Migration and Disease in the Black Sea Region

Ottoman-Russian Relations in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

Andrew Robarts

BLOOMSBURY

Migration and Disease
in the Black Sea Region

Migration and Disease in the Black Sea Region

Ottoman-Russian Relations in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

Andrew Robarts

Bloomsbury Academic
An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc
BLOOMSBURY
LONDON • OXFORD • NEW YORK • NEW DELHI • SYDNEY

Bloomsbury Academic
An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

50 Bedford Square
London
WC1B 3DP
UK

1385 Broadway
New York
NY 10018
USA

www.bloomsbury.com

BLOOMSBURY and the Diana logo are trademarks of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

First published 2017

© Andrew Robarts, 2017

Andrew Robarts has asserted his right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as Author of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publishers.

No responsibility for loss caused to any individual or organization acting on or refraining from action as a result of the material in this publication can be accepted by Bloomsbury or the author.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN: HB: 978-1-4742-5949-1
ePDF: 978-1-4742-5950-7
ePub: 978-1-4742-5951-4

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Cover design: Sharon Mah
Cover image © Ox-carts in the Ukrainian Steppe. Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovsky.
(Photo by Fine Art Images/Heritage Images/Getty Images)

Typeset by Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

Contents

List of Figures vi
List of Maps vii
Acknowledgments viii

Introduction 1

1 The Black Sea Region in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries 11
2 A Trans-Danubian Waltz: Bulgarian Migration in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea Region 33
3 At the Limits of Empire: Migration, Settlement, and Border Security in Russia's Imperial South 57
4 Reconstruction and Reconciliation: Migration and Settlement in the Early Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Balkans 83
5 "Instruments of Despotism" (I): Quarantines, Travel Documentation, and Migration Management in the Ottoman Empire 109
6 "Instruments of Despotism" (II): Epidemic Disease, Quarantines, and Border Control in the Russian Empire 139
7 Imperial Confrontation or Regional Cooperation? Reconceptualizing Ottoman-Russian Relations in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries 169

Notes 184
Bibliography 247
Index 262

List of Figures

1.1 Russian travel document authorizing the resettlement of a Bulgarian migrant in Bessarabia (1830). 22
1.2 Russian travel document authorizing the resettlement of a Bulgarian migrant in Moldavia (1830). 23
4.1 The battle on the River Kamchik on October 15, 1828. 100
6.1 Quarantine ships in Russia. 149
6.2 Plan of the Russian quarantine complex in Ismail (1844). 157

List of Maps

1 Map of the Black Sea region. x

2 Cities, towns, and political divisions in the Black Sea region (late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries). xi

3 Map of Turkey and southern Russia (Photo by Universal History Archive/UIG via Getty Images). xii

Acknowledgments

This book is the culmination of many years of study and research, in both the United States and abroad. I have incurred many debts and made many new friends along the way. At Georgetown University, I would like to thank, first and foremost, Professor Catherine Evtuhov. For over two decades now, Professor Evtuhov has been a consistent source of support, encouragement, and intellectual guidance. Professor Gabor Agoston shepherded me through the pitfalls attendant with the study of the multifaceted Ottoman Empire. Professors John McNeill and Charles King made sure that I maintained a broad analytical frame and drove my intellectual inquiries into the fields of world and regional history.

