would frisk them and confiscate everything on their way home. And now introducing this so-called Porto-Franco Regime destroyed everything.⁵⁰

Many other public figures or officials have published similar letters in the local media, we present one of them:

One Ajarian man was traveling with his horse from Batumi to his home. On the Kakhaberi customs checkpoint, soldiers searched him and found three handkerchiefs under the bridle. They arrested him for smuggling, confiscated the goods and made him pay five times the usual price of the handkerchiefs. Apparently it was not enough, and they also sold his horse. Even if he smuggled those goods, why did they make him sell the horse?⁵¹

That was one of the reasons, why the local nobles were demanding to appoint government officials who would respect the locals and their customs.⁵²

Violation of personal dignity

Local newspapers were periodically publishing materials describing the negative attitude of Russian officials towards the local population. Violation of the locals' personal rights and dignity became a common practice. According to the newspaper "Golos", even low-ranked Russian officials simply insulted and offended locals passing by, without having any reason to do so. Before the war, Russians and locals had the same goal – defeating the Ottomans, but afterwards many things changed. The community in general and the leading intellectuals of the society stood up to the humiliating actions of Russian officials.⁵³ The same issue is presented in the newspaper "Droeba": "We are not hearing anything else but insults and humiliation towards our people and our ancestors."⁵⁴ This type of attitude made many locals leave the country and migrate to the Ottoman Empire. For instance the local correspondent writes: "We decided to leave this place instead of staying."⁵⁵

Religion

As a result of Islamization, part of the population converted and became Muslims. However, the local media in its publications does not portray Islamic fanaticism as the reason for *muhajir* resettlement, as Christians were also resettled. One of the contributors of the newspaper writes a rhetorical question in his article: "Assume the Muslim fanatics are migrating, then what is happening with the 200 families of Christians who want to migrate from Artvin?"⁵⁶ The attitude of the Georgian population was well presented by the famous public figure Giorgi Tsereteli. He excludes Muslim fanaticism as the reason of the *muhajir* movement and instead names unemployment and the negative attitude of Russian officials as the reasons of it.⁵⁷ Some intellectuals on the other hand considered Islamic fanaticism as the main reason of *muhajir* resettlement, for instance Parmen Chanishvili.⁵⁸ Chanishvili used to write about the unbearable living conditions people had to live with after the resettlement. The main reason was to stop the Muslims in Georgia from migrating to the Ottoman Empire in the future.

Statistical migration data

Unfortunately we are not able to determine the exact number of *muhajirs*, but some publications and other materials give us an idea approximately what percentage of the population was leaving the villages. According to the newspaper "Golos", towards the end of 1879, out of 2,000 citizens of Kobuleti, only 500 were left.⁵⁹ The same year 800 families requested to leave the areas of lower Ajara and Machakhela. Some of the villages became completely deserted.⁶⁰

Conclusions

After the end of the Russo-Ottoman War, Ajara was reunited with Georgia. Therefore, the native population stayed on their own ethnical territory. They maintained their lifestyle and cultural habits, but religion-wise transformed which made them a minority in their own country. Religious differences became a precondition of alienation from the rest of the population.

Interviews conducted during the field expeditions, on the territories of modern Georgia and Turkey, show that many people still keep the memory of family members and the neighbors who became *muhajirs* and fled the country.

Documents from the archives, scientific materials and a memory of the conflict show the main factors that influenced and caused the migration of people from Georgia to the territories in Turkey: the Russians didn't recognize the local population as Georgians and considered them as Turks, justifying it with the differences in religious beliefs. In addition to that, there were social and economic factors, constant humiliation of the local population, the unbearable regime of Porto-Franco, political interests of Russia and Ottoman Empire, and others. The combination of these factors eventually caused the *muhajir* resettlement.

Unfortunately, the materials in our possession are not complete, thus we are unable to state the actual number of *muhajirs* who moved to the territories of Ottoman Empire, but considering the number of villages and settlements on the territory of modern Turkey, populated with the descendants of the *muhajirs*, one can assume that the initial flow of the migrants was much higher than the numbers one can find in official data.

¹ Respondent: Iskender Beridze, field expedition, Darchidzeebi, August 2012.

² Respondent: Munur Gultekin, field expedition, Bursa, August 2012.

³ Respondent: Nebile Surmanidze, field expedition, Tkhillnari, August 2012.

⁴ Respondent: Risa Putkaradze, field expedition, Tselati, August 2012.

⁵ Esin Dai, Elvie Selase/Sami Sanjaki, Akhaltsikhe-Kars Symposium at Tbilisi Ivane Javakhsishvili State University, 2001, 92p.

⁶ From Gurjistan – Georgia in Turkish language (comment by the authors).

⁷ Respondent: Summan Gumish, field expedition, August 2012.

⁸ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 416, file 3, case 819, 1, 2, 3.

⁹ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 229, file 1, case 48, 1.

¹⁰ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 416, file 3, case 163, 11.

¹¹ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 416, file 3, case 163, 27.

¹² Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 416, file 3, case 1172, 2, 4.

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- ¹³ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 416, file 3, 9-19.
¹⁴ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 7, file 4, case 1107, 2-5.
¹⁵ Droeba, 4, 28.05.1881.
¹⁶ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 229, file 1, case 30, 85.
¹⁷ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 229, file 1, case 30, 62; as well as Ajara State Museum Manuscript Fund, volume 640, 34-35.
¹⁸ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 229, file 1, case 30, 8.
¹⁹ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 7, file 1, case 2066, 43-45.
²⁰ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 7, file 3, case 1970, 7-9.
²¹ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 7, file 4, case 1293, 1-2.
²² Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 229, file 1, case 30, 80-84; as well as Russian Manuscript Fund of Khariton Akhvlediani Museum, volume 223, 1-4.
²³ Golos, 95, 19.04.1881.
²⁴ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 5, file 1, file 7089, 1-3.
²⁵ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 13, case 41, 55-63.
²⁶ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 229, file 1, file 12, 2-4.
²⁷ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 229, file 1, file 12, 2-4.
²⁸ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 5, file 1, case 622.
²⁹ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 12, file 2, case 263.
³⁰ Central State Historical Archive of Georgia, fund 545, file 1, case 191.
³¹ Central State Archive of Ajara Archive Administration, fund i-83, file 1, case 1, 348.
³² Ibid.
³³ Central State Archive of Ajara Archive Administration, fund i-83, file 1, case 1, 353.
³⁴ Central State Archive of Ajara Archive Administration, fund 416, file 3, 9, 12, 18, 19.
³⁵ Central State Archive of Ajara Archive Administration, fund i-83, file 1, case 1, 354-355.
³⁶ Manuscript Fund of Khariton Akhvlediani Museum, fund 247.
³⁷ Droeba, 129, 18.06.1878.
³⁸ Golos, 5-6, 10.07.1878.
³⁹ Droeba, 190, 11.09.1878.
⁴⁰ Obzor, 231, 22.10.1878.
⁴¹ Droeba, 190, 11.09.1878.
⁴² Obzor, 231, 22.10.1878.
⁴³ Droeba, 189, 08.09.1878.
⁴⁴ Droeba, 95, 25.04.1878.
⁴⁵ Droeba, 118, 28.05.1880.
⁴⁶ Golos, 102, 12.10.1879; Golos, 158, 18.11.1879.
⁴⁷ Droeba, 118, 28.05.1880.
⁴⁸ Droeba, 14, 25.01.1878.
⁴⁹ Droeba, 24, 11.02.1879.
⁵⁰ Droeba, 40, 18.03.1879.
⁵¹ Droeba, 245, 26.10.1883.
⁵² Droeba, 253, 03.12.1878.
⁵³ Golos, 95, 19.04.1881.
⁵⁴ Droeba, 4, 09.01.1881.
⁵⁵ Droeba, 151, 18.06.1880.
⁵⁶ Droeba, 131, 28.05.1880.
⁵⁷ Droeba, 24, 11.02.1879.
⁵⁸ Droeba, 190, 11.09.1878.
⁵⁹ Golos, 158, 18.11.1879.
⁶⁰ Droeba, 127, 30.05.1879; Droeba, 145, 02.07.1879.

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The Influence of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 on the Historical Memory of the North Caucasus Peoples

Abstract: *The article takes into consideration two tragic themes connected with the history of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878: the revolt of the mountaineers in the North-Eastern Caucasus and the process of muhajir emigration that led to the second powerful wave of migrations of North Caucasus peoples to the territories of Ottoman Empire. The interpretation of the memory of these events in Russian and national historiography is analyzed from the point of view of imperial, Soviet and modern traditions. Dominant elements in the collective memory of the North Caucasus mountaineers reflected in historical folklore and poetry are researched. Social problems of “memory” of these dramatic events are analyzed in unity with the politics of “oblivion” – the desire for overcoming the past.*

The history of the Russo-Ottoman War is connected with two very difficult and tragic themes – the revolt of the mountaineers in the North-Eastern Caucasus and the process of *muhajir* emigration that led to the second powerful wave of migrations of North Caucasus peoples to the territories of Ottoman Empire. These themes are object to heated emotional, sometimes uncompromising debates that appear both in scientific publications and in central and local mass media, websites and Internet forums.

The revolts of mountaineers on the territories of Dagestan and Chechnya during this period became the first fierce mass resistance of mountaineers after they were incorporated into the Russian Empire and the last serious national movement until the revolution in 1917. The majority of scientists thinks that according to the quantity of Russian active forces, artillery and brigades of local militia taking part in suppression of the revolt, it exceeded the largest operations during the period of mountaineers' revolts in the 1820 – 1850s. Jihad of 1877 was a mass movement. According to official Russian statistics in the North-Eastern Caucasus the revolt involved 394 villages and 11,642 representatives of mountain population took part in it in different forms.¹ Some modern historians consider these events in Chechnya and Dagestan in 1877 – 1878 to terminate the continuous military opera-

tions that accompanied the process of incorporating the North Caucasus into Russia.² The succession of tragic and heroic events of this large-scale and long-lasting incident (April 1877 – March 1878) was broadly and ambiguously reflected both in academic historical science and in the collective memory of the peoples of the North-Eastern Caucasus.

Scientists in different periods of Russian history were researching various aspects of the mountaineers' struggle on the territories of Chechnya and Dagestan. This struggle began at the height of the military conflict between the Russian and the Ottoman Empires. This enables to point to quite an extensive and varied Russian historiography concerning this question. Today it disposes a large basis of archival sources and documents, descriptions of the revolts and its participants, as well as an analysis of its origins, character, social and ideological bases and effects.

Part of the pre-revolutionary historiography, dominated by a traditional imperial point of view, aimed at the defense of state interests. It considered revolts of the mountaineers in 1877 – 1878 as a "rebellion of a knot of bandits" and an "outbreak".³ Analyzing reasons that led to the mass disorders in Chechnya and Dagestan, the representatives of this area of historiography paid attention at religious factors, pointing to an "extreme ignorance of the mountaineers and their fanatical attitude". They thought that these very circumstances were used by Turkish emissaries and Muslim clergy to distribute anti-Russian attitude. Some part of the Russian historiography representatives was critical about methods and means of state and administrative policy of the tsarist government in the North Caucasus.⁴ But only the extreme methods of its development were criticized. The author of "Essays about the Uprising of Mountaineers in the Tver' Region in 1877", published under the pen name A.S., pointed out the main reason of the "revolt in 1877": "It was based on widespread distrust of mountaineers in the administrative system, on constant concern for their rights granted during the conquest of the region and then taken away one by one."⁵

The Soviet historiography is characterized with frequent changes in its ideological attitude towards the Russian Empire's policy in the Caucasus and the struggle of the mountaineers. However, during this period ideological axioms were detected. They defined the struggle of the North Caucasus' mountaineers during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 as "anti-colonial", "anti-feudal" and a "national liberation" led against the "reactionary policy of Tsarism". At the same time and within the frameworks of the Marxist paradigm, the process of the Russian Empire's annexation of the Caucasus was considered a process of "progressive and voluntary amalgamation with Russia".⁶ Chapters about the mountaineers' struggle for independence were an obligatory part in school and university textbooks, thereby generalizing proceedings on the history of the North Caucasus' autonomous republics and regions.⁷

Modern historiography was developing during a difficult political situation connected to the appearance of ethnic conflicts and the formation of ideas about separatism and nationalism on the territories of the North Caucasus. It favored the increase of an interest in burning issues of regional history, among which was also the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878, the process of falsifying many historical facts, the appearance of patriotic and heroic aesthetics in the formation of the

mountaineers memory about the “liberation struggle”. It is no secret that one can retrace the interest of certain political forces in these developments.

For the national historiography the topic of the revolt in 1877 – 1878 is one of the most important in the history of North Caucasus. It is characterized by a close connection of traditions formed during the Soviet and modern periods on the one hand and Muslim literary and scientific traditions on the other hand. Extant pre-revolutionary local sources in the spirit of Islamic scientific traditions evaluate these both tragic and heroic events from the point of view of its participants and contemporaries. The memory of these papers’ authors preserved names of leaders, certain episodes of the “liberation struggle” in different places, actions of the tsarist administration against the rebels, as well as opinions concerning socio-economic and cultural reforms that affected the North Caucasus mountaineers during the second half of the 19th century. Most of these sources are stored in the Manuscripts Fund of the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography at the Russian Academy of Sciences’ Dagestan Scientific Center. In this context one should name Abdurazak Sogratlinskij, Ischak Urminskij, Ali Saltinskij and Gasan Guzunov as in 2001 handwritten texts of these authors were first translated from the Arabian into Russian and subsequently published by Dagestani historians.⁸

The writings of a well-known Dagestani scientist, poet, and religious leader of the late 19th – early 20th century, Gasan-Efendi Alkadary, who was accused of participating in the revolt and therefore exiled to the city of Spassk in the Tambov region, are certainly worth some attention. His work “Asari-Dagestan” [Historical Information about Dagestan], written in 1891 – 1892, sets the focus on the revolt of the mountaineers in 1877 – 1878.⁹ In an emotional description of events the author often shifts from prose to poetry. Alkadary poetically expresses his own attitude to the events in a letter to his son serving in St. Petersburg in the in-house escort of Emperor Aleksandr III. He calls the revolt a “disturbance” and “misfortune” that brought a lot of privations to ordinary people who “had lived better under the rule of the Tsar”. He also accuses the revolt’s spiritual leaders of short-sightedness. This work of Alkadary, written in the spirit of literary Muslim traditions, is not a fully-developed scientific paper. It contains a lot of poetry, personal emotions and thoughts of the author. The work of Alkadary was translated from the Azerbaijani language into Russian by his son Ali Hasanov in 1929 and was republished for the first time only in 1994. Dagestani scientists acknowledged him as the “standard of artistic and historical prose”.¹⁰ Another one of Alkadary’s work, the collection of poems “Divanal-Mamnun” (1913) written in Arabic, is devoted to the events of 1877 – 1878. It is stored in the Manuscripts Fund of the Institute of history, archeology and ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences’ Dagestan Scientific Center.

Among the papers about the conflict on the North-Eastern Caucasus written by national historians of the early Soviet period it is necessary to point at the works of a well-known Dagestani scientist and religious leader belonging to the Lak ethnic group – Ali Kajaev (Zamir-Ali, 1878 – 1943). Depending on the ruling political doctrine, the country was changing its attitude and the level of interest in his works. During the war on religious papers, the writings of Dagestani scientists about the life and works of Ali Kajaev¹¹ were withdrawn from the libraries in the late 1960s. Nowadays he is recognized as an eminent scientist and “one of the most brilliant representatives of Muslim education”.¹² Ali Kajaev collected important data about the

fortune of Dagestani and Chechen units taking part in the revolt in 1877, about the revolt leaders' biographies in which the author made an attempt to illustrate their motives – often connected to personal benefits and profits. However, the majority of the sources used by the author were either not discovered or lost altogether. The author tried to write down the details of the revolt according to descriptions of participants, witnesses and those who remembered the stories of their parents. Nowadays some materials about the revolt written in the Lak language are stored in the family archive of the scientist and were not brought into the scientific world yet. These materials are being translated by the grandson of the scientist, Il'jas Kajaev, the deputy head of the Lak ethnic movement. Murtazali Dugričilov, the editor-in-chief of the socio-political and cultural-historic magazine "Our Dagestan", publishes the translated materials on his own website.¹³ The website is open for debates and discussions where young people of the North Caucasus are actively participating. Such sources are important because they save the past in the historical memory of the people. But they require deep scientific perception and critical analysis.

Today, also the works of the well-known Dagestani scientist, writer and public figure Alibek Tacho-Godi (1892 – 1937) are of big interest. He found and published letters of the leaders of the revolt and commented upon them in detail.¹⁴ In the spirit of the then-ruling Soviet ideology Tacho-Godi considered the movement of the mountaineers as a national liberation and therefore progressive. This point of view was an axiom for the majority of Soviet historians until the end of the 1980s.

Since the 1990s, modern national historiography is interested in the topic of the struggle of North Caucasus mountaineers against Russian authority during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878. This can be easily seen in the large number of PhD-theses and scientific articles and monographs related to this topic, especially in Dagestan and Chechnya.¹⁵ The attention to prominent figures who took part in the revolt has increased. One more innovation is to include folklore into the sources used. However, the majority of these researches study this social and religious movement of the mountaineers in the spirit of Soviet historiographical tradition. They consider it as a national liberation struggle against the colonial policy of the tsar and as "an outstanding event in the history of the Dagestani and Chechen peoples". However, among North Caucasus scientists there are also those who emphasize the shariatic orientation of this movement without belittling its tragic character. In this respect the cultural-historical magazine "Achul'go", edited by the famous Dagestani historian Hadži Murad Donogo, is interesting with its publications.¹⁶

Furthermore this topic also attracts the attention of various regional both official and private websites which contain information about the revolt, photographs of its leaders, scientific and popular-press articles, documents and manuscripts.¹⁷ There are a lot of scientific and local historical materials about the revolt and its participants on websites of Dagestani and Chechen villages which were involved in the conflict of 1877 – 1878 and which give much attention to this episode of their history. For example, the website of the Auchovskij area presents the revolt as the struggle of the mountainous Auchovskij villages against tsarist authorities for the right to come back to their former places of residence at the mountains' foothills and in the valleys – naming it "the war for our villages".¹⁸ It was led by one of the local inhabitants of Jangalbij. However, it is not possible that this interpretation of the

events denies a connection of the revolt to the Russo-Ottoman War. The section "Chechen Encyclopedia" of this Chechen website includes the biography of the mountaineers' struggle's main leader Alibek-Hadži within the series "The Life of Great People". The notion "The Revolt of Alibek-Hadži" is widely used for identifying the events of 1877 – 1878.

Very often local websites publish an emotional speech of the famous Ossetian Muslim political figure Ahmed Calikov (1882 – 1928), who emigrated from Soviet Russia in 1921. He made this speech on 28 April 1927 at a solemn event of the People's Party of Free Mountaineers of the Caucasus' Prague group on the subject of the 50th anniversary of the Caucasus mountaineers' revolt.¹⁹ According to him, it was "the most serious national liberation movement of the Chechen and Dagestani masses", while he called its participants "martyrs of mountain freedom" whose courage showed "features of legendary knighthood, trained by the age-old mountain way of life". As an example he states a tragic episode connected to the assault of a Chechen village by the Russian army in the summer of 1877. This incident can also be found in Russian pre-revolutionary sources which explain it with a "fanaticism of the Mahometans". Some families (25-30 people) didn't leave their villages and on suggestions to surrender and requests to lead women and children out of there, they "decided to die defending themselves" and eventually answered: "Our home is our grave. Our families must die with us".

It is notable that nowadays Chechen youth websites tell about the *Nach* code of honor (*nochčalla*) which includes all moral, ethical and aesthetic standards of Chechen conduct, giving as an example one particular mountaineer custom, namely "hospitality", in an episode of the events of 1877. During a siege laid by Russian division to the rebellious village Machkety, General Smekalov appealed to the elders and requested to turn in one of the revolt's leaders called Umma hiding there. In case of refusal he threatened to "destroy the village with all property and crops and to kill or exile the inhabitants to Turkey". The elders answered him in a letter: "Oh General! You can demand from people only what is possible. You know how hard it was for us to say goodbye to the graves of our ancestors and to our native land. But we cannot give up Umma. He was our guest".²⁰ The village was burnt down. This episode was described by the pre-revolutionary researcher Pavel Kovalevskij who considered this event hostility towards Russian authority and unwillingness to give up the leader of the revolt.²¹

The topic of the revolt of 1877 – 1878 also appears on anti-Russian websites. One example is the Chechen-Georgian website "Adamalla"²² which pretends to give a so-called "objective interpretation and analysis of events on the Caucasus". It was established in 2010 by a Chechen emigrant who lives in the USA, the supporter of Chechnya's independence Al'bert Digaev. The revolt of the mountaineers in 1877 – 1878 is among the most actively discussed historical topics on the forum. Participants of the forum describe this event in a spirit of anti-Russian propaganda as a "Russian-Chechen war" and its leaders are called "heroes fighting colonizers".

An analysis of the websites' materials enables us to detect a general tendency in the perception process of the conflict's (1877 – 1878) history, inscribed in the social memory of the North-Eastern Caucasus peoples as a "national liberation" struggle during which its participants are represented as "heroes, victims and martyrs".

Nowadays the historical memory of the mountaineers mainly shows characteristics of heroic and patriotic aesthetics supported by local authorities and businessmen who finance both the publishing and republishing materials on the North Caucasus' history and the building of new museums and monuments. In the Salanib area of Dagestan's Gunibskij District, on the exact spot where the 14 "bravest and most honorable revolt leaders"²³ were executed according to the decision of the Russian Empire's court, a memorial mosque was built. This monument is part of a big memorial complex. It also includes the tower of Gazi-Muchammad, the first imam (1795 – 1832) and founder of muridism, as well as a monument to the events of 1741 when during the battle of Andalal a united army of mountaineers turned out victorious over the army of the Persian ruler Nadir-Shah. According to the information on the Gunibskij District's official website, "Thousands of pilgrims from all places of Dagestan come here to venerate their proud and brave ancestors." This historical complex was planned and financed by Dagestani businessman Gamzat Gamzatov, great grandson of the fourth Dagestani imam Muchammad-Hadži Sogratlinskij. In 2009, the museum of Gasan-Efendi Alkadarskij was opened in the village Alkadar.²⁴ Materials for this museum were collected by his descendants, while the building itself was financed by the head of administration of the Sulejman Stal'skij District of Dagestani Imam Jaraliev.

In the interpretation of many events in the North Caucasus' history during the Soviet period one can see a quite obvious tendency of it being dependent on different political powers. We emphasize that such a long-lasting memory about the conflict that took place on the territory of the complex North Caucasus more than 135 years ago may have influence and still influences the motives and intensifications of the conflicts nowadays. A rich national source base and memorial places are valuable not only because of their potential to preserve these tragic events in the memory of local descendants but also because of the opportunity to understand heated discussions in the North Caucasus' societies about the past and the present. The reality of that time was also that the 1st Dagestani Cavalry Irregular Regiment was suppressing the revolt of 1877 – 1878 together with the Russian Empire's army. In November 1877 the village Sogratl' of the Gunibskij District was taken by storm with its assistance and ruined to the ground. The regiment was granted with the Standard of St. George and many horsemen were decorated with medals.²⁵ The irregular forces were composed by mountaineers of the North Caucasus and were raiding the enemy's rear, reconnoitered, and heroically fought on both fronts of the Russo-Ottoman War. Among them were the 2nd and the 3rd Dagestani Cavalry Regiments and the Chechen Cavalry Division that was granted the standard of St. George for bravery and military valor.²⁶ Modern scientists point at the active participation of North Caucasus mountaineers in the Russian regular army and Cossacks units during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878, comprising more than 20,000 people. It's necessary to emphasize that in the 1870s the majority of the North Caucasus mountaineers had a tendency to their spiritual nature: They began to understand the necessity of focusing on Russia.²⁷

The events of 1877 made an indelible mark on the folklore and poetry of the North-Eastern Caucasus' peoples. Historical folklore, the collective work of a people, reflects in artistic form not only events of the tragic past. It also reflects certain

feelings, the mood and its thoughts. The collective memory of the mountaineers holds images in heroic, historical songs and songs of "captivity" or "prison songs". Since recently North Caucasus researchers have begun to collect and comprehend this rich folklore from the point of view of philology and ethnic music.