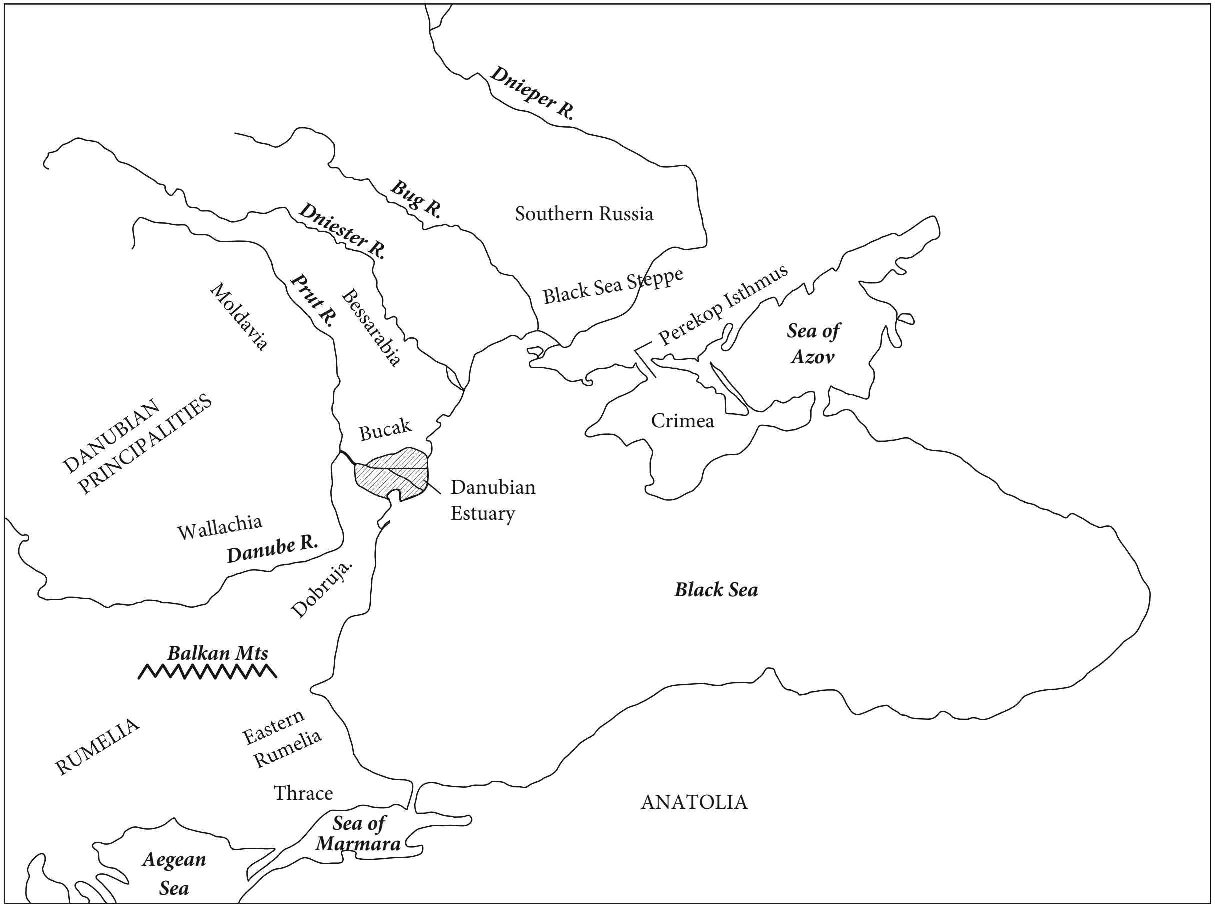
In Bulgaria, I would like to thank Professor Alexei Kalionski of Sofia University who proved to be a great listener and a valuable source of advice on Ottoman, Russian, and Bulgarian history. The archival and research staffs at the Bulgarski Istoricheski Arkhiv of the Narodna Biblioteka—Kiril i Metodi and at the Tsentralen Durzhaven Arkhiv were consistently helpful and supportive of my research project. In Moscow, my appreciation goes to the staff of the Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii and Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv for their professionalism. Special thanks go to the very kind and helpful staff in the academic reading room of the Gosudarstvennaia Istoricheskaia Publichnaia Biblioteka.

In Turkey, Kahraman Şakul and Günhan Börekçi accompanied me during my initial forays into Istanbul's archives and libraries. I'm quite convinced that their introductions to key staff members in these research institutions lent instant credibility to my research project. Thank you both. My thanks as well go to the staff of the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi and Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi. The latter institution always provided a quiet, calm, and cool environment on chaotic and steamy summer days in Istanbul. Along these lines, it was my pleasure to stay at the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) in Arnavutköy for several months in 2008. Although my stay in Odessa was far too brief, Lilia Belousova made sure that my time in the Odessa State Archives was as collegial and productive as possible. The lengths she went to during my short and intense research visit to Odessa will always be appreciated.