Touching Avar and Dargin heroic folk songs, songs-lamentations and "prison"-songs were translated into the Russian language by Dagestani scientists and were included to the "Anthology of Dagestan Poetry".²⁸ The appearance of "prison" songs is connected to the consequences of the revolt for its participants and of those who solely sympathized with them. Many of them were executed or exiled with their families to the central provinces of the Russian Empire and to Siberia. Dagestani and Chechen songs-poems included into their song vocabulary such notions as penal servitude, prison, and exile. Among them are the Chechen songs "Song of a State Convict", "To a Bird", Lak Song "Why is there Dust on the Road?" and others. In one of his poems, late 19th century Dagestani poet Abdul-Kerim Baratov wrote: "In Dagestan all happy people were killed, lucky people were hung but woe betides those who survived and were exiled to Siberia forever."²⁹

Dagestani historian Gasan Orazhev published in the magazine "Achul'go" texts of the songs of southern (Kajtagiskij) Kumyks that show different sides of the mountaineers' revolt.³⁰ Texts translated into the Russian are supplied with detailed comments and explanations of some names and events. Among them are: "Song about Alibek Hadži" and "Song of a Bašly Inhabitant" (or "Song about Mahdi"). They mention certain names of leading participants of the revolt in Southern Dagestan – Akaj-kadi, Umalat, Mechti-bek, Amirbekni Agaj. In the songs one can clearly see respect and sympathy with the "heroes" of these tragic events.

The poetic protest against national oppression "The Revolt of 1877"³¹, written by the famous Lezghin poet Etim Ėmin (1838 – 1884), is still enrooted in national memory, and learning it is a part of the school curriculum for Dagestani literature. Dagestani poet Temirbulat Bejbulatov (1879 – 1942) dedicated a poem entitled "Song of Gazikumuchskij Revolutionary Heroes"³² to the events, sticking to a popular terminology during Soviet times. It emotionally describes sufferings of those "heroes who were fighting for the people's will and were forced to go to Siberia forever".

As we know, during the revolt tsarist troops cruelly dealt with rebels destroying disobedient villages. The center of the revolts in Southern Dagestan – the village of Bašly – was also destroyed in November 1877 and its inhabitants were resettled to three different places (Aleksandrskent, Džavankent and Kapkajkent). Certain events of this revolt stuck in the minds of Bašly's elder inhabitants for a long time. Their memories were eventually written down and published by the famous Dagestani historian Sakinat Gadžieva. In 1949 she wrote down memories of the Bašlykent inhabitant Umar Magomedov (75 years old) who, relying on stories of his mother, kept in his memory especially one tragic episode: When all people still alive were hiding in the forests there was one young madman – "Abdal", also known as Gamzatta – staying in the village and who didn't want to hide because he thought that no one would touch him. However, he got killed by soldiers. Inhabitants of old Bašly village dug a grave for him and buried him on that very place where the young man was killed. Today Bašly inhabitants hold him sacred, visit his grave and distribute alms (*sadaqat*) there.³³

Unfortunately, during this conflict in the North-Eastern Caucasus both sides acted very cruelly. The famous Dagestani specialist for local history Bulač Gadžiev wrote down a history connected with the name of a bridge which is situated in Dagestan not far from Gunib and connects the banks of the river Karakojsu.³⁴ The bridge, 79 meters high, connects the banks of the Karakojsu, linking Dagestan's piedmont and mountains. In the local people's memory there are three names for this bridge – Georgievskij (after grand duke Georgij Michajlovič who headed the 81st Apšeronskij Regiment), Saltinskij (after the name of the nearest village) and Red Bridge. At the end of summer 1877 a dramatic event happened there: During the fight for the bridge some soldiers guarding the ford were thrown down into the river by rebellious mountaineers. This event was reflected in the Avar song "Saltinskij Bridge" which tells that the ground there was red because of the blood. Finally the name "Red Bridge" was imprinted during the Civil War (1918 – 1920). In 1919, during the fighting for the bridge, 160 Cossacks who took the side of the White Guards were thrown down from that bridge.

Thus, an analysis of contemporary national academic scientific sources and extant folklore records enables one to detect dominants in the Dagestani and Chechen people's memory about events connected with the large-scale revolt of 1877 – 1878:

- It is one of the significant chapters in the history of the North-Eastern Caucasus peoples.
- It is understood a national liberation struggle against the Russian Empire.
- Participants of the revolt are considered national heroes.
- It is a tragic event connected with the Russian authorities' policy.
- Taking into consideration that the history of mountain peoples does not include too many events, we can observe a heightened attention to such critical historical moments.

After the suppression of the revolt and the end of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878, the Russian Empire's strategy of governance policy in the Caucasus had changed towards a stricter state control over the activities of regional authorities.³⁵ Administrative and territorial reorganizations were carried out in the North Caucasus. The basis of these reorganizations was the enlargement of mountain villages especially on the territories of the North-Western Caucasus. Military officials were appointed to high administrative positions and this considerably strengthened the stands of military authorities in the Caucasus region's governance. The activities of the Russian authorities were accompanied by violence of self-government regulations of the North Caucasus mountain societies, an intensification of the regime's new policy and repressive measures. The so-called "vicious members of the mountain societies" were exiled to Siberia and to other internal territories, while free movement of mountaineers was forbidden and the right for freedom to choose the village's administration and clergy was violated. As a result, the process of worsening the deep contradictions between representatives of the Russian administration and mountain inhabitants intensified. It became apparent in different forms of disobedience and resistance on the part of the mountaineers: starting with stealing,

robberies, plunders, going to the usage of weapons and the resumption of *muhajir* ideas. However, it's necessary to point out that such cardinal changes in the 1880s engaged all aspects of life in the Russian Empire itself and were connected with the national strategy of Aleksandr III – the “policy of counter-reforms”.

A dramatic consequence of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 and the revolt of the North Caucasus mountaineers was the second large-scale wave of emigration of North Caucasus peoples to the Ottoman Empire. This process, the so-called *muhajirstvo*, was initiated during the Caucasus War (1817 – 1864) when a high level of internal migrations, often with use of violent actions on the part of the Russian administration, could be observed. Under the conditions of wartime, migration of local inhabitants was directed from the highlands to the plains and was accompanied by the colonization of strategically important territories by Cossacks and Russians. As far as contemporary researchers are concerned, just that very areas of mass internal migrations in war time – i.e. Kuban, Kabarda, Ossetia and Ingushetia – later on became centers of *muhajirstvo*.³⁶ It's necessary to point out that two waves of North Caucasus *muhajirstvo* had a number of common causes. So it's essential to study them in close connection. In the public awareness of the North Caucasus' native population, these events are connected to very painful memories until now. Hundreds of thousands of North Caucasus mountaineers left their historical homeland as a result of different periods of the so-called *muhajirstvo* – many of them died of starvation and diseases during migration. Severe traumas were the result of this process. Painful memories supported by national historiography, mythologemes and folklore passed on from one generation to another gave rise to a high emotional tension of contemporary disputes over this question. It is characterized by a close interweaving of science, politics and emotions. For the majority of national historians and representatives of national organizations, the memory about the process of *muhajirstvo* is connected with great-power chauvinism of the Russian Empire and only with negative aspects of the Russian administration's activities that were concentrated against certain ethnos and intentionally promoted genocide. Researches and publications of pre-revolutionary authors influence the historical collective memory of North Caucasus people a lot. These papers contain emotional descriptions of sufferings and the hardship of mountaineers during their emigration to the Ottoman Empire after the Caucasus War. Among them are:

- The famous memoirs of Russian officer Ivan Drozdov who describes the conditions of the mountaineers waiting for their turn to depart to the Ottoman Empire: “*Now in the mountains of the Kuban area you can meet a bear, a wolf but not a mountaineer [...] The whole north-western shore of the Black Sea was full of corpses and dying people between whom there were small oases of barely alive people waiting for their turn to depart to Turkey.*”³⁷
- The Russian military historian and general Rostislav Fadeev wrote a report called “Mountaineers' eviction case”, in which he estimated the psychological conditions of the Caucasus' native inhabitants: “*The entire current Trans-Kuban native population represents an intimidated crowd which can be given any direction by the government [...]*”³⁸

- The description of the Novorossiysk harbor by the famous researcher of the Caucasus Adolf Berger (or Adol'f Berže, Adolph Bergé): "Rainy and cold season, almost absolute absence of means of subsistence and rife and rampant typhus and smallpox epidemic made the mountaineers' plight desperate."³⁹

These materials are republished in the republics of the North Caucasus; fragments with the most colorful descriptions of the mountaineers' sufferings and hardship are published on Internet websites generating heated debates in online discussion boards. The pre-revolutionary Russian historiography had stored extensive masses of material about this dramatic chapter in the history of the mountain people – the deportation to the Ottoman Empire. The majority of the authors expressed their sympathy with the victims among the mountaineers and their misery as the result of displacement. But in a spirit of imperial traditions they also attempted to justify the policy of the Russian administration with a military-strategic suitability. Analyzing the reasons of mountaineers' mass emigration, pre-revolutionary researchers cast the responsibility for the tragedy on the local feudal elite and Muslim clergy, as well as on the propaganda of Ottoman, English and French emissaries.

As an official historian of the Caucasus War and as one of the first researchers of the *muhajirstvo* question, Adolf Berger admitted that the mass migration of mountaineers was a catastrophe with which the lapse of time inevitably should have led to the loss of historical and characteristic peculiarities of nations. However, he was certain that:

If a peaceful conversion to civility does not happen, it's not us who should be blamed but the Turkish government and European diplomacy. For ages they were inspiring the mountaineers that the powerful sultan, the supreme representative of Islam, would never leave them without their help and European states in their interests would not allow Russia to possess the Caucasus [...].⁴⁰

In the opinion of the pedagogue, journalist and principal of the Tiflis Classical School Aleksandr Lilov, full responsibility for this tragedy had to be borne by the mountaineers themselves because "they incurred all the hardship connected with their migration."⁴¹ Analyzing the process of the mountaineers' deportation, Rostislav Fadeev in his analytical report suggested "protecting the mountaineers with strict order" against oppression of Cossacks and troops and to officially announce:

That the government doesn't consider the deportation of Circassians to Turkey as useful anymore but that it wants to strengthen the welfare of the rest [...] if they could make sure of that, then, no doubt, the tormented remains of the Adyghe nation very soon would become useful and peaceful citizens of Russian State.⁴²

In pre-revolutionary historiography there were attempts to critically approach the reasons for the mountaineers' mass migration. An example is the work of the famous journalist and representative of a Russian liberal intelligentsia Jakov Abramov, entitled "Caucasus Mountaineers" that was published for the first time in

the first issue of the literary-political magazine "Delo" in 1884. The author tries to examine the reasons that triggered off the mass migration of the mountaineers and describes the tragic situation of the migrants in the Ottoman Empire. In Abramov's opinion, the administration methods of the Russian government in the North Caucasus and the colonization of mountainous areas by Cossacks led to the intensification of robberies and raids by mountaineers.⁴³ The discrepancy in opinions about the *muhajirstvo* question also existed between officials of the tsarist administration – spanning from radical, connected with the mass resettlement of the mountaineers, to conservative, reflecting the necessity to preserve some of their former lands for mountaineers to avoid revolts and protests.

In Soviet historiography the topic of *muhajirstvo* was considered very cautiously. Because of the official axiom "about the friendship of nations" and "voluntarily joining Russia" the study of mass migration of mountaineers was under unpublished prohibition. This fact explains the small number of local works on this topic published during this period by North Caucasus scientists.⁴⁴ Soviet experts on the Caucasus unanimously agreed that the process of *muhajirstvo* was "a Caucasus-wide misfortune, a tragedy for mountaineers".⁴⁵ They tend to seriously analyze the socio-economic and political situation in mountaineer societies, which enabled them to draw the conclusion that "the deportation of the mountaineers was the easiest way to appease the Caucasus, which is why the Russian government did not protest against it."⁴⁶ The first fundamental work on the problems of the Caucasus' *muhajirstvo* was written by the famous Abkhazian scientist Georgij Dzidzarija. In his paper the author in detail addresses the socio-politic and economic situation in mountaineer societies including the periods before and after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878.⁴⁷ Ideological guidelines adopted during the Soviet period affected the interpretation of this "precarious topic" when summarizing works on the history of the North Caucasus. Some of them give a laconic description of the *muhajirstvo* process by using only a small number of archival sources.⁴⁸ Other works on the ethnic history of the Dagestani, Chechen and Ingush peoples did not cover this topic at all.⁴⁹

Under the policy of *glasnost'* (lit. "publicity") it became possible to hold a national, theoretical and practical conference in October 1990 in Nal'čik (Kabardino-Balkaria). The conference was devoted to the "national liberation struggle of the peoples of the North and West Caucasus in the 19th century and problem of *muhajirstvo*".⁵⁰ For the first time participants of the conference publicly expressed their opinion that "the notion *muhajirun* doesn't correspond to the contents of the social phenomenon – i.e. the deportation of the mountaineers" and that the "aggressive colonialist policy of Russian tsarism in the region favored subjugation, genocide and deportation of the majority of the Adyghe people and parts of other nations." Scientists appealed to the parliaments of the North Caucasus republics with the request to "assist and help foreign Adyghees in every possible way and other compatriots in their desire to return to their historical motherland."

Since the 1990s one can observe an increased interest of the North Caucasus' scientists and publicists in the problems of North Caucasus *muhajirstvo* and the diaspora. An example is the high number of monographs and theses written at universities.⁵¹ However, very often the perception of the *muhajirstvo* topic is connected not only with scientific research but also with excessive emotionality and

politics. It is a peculiarity mainly of the Circassian (Adyghe) national movement that has actively influenced its activities in the North Caucasus and abroad. Its leaders attract the attention to two main topics in their ideology – the genocide of Circassians in the Russian Empire in the end of 19th century and the repatriation of the Adyghe diaspora to their historical motherland in the North-Western Caucasus. Nowadays we observe active discussions on the topic of the native population's migration from the Caucasus to the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th century in both Russian and foreign mass media. Furthermore, a serious Internet project called "Migration of Circassians to the Ottoman Empire in documents of Russian archives" has been initiated.⁵² The aim of the project is to acquaint both a wide audience and professional historians with documents of the archival funds of the Russian Federation, as well as to make documents that haven't been published before available for scientific research.

The documents disclose policy of the Russian government in respect to the colonization of the North Caucasus contains information about the building of new settlements, fortifications and Cossacks villages, about the relations with the native population, and about the process of the mountaineers' migration to the Ottoman Empire by agreement with the Ottoman government. They also contain statistical data about the quantity of Circassians who migrated and who remained in Russia, information about death by starvation, epidemics, natural disasters, about measures of Russian military and civil authorities to minimize the amount of victims, and also about the deportation of mountaineers to the Ottoman Empire. A popular opinion among Russian scholars is that these materials would reveal that the Russian Empire's authorities did not have the aim to exterminate the native population in the Caucasus. They were also not forced to flee from their homeland and now Russian ground. However, the annexation and the subsequent Russian rule and authority over the Caucasus were unbearable for many people inhabiting this region. The refusal to take the Russian Empire's citizenship triggered a massive emigration wave, mostly to the Ottoman Empire once again – a process known as *muhajirstvo*.

Wide territories of the Ottoman Empire were therefore designated for the resettling of the North Caucasus mountaineers:⁵³ on the rebellious Balkans – as a counterbalance to the local Slavs also in hindsight of another war with the Russian Empire; in the Eastern provinces of Asia Minor – to restrain Armenians and Kurds; in the Damascus province (Palestine) – against Bedouins, Alawites and Druzes; and in the Mediterranean – against Greeks. In addition, the *muhajirs* (mainly Dagestani and Chechens) were settled near Istanbul to guard the capital and the strategic roads leading there. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the war had a direct impact on the emigrants from the North Caucasus. The resolutions of the Treaty of San Stefano, the Treaty of Berlin and the Conference of the European States that took place in Philippopolis/Plovdiv in November 1878 obliged the Ottoman government to move the North Caucasus *muhajirs* ("Circassians") to the empire's inner areas – mostly to Anatolia and the Middle East – within two years and not to use irregular "Circassian" forces at the frontier.⁵⁴ According to the researches of Fasich Baderchan, a descendant of *muhajirs*, since that very moment the Ottoman authorities initiated the second resettlement of the Caucasus peoples; this time mainly within the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁵ It was caused by a change in plans of the Ottoman

authorities concerning the migrants from the Caucasus. They were no longer needed as an additional force in war with Russia. It was planned to create police forces out of the North Caucasus *muhajirs* for suppressing inner unrests and for protecting strategically important areas of the country. A new resettlement of the mountaineers, who were in distress, led to the initiation of numerous criminal groups that were mainly engaged in robbing the local Christian population, slave trade and also to widespread deaths of starvation and illnesses, due to the unusual surroundings and climate of their new home.

It's necessary to point out that at the same time the Russian administration was carrying out a "properly conceived Russian colonization of the Caucasus" quite toughly. An example is the forced colonization of the Kuban Cossacks; an effort to subordinate their economy and their way of life to certain rules. Several experts emphasized the complex reasons for the mass migration of the mountaineers, as the rough social phenomenon was lasting for half a century.⁵⁶ These reasons are connected with various changes in economic and social habits of life in the region, as well as the loss of the local military nobility's and the Muslim clergy's legal privileges.

Russian historiography usually defines six stages of *muhajirstvo* that lasted from the late 1850s until the 1920s (the same periodization characterizes internal migrations and the Russian colonization of the North Caucasus). Every period is connected to a certain strategy of migration policy by the Russian authorities, a certain amount of emigrants and the respective direction of the migration flows. However, it's necessary to point out that the North Caucasus mountaineers' collective memory doesn't include such stages of the *muhajirstvo*. In this collective memory of the region's national minorities it is a single course of all tragic events of emigration that can be observed during the period between the Caucasus War and the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878.

During the first years, the mass *muhajirstvo* of the Adyghes was hailed by the Russian government. It thought of it as potential rebels leaving the empire. But over time, the mass departure began to arouse concerns. Vast territories of the Caucasus' Black Sea region became deserted and the rest of the inhabitants came up with the saying: "Now even a woman may walk from Suchum-kale to Anapa without being afraid to run into a man."⁵⁷ However, by the 1870s both empires faced numerous difficulties caused by the process of the mountaineers' mass migration.

Before the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 some supreme military and civil officials became opponents of *muhajirstvo*. The order of Caucasus Viceroy Michail Nikolaevič "About the prohibition of further mass migration of the mountaineers"⁵⁸ was issued but the process of *muhajirstvo* continued under the pretext of pilgrimages to Mecca or illegally about what Russian authorities were worried a lot. In February 1876 the Russian ambassador to Istanbul Nikolaj P. Ignat'ev sent another alarming note to the Caucasus Mountain Administration "about the insufficiency of control at the border and about the high number of people who find an opportunity to come to Turkey without passports and permission of the authorities."⁵⁹ Because of this fact a high number of mountaineers continued to migrate escaping official restrictions.

Rumors came up that a universal military conscription, mass baptisms and the conversion to Cossack units would be the consequence of the Russian advance

in the Caucasus, which played an important role in this process. The ethnographical essay "Among the mountaineers of the North Caucasus", written by one of the first Dagestani educators of the second half of the 19th century Hadži-Murad Amirov, describes the tragic picture of the preparations and eventual departure of the family of his fellow-countryman Bachand-Ali to the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁰ According to the author, this materially secured family had three sons. The head of the family was a handyman, producing saddles, wooden trays, carriages, boxes and so on. Rumors about the universal military conscription made him worried about his sons and led to their decision to migrate to the Ottoman Empire. Being a first-hand eyewitness of this event, the author managed to reproduce the drama of the farewell scene. On that day the inhabitants of the village didn't work, everyone hastened to make farewell visits to the Bachand-Ali family. Women brought food for the journey, men gave money. All inhabitants, young and old, saw this family leave wailing loudly. It's necessary to point out that Hadži-Murad Amirov himself migrated to the Ottoman Empire in the same year and at the age of 19, where he received the opportunity to actively participate in his new home country's socio-political life. He became famous as Murad-bej Mizandži as he began to issue the newspaper "Mizan" ("Scales") in 1886, in which he was publishing his opinions that didn't coincide with the official policy of the Ottoman authorities.⁶¹

Before the war, the emigration of North Caucasus mountaineers was influenced by rumors and promises of the Ottoman emissaries about a rich and quiet life under the rule of the Sultan, about tax remissions and monetary allowances. The Ottoman authorities incited by the British Empire, that had its own interests in the region, were strengthening its army with North Caucasus mountaineers. In 1876 a "Circassian" cavalry was used by the Ottomans to crush the Bulgarian uprising. For the war that began on 12 April 1877, the Ottoman authorities formed subversive detachments out of migrants from the Caucasus at the borders with Russia. It was also planned to send up to 80,000 Caucasians to the Ottoman-Russian front.⁶²

The mood of the mountaineers was strongly influenced by those representatives who had already settled down in the Ottoman Empire and representatives of local elites, i.e. the military nobility and Muslim clergy. Many of them had been in the service of the Russian administration and then managed to make a brilliant career in the Ottoman Empire. An example is Musa Kunduchov – major-general in Russian service, ethnic Ossetian, Muslim by religion. Being the superintendent of the military in the Ossetian and Chechen districts and having distinct knowledge of the Caucasus administration in 1864, he provoked some Chechen, Ingush and Muslim Ossetian people to migrate to the Ottoman Empire in 1865.⁶³ The majority of these migrants had a very tragic destiny. In modern Turkey there are many descendants of Caucasus *muhajirs* who remember all details of their ancestors' tragedy. Ossetian *muhajirs* composed a very sorrowful song about these sad events – "The song about those who moved to Istanbul".⁶⁴ While calling Musa Kunduchov a "cursed general", in this song they accuse him of false promises to deprive them of "all misfortunes". It is notable that during the last Russo-Ottoman War, Kunduchov was fighting against Russia, commanding the Ottoman division that was stationed in the Kars fortress, and after the war he was in command of the garrison of the Erzurum fortress. After his emigration, Kunduchov made a swift military career and

obtained the title Paşa in the rank of *mirliv*. The son of Musa Kunduchov, Bekir Sami-bej Kunduch took advantage of his father's opportunities and became the minister of foreign affairs of the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁵

Dagestani *muhajir* Muhammad-Pazil Davuddilav (1858 – 1916) also deserves attention. He was born in the Dagestani village Čoch while his father had been an Avar *uzden* fighting for Šamil'.⁶⁶ Although he had a brilliant military career (officer of the Life Guards of the Caucasus troops of Emperor Aleksandr II), just before the Russo-Ottoman War, in 1876 Muhammad offered his resignation and moved to Istanbul forever. At the beginning of the war he – Fazıl-paşa – was one of the youngest commanders of the Ottoman Empire, aide-de-camp of Sultan Abdülhamid II, deputy commander of the 3rd cavalry brigade of North Caucasus *muhajirs*. The commander of the North Caucasus *muhajirs* brigade was a close friend of Muhammad, the second son of Imam Šamil', Gazimuhammad Šamil' (1832 – 1904). Secret letters of the two friends to their relatives in Dagestan contained appeals to revolt against the Russians. *Ulemas* and *sufis* from Dagestan who found shelter on Ottoman territory were sending letters calling on Muslims to migrate to the Ottoman Empire via pilgrimages (*hajj*) and traders coming back home.

It is notable that mountaineers equally keep in their memory the names of fellow-countrymen who were fighting for Russian interests as members of the mountaineer militia, but also of those who were actively fighting the Russian Empire on the side of the Ottomans. In the Dagestani village Čoch there is still an estate of Mamalasul Mamalava, one of the first Dagestani colonels of the tsarist army. Mamalava's son Magomed, who served the Russian Emperor, was deadly wounded during the Battle of Kars and captured by his fellow-countryman Muhammad-Pazil Davuddilav. Fazıl-paşa buried him with honors and conveyed the following words to his father: "Mamalav Muham and I have the same motherland; we are from the same village. There is nothing more to say."⁶⁷ In this very village there is a mosque built at the expense of Imam Šamil''s son Gazimuhammad. Local history expeditions for the renewal of the estate and the mosque in the Čoch village are held with the assistance of the "Republican Center of Civil and Patriotic Education of Children and Youth", going by the motto "Let's preserve the present for the future!"