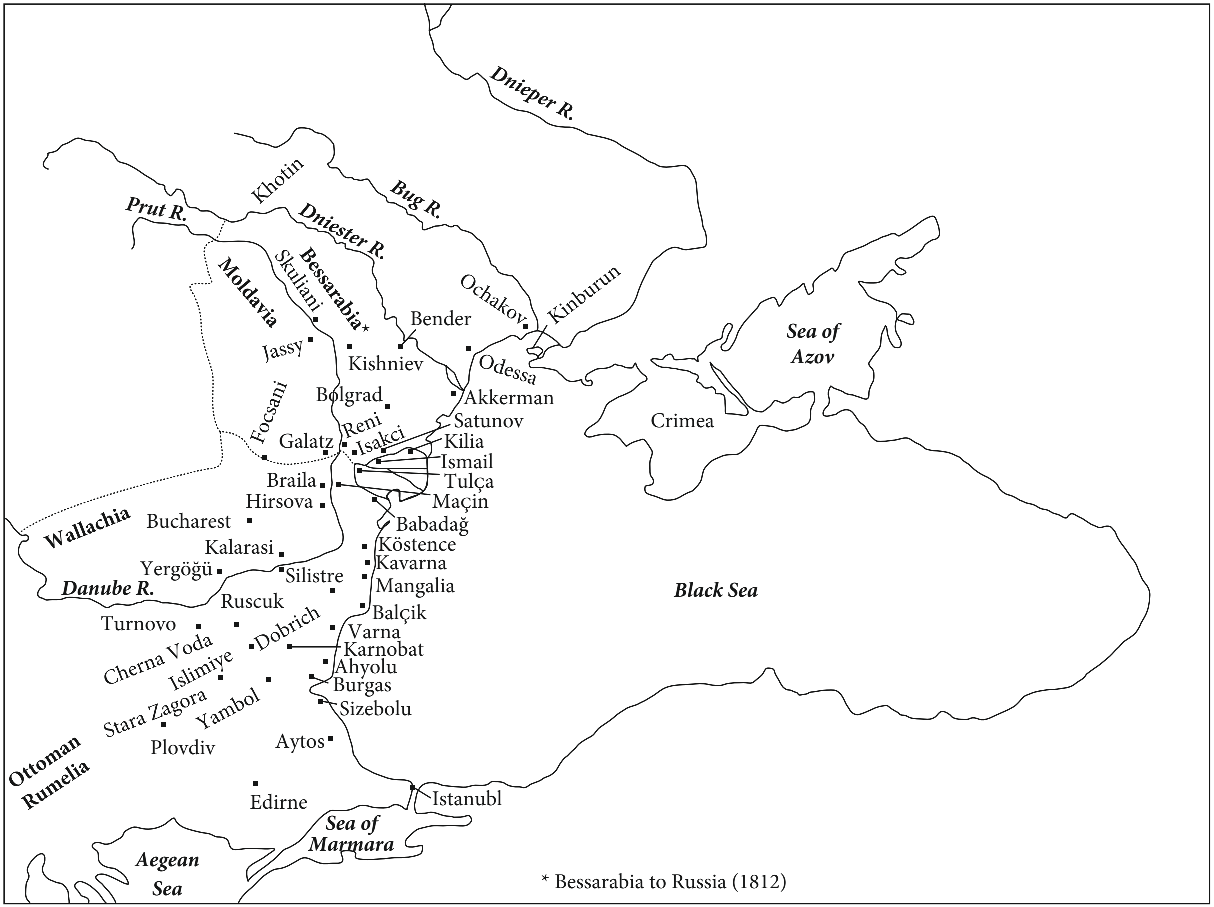
Many institutions and organizations supported me financially during the research and writing phases of this project. My thanks go to the Graduate School at Georgetown, the Department of History at Georgetown, the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT), the Social Sciences Research Council (SSRC), the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX), Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) grants, the Institute of Turkish Studies (ITS), and the Cosmos Club Foundation for their generous financial support.

During the journeyman phase of my academic career, I had the great pleasure of working and teaching at the University of California, Riverside, and Central Connecticut State University. At UCR, I am particularly thankful for the collegiality and consistent support provided by Professors Georg Michels and James Brennan. AT CCSU, Kathy Hermes served as a mentor and friend. Thank you Kathy. I would like to offer my deepest gratitude as well to my colleagues at the Rhode Island School of Design.

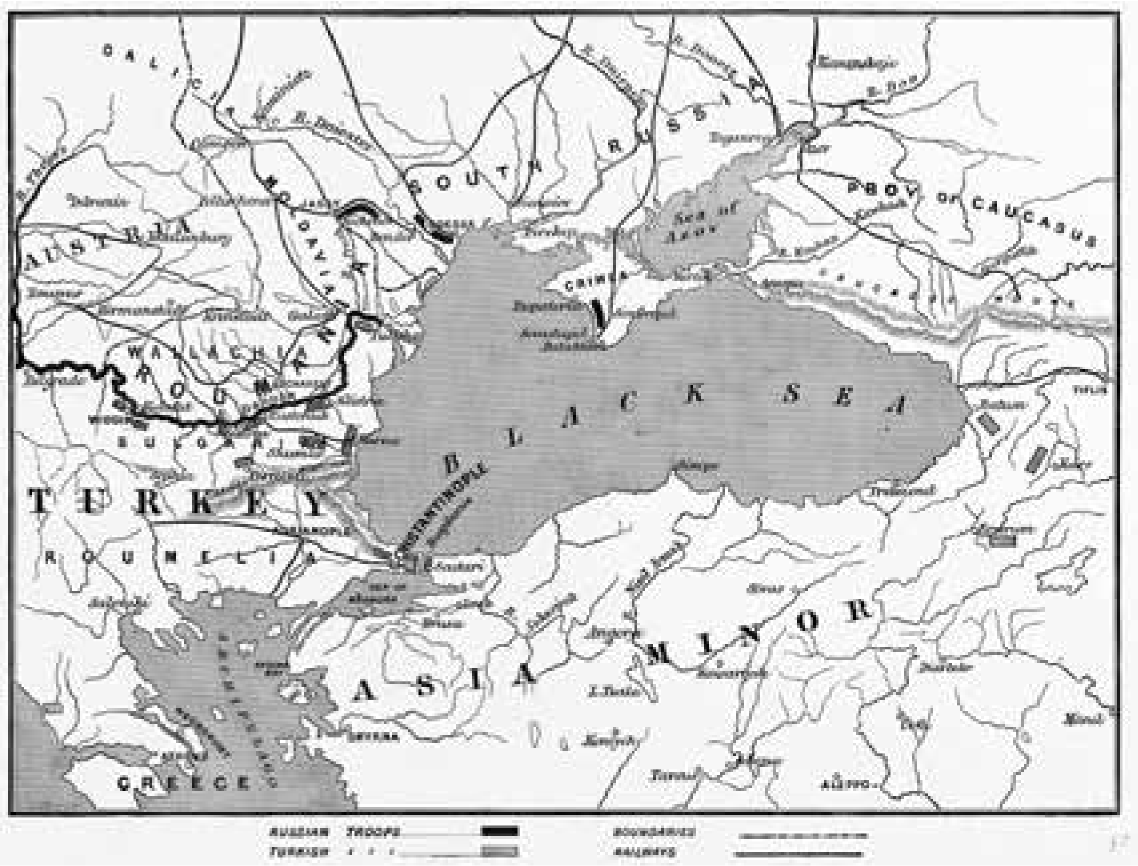
Finally, my family—although occasionally perplexed as to why I was investing so much time researching and writing on the Black Sea region —offered unconditional support and maintained an unwavering faith in my academic pursuits. My mother and father (Dee and Richard Robarts) instilled in me, from an early age, a passion for history and a desire to explore the world. My brother, Alex, and my little daughter, Claire, helped me “keep things real.” And finally, and most importantly, to my wife, Amy, thank you for your patience, for wading through the early drafts of this book, and for your unfailing belief in me. I made it.


Dnieper R.
Bug R.
Southern Russia
Dniester R.
Prut R.
Moldavia
Bessarabia
Black Sea Steppe
Perekop Isthmus
Sea of Azov
Crimea
DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES
Bucak
Danubian Estuary
Wallachia
Danube R.
Dobruja.
Black Sea
Balkan Mts
RUMELIA
Eastern Rumelia
Thrace
ANATOLIA
Sea of Marmara
Aegean Sea

Map 1 Map of the Black Sea region.


Dnieper R.
Prut R.
Khotin
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Moldavia
Skuliani
Bessarabia*
Ochakov
Kinburun
Bender
Jassy
Kishniev
Odessa
Sea of Azov
Focsani
Bolgrad
Akkerman
Crimea
Reni
Satunov
Galatz
Isakci
Kilia
Ismail
Braila
Tulça
Hirsova
Maçin
Bucharest
Babadağ
Wallachia
Kalarasi
Köstence
Kavarna
Yergöğü
Silistre
Mangalia
Danube R.
Black Sea
Ruscuk
Balçik
Turnovo
Varna
Dobrich
Cherna Voda
Karnobat
Islimiye
Ahyolu
Burgas
Stara Zagora
Yambol
Sizebolu
Plovdiv
Aytos
Ottoman Rumelia
Edirne
Istanubl
Sea of Marmara
Aegean Sea
* Bessarabia to Russia (1812)

Map 2 Cities, towns, and political divisions in the Black Sea region (late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries).


GALICIA
SOUTH RUSSIA
PROV. OF CAUCASUS
Sea of Azov
CRIMEA
AUSTRIA
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
ROUMANIA
BULGARIA
TURKEY
ROUMELIA
BLACK SEA
CONSTANTINOPLE
ADRIANOPLE
Scutari
ASIA MINOR
GREECE
SMYRNA
ALEPPO
TIFLIS
Batum
Trebizond
Sinope
Sebastopol
Balaklava
Eupatoria
Simferopol
Taganrog
R. Don
R. Dniester
R. Kuban
Varna
Angora
Sivas
Kars
Erzeroum
RUSSIAN TROOPS
TURKISH " "
BOUNDARIES
RAILWAYS

Map 3 Map of Turkey and southern Russia.

Introduction

In late July 1805, the Russian nobleman Ivan Ivanovich Veshniakov, aboard a Greek merchant ship and traveling under the protection of a *ferman* issued by the Ottoman Sultan Selim III, sailed up the Dardanelles and across the northern shore of the Sea of Marmara toward Istanbul. Fighting countervailing headwinds, Veshniakov's ship—filled with fellow Orthodox Christian pilgrims as well as Tatars returning from the Muslim pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca and Medina—docked in the Galata district of Istanbul. After settling in his quarters, Veshniakov immediately proceeded to the Russian embassy in Istanbul to meet with a Russian consular official, Councilor of State Froding. In this meeting, Veshniakov—joined by a Volga Tatar *Hajji* named Ismail—provided Froding with information on his travels in the Ottoman Empire. Striking up a conversation with Ismail, the Russian nobleman and the Volga Tatar swapped stories of their respective pilgrimages.

Following a two-week stay in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, on August 5 Veshniakov boarded a Greek merchant ship bound for Odessa. After being delayed five days in Istanbul due to an unfavorably strong northern wind, a shift of winds to the south resulted in what Veshniakov described as a regatta-like departure of merchant ships from Istanbul headed for various Russian Black Sea ports. Despite the wind shift, the southerly wind was not strong enough to counter currents in the Bosporus, and Veshniakov's vessel was forced to dock first in Dolmabahçe and then in Arnavutköy. Finally, on August 15, the Greek merchant ship departed Istanbul and sailed into the Black Sea. Following a coastal route up the western (Balkan) Black Sea shore, the ship reached Odessa in two days.