Information on a famous Chechen public figure, the writer and publicist Abuzar Ajdamirov (1933 – 2005)⁶⁸ are of big interest. During Soviet times his works about the Caucasus War of the 19th century were prohibited. He wrote about cases where mountaineers were serving in the Russian army and about those who were fighting on the Ottoman side and had them have conversations about where it was better to serve. It's interesting that the author mentioned cases where during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 mountaineer *muhajirs* were coming to the headquarters of the Russian troops and asked for permission to come back to their historical motherland.

The mass deportation of North-Eastern Caucasus mountaineers – participants and supporters of the revolt of 1877 – 1878 – to internal regions of the Russian Empire began after the suppression of the revolt. Many of them escaped from Central Russia and illegally went to the Ottoman Empire. The exact route of the escapees is mostly unknown. We can assume that like the other illegal emigrants from the now Russian Eastern Caucasus they came to the Ottoman Empire by land, through Car (also Dzhary) and from there across the Russian-Ottoman border in

the mountains – to Kars and Muş where after 1877 villages of Dagestani *muhajirs* were founded. In 1892, Dagestani Sheikh and Arabist Muhammad Osman Dagestani from the village Kikuni, exiled by the tsarist administration to the Saratov region for his active participation in the revolt of 1877, found his way to the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁹ Together with other *muhajirs* from Dagestan who had left Russia after the defeat of the revolt he founded the settlement Almaly (now Güney). Nowadays it is the largest settlement of Dagestani *muhajirs* in Turkey and is unofficially called “Minor Dagestan”.

During the revolt of mountaineers in 1877 – 1878, among Russian military and civil officials again appeared supporters of the mass emigration of North Caucasus mountaineers. A very good example is the analytical note of Nikolaj Butkevič (November 1877), who aimed at giving rise to a public discussion “about the necessity of a complete disarmament and a mass deportation of the Caucasus’ Muslims to Turkey”.⁷⁰ Heated debates on this issue took place among the officials of the Caucasus’ administration, continuing even after the end of the war. There was a particularly high number of supporters of the mountaineers’ deportation among the administration of the Kuban region, where the process of *muhajirstvo* was the most active. However, in the early 1880s, mountaineers of the Kuban region tried to migrate to the Ottoman Empire because of rumors about their conscription and conversion to Orthodoxy. The Russian administration faced the problem of settling people in the newly abandoned lands, which increased the number of opponents to the project of the mountaineers’ deportation.

In 1885 new “rules for the mountaineers’ migration” were adopted. They introduced serious changes to the migratory legislation in the North Caucasus.⁷¹ This document lifted restrictions for a voluntary emigration of mountaineers but at the same time it determined to have an obligatory agreement of 2/3 of the village community’s members (later on a majority consensus was enough) and the agreement of the Ottoman side to ensure adequate conditions for the mountaineers’ new life. The new rules made the migration to the Ottoman Empire more difficult. Now emigrants could never come back to their motherland and they also lost their rights on their previous property. Mountaineers remaining in the North Caucasus were obliged to follow all orders by the tsarist administration. Later on, the Russian migratory legislation was supplemented with new rules that permitted the migration of mountaineers in case of a reunion of the family, while trips to the Ottoman Empire in order to visit relatives were allowed not more than 20 times per year.⁷² Despite the impeding measures taken by the Russian administration in its migratory policy and the subsequent explanatory work leading to the refutation of false rumors in the mountaineers’ environment, the flow of migrants continued to increase. At the beginning of the 1890s, the most active was the emigration from Chechnya and Dagestan, where the *muhajirstvo* propaganda by Ottoman emissaries continued to be successful. The main impetus for emigration were religious reasons. Since this time we can observe an expansion of cultural and economic relations between the North Caucasus diaspora and the mountaineers who had remained in the region. Graduates of North Caucasus *madāris* gained the opportunity to continue their education in the Ottoman Empire, first of all at Cairo’s well-known al-Azhar University.⁷³

Nowadays the question about the overall number of North Caucasus mountaineer *muhajirs* is still debatable. It is notable that the ethnonym "Circassian" has become a trans-ethnic notation for all migrants from the North Caucasus in the Middle East. Russian scientists made attempts to define the quantity of Caucasus emigrants in the Ottoman Empire but their numbers differ extremely. According to official statistics, between 1856 and 1925 about 40,000 of the Chechen and Ingush peoples, 39,660 of the Nogaj people, 8,000 – 10,000 of the Ossetian people, and 20,000 – 25,000 of the Dagestani peoples have left the North Caucasus region.⁷⁴ Many scientists consider these numbers to be too low. Vladimir Matveev estimates the quantity of *muhajirs* at 400,000 – 500,000.⁷⁵ Representatives of the Circassian diaspora write of almost mythical numbers – i.e. from three to seven million people.⁷⁶ It is impossible to define even approximate quantities of mountaineers who left Russia as a result of the events and consequences of the last Russo-Ottoman War due to the following reasons:

- Along a legal emigration there was also an illegal *muhajirstvo* which was neither taken into account by Russian nor by Ottoman/Turkish statistics. Participants of the revolt of 1877 were crossing the border illegally, mainly through the Main Caucasus range and via the Georgian Military Road through Vladikavkaz and Tiflis to the Russian-Ottoman border and then to the Anatolian cities of Kars and Muş.⁷⁷
- To formalize the departure, authorities organized the issuing of "pass tickets" for the villages' foremen (one ticket for a village) and foreign passports (one passport for a family).
- One of the most widespread arguments used by mountaineers was to claim about their desire for planning a pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca in order "to worship the tomb of Prophet Muhammad for the period of one year". Many of those who received the permission did not come back to Russia. When respectfully treating Muslim traditions which include that every believer at least once in his life has to set out on this pilgrimage, the Russian authorities were in a difficult situation when trying to apply restrictions to emigration.⁷⁸
- There was no strict accounting of the mass deaths of *muhajirs* due to starvation and illnesses on their way and in the areas of their settlements.

In 2008 – 2009 and with the assistance of the Russian State Scientific Fund (RSSF), in the framework of the scientific research project "Documents on the History of North Caucasus *muhajirstvo* in the Eastern Section of the St. Cyril and Methodius National Library (Bulgaria, Sofia)" the expedition of the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies to Sofia took place.⁷⁹ The leader of this project, Vladimir Bobrovnikov, mentioned that nowadays the task of an adequate historical research of the mountaineers' migration from the Caucasus, that had been taking place during the political confrontation of the Russian and Ottoman Empires, is not completed. Researchers haven't compared sources of Ottoman and Russian archives concerning the *muhajirstvo* yet.⁸⁰

The second wave of the emigration to the Ottoman Empire, the so called "journey to the Muslim land" was reflected in the folklore of the North Caucasus

mountaineers in the form of lamentation-song and the particular genre of *muhajir* songs. Today this genre has retained its importance mainly among the foreign diaspora. An analysis of the *muhajirs'* cycle of various North Caucasus peoples' songs enables one to indicate their unity of their thematic and tragic context as the dominant topic is the theme of the spiritual and physical sufferings connected to them leaving their home to another country. However, Adyghe, Ossetian, Chechen, Ingush and Dagestani peoples have their own peculiarities in performing, shaping and rhythmically organizing the *muhajir* songs.⁸¹ Songs of this cycle can be conventionally divided into two groups:⁸²

1. Songs created before the departure in the tradition of folksongs-lamentations, with specific phrases and multiple reiterations of musical and poetical fragments relating to the parting with the native land.
2. Songs created in emigration, where one can find unbearable "anguish, sorrow and grief" for the lost motherland.

Muhajir folklore thinking of the 1870s – 1880s reflects different sides of the socio-political and economic situation in the North Caucasus during the post-reform period that had changed the local population's social way of life a lot. One example is the popular Adyghe song "Gotman ulu Il'jas". The text of this song is still preserved. It tells about Prince Adamej Karabašev, a tsarist officer, who was decorated with an order of St. Stanislav for the participation in the last Russo-Ottoman War. The prince sends Il'jas from the Chubiev family to raid a Cossacks' post situated on his lands. He must steal the cattle from the Cossacks' village in order to have the prince waive his debts. The "raiding system" was an important part of life for many ethnicities of the North Caucasus. It is associated with the traditional way of life and the psychology of a mountaineer warrior, for whom the main aim of the raid was not only the loot. It was a test of male character – his bravery, dexterity and aptitudes. It is known that a young man, who did not prove himself in a raid, was not an eligible bachelor. With the modernization of the mountain societies carried out by the Russian authorities it was intended to eliminate the so-called "harmful customs" among which was also the "raiding system". The administrative changes in the people's way of life created over centuries were met with firm resistance by the mountain's population. This song illustrates the life of mountaineers after the conflict of 1877 – 1878, when in Karačaj circumstances appeared that influenced the process of mountaineers' migration to the Ottoman Empire in the 1880s.

Another touching Adyghe song "Ak"bijče and Ramazan" tells about the tragic love of young *efendi* Ramazan, who stuck to the Ottoman orientation, and a niece of the elder of the Teberda village – the tsarist officer Ak"bijče – an opponent to the mountaineers' migration. This song shows as well discrepancy of opinions of mountain military and Muslim elite representatives about the process of *muhajirstvo*.

It's necessary to point out that nowadays due to the research activities of some institutes of the North Caucasus republics, texts of songs were collected and fundamental digests of folk songs including the *muhajirs'* folklore were published. Cultural and educational projects for the youth are developing in the republics of the North Caucasus. These projects aim at the study of the North Caucasus *muhajirs'*

history and modern life. Folk projects for children and youth ensembles were created. The children folk ensemble "NEF" gives concerts in the Middle East since its foundation in 2003 in the village Ėnem of the Tachtamukajskij District and is funded by the businessman and public figure of the Adyghe Republic Mugdin Čermit.⁸³ The members of the ensemble have a unique opportunity in studying the history and modern life of the Circassian diaspora. In 2008, the professor of the North Caucasus State Institute of Arts (Kabardino-Balkaria, Nal'čik) Beslan Aščotov organized the Adyghe ensemble "Badynoko". In the repertoire it has a lot of lamentation-songs and *muhajir* songs.

As a result of the analysis of the North Caucasus peoples' perception of the very complicated and tragic topic of the *muhajirstvo* in its entirety and the second wave of the mountaineers' emigration during and after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 in particular, we can conclude the following:

- The historical memory about this tragedy became an important element of the North Caucasus peoples' national identity.
- *Muhajirstvo* mainly affected the South-Western Caucasus – i.e. the Adyghe-Circassian and Turkic people, while this process involved people from the North-Eastern Caucasus (Dagestan) and the Central Caucasus (Nakh and Ossetian people) to a lesser degree.
- The painfulness of the memories and their big importance cause "mnemonic wars" in scientific and political discourses concerning a "right" memory about these tragic events, where one can observe a complex interweaving of science, emotions and politics.
- Representatives of ethnical organizations connect the memory about the process of *muhajirstvo* primarily with negative activities of the Russian administration led against certain ethnicities.
- While many Russian historians in the 1970s were capable of a reasonable scientific assessment of the *muhajirstvo* process, some contemporary national historians conduct politically motivated researches.
- The problem of *muhajirstvo* is still insufficiently studied.
- There is an ambivalence between the description and analysis of the *muhajirstvo* topic in federal and regional history manuals.
- The phenomenon of *muhajirstvo* as a landmark in the history of the national minorities of the North Caucasus has a traumatic character. It was formed during the political confrontation of the Russian and Ottoman Empires and was influenced by the complexity of its causes: a critical situation in the socio-economic sphere, the influence of the representatives of the local spiritual and military elites, religious factors, and many more.
- The study of the North Caucasus' *muhajirstvo* is closely connected with the analysis of intra-regional migration problems that seriously influenced the overall demographic situation in the North Caucasus.

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Minorities in Conflict: The Russian Advance from Plevna to Adrianople (1877 – 1878) and Ottoman Repressive Measures against Greek Ottoman Subjects

Abstract: *After the fall of Plevna the Ottoman Empire feared uprisings of the Greek population in the Ottoman provinces. It took repressive measures to prevent a Greek uprising. After the fall of Adrianople, the Greek state incited insurrections to internationalize the issue of the unredeemed Greeks. The uprisings were brutally stifled by the Ottoman army with the substantial help of irregular troops. The protection of non-dominant groups appeared in the Congress of Berlin in a bid of the Great Powers to secure peace in the Balkan states after the religious fanaticism during the Russo-Ottoman War.*

Greek irredentism until the Russo-Ottoman War

After the creation of the Greek state all Greek governments were facing two crucial issues: 1) the modernization of the state 2) the territorial expansion of the frontiers in the name of the liberation of the “unredeemed brothers”. In the 19th century Greece failed to achieve these goals. No matter what kind of progress Greece had made in the long 19th century regarding its modernization process¹, after the pattern of West European models, local notables and local customary law (the so-called Ottoman legacy), the lack of capital and foreign investments, the small size of the Greek state with no substantial natural resources, and Greece’s dependence on foreign loans proved to be inhibitory factors that cramped the real modernization, the transition from an agrarian society into an industrial one with the ensuing implications. With its weak economy and the lack of a strong regular army², Greece was unable to implement any national program in the spirit of the so called “Great Idea”.

Contrary to Ilija Garašanin’s “Načertanije”, “the Great Idea”, put forward by Ioannis Kolettis in the National Assembly in 1844, was vaguely defined and left scope for various interpretations: 1) that the free Greek state had the historical mission to civilize the East, as the Ancient Greeks civilized the West 2) that the Greeks constituted a historical continuity from ancient times to modernity through the Byzantine Empire. In other words, that Greek identity was inconceivable without

reference both to the ecumenical achievements of Alexander the Great and to the Byzantine legacy. Antiquity and classicism, embodied in Athens, the capital of the Greek state, should be completed with Byzantine tradition, embodied in Constantinople, the capital of Hellenism. However, the spirit of Kolettis' speech could be interpreted as an appeal to the Greeks of the Kingdom to achieve the goals of the uncompleted Revolution of 1821, i.e. to contribute to the liberation of the unredeemed Greeks and the Balkan Orthodox Christians, who were regarded as Greeks before the emergence of Bulgarian and Albanian nationalism.³ At first, the "Great Idea" has an anti-Ottoman spearhead. But the Greek state lacked the prerequisites to assume this mission and to wage a successful war against the Ottoman Empire. Greece's dependence on England and the British doctrine on the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire prevented Greece from waging any war for the liberation of the "unredeemed brothers". It became more evident during the Crimean War, when King Otto experienced a short-lived popularity being an ardent supporter of the "Great Idea". The outbreak of this war, yet another in the series of the wars between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, seemed to offer Greece a chance to exploit the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. Guerilla bands, in which irregular armed groups and university students played the main role, were infiltrated across the border with the Ottoman Empire into Thessaly, Epirus and Macedonia. But Britain and France, resolute to defend the Ottoman Empire, occupied Piraeus between May 1854 and February 1857, in order to exert pressure on Greece to prevent it from stirring up troubles across the frontier and declaring war on the Ottoman Empire. In 1864 Great Britain ceded the Ionian Islands to Greece to dampen its irredentist fervor and to check the spread of Russian influence, after the accession of King George to the throne.

After the Crimean War the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire and its modernization through reforms (*tanzimât*) were basic components of British Balkan policy. To counterweigh the potential Russian influence in Greece, Britain pointed to the danger of Pan-Slavism, propagated by Russian intellectuals. The Greeks saw the main Slavic danger in the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1870) with Russian diplomatic support. The crux of the matter was not the negation of the principal right of the Bulgarians to have their own church and to be recognized as a nation (*millet*) without having any state yet, but the dioceses of the Bulgarian Exarchate. The Greeks and also the Ecumenical Patriarch made it known that the mixed Macedonian districts should be excluded from the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarchate. Since the Russian ambassador to the Porte, General Nikolaj Ignat'ev, who acted as a mediator, did not succeed in imposing this term, the Ecumenical Patriarchate declared the Bulgarian Church as schismatic (1872). In other words the latent Macedonian question plagued the Greek-Bulgarian relations and made Greek politicians distrustful of the Russians. Some Greeks, as Georgios Zarifis, a businessman in Constantinople, and Epaminondas Deligiorgis, a politician in Athens, advocated rapprochement with the Ottomans, whom they considered to be less dangerous than the Slavs. Since the Greek national aspirations did not collide with the Serbian territorial claims, the Serbs were regarded by the Greeks as potential allies even in 1861. Indeed, the first Greek-Serbian Treaty of Alliance (1867) allocated Thessaly and Epirus to Greece and Bosnia-Herzegovina to Serbia. The signatories

undertook to propagandize and arm the Christians of European Turkey and also to oppose any great power that sought to annex Balkan territory.

Despite the anti-Russian, anti-Slav resentment of some Greek political circles, the revolt in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1875), the Bulgarian April Uprising (1876)⁴, the Serbo-Ottoman War (1876)⁵ and the Constantinople Conference met with response in large parts of the Greek population. The burning issue was whether Greece should take advantage of the situation and stir up uprisings in Thessaly and Epirus to claim these provinces in the settlement of the Eastern Question. After the end of the Constantinople Conference and the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution (December 1876), in January 1877 Ignat'ev visited Athens. In his discussions with King George and Greek ministers in Alexandros Koumoundouros's government, he urged the Greeks to benefit from the developments and to co-operate with the other Balkan peoples. But he did not assume any commitment regarding the Greek territorial claims in Macedonia, an issue of paramount importance for the Greeks.⁶ After the outbreak of the Russo-Ottoman War, the new all-parties Greek government under Konstantinos Kanaris, the hero of the Greek War of Independence, formulated a policy of non-intervention. But if the Russo-Ottoman War turned in favor of Russia, as it appeared to be in June-July 1877, Greece should be ready to participate in the struggle. Only a massive uprising by "the unredeemed" Greeks with the covert support of the Greek Kingdom could internationalize the Greek question in the peace negotiations. For that reason Greece, apart from its military preparations, tried to co-ordinate the activities of the two main nationalist organization, the *Ethiki Amyna* (*National Defense*) and *Adelfotis* (*Brotherhood*), which were due to operate in Thessaly, Epirus and Macedonia by infiltrating irregular troops. In the Greek case, under the term "minorities" one could perceive the Greeks, subjects of the Ottoman Empire, who were eager to rise up. At any rate one could not disregard either the Ottoman precautionary measures to nip any uprising in the bud or the Ottoman retaliatory measures should any uprising break out.

In July 1877 it was believed that the Russians would continue their victorious expedition and cross the Balkans unhampered. Konstantinos Ischomachos, a Greek army officer, worked out the operational plan, approved by the government. The plan provided the instigation of revolts simultaneously in Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia and Crete and the infiltration of irregular troops from the kingdom which would penetrate into Thessaly, Epirus and Macedonia. The objectives were to liberate the Greek-inhabited provinces of the Ottoman Empire, to block the southern expansion of the Slavs and to raise the Greek question at the European peace conference.⁷

But the tension subsided for some time when the Russians met an unexpected reverse at Plevna. The Russians made repeated attempts to take the fortress but were repulsed with heavy losses. General Tottleben arrived in Plevna and established a complete blockade. But Osman Paşa, the defender of Plevna, held up and the Russians could not advance farther. The stalemate allowed the Greeks to spend the summer of 1877 with a breathing space. After the setback at Plevna, the Russians urged the Balkan states to enter the war at once. But only Romania entered which had already been involved because its territory was being used by the Russians for transit purposes.

The Greek press followed the unfolding of the war in the Balkans and in Caucasus as well. One estimated that Plevna would surrender because Osman Paşa remained without military support.⁸ The fall of Kars was thoroughly commented on in parallel with the imminent fall of Plevna. Both events affected British interests. Kars and Erzurum, which was still defended by the Ottomans, stood on the British commercial road to India⁹, whereas after Plevna the Russians could rush to Constantinople. Under these circumstances one expected that Great Britain would intervene to protect both its own interests and the Hellenism in the Ottoman provinces. It was stressed in the Greek press that the Western Powers could not accept a new Treaty of Adrianople, ignoring the historical rights of the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire, i.e. the Eastern Question would not be solved without taking the Greek interests into consideration.¹⁰

Finally, when Plevna fell on 10 December 1877, the Greeks became more anxious over the possible consequences. Many questions bothered the Greek government which remained without prime-minister after Kanaris's death on 14 September 1877. Should the Russians sign an armistice or advance farther, should the Greeks stir up insurrections in the Ottoman provinces, what would the Ottoman repressive measures look like? King George framed the Greek policy consulting the politicians Trikoupis, Koumoundouros, Deligiorgis and Zaimis. The assessment of the situation that prevailed in the press was that the Russians would cross the Haemus and march to Constantinople to take revenge for the defeat in the Crimean War.¹¹ This was also Trikoupis' opinion. He estimated that Russia aimed for the dwindling of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans. Therefore, there was no rush to incite precipitate insurrections among the Greeks in the Ottoman provinces, because this would mean Greece's direct involvement. The most appropriate time for insurrections and Greece's direct intervention would come when the Ottoman Empire would be on the brink of its collapse. Trikoupis defined his position in the cabinet and at least temporarily the king opted for this policy.¹²

Of course, Greek subjects of the Ottoman Empire were longing for freedom, but they were reluctant to expose themselves to the risks of an insurrection without some assurance that the Greek army would come to their assistance.¹³ Hobart Paşa, a British naval officer in Ottoman service, would blockade the Greek ports, and Albanian troops would land at Piraeus to occupy Athens. To show its determination, the Ottoman Empire sent bands of irregular Albanians to the Greek frontier and sealed off the Epirote ports with torpedoes.¹⁴ To frighten the Greeks in the Ottoman provinces, the Ottoman Empire took certain repressive measures.

Thessaly

Thessaly was considered to be the center of the planned insurrectionary movement. A successful guerrilla movement would open the gates to the Greek army. For that reason the Ottoman Empire took precautionary measures very soon. Irregular militia and guerrilla fighters, the so-called *Zeybeks*, committed atrocities in the small town Tyrnavos. They killed people, plundered the inhabitants and pillaged the houses.¹⁵ The Greeks called upon the official Ottoman authorities to intervene, but they tolerated the pillages committed by the *Zeybeks*. It was a deliberate Ottoman policy to intimidate the Christians to prevent them from joining any insurrec-

tionary movement. When some Greeks in their self-defense shot at *Zeybeks*, they were imprisoned by the Ottomans.¹⁶ The Ottoman Empire sent also Albanian Ghegs to Thessaly to loot the peasants who were sowing their land. The free movement of Christians was banned and some Ghegs extorted money from the peasants to "protect them from the *Zeybeks*".¹⁷ In the small town Domokos and in the surrounding villages, the Ottoman authorities arrested the notables who were considered to be suspect of disloyalty.¹⁸ Similar scenes occurred in some villages around Pharsala. The peasants were beaten up by Albanian Ghegs and their houses were plundered. The Ghegs imposed heavy taxes on the peasants. The priest of one village was kidnapped by the Ghegs who demanded ransom to release him. The Ghegs stole the cattle of the peasants and asked for money to return it.¹⁹ Facing the danger of a war with Greece, the Ottoman army started building fortifications in Larissa and Volos to counterattack a possible Greek invasion.²⁰ Greeks were forced to offer compulsory unpaid labour. At the same time the Ottoman authorities sent additional irregular Albanian Ghegs and *Başıbozuks* as well to terrify the Greek population. The *Başıbozuks* were irregular soldiers, mostly of Albanian origin, noted for their lack of discipline and for their motivation to fight by expectation of plunder. Albanian Ghegs and *Başıbozuks* overran the region of Agia. Ostensibly their task was to search the houses of Christians for weapons but instead they plundered the Greeks. Their targets were the rich villages Sellitsia and Nevoliani.²¹ To appease them the Greek villagers gave them money and food but this did not seem to satisfy them. They forced the Greeks to pay compulsory taxes.²² Apart from the "illegal" taxations imposed by the Albanian Ghegs and the *Başıbozuks*, the Ottoman authorities placed the dilemma on the Greeks either to do compulsory labour or to pay extraordinary taxes.²³ There is no doubt that the Ottomans tried to discourage the Greeks of Thessaly, being Ottoman subjects, to join any insurrectionary movement.

Crete

After the suppression of the Cretan uprising of 1866 to 1869, a special administrative regulation, the "Organic Statute of Crete", was introduced. Although the Cretan crisis ended better for the Ottomans than almost any other diplomatic confrontation of the century, the brutality with which it was suppressed led public attention in Europe to the oppression of Christians. Apart from the improvement of the administration, this "constitution" provided for the participation of Christians in the administrative machinery. The most important factor was the role played by the General Assembly. With a mixed membership drawn from Christians and Muslims, and elected indirectly by the local elders, this assembly was to meet forty days each year in closed sessions to pass measures relating to local administration. The decisions of the assembly had to be ratified by the Ottoman government. But in fact, the role of the assembly proved to be marginalized. The administration interfered in the election process and the representation of Christians and Muslims was imbalanced. The Christians, who made up 74% of the population, had a majority of two and later one seat and the central government manipulated the debates of the assembly. The assembly was often dissolved before the forty days had elapsed and very few of its substantive decisions were ratified. In the wake of the Balkan crisis in 1876, the

Christians of Crete demanded adequate representation of the Christian population in the assembly, the administration and the jurisdiction. Since the Ottoman government refused to meet the demands of the Christians, in January 1877 the latter convoked a "Pan-Cretan Revolutionary Assembly" at the village of Fres in the province of Apokoronas. After the fall of Plevna the insurrectionary fermentation was in full swing in Crete.²⁴ Armed bands appeared in the mountains and the Cretan lobby in Athens was collecting money and munitions. Cretan chieftains who were exiled in Athens, like Hadji-Michalis and Giannoudovardakis, landed in Sfakia importing weapons and munitions.²⁵ Only then the Sublime Porte decided to send two Commissioners to Crete, the Christian Kosti Adossidis Paşa and the Muslim Selim Efendi to bring about a reconciliation²⁶ but in vain.²⁷ Obviously, they came to discuss the Cretan affairs, but at the same time they transferred weapons to the island,²⁸ ostensibly as a preventive measure to forestall the forthcoming uprising and massacres against the Muslims.²⁹ The Muslims, realizing that the Ottoman Empire could not militarily intervene at that time, urged by *Beys* in Crete, began to concentrate in the towns for safety reasons. To discredit the Christians, the local Ottoman authorities pointed out the possibility of Christian massacres, but the Christians tried to convince the Muslims that they fought for the rights of both elements, Christians and Muslims alike, for their common fatherland against the infringements of the Organic Statute by the official Ottoman authorities.³⁰ The insurgents were careful to avoid acts of violence against non-combatants, fearing to give rise to Islamic fanaticism and, thus, endanger the lives of the Christians in the towns. In their negotiations with the Sublime Porte the Christians in Crete demanded not simply improvement of the Organic Statute, but rather an autonomous status for Crete. The situation remained tense and the Christians were determined to rise up.

Eastern Thrace

After the fall of Plevna the Ottoman Empire feared an uprising of the Greeks in Eastern Thrace which could be conducive to the advance of the Russian army. As in Thessaly, the Ottoman Empire resettled Circassians from the Dobruja in Kallipolis and Eastern Thrace to loot the Greeks.³¹ Mainly the town Kessani and the surrounding villages were plundered by Circassian bands which extorted money and robbed foods and cattle from the peasants. Greeks were also compelled to work for Ottoman fortifications in Adrianople and Kallipolis.³² The official Ottoman authorities entered the villages ostensibly to persecute the bands, but they did the same things, i.e. they demanded money and foods from the peasants to "protect" them from the Circassians. In fact, they connived with the Circassian bands. After the fall of Adrianople (20 January 1878), Mehmed Ali Paşa with his army (32,000 men) found shelter in Vizyi, a town in Eastern Thrace, mainly inhabited by Greeks. The notables welcomed the Ottoman General and his staff, but he was reluctant to protect the Greeks. Parts of the retreating Ottoman army, *Zeybeks*, *Başibozuks* and Circassians looted, pillaged and burdened the town Vizyi and the surrounding areas. Over 1,000 Greeks were killed in those days.³³ The metropolis was looted and set on fire. The Greek newspaper *ΩΠΑ* estimated that the massacres in the *kaza* of Vizyi in January 1878 exceeded those of Batak. Not expecting any help from the official Ottoman authorities, the Greeks of the town Medeia, which was besieged by

Circassians and *Başıboz*uks, decided to defend themselves and pushed back the irregular troops.³⁴ The religious fanaticism reached its peak. In Trapezunt the famous monastery of Panagia Soumela, a holy place for the Pontus Greeks, was looted and burnt by Ottoman irregular troops.³⁵

Macedonia

Unlike Thessaly, Epirus and Crete, the annexation of parts of Macedonia was not the main objective of Greek foreign policy, as long as Thessaly was still under Ottoman sway. However, after the Bulgarian national awakening, there was a Macedonian question. The Greeks wanted to know the Russian viewpoint over the delimitation of Greek-Bulgarian spheres of influence in the broader area of Macedonia. The Greeks feared that the Russians were planning the creation of a Bulgarian state including the Southern regions of Macedonia and the Aegean coasts as well. But Ignat'ev was reluctant to give the Greeks any assurance over this sensitive issue. Therefore, any Greek insurrectionary preparations would have anti-Slav undertones.

The Ottoman government benefited from the railway connection Thessaloniki-Skopje to transfer regular troops to suppress any potential uprising. Ottoman military drills were conducted around Thessaloniki and irregular bands appeared there. The Christians were struck by a recent law providing for their compulsory recruitment in the units of the so-called "Territorial Army", i.e. a local militia, home guard. They were reluctant to fight for the Ottoman Empire and deserted. The religious fanaticism had not subsided since the Thessaloniki incidents in May 1876. The turmoil that broke out after a young Christian girl converted to Islam resulted in the murder of the city's French and German consuls by a Muslim mob. French Consul General Jules Moulin and the German Consul Henry Abbott were drawn into a nearly mosque courtyard by the crowd. Trapped inside the building and surrounded by the angry mob which broke through the police line, the two consuls were killed. The murder in Thessaloniki is described by Mark Mazower as one of the most notorious episodes in its history.³⁶ Thessaloniki was still a tinderbox waiting for a spark.

Greece after the fall of Adrianople

On 20 January 1878 the Russian army entered Adrianople. King George made a final appeal to his ministers to take initiative. But they still were cautious of taking action. On 24 January Koumoundouros, a Russophile politician, formed a new cabinet. The core of his program was the protection of the unredeemed Greeks.³⁷ On 26 January 1878 rumors circulated in Athens that the Porte had accepted the preliminaries of peace and that the signing of an armistice was imminent. The people of Athens reacted strenuously to this news. The following day hundreds of angry demonstrators, in fear that the war had already come to an end, gathered on Syntagma Square to denounce the politicians as traitors. The main target was Deligiorgis who was mobbed and found shelter in the house of a Russian priest. The houses of Trikoupis, Zaimis and Deligiannis were besieged and stoned. The armed guard of prime-minister Koumoundouros's house opened fire on

the crowd. On 28 January other demonstrators moved from Piraeus to Athens. Troops were called in to keep peace, and some skirmishes occurred.³⁸ Under the public pressure Koumoundouros ordered the troops to cross the frontiers. On 2 February 1878 the Greek army entered Thessaly. Foreign Minister Theodoros Deligianis explained to the Ottoman Ambassador in Athens, Fotiadis Bey that this action under no circumstances meant declaration of war to the Ottoman Empire, but it aimed at the protection of the Greeks in the Ottoman provinces from the irregular troops.³⁹ But it was a belated Greek reaction. On 31 January 1878 the armistice had been signed by Russia and the Ottoman Empire. Under the pressure of the Great Powers, Greece had to withdraw its troops from Thessaly.

Now Greece incited insurrections to internationalize the Greek issue. But after the termination of the Greek-Ottoman War the Ottoman Empire was able to brutally suppress the insurrections with the help of irregular troops. The uprising in Delvino (Epirus) failed. Ibrahim Paşa was able to summon a force of 6,000 regular troops and irregular Albanians and moved rapidly to encircle the insurgents. About twenty villages in the Delvino district were totally or partially burnt, non-combatants were massacred by the Ottoman troops and Albanian irregulars.⁴⁰ The efforts of the foreign Consuls at Corfu to prevent the slaughtering remained without results. The attempt of a British warship to transport hundreds of destitute women and children gathered on the Epirote coast to Corfu were thwarted by Ottoman warships. In Thessaly Pelion was the center of the uprising. In Portaria a provisional government of Thessaly, that declared the union of Thessaly with Greece, was formed. By the end of February, a large part of Thessaly was controlled by the insurgents. But the Ottomans transported thousands of troops to Thessaly. After fierce fighting, Pelion bowed to the Ottomans. In the decisive battle of Maktynitsa women fought bravely like men. The British correspondent of "The Times" Ogle was killed by the Ottomans and punitive measures against the Pelion villages were taken by the Ottoman army.⁴¹ In Crete the insurgents held on and the Sublime Porte was obliged to accept British mediation. The Ottoman government entered negotiations and in October 1878 the Pact of Chalepa was signed.⁴²

At the end of February 1878 the "Provisional Government of Macedonia" at Litohoro was formed by Evangelos Korovangos after the landing of Greek guerrilla groups on the coast of Pieria. This was the outcome of revolutionary plans that had been worked out in 1877. The insurgents intended to demonstrate the Greek interests in Macedonia and were imbued by anti-Slav feelings. However, the support of the Bishop of Kitros Nikolaos, the Vlachs of Vermion, the fighters of Olympus, the community of Kozani and the numerous irregulars from the mountains of Western Macedonia was not sufficient to keep the insurrection going. The Ottoman forces marched towards Kolindros and Bishop Nikolaos burnt the cathedral to prevent the holy relicts from falling into the hands of the Ottomans. Women and children left Kolindros and fled to the Monastery of All Saints. To avoid becoming hostages of the Ottomans, they followed the example of women in Zalogo and Arapitsa during the Greek Revolution and sacrificed their lives. The Ottoman government used Albanian Ghegs and Circassian irregulars to stifle the uprising. Litohoro was set on fire. The women of Litohoro, who had found shelter in the monastery of Agios Dionysios in Olympus, were under the protection of the European consuls.⁴³

What the Greeks of the European Ottoman provinces remembered from the Russo-Ottoman War 1877 – 1878 were the Ottoman repressive measures taken by the Ottoman authorities to avert any uprising, and the brutality with which the Ottomans stifled the insurrections later. It is not a coincidence that in the Congress of Berlin Greece, Serbia and Montenegro were urged by the Great Powers not to discriminate Muslims, living in the provinces which were designed to be ceded to these Balkan states. Obviously, they feared reprisals of the Balkan states against the Muslims in the new states. Therefore, the protection of minorities appeared in the Berlin Treaty. Serbia and Montenegro, as a condition of their independence, were bound to recognize the religious freedom of Muslims. Article IV pertaining to the independence of Bulgaria ensured that the interests of all national groups would be taken into consideration in the Organic Law of the Bulgarian Principality. Carlile Aylmer Macartney maintained that the Berlin Congress had been “the most important of all international bodies concerned with national minority rights prior to 1919”.⁴⁴

¹ The modernization process in the Balkans is still a controversial issue. Balkan revisionist economists like Michael Palaret argue that the region was a stage “evolution without development”, cf. Michael Palaret, *Balkan economics 1800 – 1914: Evolution without development*, Cambridge, 1997. This is partly true. Development as the main desired outcome was in fact under way in some Balkan countries. However, it needed the accomplishment of the state, society, and nation-building process to take root, and due to the domestic, but mainly international constraints these processes were extremely long and painful, cf. Alina Mungu-Pippidi and Wim Van Meurs (eds.), *Ottomans into Europeans. State and Institution Building in South Eastern Europe*, London, 2010. Since the end of the 16th century the Balkan Peninsula belonged to the economic periphery of Europe. The Balkan states in the 19th century emerged in a region that had already become the periphery of Europe. In the Balkans there was neither a feudal class nor a bourgeoisie as in Central and Western Europe. In Western Europe there was an organic transition from feudal system to capitalism, from absolutism to constitutionalism. The nation building and modernization process were carried out within the framework of state continuity.

² Although the Greek regular army became based on conscription when the Bavarian soldiers left Greece in 1837, there were still only 10,000 men on average between 1844 and 1877. That size made the army capable of maintaining internal order and suppressing local uprisings. But for the cause of irredentism the Greek state used irregulars and brigands (the tradition of *armatoloi* and *klephts*). Cf. John S. Koliopoulos, *Brigands with a Cause: Brigandage and Irredentism in Modern Greece, 1821 – 1912*, Oxford, 1987. In this context the role of the regular army was reduced to that of mere auxiliary force. The relative weakness of regular Greek forces and the fact that order local players, in particular Bulgaria, competed with Greece in the irredentist scramble for Ottoman lands prompted a series of military reforms in the 1880s. As a result, universal conscription was put into effect, which between 1879 and 1882 increased the strength of the Greek standing army to some 30,000 men.

³ There are historians who interpret Kolettis’ speech merely within the frame of the rivalry between *heterochthones* and *autochthones*. Ioannis Kolettis, a Hellenized Vlach, having served as doctor to Ali Paşa’s son, had emerged as one of the most influential political fig-

ures of the first two decades of the independent kingdom. In 1844, in the debate that gave rise to the first constitution, Kolettis vigorously championed the cause of the *heterochthones*, the Greeks from the areas outside the initial confines of the kingdom, against the hegemonistic pretension of the *autochthones*, the “natives” from the heartland of the struggle for independence. Not only, he insisted, were inhabitants of the kingdom Greeks but so were those who lived in any land associated with Greek history or the Greek race. But in 1844 Kolettis, who belonged to the French Party in Greece, could not urge the Greeks to rise against the Ottoman Empire. After the settlement of the Egyptian crisis in 1841 and the British-French rapprochement on the base of the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, any Greek military action would be an adventure.

⁴ Cf. Nikolaj Todorov, *Aprilskoto vŕstanie i grăckata obŕstestvenost*. In: Ivan Undžiev, Kruma Šarova, Nikolaj Žečev (eds.), *Aprilskoto vŕstanie 1876 – 1966. Dokladi i izkazvanija na jubilejnata naučna sesija v Sofia*, Sofia, 1966, 154.

⁵ Cf. Dimitrije Đorđević, *Ιστορία της Σερβίας* [History of Serbia; Greek translation from Serbian], Thessaloniki, 1970, 194.

⁶ About the Greek-Russian relations during the Eastern Crisis cf. the recent monograph based on Russian diplomatic documents, Sergej Cechmistrenko, *Ελλάδα-Ρωσία 1875 – 1878. Σελίδες Ιστορίας* [Greece-Russia 1875 – 1878. Pages of History; Greek translation from Russian], Athens, 2013.

⁷ Cf. Evangelos Kōfos, Greek insurrectionary preparations, 1876- 78. In: Bela K. Kiraly and Gale Stokes (eds.), *Insurrections, Wars, and the Eastern Crisis in the 1870s*, New York, 1985 [Social Science Monographs Boulder; XVII], 191p.

⁸ Παλιγγενεσία (Paliggenesia), 18 November (old style) 1877.

⁹ Παλιγγενεσία, 16 November 1877; Ωρα (Ora), 26 November (old style) 1877.

¹⁰ Παλιγγενεσία, 21 November, 22 November 1877.

¹¹ Παλιγγενεσία, 30 November, 6 December, 10 December, 12 December 1877.

¹² Cf. Evangelos Kōfos, *Greece and the Eastern Crisis 1875 – 1878*, Thessaloniki, 1975, 139.

¹³ Παλιγγενεσία, 2 December 1877.

¹⁴ Cf. Kōfos, *Greece*, 12, 140.

¹⁵ Ωρα, 21 November 1877.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ωρα, 28 November 1877.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ωρα, 12 December 1877.

²⁰ Στοά (Stoa), 12 December 1877.

²¹ Παλιγγενεσία, 17 December 1877.

²² Ibid.

²³ Στοά, 25 December 1877.

²⁴ Στοά, 2 December 1877.

²⁵ Στοά, 10 December 1877.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Στοά, 23 December 1877; Ωρα, 22 December 1877.

²⁸ Ωρα, 22 December 1877.

²⁹ Ωρα, 23 December 1877.

³⁰ Παλιγγενεσία, 30 December 1877.

³¹ Ωρα, 27 December 1877.

³² Παλιγγενεσία, 29 December 1877.

³³ Ωρα, 31 January 1878. The article refers to events that took place on 10 January 1878 (old style) and afterwards.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ωρα, 20 December 1877.

³⁶ Cf Mark Mazower, Θεσσαλονίκη. Πόλη των φαντασμάτων. Χριστιανοί, Μουσουλμάνοι και Εβραίοι 1430-1950 (City of ghosts; Greek translation from English), Athens, 2006, 218p.

³⁷ Ωρα, 13 January 1878.

³⁸ Ωρα, 17 January 1878.

³⁹ Ωρα, 22 January 1878.

⁴⁰ See Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους. Νεώτερος Ελληνισμός από 1833 ως 1881. Τόμος ΙΓ' [History of the Greek Nation. Modern Hellenism from 1833 to 1881], XIII, Athens, 1977, 338p.

⁴¹ Ibid., 340.

⁴² Ibid., 336p.

⁴³ About the Greek uprising in South-Macedonia in 1878 cf. Evangelos Kōfos, Η επανάσταση της Μακεδονίας κατά το 1878 [The Revolution in Macedonia in 1878], Thessaloniki, 1969.

⁴⁴ Cf Jennifer Jackson Preece, National Minorities and the European Nation-States System, Oxford, 1998, 64p.

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The Military Clergy in the Russo-Ottoman War 1877 – 1878 – East Orthodoxy and Other Confessions¹

Abstract: *In the paper we followed the tradition of priests serving in the Russian Army during the wars in the 19th century. Their statute and functions and the process of establishing a centralized structure of the military clergy directly subjected to the tsar have been analyzed. Special attention has been paid to the participation of the military Orthodox clergy in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 but the functions of the priests of other denominations – Catholic, Protestant, Muslim and Jewish have also been analyzed. The mechanisms of using religion for military purposes in the past and the restoration of the system of military clergy in today's Russia were also researched.*

The first isolated cases of an appointment of priests to serve in the Russian Army were documented in the 17th century. Tsar Pëtr Alekseevič ordered priests to be appointed to each regiment and since the first quarter of the 18th century such appointments became regular.² By a decree on 4 April 1800 issued by Tsar Pavel I, the position of so-called ober-priest (supreme priest), governing the clergy in the army and navy, became permanent.³ The ober-priest was entrusted to appoint, change, dismiss and reward the military priests. That way the ober-priest had bigger real power than the archpriests. There was only one ober-priest, while there were many archpriests and his authority extended to the entire Russian Empire in comparison to the archpriests governing only their eparchy. He enjoyed the right to report personally to the Emperor – the archpriests reported to the Holy Synod only through the ober-persecutor. The ober-priest was the representative of the so-called “white clergy”, the archpriests represented the “black clergy”, namely monks, and this difference intensified the tension between the new institution and the Holy Synod. Konstantin Kapkov commented on the reasons which made Pavel I separate the government of the military clergy from the government of the Church.

The Emperor probably sincerely considered himself “head of the Church” and he established a convenient system of control over mili-

tary priests making them independent from the eparchy government. It was only one aspect of the planned reform of the Russian Army – a new system of government of the military priests was designed. Last but not least, the Emperor aspired to elevate the prestige of the “white Orthodox clergy”, considerably humiliated by the authorities during the 18th century.⁴

According to the church regulations the ober-priest was subjected to the Holy Synod only in ecclesiastic matters. In all other matters he was subjected to army and navy authorities. Illustrating the principle “divide and rule”, this double subjection urged the Holy Synod to make attempts to control the military clergy over the course of the 19th century.⁵ Probably out of the same reason, in 1840 a separate Caucasus corpus was established and an ober-priest was appointed to this corpus. Many authors explained the separation of the Caucasus with the impossibility of the civil government to manage the conflicts with the conquered local nations.⁶ In 1844 Nikolaj I appointed a deputy governor of the Caucasus, whose headquarters were in Tiflis. In the hands of the deputy governor all civic and military power was concentrated. He was the commander-in-chief of the Caucasus army and he was entrusted with the right to change the state laws in order to better adapt them to the local conditions.⁷ The deputy governor and the chief of the headquarters were subjected to the ober-priest of the Caucasus army who was also the chief of the Orthodox clergy in the Caucasus army.

After the death of Emperor Pavel I, the institution of the ober-priest of army and navy lost part of the rights it was entrusted with, but in 1853 they were restored.⁸ For the regiment priests regular salaries and pensions were allotted and an army seminary was opened for their sons. Only sons of the military clergy could enroll in the seminary, them being obliged to serve in the army and navy after their graduation.⁹ In respect to upcoming wars and the preservation of the colonial gains the centralized government of the military clergy was more efficient than the decentralized eparchy government.

The statute and functions of the priests in the Russian Imperial Army

Until the end of the 18th century, priests like the representatives of the low classes were subjected to bodily punishments – a humiliating condition in respect to officers and nobles.¹⁰ In 1801 the bodily punishments of priests were abolished; in 1888 the bodily punishments of the members of their families were also abolished.¹¹ The number of the priests in the Russian Army depended on the approved budget of the military administration. By the end of the Russo-Ottoman War the number of the Orthodox priests reached 499. In the table below the number of the priests and their ranks for the period 1800 – 1878 is indicated.¹²

Year	Archpriests	Priests	Deacons	Acolytes	Total	Strength of the army
1800					140	379,000
1812					240	
1848	30	470	66	139	705	
1849	30	492	62	291	875	1,133,000
1853	10	541	63	264	878	
1855	13	596	78	291	978	
1876	74	263	38	51	426	
1878	108	290	50	51	499	

The table illustrates the increase of the number of priests during military operations –the English mutiny 1849, the beginning and the end of the Crimean War 1853 – 1856. The strength of the army increased proportionally: in 1850 the army had increased four times in comparison to 1800. It is interesting that during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 the number of the priests decreased twice in comparison to 1855. Just before the war their number was 426, which is surprising having in mind that in 1874 common military subscription was introduced which led to the substantial increase of the strength of the army. This fact could be explained by the practice in war time eparchy priests to be mobilized to serve in military hospitals, volunteer regiments and reserves being paid by the Ministry of War. The increase of acolytes in 1849 in the Caucasus corpus was not related to the English campaign.¹³ The number of deacons and acolytes was relatively low; they were usually allocated to field and reserve hospitals. The increase of archpriests during and after the Russo-Ottoman War could be explained by the fact that archpriest is a title granted for service. Before the War there were 74 archpriests, after the War their number increased to 108; probably 34 archpriests distinguished themselves during the War.

What were the duties of the priests in war time?

The duties of the priests were not defined by the Holy Synod but by orders of the Ministry of War. According to the instructions of the ober-priest the regiment priests should:¹⁴

- Preach the Word of God to the soldiers suggesting faith in Master and Fatherland
- Hold liturgy before battles and during religious feasts
- Hold morning and evening prayers
- Perform a funeral service and bury the dead¹⁵
- Confess and administer Holy Communion
- Care and console sick and wounded – provide the sacrament
- Help the doctors in bandaging the wounded
- Carry away the wounded and dead from the battle fields

- Inform the relatives about the death of the soldiers
- Organize the collecting of donations for the families of fallen soldiers and invalids
- Care for military common graves and graveyards
- Arrange field libraries
- Register and keep the documents – i.e. descriptions of regiment churches and their estates, income-expenditure books, clergy registers, confession schedule, metric books and reports about the moral condition of the soldiers

However, these are only part of the statutory obligations of the military priests during the war.

How did the priests experience their service in the Russo-Ottoman War?

“Heavy, so heavy is the service of our soldiers [...]”¹⁶ said the Russian priest Gur'ev about his war experiences. The memories of Vakch Vasil'evič Gur'ev who served as a regimental priest to the hospital of the Siberian, Astrachan' and Malorossijskij regiments are the only memories that reached our days.¹⁷ They were published for the first time in 1880 in the journal “Russkij Vestnik” and later in 1883 as a separate book. Since the memories were published only two years after the end of the war they were not censured to highlight the “heroism of the war” but stories of death, suffering, misfortunes in soldiers' everyday life were also considered. In the first post-war years the published memories were not ideologically edited to avoid tabooed topics and to follow normative frames. The scenario of heroic-pathetic memorization of the war did not appear yet.