Just outside Odessa, the Greek merchant ship was stopped and boarded by Russian maritime officials. Following a brief inspection of the ship's passengers, the ship was turned away from Odessa's docks and was ordered to proceed to the port's quarantine station located some distance from the harbor. Here, after paying a quarantine tax, the passengers' clothes and goods were examined by Russian quarantine officials and medical doctors wielding specially designed iron tongs. Veshniakov and his fellow travelers remained in quarantine for three weeks, surviving on food purchased (with Ottoman currency) from the quarantine's canteen. On September 6, Veshniakov's travel document was stamped by a Russian quarantine official and, after clearing customs in Odessa, he was allowed to proceed on his way north to his home in Kaluga province.[1]

The Black Sea region and regional history

The Black Sea region of 1768 to 1829 has traditionally been characterized as a theater of warfare and imperial competition. Indeed, during this period, the Ottoman and Russian empires engaged in four armed conflicts for supremacy in the Balkans, Caucasus, and on the Black Sea itself.[2] The experiences of individuals such as Ivan Ivanovich Veshniakov, however, provide an alternative perspective from which to analyze the history of the Black Sea region. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Black Sea region was a zone of exchange—of trade, populations, and diseases—between the Ottoman and Russian empires. While not discounting geostrategic and ideological confrontation between the Ottoman and Russian empires, this book emphasizes the "transimperial" character of Ottoman-Russian relations in the Black Sea region during this period.

Based upon research conducted in Ottoman/Turkish, Russian, Bulgarian, and Ukrainian archives, I adopt a regional framework to balance the prevailing historiography of Ottoman-Russian antagonism and conflict. Defining a region as "a distinct geographical zone of interaction," Charles King has identified migrants and merchants as the main connective tissues linking the communities and polities in the Black Sea basin. As King writes, "even during those times when the sea has been a zone of confrontation, it has remained a region: a unique playing field on which the interests and aspirations of the peoples and polities within it have been played out. Interactions, exchanges, and connections—sometimes peaceful, sometimes conflictual—have been the defining elements around the sea's shores."[3] In the nineteenth century, environmental scientists began to conceptualize and promote an understanding of the Black Sea region as a discrete and integrated unit of exchange and interaction. Building on ideas in the discipline of ecology, these scholars conceived of the region as a web of connections and networks. Within this organic complex, they argued, changes occurring in one part of the organism necessarily impacted the health and vitality of other parts. According to Charles King, these individuals "were among the first to treat the Black Sea as a unit of study, a complex system that had to be understood as a whole through an analysis of its geography, geology, chemistry, and biology."[4]

The historiography of maritime spaces guides my analysis of Ottoman-Russian relations in the Black Sea region.[5] In the *longue durée*, the Black Sea region evinces a quantifiable and empirically verifiable pattern of exchange and interaction that has both challenged and weakened the territorial sovereignty of empires and nation-states. Through periods of openness and closure, and regardless of shifts in political power, trading and migrant communities in the Black Sea basin forged and sustained transimperial and regional connections. These transnational forces challenged state sovereignty and promoted regional integration. And, as I argue throughout this book, the perceived threat posed by uncontrolled migration stimulated and underpinned joint Ottoman-Russian initiatives to impose a duopoly over political and economic affairs in the Black Sea region in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Despite almost constant warfare and ideological confrontation, issues of mutual concern and shared interest for the Russian and Ottoman empires arose in the Black Sea region at the start of the modern period. Both were land-based, sprawling and multicultural empires whose emergent political-territorial borders bisected religio-cultural communities. This lack of conformity between political borders and regionally connected diaspora communities posed practical problems and provided opportunities for imperial officials and migrant populations alike. Through a comparison of Russian and Ottoman responses to population movements, this book asks the following question: What type of migration regimes (receptive, indifferent, or hostile) did the Ottoman and Russian empires construct in response to increased population movements during the period in question?[6] In this book, I will utilize a migration system analysis to address the "push" and "pull" factors that motivated migration to and from the Ottoman and Russian empires.[7] Promoted by environmental and structural factors, the interplay between migratory populations and state-driven policies geared toward controlling or managing these populations has been an enduring component of Black Sea regionalism. Therefore, I argue for the durability of the state-migration nexus and the continuity of migration-generated regionalism in the Black Sea basin, both historically and today.

Ottoman-Russian relations and comparative imperial history

Under the broad rubric of a comparative imperial history of the Ottoman and Russian empires, this book explores the linkage between migration, provincial-level reform, and state transformation in the Ottoman and Russian contexts. The impact of human mobility and transimperial migration on the evolution of Ottoman and Russian state institutions forms a core analytical framework of this book. Applying migration theory to historical data, my research broadens our understanding of the role of immigration policies and migratory circulation in the trajectory of empires, both historically and today. Here I argue that, in comparison with the more open and pragmatic approach to migratory populations in the early part of the nineteenth century, the adoption of a more nationalist and security-oriented migration regime in the late imperial period contributed to the diminution and weakening of the demographic vitality of the Ottoman and Russian empires.