The book is composed as letters to an old friend in Russia and each letter is dated. The content is very interesting. The accent is not on the battles and the heroism but on the soldiers' everyday life and on the events in the divisional hospital. How the soldiers were dressed, what their shoes were like, what they ate and drank, how their camp was arranged, how the wounded soldiers were transported by the cars, where and how the religious services, confessions and communions were held and how the dead were buried. The obligations of the priests were also described in detail – from the first service to the first funeral. “19 October. The day in Ovča Mogila was successful: in the morning under the shining sun I held a lunch service devoted to the Shroud of Virgin Mary – this was our first march-service. More than 1,000 people were praying thanks to the vast temple of nature [...]”¹⁸

A week later he wrote about his first funeral:

Yesterday in the lovely silence of the sunset I buried the first victim of dysentery – a soldier of the Malorossijskij regiment – Makar Sitničenko. The misfortune body was situated on the right side of the grave, not covered in more than only scattered clothes [...] How painful it is to put the first shovel of gray soil under the human corpse right on the face. You know my stupide character: I lost self-control and stated to cry bit-

terly, deep from my heart, warm and bright words exploded and my singers, the soldiers who carried the corpse, the ones who came to say the last good bye and the ones who gathered to witness the first funeral – all of them unwillingly started to cry. It is difficult to experience for the first time in your life such a funeral setting; but none of us was able to change the situation; staying in the nudity, no tree was seen around; for kilometers there was not a single tree, the settling Bulgarians live in dugouts, warmed by clay sheets and corn stalks; wood costs more than gold here.¹⁹

The memories of the priest Gur'ev are bright and dramatic or ordinary but also tragic.

On 5 November more than 250 people were placed in the hospital. What did we experience? Plevna was overpowered. Siberians and *Malorusskie* shouldered the heavy battles. I can't write, now I am going to bury our killed. What I saw! What I saw? Already the third day and I cannot remember, trembling in horror given what I experienced.²⁰

[...] Following the order of our superiors we started to bury not only without graves but without clothes, only in underwear. This form of funeral made a heavy impression on our souls, especially under heavy rain. The poor soldier, he is under rain not only in the marches, in the camps, in the trenches but also when his corpse is laid in the last position in the last trench – the grave. But we should not superficially judge such orders as unhuman; they stem from extreme necessity and they are moved by human concern: when the morning coldness started, it turned out that many of the soldiers were without greatcoats – they had lost them during marching – it is difficult and senseless to investigate how it happened but rather try to immediately help them. That is why we had to undress the dead, to save the surviving from the coldness. A burdening, difficult service our soldier has to carry.²¹

Mass graves were a common practice after big battles in course of the war.

When I showed the place for a grave for killed officers on the north side of the altar of a Bulgarian church, I crossed the bloody field of a recent battle, where since early in the morning hundreds of people from all divisions were carrying killed soldier from one place to another and also the ones who died because of their wounds. They were not able to transfer even half of them when I arrived. The whole space was full of killed soldiers and it turned out impossible to transfer them within one day. Unwillingly we had to postpone the funeral until the next day. Four big graves were dug on the hill according to the number of the divisions. Each regiment was supposed to bury its victims, its heroes in common graves. Awful are these graves, more awful than the victims

situated in different positions; corpses with cut heads, noses, stomachs ripped apart with all the guts inside out. Terrible!²²

The horrors of war took an important place in the memories of the priest Gur'ev.

After finishing the morning feeding of the soldiers without hands I went to the graveyard and buried 15 dead and several hands and legs which were cut yesterday in the surgery tents. I can't express the feeling I experienced when I had to place several black and bloody hands and legs in the grave. The man is still alive, but parts of him are placed in the grave.²³

The memories of the funerals were tightly intertwined with the memories of everyday obligations of the regiment priest in the hospital.

After the funeral I visited all dugouts and houses, where wounded officers and soldiers resided. In the morning we went to the hospital, everybody following his own duties, our work was not unimportant and hard and in the evening we came back home tired and always drenched to the ankles. Our work was super-human. Doctors to be blessed! 700 wounded and not a single nurse. I pray. I pray all the time, I pray for physical strength. I am tired, I am exhausted, and the end of the work is still far way. Today we transferred 200 wounded, yesterday 200 more. The transfer of the wounded from the field hospital to the stationary ones is a relief for us but it is a difficult job; you have to inspect the soldiers' sanitary licenses, prepare their transfer lists, and check if their clothes and shoes would prevent them from freezing to death on the way. You have to check if there are blankets in the wagons, put some food in them and provide medicine in order to continue the treatment on the way. A doctor, several medical assistants and orderlies join the transport and you have to provide food for several days for all of them.²⁴

Performing religious rituals and services are one of the obligations of the regiment priest.

Last week I as usual said a lunch prayer [*obednica*]. After finishing the service I visited all hospital tents and dugouts carrying the Holy cross in hands to bless our sick – 298 people. This visit positively influenced the sick; many of them kissed the cross crying and praying warmly; the weak ones were crawling on their knees and to the weakest ones, who were not able to move, I crawled. You had to witness what joy these suffering people experienced. Just to meet me, consoled their souls – they felt better.²⁵

On the 8th, the day of Saint Michael, I said a lunch prayer to the second unit of our artillery brigade – at the beginning in the hospital and later in the regiment and finally in the trenches. The service gathered all superiors and thanks to the clear weather in the field we covered our tables under the open sky and prepared our official lunch. We invited our Siberian regiment musicians and started our feast while watching the Turkish redoubts.²⁶

The Bulgarians also used to visit the services but father Gur'ev bitterly noted that the young Bulgarians were not acquainted with the order of the service and did not know how to get closer to the cross in order to kiss it.²⁷

The poor Bulgarians, they do not know how to cross themselves. They listened to my speech with great attention and curiosity. At the end of the prayer I congratulated the Bulgarian units as well – the defenders of their suffering fatherland. This “For many years” impressed the Bulgarians very much; they did not know how to express their enthusiasm and applauded – they joined me to my lodging shouting “Long live the Russian tsar, long live the Russian priest, for many years!” This unexpected reaction moved me deeply. No, those who claim that the Bulgarians are unfriendly to us are not right.²⁸

But the Bulgarians, poor, unhappy Bulgarians, they have lost their self-consciousness of being Christians. When I move from one dugout to another, carrying the cross in hand, and assemble them by holy singing they do not cross themselves properly, not to mention the youngsters and children – they do not even realize the superficial side of Christianity.²⁹

Evaluating his job the priest is modest but proud.

If you witnessed our job you may say that we do something very important, each of our steps is heroic but we do not acknowledge this. We have to do it – this is our answer. We have to live in dugouts and we do live; we have to freeze and be hungry and we manage it; we have to seize Plevna and we overpower it; we have to cross the Balkan during the winter and we do cross it.³⁰

Evaluations of the work of priests during the war can be met episodically in other memories and memoirs of participants in the war. Maybe the strongest is the evaluation by Vasilij Nemirovič-Dančenko – one of the Russian war correspondents:

Maybe you remember my visit to Šipka during the terrible days of August. Maybe you remember the priest, who looks after the wounded like a mother. He is still here – slim, with white hair. Meanwhile his young wife died and left the children to themselves. Here is the well-known doctor Milovidov who lives under the shelling in a hole since 13

August. Isn't this heroism? The bright demonstrations of heroism made us to forget such self-sacrificing workers since it is not clear what is more masculine – to jump into the Turkish redoubts or to spend six months in such a hole, face to face with all these sufferings.³¹

Vacancies and duties of the priests of other confessions

In the Russian Empire the relations between religions were legislated. Orthodoxy was a state religion; the others were defined as tolerable and intolerable. Islam, Buddhism, Judaism and Lutheranism were tolerable religions. The Christian sects and old-customs (*staroobryadčestvo*) were not tolerated. Since the reign of Pëtr I not only Orthodox priests but Protestant priests of German and Dutch origin were serving in the army. The regulations issued on 17 December 1712 required tolerance to the local confessions in the regions of stationed troops and in the regions on enemy's country at wartime.³² By that time representatives of other confessions occupied high military positions. There were a few in the middle and low echelon. The regulations of 1797 gave the order of compulsory religious service for the entire military. On Sundays and religious feasts the entire staff was obliged to go to church – the Orthodox to an Orthodox Church, and Catholics and Protestants to their churches.³³

For the first time a Catholic military priest was mentioned in 1803, probably related to the invasion of the Kingdom of Poland, which was partly incorporated into the Russian Empire.³⁴ In 1853 on the territory of the Empire 32 Catholic priests were serving in the military and three in the military churches.³⁵ A military Lutheran priest was mentioned for the first time in 1823.³⁶

What was the situation of the Muslims in the army? The Russian expansion into the "Muslim world" started in the 16th century and continued until the middle of the 19th century. As a result 18 million Muslims were living in the Empire, most of them in the Volga region, the Crimea, in Central Asia and in the Caucasus. The increase of the Muslim population compelled the authorities to search ways of its integration in the Russian Orthodox state. Religious persecution and forced conversion typical for the 16th century was followed by a policy of tolerance in the 18th and 19th centuries, especially regarding the Muslims serving in the army.³⁷ The first mentioning of a military mufti is dated with the year 1813.³⁸ There were representatives of other Christian and non-Christian denominations in the army. Only in 1822 Uniat (The Catholic church of Eastern ritual) priests were mentioned.³⁹ The first data about Buddhist-Lamaist clergy, appointed to the Don Cossack army, were provided in 1839.⁴⁰ Since the second quarter of the 19th century rabbis also got appointed to the army and military synagogues were arranged.⁴¹ On 27 August 1827 a decree was issued concerning the military service of Jews. The Jews were allowed to follow the customs of their faith. They were permitted to attend synagogues when available or to pray together.

Until 1905 there was no vacancy for priests of old-custom (*staroobryadcy*) in the army since they were not admitted as clergy, but in 1905 a law for "religious tolerance" was passed and the existence of old-customers in the army was officially

proclaimed. The vacancy for Orthodox and non-Orthodox priests increased at war-time.

During the second half of the 19th century Aleksandr II undertook a military reform, requiring compulsory military service for men of all classes. The number of military of different confessions increased. The military clergy faced a complex task – not to allow religious difference to turn into religious conflict. Norms were elaborated to regulate inter-religious relations in the army and the manner of celebrating the feasts of each religion. The ceremony of taking an oath was a religious ceremony – a promise to God with the clergy, Orthodox priest, imam or rabbi, present.

The regulations of 1874 obliged each Russian subject to serve in the army; article 7 regulated the conditions of the non-Orthodox citizens – they served in the irregular army. The educated and the ones who got educated during the service saw their term reduced – from five to four years – and special regiment schools and libraries opened for that purpose.

Missionary activity in the army and in occupied territories was forbidden to all confessions except Orthodoxy. Priests of different religions were subjected to their own ecclesiastic authority regulating how to minister and how to perform rituals.

Before the beginning of the Russo-Ottoman War vacancies for Muslim muftis and imams in the Russian Army were defined. They were supposed to visit all military units in which more than 300 Muslims were serving, to be present during the oath taking ceremonies, to take part in the rituals reading the Holy Koran; to bury the warriors killed in the battles or which had died of diseases and wounds according to the Muslim customs.⁴²

The military clergy in the Russo-Ottoman War

In the course of the Russo-Ottoman War priests became more and more important. Besides the content, forms and methods of religious education of officers and soldiers became more specific. The order of satisfying proclaimed spiritual needs in battle conditions was also specified. The structure of the mobile field church and the manner of commemoration of the war heroes were rendered more precisely.⁴³ The big number of rewarded priests and their promotions to archpriests speaks about their active role in the war:⁴⁴

- Order of St. Anna II grade – 35 priests and archpriests
- Order of St. Anna III grade – 47 priests and archpriests
- Order of St. Vladimir IV grade – 34 priests and archpriests

In the 1870s 121 officers and 3,532 soldiers served in the irregular army of the non-Orthodox warriors of the Caucasus and Orenburg; 69 officers and 6,855 soldiers served in the Bashkiria army and 120 officers and 4,187 soldiers in the Trans-Caucasus army. 130 cavalry units and 12 infantry units of non-Orthodox warriors took part in the irregular army during the war of 1877 – 1878.⁴⁵ Two irregular Dagestani volunteer regiments fought on the Asia Minor front in 1877.⁴⁶

For the period 1876 – 1878 men from Ingushetia, Ossetia, Chechnya, Kabardia and other small nations were attracted to military service – in total 19,852 persons, most of them Muslims.⁴⁷ On 25 November 1876 the Tersk Cavalry Irregu-

lar Regiment was constituted. Just before the war the Tersk Regiment was directed to Bessarabia, near Kishinëv, where the Caucasus Cossack Division was founded including the regiments of Tersk, Vladikavkaz, Kuban and the Don Cossacks. In one military unit Cossacks from Tersk, Kuban and Don, as well as warriors from Ossetia, Ingushetia, Chechnya and Kalmykia were united. On the two fronts of the war irregular units of the North Caucasus nations, mostly of Muslim belief, took part.⁴⁸ Muftis and imams were appointed to the Muslim regiments having the same rights and duties as the Orthodox military priests. During the Russo-Ottoman War nine military muftis a lot more imams served in the army.⁴⁹

Conclusions

We are not going to discuss the destiny of the military clergy in the Russian Army after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 in detail but we are going to mention several facts. On 12 June 1890, by the Emperor's approval new requirements were introduced – "Conditions for managing the churches and the clergy of military and navy institutions." The new rank "presbyter" was established to govern all regiment churches, castles, military hospitals and military schools.⁵⁰ The new institution enlarged during the Russo-Japanese War and World War I.⁵¹ In 1890 the new journal "Newspaper of the military and navy clergy" was issued. In 1917 the journal was renamed "Clerical and social thinking. A progressive issue of the military and navy priesthood."⁵²

In 1891 907 churches were subordinated to the institution – 12 church assemblies, 806 regiment churches, twelve castle churches, 24 hospital churches, ten prison churches, 6 port churches, 3 private and 34 different institutions. 569 priests were subordinated to these institutions.⁵³

From 1 to 11 July 1914 in St. Petersburg the first All-Russian Congress of the Military and Navy Priesthood was held with 49 priests present. At the Second Congress the elective principal for governing positions was approved. According to the statute, in military units and in case of necessity Catholic, Protestant, Muslim and Buddhist priests have to be appointed.⁵⁴ On 16 January 1918 the institution of the military and navy priesthood to the Russian Army was dismissed by a decree of the People's Commissioner of Military Affairs. 3,700 priests were dismissed from the army.⁵⁵

On 4 September 1943, after the meeting of Stalin with bishops Sergej, Aleksej and Nikolaj, a new period of interaction between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Soviet state was initiated. At the meeting of the church pontiff bishop Sergej was elected as patriarch of Moscow and Russia. Some elements of the old institution "Military clergy" were restored including the traditional church governing bodies – both central and local. Many exiled priests were liberated. In order to serve as priests in the military churches former priests were demobilized from the army. By state assistance the educational clerical system was restored. In November 1943 the Clerical Institute of Moscow opened for the military, while clerical courses were also offered to the students. The Moscow Patriarchy started publication activities. The government of the USSR appropriated the decree Nr. 1,325 called "About the

order of opening churches". Since 28 November the process of officially opening Orthodox churches and prayer houses started.

A special institution called "Council of Supervising the Church" was established by the USSR's SOVNARKOM, to coordinate the relations between the Soviet government and the Patriarch of Moscow and Russia.⁵⁶ The task of the Patriarchy demanded by the state was to become the leader of worldwide Orthodoxy – i.e. Moscow to become the new center of Orthodoxy headed by the Russian patriarch. However, this ambition was not realistic, neither for the Patriarch nor for the Soviet state.⁵⁷ From 1948 no document concerning the relations between the church and the state was initiated. Step by step the religious sphere was excluded from the priorities of the state. "Appropriate conditions for the church to continue to perform its mission in international plans were established inside the state – the church was allowed to defend its pragmatic interests within an atheistic state."⁵⁸

In post-Soviet Russia in 1994 the patriarch of Moscow and Russia Aleksei II signed a cooperation agreement with Pavel Gračev, then Minister of War of the Russian Federation. This is the first official document on the relations between the church and the Russian Federation. On the basis of this document a "Coordination Committee for the Interaction between Military Forces and the Russian Orthodox Church" was established. In February 2006 Patriarch Aleksei II permitted military priests to be educated and in May 2006 the Russian president Vladimir Putin approved the restoration of the Institute for Military Priesthood.⁵⁹

Fifteen years after the collapse of the USSR a polemic started in Russia about the necessity of introducing the institution of the military priesthood in the army. In his dissertation Vadim Raufovič Davletšin (2004)⁶⁰ considered this polemic which ranged from full rejection to a compulsory introduction following the pre-revolutionary model "to serve as the historical and nation-religious basis for the revival of the Russian Army." "On 14 April 2006 the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church appealed to the state and all traditional denominations in Russia for common efforts to restore the Institute for Military Priesthood."⁶¹ At the beginning of 2007, the "Section of the Interaction with Military Forces and Law Enforcement Institutions" at the St. Petersburg Eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church's Primary School for Military Priesthood opened (ten months of courses on catechism for military and civil persons of male gender).⁶² Since 1 December 2009, following the directive of the chief of the general headquarters, the position of the assistant commander working with military believers was introduced. The directive allowed priests to take civic staff positions.⁶³ In the site of the Holy Synod Section to the Patriarchy the obligations of the military priest staff were defined and the organization structure executed.⁶⁴ In February 2010 the Minister of War sanctioned the functions of the assistant commanders of the Russian Federation's military forces.⁶⁵ In July 2011, 240 Orthodox priests were appointed to the army with a monthly salary of 25,000 rubles provided by the state.⁶⁶ At the same time, according to Boris Lukičev, 200 churches, chapels and prayer rooms were provided to the garrisons – without any state subsidies and fully on a voluntarily basis.⁶⁷

The idea of the restoration of the institution of the military priesthood also has opponents. They argue that according to article 14 of the Russian constitution, Russia is a secular state and the important sacraments of the Christian church could be used for political purposes.⁶⁸

¹ A variant of this paper was published in Bulgarian language in *Balkanistic Forum*, 1/2015, 209-222.

² Cf. Тимофей Барсов, Об управлении русским военным духовенством [About the governing of the Russian military clergy], *Христианское чтение*, 9-10, Санкт-Петербург, 1878, 378-412; Константин Капков, Памятная книга Российского военного и морского духовенства XIX – начала XX веков [A memory book of the Russian military and navy clergy 19th – 20th century], Москва, 2008, 30; Вячеслав Котков, Полковой священник – главный организатор духовного, нравственного, православного и патриотического воспитания военнослужащих в русской армии [The Regiment Priest – Main organizer of spiritual moral, Orthodox and patriotic education of the military in the Russian Army], *Московской патриархии*, 8, Москва, 1999, 121.

³ “Ober” is German for “main”. The first ober-priest in the army and navy was Pavel Jakovlevič Ozereckovskij (1758 – 1807).

⁴ Капков, Книга, 2, 30.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*; Барсов, Управлении, 2; Григорий Голов, Прохождение службы по военному ведомству [Service in the military institution], Санкт Петербург, 1907, 7.

⁶ Евгений Копарев, Военное духовенство на Кавказе [Military clergy in the Caucasus], Санкт Петербург, 2011; Ирина Леонидовна Бабиц, Владимир Олегович Бобровников, Северный Кавказ в составе Российской Империи [The Northern Caucasus in the Russian Empire], Москва, 2007, 186.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁸ Cf. Барсов, Управлении 2, 378-412; Капков, Книга, 2, 31.

⁹ Капков, Книга, 2, 29.

¹⁰ Cf. Барсов, Управлении, 2, 394; Капков, Книга, 2, 383.

¹¹ Капков, Книга, 2, 384.

¹² *Ibid.*, 387.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Cf. Барсов, Управлении, 2, 396; Голов, Прохождение, 5, 21. The author presents the obligations of the military clergy; Николай Невзоров, Исторический очерк управления военного духовенства в России [Historical outline of the government of military clergy in Russia], Санкт Петербург, 1875, 64; Николай Ключарев, Чем занимались в русской армии священнослужители [What are the obligations of the clergy in the army], *Армия*, 19, 1992, 42; Владимир Рогоза, Правовое регулирование взаимоотношений православной церкви и силовых ведомств в Российской империи [The judicial regulation of the relations between the Orthodox church and the military forces in the Russian Empire], Санкт Петербург, 2004; Вячеслав Котков, Военное духовенство в России [Military clergy in Russia], Санкт Петербург, 2004, 134; Владимир Цветков, Военное духовенство в русской армии: служба и служение [The military clergy in the Russian Army: service and duty], Санкт Петербург, 2004, 134.

¹⁵ Вестник военного духовенства [Newspaper of the Russian clergy], Санкт Петербург, 15, 1891, 461.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁷ Вахх Василиевич Гурьев, Письма священника с похода [Letters of a priest from the march], Москва, 2007.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

²² *Ibid.*, 57.

²³ Ibid., 61.

²⁴ Ibid., 29.

²⁵ Ibid., 35.

²⁶ Ibid., 37.

²⁷ Cf. Людмила Посохова, Церковная жизнь Болгарии глазами российского священника [The church of Bulgaria as seen by a Russian priest]. В: Михаил Станчев и др. (ред.), Дриновский сборник, III, Харків, София, 2002, 78-83.

²⁸ Гурьев, Письма, 17, 78.

²⁹ Ibid., 35.

³⁰ Ibid., 107.

³¹ Василий Немирович-Данченко, Година на война [A year at war], София, 2008, 498.

³² Алексей Ганьжин, Решение межрелигиозных проблем в вооруженных силах дореволюционной России [Decision on the inter-confessional problems in the military forces in pre-revolutionary Russia], Москва, 2007.

³³ Ibid., 2

³⁴ Капков, Книга, 2, 43.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., 44.

³⁷ Елена Ивановна Воробьева, Власть и мюсюльманское духовенство в Русской империи. Вторая половина 19 век – 1917 [Authorities and Muslim clergy in the Russian Empire. Second half of the 19th century – 1917], *Исторический ежегодник*, 4, 1998, 40-45.

³⁸ Ibid., 45.

³⁹ Капков, Книга, 2, 45.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 46.

⁴¹ Котков, Военное духовенство, 14, 199.

⁴² Зайнаб М. Амирова, Участие народов Северного Кавказа в Русско-турецкой войне 1877 – 1878 [The participation of the North Caucasus peoples in the Russo-Turkish War 1877 – 1878], Махачкала, 2005, 118.

⁴³ Сергей Чимаров, Русская православная церковь и религиозно-нравственное воспитание личного состава армии и флота 1800 – 1917 [The Russian Orthodox Church and the moral education of the staff of the Russian Army and Navy], Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук, Санкт Петербург, 1999.

⁴⁴ Георгий Поляков, Военное духовенство России [Military Clergy in Russia], Москва, 2002, 373-429

⁴⁵ Генерал-майор Константин Дружинин, Русско-турецкая война 1877 – 1878 [The Russo-Turkish War 1877 – 1878]. Web. 05.08.2014.

http://www.plam.ru/hist/istorija_russkoi_armii_tom_tretii/p4.php

⁴⁶ Полина И. Тахнаева, Чохцы на русско-турецкой войне [Čochcy in the Russo-Turkish War], Махачкала, 2014.

⁴⁷ Хасолт А Акиев, Участие горцев Северного Кавказа в войне 1877 – 1878 гг. [The participation of the North Caucasus peoples in the war of 1877 – 1878], *Вопросы истории*, 1, 1980, 28.

⁴⁸ Cf. Андрей Кравцов; Евгени Кравцов, Участие горцев Терской области в Русско – турецкой войне 1877 – 1878 [The participation of the people from the Terek region in the Russo-Turkish War 1877 – 1878], Ноябрьск, 2013; Мирослав Санакоев, Осетинский народ в Русско-турецкой войне 1877 – 1878 [The people of Ossetia in the Russo-Turkish War 1877 – 1878], Цхинвал, 2010.

⁴⁹ Приказ по военному ведомству 318 за 1908 г. В: Приказы по военному ведомству за 1908 год., Санкт-Петербург, 1908, 350.

⁵⁰ Военное духовенство [Military Clergy]. Web. 05.08.2014.

<http://drevo-info.ru/articles/4753.html>

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Теодора Чумаченко, Власть и русская православная церковь: отношения, рожденные войной /к вопросу о причинах возрождения государственно-церковных отношений и пределах их эволюции/, Опыт мировых войн в истории России [Authorities and the Russian Orthodox church: relations caused by the war], Сб. под ред. И. В. Нарский, Челябинск, 2004, 123; Ольга Васильева, Русская православная церковь в политике советского государства в 1943 – 1948гг. [The Russian Orthodox Church and politics in the Soviet state 1943 – 1948], Москва, 2001; Михаил Шкаровский, Русская православная церковь при Сталине и Хрущёве [The Russian Orthodox Church in Stalin's and Chruščëv's time], Москва, 1999.

⁵⁷ Чумаченко, Власть, 56, 138.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 139.

⁵⁹ Протоиерей Алексей Марченко, Проблема введения института военного духовенства в современной России и пути ее решения [The problem of the introduction of the institute of military clergy in contemporary Russia and how to solve the problem]. Web. 05.08.2014. <https://mospat.ru/church-and-time/19>

⁶⁰ Вадим Рауфович Давлетшин, Военное духовенство в России XVIII – начала XX века и его деятельность по морально-психологическому обеспечению охраны государственной границы: исторический анализ [The Russian military clergy in Russia (18th – beginning of 20th century) and its activity about the moral and psychological enforcement of the Russian borders], Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук, Москва, 2004, 4.

⁶¹ Военное духовенство, 50.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.; Марченко, Проблема, 59.

⁶⁴ Положение о военном духовенстве Русской Православной Церкви в Российской Федерации [The situation of the military clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Russian Federation]. Web. 05.08.2014. <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/3481010.html>

⁶⁵ Военное духовенство, 50.

⁶⁶ Марченко, Проблема, 59.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

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National Minorities of Armenia during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878

Abstract: *National minorities of Armenia also actively participated in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878. The article examines the involvement of Kurds-Muslims, Yezidis, Assyrians, Greeks, Lom people (Boshas), and Caucasian Tatars (Turks) of the Russian Army in the military operations at the Caucasus Front. In the article interethnic collisions in different inhabited localities in Armenia are considered as well. To provide some comparative material, the appendix presents an example of an interethnic collision in the Balkans published in the Armenian press of the time.*

After the final conquest of the Caucasus and the suppression of its native population, the Russian officials began to involve more Caucasians into the military subdivisions accommodated in the Caucasus, thereby taking into consideration the experience of the Crimean War of 1853 – 1856. Just before the war of 1877 – 1878, the Russian officials conscripted about 42,000 residents of the Caucasus Viceroyalty into the army, which made up a quarter of the entire Caucasus Army.¹ Not only Christians but also Muslims were conscripted into the army. Along with the regular army, voluntary military forces were formed, who took part in military operations on the side of Russia. A new war with the Ottoman Empire and the perspective of Western Armenia's liberation from Ottoman rule inspired all levels of Armenian society in the country and Armenian colonies on the territory of the Russian Empire.

In many towns public meetings were held, where it was decided to help the Russian Army fighting at the Caucasian front and to form voluntary military forces. Many residents of Eastern Armenia – Armenians, Yezidis, Russians, Greeks, Caucasian Tatars and others, voluntarily joined the Russian Army. Many residents of territories bordering the Ottoman Empire became guides and helped with provisions and forage. During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878, besides the natives of Armenia, national minorities were also involved in both the military operations as well as in securing the rear.

In 1639 after long-lasting Ottoman-Persian Wars, Armenia was divided by the Ottoman Empire and Persia. Western Armenia was taken by the Ottoman Empire and Eastern Armenia became a part of Persia. According to the Treaty of Gülistan

of 1813 and the Treaty of Turkmenčaj of 1828, Eastern Armenia was incorporated into the Russian Empire. After the Peace Treaty of Turkmenčaj between Persia and the Russian Empire and the Peace Treaty of Adrianople, signed by Russia and the Ottoman Empire, the residents of Persia, the Ottoman Empire and Russia had the opportunity to move freely from one country to another. This fact was received with special enthusiasm by the Armenians of Persia and Western Armenia, which remained a part of the Ottoman Empire. Mass migrations of peoples and ethnic groups from bordering regions of the three countries continued during 1828 – 1831.²

After that the ethno-demographic situation in Eastern Armenia was somehow stabilized. It is worth mentioning that along with the native Armenians, who comprised more than 70% of the entire population, there were Greeks, Russians, Assyrians, Boshas (Lom people, Roma), Kurds-Muslims, Kurds-Yezidis and other Turkic-speaking peoples. The national minorities mentioned above settled on the territory of Eastern Armenia during different historical periods in the aftermath of military-political or economic events. For instance, the Greek ethnic group appeared on the territory of Eastern Armenia in the second half of the 18th century, when copper and silver craftsmen from *Gyumushkhan* (an area between Trabzon and Erzurum) moved to the northern part of Eastern Armenia. After Eastern Armenia joined the Russian Empire, the flow of Greek migrants to Transcaucasia increased. Some Greeks settled down in Armenia, others in Georgia – in the region of Tsalka.³

Yezidis and Kurds (the ethnic group of Kurds is divided into Sunnis, Shias and Yezidis) came into Eastern Armenia as early as in the 10th century. Being nomads, they used to settle in territories bordering with Persia and the Ottoman Empire. Mass migration of Kurds-Yezidis was connected to the strict policy of persecution by Ottoman authorities towards them in the countries of the Middle East (today's Turkey, Iran and Syria).⁴ Kurds-Yezidis, who were persecuted by the Ottoman Empire as heterodoxes,⁵ professed their special religion – shafuddinism, which was a synthesis of sun worshipping, elements of Christianity, Islam and other religions. They mostly moved to Eastern Armenia after the Crimean War of 1853 – 1856 and especially after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878.⁶ After the Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin and after the Russian forces had left, the Yezidi population could have been exterminated completely for their affections towards the Russians. The Yezidis understood that their assistance to Russian forces and the participation of Yezidi troops in military activities on the side of Russians would not remain unnoticed by the Ottoman authorities.

Interesting information about levy units or militias consisting of various Kurdish tribes living in Eastern Armenia is preserved in Armenian sources and especially in Armenian press. A description of a parade of such a unit is preserved in the newspaper "Mšak", the correspondent of which writes particularly:

One-two weeks ago a regiment of Kurdish horsemen was seen by A. Ter-Ghukasyanc⁷, the commander of a part of the Caucasus troops in the province of Yerevan. It was very interesting to watch the arrangement of these new troops. Each Kurd was wearing clothes belonging to his tribe. The only weapon, which helped them to be a few sažen⁸

away from the enemy, was the long spear, to which' edge sharp iron was attached. During that parade, the Kurds were doing their usual exercises, riding horses, threatening each other with their spears, which, as if it were a feather pen were humming through the air in the mighty arms of the Kurds and over the heads of their enemies. Other weapons were a rare exception and belonged to the handiwork of medieval craftsmen.⁹

After Eastern Armenia had joined Russia, the tsarist government made up some plans on the migration of Russian sectarians to the newly conquered areas. The first Russian sectarian settlements appeared on the territory of Armenia in the 30s of the 19th century. The most sectarians were Molokans and Sabbatarians, who lived in 17 villages from a total 23 villages which had a sectarian population. The rest of the villages were settled by Orthodox Christians and some Armenians who accepted Orthodoxy.¹⁰

During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878, the Russian population of Eastern Armenia and especially the sectarian villages were taking an active part in supporting the troops with the necessary provisions, forage and transport. In the National Archive of Armenia, the documents are kept where the sectarian villages of Novobayazet district are listed (Konstantinovka, Yelenovka, Aleksandrovka, Semeonovka, Sukho-Fantan, Novo-Nokolayevka and others). The population of the villages had prepared a great stock of zwiebacks (a form of rusk) for the needs of the Russian forces.¹¹

Assories or Assyrians appeared on the territory of Eastern Armenia after the Treaty of Turkmenčaj. They migrated from the Persian province of Urmiya and mostly settled in the Ararat valley and the Kotayk district.¹² Assyrians living on the territory of Armenia were mostly of Orthodox belief and their migration to the territory of the Russian Empire was encouraged by the Russian authorities. Assyrians living in Eastern Armenia joined the army and were involved in military activities. Besides, the Assyrian population of the villages helped the Russians with the necessary provisions, forage and transport. For example, Assyrians of the village of Arzni provided the Yerevan corpus of the Russian Army a full cart of freshly baked bread.¹³

A special place among the national minorities of Eastern Armenia is devoted to the Boshas. Since the first century the first groups their ancestor tribes settled on the territory of Armenia and roamed from place to place along the international trade routes. Over several centuries Armenian Boshas not only accepted Armenian Christianity and thereby Monophysitism but the language and some cultural and household traditions of Armenians as well, and by the beginning of the 18th century the majority of them settled down. Armenian Boshas had a dual ethnic self-consciousness and were glorified as brave warriors, what is also indicated in Armenian and foreign sources. Nearly 250,000 – 300,000 Armenian Boshas lived on the territory of Armenia and they took part in all military campaigns on the territory of Eastern Armenia since the beginning of the 18th century. For instance, Armenian Boshas were bravely fighting against the Ottomans during the siege of Yerevan's fortress in 1724. In this respective, the war of 1877 – 1878 was not an exception:

Armenian Boshas from Yerevan, Kotayk, and Qanaker used to enrich Eastern Armenian voluntary military forces.

The Turkic-speaking population of Eastern Armenia represented a quite motley and diverse picture of different ethnic groups. The formation of Turkic-speaking tribes lasted quite long and until the 19th century. It's worth mentioning that seven tribes were included into the group of the nomadic *Qizilbash* while these Turkic-speaking groups didn't compose a unified nationality. This is the reason why a unified ethnonym was not clearly created for these tribes, not even in Russian statistic literature. Turkic-speaking ethnic groups were named "Tatars", "Turks", "trans-Caucasian Tatars" or even "Mahometans".¹⁴ Many of the Caucasian Tatars, who were residents of Eastern Armenia, fought in the battlefields and in the volunteer corps. In the National Archive of Armenia the certificates of the Caucasian Tatars, who had their share in Russia's victory, are kept. It is worth mentioning that the Russian command encouraged the involvement of national minorities in the war in every possible way and resorted to their help in different situations. An incident connected to the name of Samson Ter-Poghosyan is well known. He dressed up in a Kurdish national costume, broke through the encirclement of Bajazet and informed the commander of the district of Yerevan, Arshak Ter-Gukasov, about the disastrous situation of the defenders of Bajazet. Later he was given the rank of a warrant officer and was awarded with the 1st class Order of the War and the 3rd class Order of Saint Stanislaus.¹⁵

Orders and medals were awarded not only to Armenian members of the volunteer corps and military personnel of the army but as well to representatives of many other national minorities living in Eastern Armenia. In the records of those awarded for courage many names of Caucasian Tatars are mentioned. Thus, Ismail Agaoglu was awarded with the military medal "Sign of Honor", Ghasan Iskandaroglu was awarded with the medal "For Courage", Tatirbek Bakhshibek with a silver medal, and so on.¹⁶ Among those awarded for courage and particularly for helping the Russian forces were many of Armenia's Greeks. They helped the forces repair and fix the weapons and accouterments. Assyrians of the village of Nižnij Kjujlasar (Lower Kjujlasar, currently Dimitrov) helped the troops move towards Igdir and Surmalu with provision and forage just like their kinsman from the village of Arzni did.

Russian generals and representatives of local authorities in their reports were announcing in detail about the friendly attitude and the immense help on behalf of the local residents. Archive materials indicate that a favorable assistance of the local people greatly contributed to the victories of the Russian Army and their great achievements on the Caucasian front.

In April 1877, when Russian Emperor Aleksandr II in Kišinëv signed a manifesto of the beginning war with the Ottoman Empire, the Armenians in Russia accepted this with evident enthusiasm. The Armenian liberal press, and particularly "Mšak", devoted the lion's share of its pages to inform about military operations taking place on the two fronts of the war. "Mšak" also didn't miss the events taking place at the war's rear and frontline settlements: Kutaisi, Yerevan and Aleksandropol' (where the main strike forces of the Caucasian Army were centralized).

Leaving aside military operations and other similar information known to Armenian and foreign historiography, let's discuss some interesting facts, which haven't been covered or raised, probably intentionally, in the researches related to the mentioned period. They refer to voluntary or military subdivisions formed by the Caucasian mountaineers and the Caucasian Tatars. Taking into consideration the experience of the Crimean War, Russian authorities sought to divide the soldier force of the mountaineers, them being not completely subjected yet, and to move a part of them as militias¹⁷ to the front of the first line. Such a few desperado units were accommodated in Aleksandropol' as well and a collision between them and the local population seemed to be inevitable, as a great part of the Circassians was perceived as a stealing horde, perceived as such especially by the gardeners of the suburbs of the city. Here is what "Mšak" announces about the collision between the locals of Aleksandropol' and the Circassians.

We are writing from Aleksandropol'. On 23 October the following incident occurred. A fierce fighting occurred between Circassian forming militias and local Armenians. One of the Circassians sold a horse to an Armenian chaise-owner and after getting the money intentionally persuades his friends to claim back the horse from the Armenian, as if the Armenian hadn't bought the horse but had stolen it. Therefore, in the morning three Circassian equestrians approached the chaise on the square and expressed their right towards the horse drawn in the chaise. Here the broil begins: one says that he had bought the horse for money, the others say that it was stolen [...] Continuing that conflict, the Circassians dragged the Armenian along with his chaise to the police. At that time, local Armenians gathered in the streets, learning the nature of the case, took the side of the Armenian, pursued the Circassians and began to beat them. The fight became mutual; the Circassians pulled out swords and assailed the Armenians. One of them was going to unload a gun and fire at a group of Armenians. At that time, accepting some stones to his head, the Circassian dropped the gun from his hand. Finally, several armed soldier came running, people scattered, and both sides of the fighting people were taken to the police.¹⁸

Several months before that incident, a collision with almost the same scenario had occurred in Yerevan, where the mob recruited from Caucasian Tatars of the Elizavetpol' province robbed the local trader. When a bloody collision arose between them and the Armenians, the local Turks reached out for help to their kindred and even Armenians being in the police forces became victims to their vandalism. The sad thing was that local authorities hadn't learnt their lesson from the Yerevan incident and let groups of desperados stop at Armenian settlements or places surrounding them when sending them to the frontlines in the Russo-Ottoman War. Yerevan province authorities and Aleksandropol' regional authorities, as well as the local military command, who knew about the non-neighborly relations between Armenians and Tatars and between Armenians and local mountaineers, persistently ignoring the motion of healthy rationality, continued to create artificial tensions over

the Armenian settlements of the Yerevan Province and the zone near the frontlines. To show the lieutenant governor of Yerevan's inactivity in preventing the interethnic collisions, it's necessary to quote the correspondence of "Mšak's" Yerevan correspondent H. Ter-Grigoryants without any cuts and editing, as well as the bumptious and false report of the lieutenant governor addressed to the viceroy of the Caucasus:

On Saturday, 30 April a sad incident happened in Yerevan, which you know already from the telegram – writes H. Ter-Grigoryanc. In the morning at 11 o'clock, the Turks came from Gandzak to go to Charsu, where the Armenians were trading, and began to make various disorders, snatched goods from the traders, claimed change from money not given by them and so on. Here a fight began between Armenians and Turks, toothpicks were used and finally policemen came and ended the fight. But once the police went away, the Turks attack the Armenians again. At this time some people from the militia army had come to buy hay. They also were displeased with the hay sellers and, intermingling with the first group, with swords and daggers attacked the Armenians, who closed their shops, climbed up to the roof and began to protect themselves with stones. Some of the Armenians were wounded. The fight gradually escalates, because both before and now local Turks, some with daggers, some with wooden bats, attack the Armenians. In spite of the fact, that the police was there and bravely made its obligations, it was unable to restrain the furious Turks. Police Master Evertano, the policemen Arshak Khachaturyan and Kananov, having only one-two swords stood between the fighters and tried to repel the Turks. The police master's life was exposed to danger several times. Finally seeing, that they couldn't do anything, they requested support troops. Arshak Khachaturyan stayed between the fighters and got his head injured. Finally the lieutenant governor came. At that time rifles already were being released on each other. He began to persuade the Turks to go away and end the fight, but nobody listened to him, even he was exposed to danger. Only at that time, the lieutenant governor went away and asked for support. Seeing the troops coming, the Turks ran away. While running away, some of them met the senior police officer Avalov and the previous governor of Aleksandropol' Chachikov; the first escaped, and the second got an injury on his back. Finally, the troops surrounded the city and ended the riots. The police was immediately ordered to continue the way to the border. One of the Armenians, a boy was killed and many people were wounded; the number of those is unknown. Seven local Turks and some of the policemen were killed and about ten people were wounded. The local Turks mixed with the incoming people from Elizavetpol', and the great part of them attacked the Armenians, but got retribution. The injury of policeman Khachaturyan isn't dangerous, and the Turk wounding him has already been caught. In my opinion, in such a situation, the police

must have at least 100 people at their disposal, while they had only 10 soldiers. These disorders will not end, if the offenders aren't punished according to the law. During the fighting, the children of the local academy were released. Luckily that 8-aged children decided to return to the academy; otherwise they all could have been killed. Only one father came to carry away his children, the others had thought only about their own protection.¹⁹

As mentioned above, the brief report of the lieutenant governor of Yerevan was also printed in "Mšak", where an attempt was made to reduce the measure of interethnic collision in every possible way and to lower it to a level of common hooliganism. The local Russian newspaper "Kavkaz" says, that the following news was announced to the viceroy from the lieutenant governor of Yerevan:

A broil in Yerevan and a fight between regiment horsemen of Gandzak and local Armenian traders happened in the morning, at 11 o'clock, on 30 April. Later the local Muslims also took part in that fight. The results of that fight were injuries, robbing of the minor part's goods and the killing of a horseman. The police couldn't do anything. The presence of the local battalion and Cossacks, with my (lieutenant governor's) own participation, ended the disorder without usage of any weapon.

At the same day, on April 30, at 10 o'clock in the evening, another telegram adds: "15 people are injured, including two officials, a soldier (lightly) and two police officers. One of them was killed. The regiment went away and is seven verst²⁰ away from the city."²¹ It is natural, that the local authorities tried to cover up the mentioned incidents, but being afraid of public protest raised by "Mšak", transferred the desperados groups away from Yerevan and Aleksandropol'.

During the years of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878, representatives of the same national minorities appeared on the two sides of the Balkan and Caucasian fronts. It refers especially to Kurdish various tribes and Caucasian mountaineers, which were referred to with the collective name *Circassian*.²² Despite great efforts, Ottoman authorities couldn't include Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians and other Balkan peoples in military operations, not even as militiamen, while Russian authorities did succeed to do so. The Ottoman ruling circles moved groups of *başibozuks*, consisting of Circassians from the eastern parts of the country, to the Balkans, to have them terrorize local Christians and to prevent them from supporting the attacks of the Russian troops. The Ottoman command gave the Kurdish tribes the opportunity to freely rob and slaughter the Ottoman-submissive Armenian population near the Caucasian front. A great mass, especially from Alashkert, had to be displaced and migrated to Eastern Armenia. To ensure the security of the displaced Armenians, the commander of Yerevan subdivision General Arshak Ter-Gukasov even had to take some regiments from the front and accompanied the caravan of migrants to the Russian border.

Soviet historiography didn't comment on many events which had taken place at the rear of the Balkan and Caucasian fronts during the years of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878, which was overshadowed by the Bolshevik principle

of the so-called “peoples’ friendship”. It refers especially to the vandalism of Caucasian mountaineers or, as mentioned, to desperados groups under the collective name *Circassian*, which particularly were meant to attack the Balkan Christians. Two typical episodes realized by Circassian punitive subdivisions in the Balkans have their place in Armenian press. The text which can be found in the appendix to this article is one of them. It is necessary to note, that after each Circassian aggression Ottoman official circles pretended to be innocent, stating that these groups were uncontrollable subdivisions and they couldn’t do anything against them. In the best case, the Ottoman media imputed the vandalism conducted by the Circassians to the local Christian people, and even in the bloodshed realized in the Greek town of Viza, the Bulgarian rebels were accused of putting on Circassian folk costumes and of massacring the local Greek population.²³

To come to a conclusion, one should note that national minorities of Eastern Armenia actively participated in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878. Besides Armenians *per se*, Muslim Kurds, Yezidis, Assyrians, Greeks, Lom people (Boshas) and Caucasian Tatars (Turks) were also included in the Russian Army’s fighting at the Caucasus Front. Moreover, the local population greatly supported the Russian Army by providing food. During the years of war, voluntary subdivision consisting of some representatives of local peoples were formed and named militias. In different cities of Armenia interethnic conflicts occurred between the local Armenian population and subdivision of Caucasian Tatar militiamen. Militias consisting of Caucasus peoples were as well used by the Ottoman authorities to support their cause at the Caucasus Front.

Appendix

“The Bloodshed in Kavarna”²⁴

On 28 July, the Austrian “Politische Correspondenz” paper received the following information from Varna: “In Kavarna, a small town a few hours away from here, the population of which is mainly Greek, resembles a yet unheard crime scene on the 17th of this month. As before this crime, the lieutenant governor had been informed that Kavarna is laid siege to by approximately 2,000 Circassians and Tatars. After learning about this news, the lieutenant governor behaved very modestly and didn’t order to bring help and freedom to the city in trouble. This siege lasted for three full days, when it was decided to send Mahmad-Ali, the Kurdish commander of the local military unit, from Balçık to Kavarna to prevent the bloodshed expected. This admirable soldier came to Kavarna without bringing a person from his military subdivision with himself and stopped directly at the local casern, where he called four old rich men from Kavarna. At the presence of four Circassian officers Mahmad-Ali claimed from the residents a kind of danegeld: 60,000 piaster, for which the Circassians would have to be prepared to walk away from the city within two hours. This dialogue was still going on, when Circassians attacked these four citizens with their officers, killing two of them and wounding the other two, who ran away and could escape death. This caused a social disaster; the Circassians, Lezgians and

Tatars furiously attacked the poor Christians of Kavarna, entered their homes, killed those, who didn't fully obey, robbed as much as they could, disgraced womanhood and set the whole city on fire, which represented a sad scene with its towering flames. These disorders lasted for many hours, even after an armored warship had come which had been sent secretly from Balčik and after troops had been sent from Pazardžik, the crimes were still being committed. An Armenian with an Eranosyan name, a post office clerk came with the Gaymagam²⁵ of Balčik, was killed by Circassians while entering the warship. The beautiful square of the church, the college building and great parts of the adjacent houses were also entirely burnt down. A part of the population could escape to the nearest mountains and some of them could disappear at night to Kaliakra, where about 3,000 people, mainly Greeks from various villages found rescue. By now the definite number of the victims of Kavarna is not known, as exact figures about those escaping to Kaliakra and the mountains cannot be found, but it is said, the number of the victims exceeds 1,000 people. The number of girls stolen by the Circassians is also unknown, it is said it exceeds 50. One of these girls could run away to Balčik, where she arrived in poor condition. Great efforts to find the disappeared people are undertaken by each side, only Tajikistan, which considers itself guilty in this cause, as it ignored people asking and demanding for help and didn't do anything for the robbed city, seeks to hide these great losses in every way. Besides, Circassians drag the dead bodies over the streets to the flames of burning houses, thus accurate counting of the corpses isn't possible. Hasan-Paša, the Commander of the fleet, ordered to imprison 38 Circassians there, but only 20 Circassians were jailed. Kurdish Ahmad-Ali wasn't jailed. The thing not heard yet is that about 100 Circassians, which had participated in the Kavarna bloodshed, look for culprits, who they are themselves. The sustained damage of the villages of Balčik and the Mangalia region around Kavarna is very large and exceeds three million Tajik lira. Only 15,000 steers were carried from this region. Kavarna's residents escaped from death were taken to Balčik by warships. It was a terrible scene to see children in poor condition, naked and hungry, who were calling for their parents. The local Greek population formed a committee and collected signatures for these downtrodden people. Then the Ottoman warship went to Kaliakra, to bring the downtrodden people who were able to escape there. The English ship "Rapid" also entered the port along with the Greek Metropolitan, the Mutassarif and the English Consul. Kavarna was still on fire. On 12 August, the ship of the Austrian Lloyd Company "Österreich" arrived here and returned with 500 escaped Christians within a day. While the Tajik government didn't allow unloading the ship for three days, finally, after the great challenges, they got permission to bring these survivors to the nearest St. Constantine monastery. This is why they had to carry the refugees to the Tajik ship "Ismayil". But when they heard, that they would be carried to the Asian seashore, despair overwhelmed them, so that their screams were heard from the city. The Egyptian Khedive Hasan wanted to know the reason for these screams and when he heard about it, he ordered to move them to the European seashore. The refugees weren't stopping to praise Anton Rasler, the Captain of the Austrian ship "Austria": "This gentleman behaved very kindly to them, while accepting them in his ship as well as while moving them out of it, helping these poor people as much as he could."