Building upon a case study of Bulgarian migration between the Ottoman and Russian empires, an overview of the spread of epidemic disease in the Black Sea region, and an analysis of Ottoman and Russian quarantine construction, this book details joint Ottoman-Russian initiatives to establish territorial sovereignty in the Black Sea region. The central argument of this book is that in response to significant increases in human mobility and the concomitant spread of epidemic diseases in the Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Ottoman and Russian officials—at the imperial, provincial, and local levels—communicated about and coordinated their efforts to manage migratory movements and the spread of disease in this region. As part of a broader discussion on Ottoman-Russian Black Sea diplomacy, this book, therefore, reconceptualizes Ottoman-Russian relations in the Black Sea region during this period.

My book engages in a "bottom-up" comparative study of migration and settlement in the Ottoman and Russian empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I argue for the role of human mobility in defining administrative responsibilities and driving jurisdictional reforms at the provincial level. This book, therefore, falls squarely within the emergent genre of Ottoman and Russian provincial- and/or micro-level studies.[8] It then highlights and argues for the role of provincial-level actors and the bottom-up contribution of local-level events to the meta-narrative of Ottoman and Russian imperial history. Further, I argue that in the early part of the nineteenth century, debates concerning the rights and responsibilities of migrant-settler populations in southern Russia and the Ottoman Balkans fed into and informed reform initiatives undertaken at the highest levels of Ottoman and Russian officialdom.

As part of this analysis, I discuss comparatively how individual Ottoman and Russian subjects related to the imperial state and how subject populations on the move in the Black Sea region perceived of the contours of imperial space. Thematically my research on migration and empire builds upon Reşat Kasaba's analysis of human mobility in the Ottoman context. Kasaba has argued that mobility was an integral part of Ottoman imperial history and informed in large measure the experience of empire for subject populations. In my work, I look to contribute to this fundamental (and often overlooked) feature of Ottoman historiography and, through a comparative analysis, extend to the Russian context our awareness of how, as Kasaba puts it, "mobility thoroughly permeated Ottoman society and the nascent institutions of empire."[9]

As part of a comprehensive and comparative study of provincial-level Ottoman and Russian migration and settlement policies, my research challenges the traditional hub-and-spoke approach to analyzing center–periphery dynamics in the Ottoman and Russian imperial contexts. In so doing, this book incorporates the Black Sea region into the developing scholarly conceptualization of the Ottoman and Russian empires as multifaceted imperial entities consisting of multiple centers and multiple peripheries.[10]

Despite the implementation of measures designed to restrict migration in the Black Sea region, I argue that the Ottoman and Russian states struggled to effectively police their imperial peripheries. Commercial linkages and structural connections among migratory populations in this region, as well as the irregular delimitation of Ottoman-Russian borders, reduced the efficacy of Ottoman and Russian anti-plague and quarantine measures. This book, therefore, highlights the weakness of Ottoman and Russian state authority and the limits of Ottoman and Russian state power in the Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As both the Ottoman and Russian states struggled to exercise authority in the Black Sea region during the period in question, my work argues for and implicitly foregrounds the utility of a comparative approach to analyzing the power and efficacy of the Ottoman and Russian imperial states.

This book engages in a detailed comparative study of the establishment of quarantine lines and the construction of quarantine complexes in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region.[11] As part of this comparative analysis, I contribute several important correctives to our understanding of quarantines in the Ottoman and Russian contexts.[12] Quarantines are primarily constructed in an effort to combat the spread of disease and, from an historiographical standpoint, are generally discussed within this context. I argue, however, that in the Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, quarantines rapidly evolved into all-purpose border posts where trade goods were inspected, customs collected, currency exchanged, criminals and fugitives surveilled, intelligence gathered, and migrants and refugees registered and provided with travel documents. The provision by quarantine officials of health-related travel documents to individuals crossing imperial borders highlights the general linkage of disease suppression, migration management, and border control in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Ottoman and Russian polities were both formed in a frontier environment; drew upon Byzantine and Mongol traditions in their early state formation and later imperial ideology; incorporated Christian and Muslim elements into their "aristocracy"; developed into multiethnic and multireligious empires; were forced to respond to the challenge of the European industrial revolution; implemented modernizing reforms; confronted nineteenth-century nationalism(s); and perished in the wake of World War I. In approaching Ottoman and Russian imperial history, Euro-Atlantic historians tend to focus on the trilateral relationship between Western Europe, Russia, and Turkey. Within this framework, historians typically emphasize Western Europe's influence on the Ottoman Empire's adoption of modernizing reforms in the nineteenth century and debate the weight and import of the European component in the Eurasianist orientation of the Russian Empire. Moving away from an historiography that places Ottoman and Russian imperial history within the context of comparative "European" colonial studies and drilling down to the provincial, local, and micro-level, my research project argues for and implicitly foregrounds the essentialness of engaging in a comparative analysis of the Ottoman and Russian empires on their own terms.