¹ Шамше Мегрелидзе, Грузия в русско-турецкой войне 1877 – 1878 [Georgia during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878], Батуми, 1955, 47.

² Hamlet Sargsyan, Eastern Armenia's population in the period between the 19th centuries and the beginning of the 20th century [in Russian language], Yerevan, 2002, 47.

³ Ibid., 49.

⁴ Jurij Mkrtumyan (ed.), National Minorities of the Republic of Armenia Today [in Armenian language], 1, Yerevan 2000, 26p.

⁵ Иван И. Шопен, Исторический памятник состояни Армянской области в эпоху её присоединения к Российской империи [Historic monument of the Armenian region in the epoch of its joining to the Russian Empire], Санкт Петербург, 1852, 526.

⁶ Татьяна Аристова, Курды Закавказья [Kurds of Transcaucasia], Москва, 1966, 42.

⁷ I.e. corps commander General Arshak Ter-Gukasov.

⁸ Sažen' is a Russian unit of length. One sažen' equals 2,13 meters.

⁹ Mšak, 31, 30.04.1877.

¹⁰ Minorities, 3, 37p.

¹¹ National Archive of Armenia, fund 92, doc. 167, 116.

¹² Ibid., 50p.

¹³ Khachik Badalyan, Armenia in the Russo-Ottoman War (1877 – 1878) [in Armenian language], Yerevan, 1959, 95.

¹⁴ Hamlet Sargsyan, Eastern Armenia's population in the period between the 19th centuries and the beginning of the 20th century [in Russian language], Yerevan, 2002, 67.

¹⁵ National Archive of Armenia, fund 94, doc. 3090, 8.

¹⁶ Ibid., fund 99, doc. 30, 60.

¹⁷ In the period discussed, when saying "militias" it is understood a volunteer or levy, not a regular subdivision.

¹⁸ Mšak, 80, 05.11.1877.

¹⁹ Mšak, 32, 09.05.1877, 2.

²⁰ "Verst" is a Russian unit of length. One verst equals 1,066.8 meters.

²¹ Mšak, 34, 04.05.1877.

²² In Russian sources under the collective name *Circassian* several ethnic groups belonging to the Abkhazian-Adyghe group could have been meant: Original Circassians, Adyghe, Abkhazians, Ubykhs, Kabardians, and even Chechens and Ingush belonging to the Vainakh peoples.

²³ Mšak, 41, 1878, 3.

²⁴ Mšak, 65, 1877, 3.

²⁵ Substitute of a Paša – Comment by the authors.

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Yezidis in the Yerevan Gubernia (Province) after the Russo-Ottoman War (1877 – 1878)

Abstract: *The text presents the Yezidi community after the Russo-Ottoman War and the efforts of the Russian administration to regulate the situation of these people on the territory of today's Armenia. The article is based on publications and research on the historical destiny of Yezidis in the South Caucasus as well as on documents kept in the National Archives of Armenia.*

The Yezidis call their religion in different ways: *shafradin*, *yezidizm*, *shams*, *sun worship*. To questions of disbelievers, the Yezidis most often respond in this way: "We are sun worshippers." This self-identity is used when they want to avoid explanations linked to the complexity of the Yezidi religious cult and social system. On the territory of modern Armenia the Yezidis live in Yezidi or mixed villages around the towns of Armavir, Aparan, Talin, Echmiadzin, Masis, Artashat and Asharak. These are areas suitable for livestock breeding – the traditional livelihood for the Yezidis and Kurds as a whole. Yezidis are also present in the cities of Yerevan, Gyumri, Vanadzor, Abovyan, Dilijan, Stepanakan and Tashir.¹ Census data since 2001 show that 42,139 people officially live in Armenia. This represents 1.3% of the population and makes them the largest ethno-confessional minority.²

Yezidis in the diaspora

The Yezidis are a small part of the global Kurdish population. Philip Kreyenbroek indicates that estimations for the global community of Yezidis range from less than 200,000 to over a million.³ On the territory of Iraq, between Mosul and Sindzhar, near Shahan, about 300,000 people are believed to live. About 20,000 live in Syria (Srudza regions, Afrina and Qamishli) but due to the refugee wave from there, currently there is no accurate data. In Turkey there are several Yezidi villages (southeast of Diyarbakır) – a remnant of a larger historical community. Since the 1990s there has been an increased migration of Yezidis in Western Europe, the USA and the Russian Federation. About 40,000 Yezidis live in Armenia and about 18,000 of them live in Georgia. Over 40,000 people live in Germany – primarily in the western regions of Niedersachsen and Nordrhein-Westfalen. There

are smaller Yezidi communities in the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, France, UK, USA, Canada and Australia.⁴

Community origins

The history of the Yezidis (ezidi; Yezidis; self-designation “ezdi”) is directly related to the history of the Kurdish community. It will suffice to note that according to one version, the Yezidi community has separated from the Kurdish community, and another one states that it has developed in parallel with it. However, the bulk of the Yezidis speak the “Ezdiki” language classified by linguists as a dialect of the Kurdish language “Kurmanji”.⁵

There are different versions of the etymology of “Yezid” (“Ezid”) – from the Persian word “lezd” (“God” from the “Yezd” name, which angels of light in Zoroastrianism had); or from the Avestan term “Yazata” (literally: “the one who should be worshipped”) by the name “Ezida” – an ancient temple located near the city of Babylon Borsippa.⁶ Furthermore, there is a hypothesis that the term “Yezid” derives from the name of the Caliph Yazid – Caliph Moabites’ son, accused of Shi’ism for the murder of Hussein, son of Caliph Ali ibn Abi Talib (Shia Ali). However, the latest version, ignored until recently by the Yezidis themselves, in most researchers’ opinion, has been built only on the grounds of the sound coincidence without any historical rationale.⁷

One of the most disputed issues is what kind of people are professing Yezidism as a religion? Are they a part of the Kurds, identifying themselves as “Yezidis” by religion or are the “Yezidis” an ethnic group practicing that very religion? The “Kurdish” thesis about the Yezidis is supported by the Russian and Soviet ethnography and historiography and there it is defined as a “name of a part of the Kurds”.⁸

There is another trend – the Yezidis are regarded as an independent ethnicity, different from the Kurdish one. Supporters of this view pay attention to the differences in culture, customs, everyday life, and also on the history of the relationships of these two communities – the military conflicts between Kurds and Yezidis (eg. from 1832 – 1833, 1892, 1914 – 1916). There is a thesis supporting that it is the Yezidis that were the sub-ethnos, from which the modern Muslim Kurds “detached” themselves in the seventh century.⁹ Interestingly, the post-Soviet Kurdology already supports this trend and so in the “Great Russian Encyclopedia” („Bol’shaja Rossijskaja ènciklopedija”) of 2007 it can be read that the Yezidis are not an ethno-confessional Kurdish community; they are named a “separate independent people in northern Iraq”.¹⁰ Both of these ideas have supporters among the Yezidis themselves. In a recent research done by Tork Dalalyan about identification processes among the Yezidis in Armenia, the definition of the “population of the Kurmanji language” is used to avoid what he called “the ideological commitment to address the problem of the determination of the Kurdish and Ezidi identity”.¹¹

The Yezidi religion

Most researchers, especially representatives of the Soviet Kurdology believe that “Yezidism contains elements of the Babylonian western Iranian astral religion

with the worship of the sun, moon, planets" Zoroastrianism, which was professed by the majority of Kurds before the spread of Islam, and elements of Judaism, Christianity and Islam (in its Sufi version).¹² How strong the respective influences shaping the religion are is assessed differently. It is important that today Yezidism in general is considered one of the oldest religions in the world.¹³ Written sources on Yezidism are scarce. Significant are the regional differences in religious practices, due to the displacement of the Yezidis.¹⁴

The cosmogony of Yezidism formed at the stage of its creation and, consequently, visibly changing over time, has been handed down orally and only later, most probably in the twelfth century it was fixed on the pages of the "*Book of Revelations*" ("*Kitab Dzihlva*", Arabic: "*Kitab Al Jilwah*"). Another sacred text for the Yezidis, the "*Black Book*" (Mashafe Resch), contains the cosmogonic narrative and dogma as well as instructions for the holidays, the rules for food, for mating rituals, etc. According to the cosmogony of the Yezidi religion God ("*Khude*") created the world. Then the Yezidi cosmologic myth continues with how God created the White Pearl, then created the bird Ankar and placed the pearl on its back. The Pearl was left there for 40,000 years. Then God broke it and thus appeared the sky, the earth, the mountains and the stars. Over the next seven days, starting from Sunday, Khude created the seven "Holy Beings" (or "Angels").¹⁵ The supreme angel was *Malak Tawus* (the "Peacock Angel", or Azrail) and barred responsibility for Adam and Eve falling from Heaven. In the religious tale, the Yezidis are called the "People of Azrail" or the "People of Malak Tawus".¹⁶

The Arab invasion in northern Mesopotamia, started in 636 – 637, gradually led to the Islamization of many local ethnic and religious groups, but Yezidism managed to preserve itself until the twelfth century. A new stage in the development of Yezidism began with Adi ibn Musafir, often simply called "Sheikh Adi". According to his popular biography, he was born around 1074 and he is believed to have belonged to the family of an Arab family of former caliphs – Umayyad. Adi spent his youth in Baghdad. He performed the Hajj in Mecca twice. Later, under the influence of Sufism (a variety of Islamic mysticism), he created his own syncretic doctrine based on yezidism – "adavism", which was adopted by the Yezidis. This is the reason it has been accepted that Yezidism should be divided under the name of the reformer, i.e. in "before Adi" and "after Adi".¹⁷

Sheikh Adi settled down near the ancient temple Lalesh, not far from Mosul. The temple itself with two conical domes was built by the followers of god Mithra, but at the time of Sheikh Adi it was already half-destroyed and abandoned. According to other versions in Lalesh there was a half-destroyed Syrian Nestorian Church. After the reformer's establishment there, the place became a spiritual center for the Yezidi from the era of Sheikh Adi onwards. In 1161 Sheikh Adi died. He was buried in the Temple of Lalesh, where later a tomb was built. Gradually he was deified and turned out to be in the triad revered by the Yezidis, which apart from him is formed by Malak Tawus and the sun god Ezidis.¹⁸

The later history of Yezidism continues in Muslim surroundings – between the Persian and Ottoman Empires. Later, with the passage of Russian expansion to the Southern Caucasus, the policy of the Russian Empire appears to be an important factor.

The Yezidi social system

The Yezidi community (“Ezdixana”) is based, even in modern times, on caste-theocratic principles, characteristic of the Kurdish community as a whole. Yezidi society is divided into three endogamous castes: Sheikhs’ (Arabic: *sayx*, “elder”), Pirs (Persian: *pir*, “elder”), and Mirids (Ieymen, Arabic: *murd*, “postulant”). The Yezidis are supposed to have “spiritual tutors” from the Sheikh and Pir.¹⁹ Another key group in Yezidi religion is that of the Qewwals, the guardians and interpreters of the sacred textual tradition of *qawls*, hymns in Kurmancî Kurdish. Increasingly, few of those born into Qewwal families have taken the profession of being a Qewwal.²⁰

Every important event in the life of a Yezidi family is happening with the participation of the “spiritual guides” – a wedding, a funeral, or anything else. The Sheikh’s home has also taken on the function of a temple. Until a few years ago there was only one Yezidi temple – in Lalesh (northern Iraq), the Yezidis’ main religious center.²¹ As pointed out in Victoria Arakelova’s study of the Yezidis in Armenia:

One can imagine what great services the Yezidi Sheikhs have rendered to their communities, especially those outside Iraq, where even in a friendly milieu (for example, in Armenia), they are nevertheless exiled from their spiritual centers and isolated from contact with their compatriots abroad. Thus the entire responsibility for preserving ‘Sarfadin’, as the Yezidis call their religion and its culture, as well as all spiritual and traditional values that collectively determine the identity of this group, has fallen mainly on the families of the Sheikhs.²²

Settlement history in the South Caucasus and the Yerevan Province

The origin of the Yezidi community in the Southern Caucasus dates back to the conquest of the region by the Russians. When the Russian army withdrew from Anatolia after the 1828 – 1829 war, some Yezidis were permitted to move to the province of Yerevan. In the 1830s, during a period of ethnic turmoil in Ottoman Anatolia, a number of the Yezidis escaped across the border. In 1855, a Russian army report identified a Yezidi settlement of some 340 souls in the Sardarabad district in Eastern Armenia. There was also a historical Muslim Kurd migration into the Southern Caucasus, strongly motivated by economic factors.²³

Political instability in the Ottoman Empire in the early 19th century was one of the reasons for the early migrations of Yezidis into the Russian Empire after Russia’s acquisition of territories in the Southern Caucasus. The first territories that Russia received in the Southern Caucasus were the result of the annexation of the Georgian kingdom of Kartli-Kaxeti in 1801. Over the following decades, Russia extensively incorporated territories south of the Caucasus mountain range. These territories were divided into a system of provinces, known as *gubernia*. Yezidi migrations from the Ottoman provinces of Van, Kars, Doğubeyazıt and Surmali to the Caucasus began after the 1828 – 1829 war (as a result of the 1828 Treaty of Turk-

menčaj, when Yezidi tribes were first allowed to settle in this region. In 1855, a Russian army report identified a Yezidi settlement (340 souls) in the Sardarabad district in Eastern Armenia. During the Crimean War (1855) the Russian army included a Yezidi military unit as part of the Aleksandropol' division.²⁴

The Yezidi community in Yerevan province was primarily formed as a result of the Crimean War (1853 – 1856) and the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878.²⁵ John Guest has described the first Yezidi settlement within the borders of modern Armenia around Alagyaz and Sadunts – around 260 households in the eight villages of the Yerevan province in 1869.²⁶ As a consequence of the 1877 – 1878 war between the Russian and Ottoman Empires, about 3,000 Yezidis were resettled in the Aleksandropol' district. Thus the total number of the Yezidis in the Yerevan province in 1879 rose to around 8,000.²⁷

Several years earlier, in 1874 the governor of the Yerevan province was asked to rule on a request from the religious leaders of the Sunni Moslems, that they should be allowed to collect tithes from the local Kurds. When he learned that most of the Kurds in his province were Yezidis, he declined the Moslems' request and initiated an "ethnographical-juridical survey" of the Yezidis that ultimately ran to 65-pages when eventually published in 1891 by the Caucasian branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. The author of the study completed in 1884, was the Armenian jurist Solomon Adamovič Yegiazarov.²⁸

In the summer of 1877 Russian forces commanded by General Arshak Ter-Gukasov captured Doğubeyazıt and advanced into the Eleşkirt plain. A few weeks later the threat of an Ottoman counter-attack obliged Ter-Gukasov to retreat. Many civilians followed him into safety across the border. Among them are around 3,000 Yezidis led by Ali-Beg. After the war they were resettled in the Aleksandropol' district.²⁹

Throughout 1878 the efforts of the Russian authorities in Yerevan province aimed at accommodating the Armenian and Kurdish-Yezidi migrants and the establishment of a Russian citizenship for them. A special committee was created ("Committee for helping the migrants from Turkey").³⁰ In the summer of 1878 the Yerevan squad arrived in the Yerevan province with Russian troops (1,856 families of Armenians and Yezidis). After the fall of Doğubeyazıt some of the families went back.³¹

Expatriates in Yerevan Gubernia – 1878³²

<i>Uezd</i>	Number families settlers	Number settlers
SURMALI		
Armenians	235	1,710
Yezidis	24	240
ECHMIADZIN		
Armenians	888	3,984
Yezidis	16	146

Aleksandropol'		
Greeks	39	234
Armenians	44	342
Yezidis	65	471
YEREVAN		
Armenians	12	120
NEW BAYAZET		
Yezidis	27	177

Total:

Greeks	39	234
Armenians	1,179	6,156
Yezidis	132	1,008

In the reports of the Aleksandropol' district's (*uezd*) chief to the Yerevan governor, the trend is indicated from the beginning of 1879 to the return of the majority of the settlers.³³ One of the reasons, as it is evident from the complaints of migrants from the villages Alapars and Solak, is that they had no livelihood and that they were not given land for cultivation in the upcoming spring. At the beginning of February 1879 there were only 82 families in the Aleksandropol' *uezd* – "Yezidi Kurds who want to settle and engage in farming and do not have the intention to move to Turkey".³⁴

The Armenian state archive contains family lists of household residents in all *uezds* of the *gubernia* – the name of the household head and the others in relationship to him, sex and age.³⁵ Some of the lists also describe the property in their possession (oxen, cows, sheep and possessions).³⁶ One of the reports of the Surmali *uezd*'s chief to the Yerevan governor indicates the difficulties of the administration to control the movement of settlers (33 families)³⁷, who „due to the severe winter and lack of food are scattered over different villages. Some are willing to settle where the government sends them but the majority of the settlers wants to go to the Kars region because of the climate there, which mostly corresponds to their livelihoods".³⁸

The next migration wave was after 1879, lasting until 1882, when the Sipki tribe of the Yezidis moved westwards from the Ottoman held Doğubeyazıt area to the Kağızman district in the province of Kars, recently ceded to the Russians. Within a few years, they had established 14 villages inhabited by 1,733 souls.³⁹ The imperial census of 1897 enumerated a total of 14,726 Yezidis. The next census of 1912 shows that the number of Yezidis in the Southern Caucasus had risen to some 24,500.⁴⁰ John Guest reveals the following demographic dynamics of Yezidis in the region:

By the beginning of 1912 their numbers had risen to 24,508 – over 17,000 in the province of Yerevan, 2,000 around Tiflis and over 5,000 in the province annexed in 1877. Four years later the Yezidi population

in South Caucasus was shown as 40,882; most of the increase was in the annexed provinces.⁴¹

In 1918 was the last wave of migration among Yezidis in the Southern Caucasus. They joined the civilian refugees in Armenia in villages on the southern slope of Mount Aragats, abandoned by Kurds and Turks.⁴²

Later Armenia was also the centre of Kurdish "cultural production" in the Soviet Union. Kurdish printing in the Soviet Southern Caucasus began in 1921, when a primer using the Armenian alphabet was issued from Echmiadzin. In 1929 a new Kurdish script using the Latin alphabet was introduced.⁴³ Kurdish schools, teaching a full curriculum in Kurdish language (with the exception of the teaching of Armenian), were opened. In the 20s of the 20th century the Armenian Yezidis were considered a group separate from the Kurds by the Soviet government. From 1936 until the collapse of the Soviet Union, the regime referred to them as "one and the same ethno-linguistic group, separated only by religion".⁴⁴

Outlook

By the end of the 1980s a revival of the specific Yezidi identity in Armenia stands out. One of the main reasons for this situation is the Azeri-Armenian war, which started in 1988. Armenian authorities once again referred to the Yezidi as a separate population.⁴⁵ In Armenia, stereotypes associated with Yezidis and Kurds are closely tied to historical memories of the Armenian Genocide of 1915. Muslim Kurds are widely seen as "having assisted the Ottoman state in implementing the massacres of Armenians in Anatolia, while Yezidis are also seen as having suffered at the hands of Turks and Muslim Kurds."⁴⁶ This has opened a significant rhetorical space for the articulation of a Yezidi identity defining itself against a Muslim Kurd "other". It is probably this nexus of Yezidi collective memories, a split Kurdish community and the particularities of Armenian-Turkish-Kurdish relations that has allowed the emergence of a Yezidi identity separate from that of other Kurds.

¹ Cf. Kereme Anqosi, The Yezidi Kurds' Tribes & Clans of South Caucasus, *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies*, 19, 2005, 58.

² Cf. Tork Dalalyan, Construction of Kurdish and Yezidi Identities among the Kurmanj-speaking Population of the Republic of Armenia, in: Viktor Voronkov (ed.), *Changing Identities: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia*, Tbilisi, 2011, 178.

³ Cf. Philip G. Kreyenbroek; Khalil J. Rashow, *God and Sheikh Adi Are Perfect: Sacred Poems and Religious Narratives from the Yezidi Tradition*, Wiesbaden, 2005, 5.

⁴ Cf. WRITENET, The Human Right Situation of the Yezidi Minority in the Transcaucasus (Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan), *A Writenet Report commissioned by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Status Determination and Protection Information Section (DIPS)*, 2008, 1. Web 7 October 2014. <http://www.refworld.org/docid/485fa2342.html>.

⁵ Cf. Езиды [The Yezidis], in: Сергей Кравец (ed.), *Большая Российская энциклопедия* [The Great Russian Encyclopedia], 9, Москва, 2007, 628.

- ⁶ Cf. Onnik Krikorian, An Interview with Aziz Tamoyan, in: Onnik Krikorian (ed.), *The Yezidi Community in Armenia*, Tbilisi, 1999, 11.
- ⁷ Cf. Ханна Омархали, Йезидизм. Из глубины тысячелетий [Yezidizm. From the Depths of Thousands of Years], Санкт Петербург, 2005, 48.
- ⁸ Cf. Ламара Пашаева, Курды Грузии. К вопросу о конфессиональном и этническом самосознании [The Kurds of Georgia. On the Question of Confessional and Ethnic Identity], Web. 12 April 2014.
<http://ezdixane.ru/index.php/%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0%D1%82%D1%8C%D0%B8/155---sp-637/1793-----html>.
- ⁹ Cf. Азизе Иско, Езиды: Краткий исторический очерк [The Yezidis: A Brief Historical Sketch], Тбилиси, 2001, 3.
- ¹⁰ Cf. Езиды [Yezidis] – Сергей Кравец (ed.), *Большая Российская энциклопедия* [The Great Russian Encyclopedia], 9, 2007, 629.
- ¹¹ Dalalyan, *Construction*, 2, 179.
- ¹² Cf. Пашаева, Курды, 8.
- ¹³ Christine Allison, Yazidis, in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2004, Web. 14 April 2014.
<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/yazidis-i-general-1>.
- ¹⁴ Sarah Reinke, *Kurdische Yezidi aus Georgien. Für eine Bleiberechtsregelung in Deutschland*. Web. 21 April 2014.
http://www.yeziden.de/fileadmin/yeziden/pdf/0406Yezidi_komplett.pdf.
- ¹⁵ Cf. Victoria Arakelova, Healing Practices among the Yezidi Sheikhs of Armenia, *Asian Folklore Studies*, 60, 2001, 324p.
- ¹⁶ Cf. Victoria Arakelova; Garnik Asatryan, *The Ethnic Minorities of Armenia*. Yerevan, 2002, 52p.
- ¹⁷ Cf. Allison, Yazidis, 13.
- ¹⁸ Cf. John S. Guest, *The Yezidis: A Study in Survival*, New York, 1987, 59.
- ¹⁹ Cf. Kreyenbroek; Rashow, *God*, 3, 6-9.
- ²⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 14.
- ²¹ Cf. Naira Chilingaryan, Ethnic Neighborhood: 'Savior' of a Culture or a Limit to Integration? In: Frank Eckardt; John Eade (eds.), *The Ethnically Diverse City*, Berlin, 2011, 74.
- ²² Arakelova, *Practices*, 15, 323.
- ²³ Cf. Taner Akçam, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility*, London, 1999, 3p.
- ²⁴ Cf. Guest, *Yezidis*, 18, 187pp.
- ²⁵ Cf. Philip Kreyenbroek, *Yezidism in Europe. Different Generations Speak about their Religion*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, Iranica III (5), Wiesbaden, 2009, 32.
- ²⁶ Cf. Guest, *Yezidis*, 18, 187.
- ²⁷ Cf. Kreyenbroek, *Yezidism*, 25, 32.
- ²⁸ Cf. Соломон Егиазаров, Краткий этнографический очерк курдов Эриванской губернии [A Brief Ethnographic Essay on Kurds in the Yerevan Gubernia], Тифлис, 1891.
- ²⁹ Cf. Guest, *Yezidis*, 18, 189.
- ³⁰ Armenian State Archive, f.94, op.1, d.207, 1.
- ³¹ Armenian State Archive, f.94, op.1, d.207, 5.
- ³² Armenian State Archive, f.94, op.1, d.207, 6-9.
- ³³ Armenian State Archive, f.94, op.1, d.207, 32.
- ³⁴ Armenian State Archive, f.94, op.1, d.207, 53.
- ³⁵ Armenian State Archive, f.94, op.1, d.207, 157pp., 160p., 199-210, 601-605, 631-654.
- ³⁶ Armenian State Archive, f.94, op.1, d.207, 631-654.
- ³⁷ Armenian State Archive, f.94, op.1, d.423, 19-30.
- ³⁸ Armenian State Archive, f.94, op.1, d.423, 6.

³⁹ Cf. Guest, Yezidis, 18, 189.

⁴⁰ Cf. Kreyenbroek, Yezidism, 25, 190.

⁴¹ Guest, Yezidis, 18, 189.

⁴² Cf. Asatrian; Arakelova, The Ethnic Minorities, 16, 12-17.

⁴³ Cf. Daniel Müller, The Kurds of Soviet Azerbaijan 1920 – 91, *Central Asian Survey*, 19, 1, 2000, 57.

⁴⁴ Arakelova, Practices, 15, 327.

⁴⁵ Cf. Ian S. McIntosh, A Conditional Coexistence: Yezidi in Armenia, *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Spring 2003. Web. 17 December 2014.

<https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/armenia/conditional-coexistenceyezidi-armenia>.

⁴⁶ Arakelova; Asatrian, Minorities, 11, 52.

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“The Gullet” of the War. The Molokans from the District of Yerevan and the Rusk Preparation for the Caucasus Front in 1877

Abstract: *The use of rusks for military needs became more and more important in the logistics of wars in the 19th century. The organization of preparation, preservation and transportation of rusks in 1877 was an “operation” according to the military documents left in the governmental archive. The Russian military command decided that the big part of the rusks needed for the Caucasus front had to be prepared by peasants – Russian settlers in the South Caucasus – especially by the so-called Molokans – as they did it for the first time in the Crimean War 1853 – 1856. The Molokans were one of the many Christian sects who lived in Russia during the 19th century, just like the Dukhobors, Mennonites and others. They rejected the participation in war because of confessional reasons. However, the war activities mobilized much more people than were actually involved in the direct armed clashes between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in 1877 – 1878. Religious minority populations in the Caucasus were mobilized to work night and day in harsh conditions – to dry, bake and transport flour and rusks, to load boots, camels and carts. Their resources were used for war purposes. Although the Molokans were among the sectarians who were against war and violence, their villages took part in the important work for military use.*

Introduction: Good rusks for the health of men

The Austrian military doctor Franz Brum wrote at the beginning of the 1840s: “Rusks belong to the common food during great military marches. The good rusk is prepared by wheaten flour. If prepared in a wrong way, it could dangerously hurt the health of man.”¹ The preparation of rusks for military needs became more and more important in the logistics of wars in the 19th century. The process of baking, preservation and transportation of rusks was regulated by norms, medical rules and control, especially in the time after the Napoleonic military marches.² Failures in the process could badly influence the course of the war.³ The responsible practical work of rusk preparation, i.e. baking, packing, loading etc., during wars was often assigned by the military commands to peasants not far from the areas of marches.

This was the reason to research the local conditions of water supply, climate, transportation as well as the skills and habits of the population.⁴

The rusk preparation for the war against the Ottoman Empire was planned in Russia at the end of 1876 and started in the beginning of 1877. In the history of the war this preparation is discussed in order to outline failures and problems of organization of transportation, supply etc.⁵ Since the very beginning of the Russo-Ottoman War at the Caucasus front in April 1877, a great amount of rusks was required. According to the norms, every day two funts of rusk should be provided to each soldier.⁶ Rusks were also required for Ottoman prisoners of war, along with other food like meat, tea and sugar.⁷

At the same time, in the Ottoman Empire rusks were also prepared for the war in the so-called English way. Bakeries were organized in Diyarbakır, Sivas and other towns in the region near the Caucasus front, while the rusks were preserved in a central store in Erzurum. According to the Russian military medicine expert Stepan Kišmišev, the Ottoman rusks were very delicious and Russian soldiers appreciated them highly, using every opportunity after a military victory to catch such a delicacy.⁸

The Russian military command decided that the big part of the rusks needed for the Caucasus front had to be prepared by peasants – Russian settlers in the South Caucasus – especially by the so-called Molokans – as they did it for the first time in the Crimean War 1853 – 1856. The officials didn't trust the local people, neither the Christian Armenians nor the Kurds and other Muslims, and they especially didn't have any trust in their skills in preparing rusks. They pointed out that local people weren't skilled in preparing that kind of bread which Russian soldiers were used to eat. It was ordered to Russian settlers' families – men and women – to dry the rusks.

The Molokans in the Russian Empire: Between war resistance and participation in the war activities

The Molokans were one of the many Christian sects who lived in Russia during the 19th century, just like the Dukhobors, Mennonites and others. They rejected the participation in war because of confessional reasons. The Russian and Ukrainian ethnologist Nikolaj (Mikola) Kostomarov (1817 – 1885), who studied sectarian groups in the Russian Empire, argued that the beliefs of the Molokans were remarkable and the most interesting ones in comparison to other sects although the Molokans were not a united sect and there were differences among the groups.⁹ The Molokans rejected the Holy Trinity as well as the organization of the Orthodox Church. They did not acknowledge any religious hierarchy and institutions. They were also against the admiration of icons claiming that it was not possible to expect salvation from a piece of wood, but only by prayer.

The Molokans didn't approve of any luxury in food or in lifestyle. They didn't reject the state power but accepted it only if it didn't interfere with their demands of justice and conscience. They were against every sign of social difference in appearance. For them war was against God's will. They supported people who opposed military service or deserters from the army, avoiding a sin like war participation.¹⁰ The founder of the sect was Simeon Uklein from the Tambov district and his

adherents were spread all over Astrachan', Ekaterinoslav and the Caucasus. According to one of the versions about the origin of their name, they were called Molokans because of their milk consumption during Lent. There is another version, saying that the word "milk" in the name meant "striving for spiritual milk".

The Molokans like all other representatives of the Russian sectarian groups were persecuted according to the Russian legislation by both the secular and the religious power as state offenders.¹¹ During the time of Aleksandr I the attitude towards the Molokans was more tolerant but in 1830 Nikolaj I proclaimed them to be a "harmful" and "dangerous" sect. In the 1830s Nikolaj I ordered the groups of sectarian believers to move to Transcaucasia (i.e. the South Caucasus). According to statistics, 63% from the Molokans and Dukhobors settled in the South Caucasus – i.e. approximately 20,000 people.

In 1849 and on the territory of contemporary Armenia, Molokans founded many Russian settlements: Nikitino (Fioletovo), Voskresenka (Lermontovo), Konstantinovka (Cachkadzor), Elenovka (after 1935 Sevan), Voroncovka (Kalinino), Semënovka and others. The village of Elenovka, founded in 1842 in a place with an elevation of 1,900 meters above sea level, was the biggest one. During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878 this place played an important role because of its strategic position between Yerevan and the Dilijan Pass on the way to Tiflis (Tbilisi). A military hospital was also arranged at that place as well as a sanitary camp for the recreation of exhausted soldiers. The transportation of hundred wounded Russian soldiers and Ottoman captives was also organized along this route. After the so-called *Bajazetskoe sidenie* – the siege of Doğubeyazit's Fortress in 1877 (6 – 28 June 1877) – the Russian soldiers who survived the siege were granted a month of recreation in a camp near Elenovka. About 900 soldiers from the Crimean and Stavropolian units were sent to Elenovka in 1877 and in August 1877 there were already 1,275 soldiers residing there.

The state power relied on the loyalty of the Molokans during the war. As Nikolas Breyfogle writes, in the first half of the 19th century the Russian emperors developed a policy of "toleration through isolation".¹² Sectarrians like the Molokans should be tolerated, but only if they were physically separated from the Orthodox Russian society in order to prevent them of spreading their religious ideas. Some of St. Petersburg's administrators also believed that the Caucasus peoples were dangerously violent (especially the so-called "mountaineers") and that they would confront the generally pacifist sectarians, forcing them to use weapons.¹³

In 1874 Russia introduced the conscription – a common military service. The conscription presented religious groups, who opposed military service like the Mennonites, Dukhobors and Molokans, with new and much more difficult conditions. The introduction of a military service made the Mennonites prepare to leave Russia.¹⁴ The Russian government sent General Édouard Tottleben for negotiations. As a result of this, it was decided to permit Mennonite conscripts to undertake an alternative forestry service instead of the obligatory military service.¹⁵

During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878, the Mennonites – as they had already done during the Crimean War – again helped in caring for sick and wounded Russian soldiers. They collected money, clothes and other objects and arranged a Mennonite Hospital in Gal'bštadt (Halbstadt, today Moločansk in

Ukraine). After the war, their representatives went to Simferopol' to greet Emperor Aleksandr II on behalf of the Russian victory. But despite of the compromise in respect to the conscription, many of the Mennonites preferred to emigrate to the United States and Canada, fearing that they could be mobilized into the army.¹⁶ During the Russo- Ottoman War of 1877 – 1878, the sectarian Dukhobors and Molokans, who lived in the Caucasus region near the Caucasus front, also supported the Russian side despite of the persecutions: They organized the care of sick and wounded soldiers and prepared rusks for the Russian army.¹⁷ Some of the activities including baking rusks, transporting goods, renting houses and others were paid for. As a result of this participation the Dukhobor societies received a lot of money – over half a million rubles, which is how the wealth of their community increased. From their religious point of view they later considered this indirect participation in the war 1877 – 1878 a “forced sin”, which however – once admitted by them – had led them to betray their principles.¹⁸

The operation of the rusk preparation in 1877: What did the “gullet of the war” need?

The organization of preparing, preserving and transporting rusks in 1877 was an “operation”, according to the military documents left in the governmental archive.¹⁹ This “especially important operation”²⁰ started at the end of 1876 under the supervision of General Governor Michail Ivanovič Roslavlev (Governor of the Yerevan District in 1867 – 1880) and was personally assigned to Vice-Governor Valerian Afanasievič Čachovskij (Vice-Governor in 1873 – 1890). The most engaged administrative head was Vagarshak Šachatunov – Head of the District of Novo-Bajazet, where most of the Molokans’ villages were located. According to the general report about the rusk preparation for the Yerevan detachment, between January 1877 and 16 October 1877 the Russian settlers had prepared the amount of 10,864 quarters (about 140,000 kg) of rusks.²¹ The Russian generals Michail Loris-Melikov and Aršak Ter-Gukasov, who were the military commanders at the Caucasus front, ordered the following amounts of rusks needed for the army.²²

Date of orders	Quantity (Quarters)
11 January 1877	1,000
19 – 22 April 1877	2,000
18 May 1877	2,000
1 – 3 June 1877	2,000
14 July 1877	500
11 August 1877	1,864
16 October 1877	1,500

The Molokans, who were generally against war, willfully agreed to “be well disposed to this mission”²³ and to bake rusks for the military forces as well as to help the Russian Army in other ways. Many homes in their villages were also used for the needs of the army. The rusks had to be baked in the families’ home stoves, using flour and firewood provided by the Russian authorities. Contracts for the bak-

ing work were signed by the local leaders of the villages on behalf of the families.²⁴ “Night and day, we will do our best to prepare the rusks”²⁵ was written in the contracts the peasants from the village Nižnie Achty signed. During the war the daily norms of rusks prepared were doubled.

Daily norms in quarters	
Beginning of March – April	40
May	50
July	80

In parallel to that it was ordered to involve more villages in the rusk’s preparation.²⁶

Name of the village	Number of houses according to the 1874 census	Rusks to be prepared in the village in April
Konstantinovka	31	160
Elenovka	165	710
Nižnie Achti	42	160
Aleksandrovka	25	100
Semënovka	41	325
Suhoy Fontan	23	240
Novonikolaevka	24	155
Total	351	1,850

The quality of the flour for the rusks was regularly controlled. It was very important to transport the flour and the firewood on time to the Molokans’ villages for the regular working process. The flour started to be transported in the winter of 1877. In the very bad conditions of the winter storms high in the mountains, it was transported by boats through the Gukča (Sevan) Lake as well as by pack animals.²⁷ Storms often made it impossible to use the loaded boats and the flour had again to be loaded onto the animals. At the same time it was impossible to also transport the rusks which were already prepared for storehouses.²⁸ Weighing machines were also asked for in the villages as well as for a lot of special flour pockets and pockets for the rusks.²⁹ In March 1877 the rusks were ready to be transported to the storehouses in Yerevan. For the transportation waterproof material was needed in order to protect the dry rusks from rain and moisture.³⁰ In May there were again not enough pockets for the rusks and no water resistant materials.³¹ In June a lot of rusks were asked for by General Ter-Gukasov but there were problems to store them and to send them to the town of Iğdir.³²

At the very beginning of 1877 it was stated that the peasants should bake the rusks without payment as they did during the Crimean War. However, after the operation started it was decided to pay 40 Russian kopecks per quarter; later the payment was raised to 50 kopecks. In the summer a new payment was discussed

in order to give the peasants the opportunity to hire additional workers for the seasonal work in the fields. In May 1877 the sum of 1,000 rubles was delivered to provide the payment of four rubles for each family.³³ In August new payments were given to some villages³⁴:

Village	Payment (in rubles)
Konstantinovka	225
Elenovka	1,110
Nižnie Ahti	262,50
Alexandrovka	181,50

Although the payment was not considered as sufficient according to the complaints of the peasants, many families applied to be allowed to prepare rusks. Four rubles was no little sum for a family.³⁵ Requests for permission to participate in the rusk preparation of “poor families” of Molokans are preserved in the archives.³⁶ In May 1877 an Orthodox priest from Yerevan also asked for an assignment to bake rusks because of his “poor family situation”.³⁷

After the war activities started, the baking process was intensified. The work in 1877 continued during night and day. For the preparation more water and more firewood was needed. It was difficult to transport the firewood because of the pouring rains during the spring and the beginning of autumn. More workers were asked. In May 1877 Armenians from the mixed villages were also mobilized for the rusks preparation.³⁸ In the summer several Molokan families moved from Yerevan to the mountains because of the great heat and they were also included in the baking work.³⁹

The prepared rusks had to be transported to Yerevan's storehouses and from Yerevan they were sent to the town of Iğdır where the Yerevan military units were located. Parts of the rusk production were transported by camels in May 1877. For the transportation hundred cartloads (*arba*) were needed. The routes were fixed by the officials: the length of the “war gullet” became longer in the course of the war actions. In May and June 1877 hundreds of carters from more than 40 villages were mobilized. The Russian governance mobilized local people (Armenians and Muslims, mostly Kurds) to transport the rusks. According to the lists of carters and their payments the state military officials hired 346 carters from local Armenian and Muslim people to transport the rusks: 177 carters of Muslims and 169 of Armenians were mobilized.⁴⁰

Place	Rusks delivered in quarters
Iğdır	1,457
Yerevan	1,457
Total	2,964

More rusks were delivered throughout the next days: 5,821 *puds* were transported by carters in June 1877.⁴¹ After the war many peasants continued to complain about the payment of the rusk preparation since some families were not paid

at all. Careless intendant servants caused a lot of troubles for the rusk-preparing peasants or to those who transported them.⁴² There were many complaints during this process: about the organization of the work, about the rusk delivery, about the payment for the production etc. People from the villages didn't trust the clerks who were responsible for the flour supply. They insisted on the delivery of weighing scales to them in order to check up the real weight of the flour.⁴³ Some of the complaints were not resolved even after the war was already over and some of the complaints continued even two or more years after the end of the war. Two countrymen complained to the Russian authorities that they had carried 75 *puds* of rusks, prepared in their village, to the storehouse in Yerevan but it turned out that the amount of rusks was only 61,5 *puds* according to the official documentation. They were told that they would receive the money for the rest later.⁴⁴ However, as the manager of the storehouse rejected to give them an invoice, the people from this village were not paid for the additional amount of rusks.⁴⁵

The peasant Pavel Fateev from Elenovka, who was engaged in the rusk delivery to the storehouse in Yerevan, also complained that during the time he was in Yerevan and was absent from his house the crops were left in the fields and eventually got lost. In addition, his house was used as a military hospital without any payment. He asked to be paid a rent for his house and a retribution for the corps because he had had to pay a rent for his family to live in Yerevan for this period. His last request was from June 1880. The military hospital's former manager explained to the authorities that the wife of the owner (i.e. Pavel Fateev) didn't request any payment during the war time so the family was not paid. It is not clear what happened to the other requests of Pavel Fateev but it seemed that his complaints were not resolved.⁴⁶

After the War of 1877 – 1878, when the Molokan villages had an important role in the food preparation for the Russian army at the Caucasus front, the official politics of double standards in the treatment of them continued just like before 1877. After the Russo-Ottoman War they were again persecuted as sectarians and as a population which didn't fulfil its duties according to the law as they didn't want to be registered in the so-called metrical books of the police.⁴⁷

Conclusions

The war activities mobilized much more people than were actually involved in the direct armed clashes between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in 1877 – 1878. Interests and conflicts appeared aside the battlefields. Military needs led to new modern forms of organized, intensified and pre-industrialized forms of work in food preparation, preservation and transportation. Religious minority populations in the Caucasus were mobilized to work night and day in harsh conditions – to dry, bake and transport flour and rusks, to load boots, camels and carts. Their resources were used for war purposes. Although the Molokans were among the sectarians who were against war and violence, their villages took part in the important work for military use.

Traditional female activities like kneading and baking became important military operations – highly organized, normed, documented, industrialized, controlled

and paid by local and central military Russian authorities. However, it was masculinized to the highest extent. In 1877 women and children from Molokan families worked in their homes in long day and night shifts but no female name was mentioned in the documents and no memory preserved.

¹ Cf. the chapter "Brot und Zwieback" in Franz Brum, *Hilfsbuch bei Untersuchungen der Nahrungsmittel und Getränke, wie deren Ächtheit erkannt und ihre Verfälschungen entdeckt werden können*, Vienna, 1842, 154.

² Ibid., 150-159.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Cf. Raimund von Baczynski, *Zum Studium des Verpflegswesens im Kriege vom operativen Standpunkte*, Vienna, 1894.

⁵ Cf. Александр Андреевич Свечин, *Эволюция военного искусства. Русско-турецкая война 1877 – 78 г. Устройство тыла русской армии* [The Evolution of the Art of War. The Russo-Turkish War. The Structure of the Russian Army's Rear], II, VII, Ленинград; Москва, 1928; Пётр И. Вещиков, *В снегах Балканских гор (Обеспечение войск продовольствием в русско-турецкую войну 1877 – 1878 гг.)* [In the Snow of the Balkan Mountains. The Supplying of Provisions during the Russo-Turkish War 1877 – 1878], *Армейский сборник*, 7, 2008, 51-53.

⁶ Степан Осипович Кимшишев, *Война в турецкой Армении* [The War in Turkish Armenia], Санкт Петербург, 1884, 12. According to the order from 1871 which regulated the food supply in the Russian army in the case of war, the food-per-day-per-person-rate was two funts of rusks (about 800g: 1 funt = 409g.). Soldiers had to have a stock of rusks for at least eight days.

⁷ National Archiv of Armenia (NAA), 94/138/9.

⁸ Кимшишев, *Война*, 6, 23.

⁹ Николай И. Костомаров, *Воспоминания о молоканах*. В: Николай И. Костомаров (ред.), *Раскол. Исторические монографии и исследования* [Memoirs About the Molokans], Чарли, Москва, 1994, 327. Web. 12 April 2015.

http://antimilitary.narod.ru/antology/society/molokans/kostomarov_molokans.htm

¹⁰ Ibid., 345.

¹¹ About the Molokans cf. Nicholas B. Breyfogle, *Heretics and Colonizers. Forging Russia's Empire in the South Caucasus*, Ithaca, 2005.

¹² About the politics of "toleration through isolation" cf. Breyfogle, *Heretics*, 11, 17-48.

¹³ Ibid., 53p.

¹⁴ Питер Брок, *Русские сектанты – пацифисты и военная служба, 1874 – 1914 гг.* В: Татьяна А. Павлова (ред.), *Долгий путь российского пацифизма: Идеал международного и внутреннего мира в религиозно-философской и общественно-политической мысли России*, [The Russian Sectarians – Pacifists and the Military Service, 1874 – 1914. In: The Long Way of Russian Pacifism: The Ideal of International and Domestic Peace in Religious-Philosophical and socio-political thoughts in Russia], Москва, 1997, 115-121.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Лоуренс Клиппенштейн, *Отказ от военной службы по мотивам совести в меннонитских общинах царской России* [The Refusal of Military Service in Mennonite Societies in Imperial Russia]. В: Татьяна А. Павлова (ред.), *Долгий путь российского пацифизма: Идеал международного и внутреннего мира в религиозно-философской и общественно-политической мысли России* [The Long Way of Russian Pacifism: The Ideal of Interna-

tional and Domestic Peace in Religious-Philosophical and socio-political thoughts in Russia], Москва, 1997, 150-171.

¹⁷ Светлана Александровна Иникова, История пацифистского движения в секте духоборов (18 – 20 в.) [History of a pacifist movement among the Duchobor Sect (18th – 20th century)]. В: Татьяна А. (ред.), Долгий путь российского пацифизма: Идеал международного и внутреннего мира в религиозно-философской и общественно-политической мысли России [The Long Way of Russian Pacifism: The Ideal of International and Domestic Peace in Religious-Philosophical and socio-political thoughts in Russia], Москва, 1997, 121-136.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ The research of the operation is based on the archive sources preserved in the National Archive of Armenia's fond 94 (Yerevan Governor Administration). The Yerevan Governor Administration was started by a Russian Emperor decree from 9 June 1849 and existed till 1918. Not only give the documents information about quantities of the produced products, payments, meal and wood deliveries, but also give an insight into the distances between the places, routes of transportation, places where the rusk were prepared, about storehouses and about delivery places. They also give information about the preparation technology, the meal quality controls, about preservation technologies, water resistant tentative materials, packing, transportation as well as about the difficulties which had to be overcome during production: stormy weather in the winters, pouring rains etc.

²⁰ NAA, 94/181/II/339-342.

²¹ 1 *pud* = about 16 kg; 1 quarter = about 13 kg.

²² They were ordered three times by telegrams and four times by demands: twice by the commanding officer of the Yerevan detachment, twice by the Caucasus army intendant, twice by the military corps intendant and once by the commanding corps officer.

²³ NAA, 94/181/II/1 – Report about the preparation of rusk, 4 January 1877.

²⁴ Ibid., 206-212; 217 – Contracts for the rusk preparation.

²⁵ NAA, 23; 208.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ NAA, 23/62-65 – Reports about the transportation of the flour, 31 January – 8 February 1877.

²⁸ Ibid., 62.

²⁹ NAA, 23; 227.

³⁰ Ibid., 194; 199 – Letters about the importance of the tentative material.

³¹ Ibid., 233.

³² Ibid., 223.

³³ Ibid., 140; 158.

³⁴ Ibid., 385.

³⁵ At that time the monthly allowance of a soldier was two rubles and forty kopecks (eight kopecks per day). See NAA, 94/184/1.

³⁶ NAA, 23, 152.

³⁷ Ibid., 156.

³⁸ Ibid., 203.

³⁹ NAA, 94.

⁴⁰ NAA, 23, 241-255: Lists of carters for the transportations, June 1877. There are no indication about religion or nationality in the lists. The numbers of the groups are fixed according to the names of the carters.

⁴¹ Ibid., 240.

⁴² Ibid., 270.

⁴³ Ibid., 163.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 35; 5 Mai 1878.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 38.

⁴⁶ NAA, 94/160/14p.; 20; 24.

⁴⁷ Ольга Ивановна Самарина, Общины молокан на Кавказе: история, культура, быт, хозяйственная деятельность [The Molokan Societies in Caucasus: History, Culture, Everyday life, Household], Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук, Ставрополь, 2004, 92.

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