Chapter overview

This book is divided into seven chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 1 ("The Black Sea Region in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries") provides an overview of the Black Sea region at the turn of the nineteenth century. In this chapter, I analyze the nature of territorial sovereignty around the Black Sea basin and highlight the importance of the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia) as the middle ground between the Ottoman and Russian empires. Additionally, I initiate my discussion of the environmental and climactic factors that promoted and sustained migratory movements and the spread of disease in the Black Sea region. Chapter 2 ("A Trans-Danubian Waltz: Bulgarian Migration in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea Region") develops a case study of Bulgarian migration between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Here, I highlight the significant amount of Bulgarian return migration from the Russian Empire to the Ottoman Empire in the early part of the nineteenth century and emphasize linkages between migratory movements and the spread of disease. I use this case study as a vehicle to introduce larger themes in Ottoman and Russian imperial historiography addressed in the core chapters of the book.

In Chapter 3 ("At the Limits of Empire: Migration, Settlement, and Border Security in Russia's Imperial South"), I survey the settlement of migratory populations in the Russian south during an expansionary period in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This chapter explores the connection between migration, settlement projects, and economic development in the Russian Empire. It concludes with an analysis of the ineffectiveness and weakness of Russian border control and migration management regimes in the Black Sea region. Chapter 4 ("Reconstruction and Reconciliation: Migration and Settlement in the Early Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Balkans") addresses the settlement of Crimean Tatars, Russian Old Believers, Cossacks, and Bulgarian return migrants in the Ottoman Empire. As part of a broader discussion of state-society relations in the Ottoman Balkans, I analyze the shift in Ottoman migration policies from interdiction and forced return to a more nuanced, flexible, and incentivized approach to the challenges posed by human mobility. It concludes with an investigation of the connection between migration, provincial-level reform, and state transformation in the Ottoman Empire.

In an integrative manner, Chapters 5 ("'Instruments of Despotism' (I): Quarantines, Travel Documentation, and Migration Management in the Ottoman Empire, 1774–1830s") and 6 ("'Instruments of Despotism' (II): Epidemic Disease, Quarantines, and Border Control in the Russian Empire") survey the spread of epidemic diseases (plague and cholera) in the Black Sea region and analyze Ottoman and Russian anti-disease initiatives and quarantine construction projects in the early part of the nineteenth century. Further, the evolution and institutionalization of quarantines as all-purpose border posts and the connection between quarantine construction, anti-disease initiatives, and the rise of the modern state in the Black Sea region are addressed.

Chapter 7 ("Imperial Confrontation or Regional Cooperation? Reconceptualizing Ottoman-Russian Relations in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries") details joint Ottoman-Russian initiatives to manage migration and check the spread of epidemic diseases in the Black Sea region. Here, as part of a broader discussion on Ottoman-Russian Black Sea diplomacy, I reconceptualize the nature of Ottoman-Russian relations in this region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Sources

This book is built upon a multiarchival and multilingual source base. Archival research was conducted in Moscow, Russia (at the Russian State Military History Archive and the State Archive of the Russian Federation), in Istanbul, Turkey (at the Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archives), in Sofia, Bulgaria (at the Bulgarian Historical Archive and the Central State Archive—Bulgaria), and in Odessa, Ukraine (at the Odessa State Archive). Additionally, at the Central State Archive—Bulgaria I was able to access microfilmed archival documents from the Central State Archive of Moldavia (in Kishinev) and the Romanian State Archive (in Bucharest). In Russia, two particularly rich archival finds included early editions of the Russian Ministry of the Interior's in-house journal published in the 1830s and 1840s and a series of reports submitted by agents of the Russian Third Section (a surveillance/internal policing unit in Russia) posted in the Black Sea region. I used these reports to track migratory populations and the spread of disease between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Beyond these archival holdings, the research for my book draws upon a reading of published Romanian archival documents (translated into Bulgarian), published Russian Foreign Ministry Documents (which include reports written by Russian consular officials in the Ottoman Empire), and published reports written by Russian provincial officials stationed along the south and southwestern periphery of the Russian Empire. Color and eye-witness reportage in the book is provided by American, English, French, and German travelers in the Black Sea region. These travel accounts proved particularly useful for gauging environmental conditions in southern Russia and the Ottoman Balkans, the impact of epidemic diseases on communities located around the Black Sea littoral, and the individual experience of migrants on the move between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[13] Finally, my book incorporates a close and comprehensive reading of Russian, Ottoman/Turkish, and Bulgarian secondary sources on the history of the Ottoman and Russian empires.

A note on periodization

The history of the Black Sea region has oscillated between periods dominated by closed command economies and periods marked by international openness and free trade.[14] From the Ottoman capture of the key Crimean port of Kaffa in 1475 to the signing of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774 (which ended the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774), the political economy of the Black Sea and its riparian basin was organized around the monopolistic provisioning of the Ottoman capital of Istanbul.[15] The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca—which established an independent Crimean Khanate (albeit under heavy Russian influence)—ceded to the Russian Empire three ports along the northern Black Sea coast (Kinburun, Yenikale, and Kerch), accorded Russian merchant ships navigational rights through the straits of the Bosporus and Dardanelles, and allowed Russian subjects to trade freely in the Ottoman Empire—punctured the hermetical seal around the "Ottoman lake." Accordingly, trade, population movements, and the spread of epidemic disease along the north–south axis of the Black Sea increased considerably.

This book is fundamentally an investigation of the response by the Ottoman and Russian states to the accelerated pace of migration and the spread of disease in the Black Sea region from 1768 to the signing of the Treaty of Hünkar Iskelesi in 1833. Signaling a stunning reversal in the traditionally antagonistic geopolitical relationship between the Ottoman and Russian empires, the Treaty of Hünkar Iskelesi alerted France and Britain to the Russian Empire's improved diplomatic and military position in Istanbul. The ensuing internationalization of the "Black Sea Question" effectively ended a sixty-year Ottoman-Russian duopoly over economic and political affairs in the Black Sea region.

1

The Black Sea Region in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

Land and people

For roughly seventy years, from 1768 to the 1830s, the Ottoman and Russian empires grappled like two limb-locked wrestlers for economic and political influence in the arc of land from the northern Black Sea steppe to northeastern Bulgaria (Dobruja).[1] The setting for this geopolitical jockeying was a frontier world of flat steppe and filigreed delta; of "multiethnic" provincial towns, isolated farming communities, and hidden fishing villages; of settlers and smugglers; of mobile populations; of situational allegiances and fluid identities.

Prior to the introduction of steamships into the Black Sea in the late 1820s, severe storms on the open waters of the Black Sea forced long-distance travelers moving between the Ottoman and Russian empires to adhere to a coastal sailing route or to undertake an arduous land journey.[2] From the Perekop Isthmus (which connects the Crimean Peninsula to the Russian mainland) to the Bucak (or southern Bessarabia), travelers confronted a desolate, barren, parched, and, into the early nineteenth century, sparsely populated steppe zone.[3] Wood, water, and forage were unavailable in an eight-mile radius extending outward from the key fortress-town of Ochakov (Özi).[4] In the 1820s and 1830s, recently settled peasants in the Bucak were forced to travel 25–30 kilometers to find their nearest source of water.[5]

In the 1830s, the intense heat of summer and the "hellish cold" of winter prompted a group of French and American economists studying Russian settlement policies in Bessarabia to call the Bucak steppe "the land of death."[6] Searing humidity and severe frosts (which could strike well into May) accompanied summer highs of 35–40°C and winter lows of −15 to −20°C. Travelers were impressed by the amount of hail and sleet produced by the thunderstorms of southern Bessarabia.[7] Extreme fluctuations in temperature and the aridity and sandiness of the soil on the Black Sea steppe invited comparisons with the deserts of Central Asia and Mongolia—an impression no doubt reinforced by the presence of Bactrian camels in the Bucak, which were yoked by local farmers to till the land and deliver goods to market.[8]

The numerous and wide rivers of the northern Black Sea steppe offered an imposing obstacle to travelers. A lack of bridges forced travelers to rely upon ferrymen or the solid ice of winter to ford rivers. Strong winds from the south across the steppe also made travel dangerous and undesirable. Horse-drawn carts and carriages (the principal forms of conveyance for travelers in the Black Sea steppe zone) often broke down, got stuck in mud, or foundered in deep holes on poorly maintained roads.[9] During his journey across the Black Sea steppe from Wallachia to Kiev, the Russian vice-consul in Bucharest recounted the "various disasters on his road; that he had been detained by half-frozen rivers in some places; by the want of snow sufficient for sledging in others; and by the ceaseless accidents of his unfortunate carriage …"[10]

To the south and west of the Bucak steppe, the Danubian delta formed a marshy web of shifting rivulets and canals which required considerable maritime skill to navigate. This estuarial terrain formed an ideal haven for fugitives, dissenters, and freebooters, seeking to live a life free of state interference.[11] Nineteenth-century geographers identified five main branches of the Danube River along the Black Sea coast that collectively formed the Danubian delta. From north to south, these branches were the Sünne Boğaz, the Sulin rivulet, the Hızırilyas Boğaz, the Bortica or Naragos rivulet, and the Kurt Boğaz.[12] The Sünne channel (the deepest and widest of the five branches) was the primary waterway for large merchant ships transitioning between the Danube River and the Black Sea. Illustrative of the shifting nature of the channels and rivulets in the Danubian delta, early nineteenth-century geographers noted that the Hızırilyas channel had in the past been much wider and deeper but was now proving difficult for larger ships to navigate.[13] Although an island meadow between the Sünne channel and the Sulin rivulet was farmed and used for pasturage by the enterprising inhabitants of the Danubian delta, the main estuarial livelihood was, not surprisingly, fishing and aquaculture.[14]

South of the Danubian delta, the northern Black Sea steppe (and, by extension, the great Eurasian steppe belt) reached its terminus in the Ottoman-controlled region of Dobruja (northeastern Bulgaria). In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the region of Dobruja was a mostly denuded, desolate, and dry expanse inhabited by a sparse (albeit "ethnically" mixed) population of townspeople and agriculturalists. In the winter of 1826, a resident of a village near Babadağ observed that "Dobruja was a deserted place inhabited mostly by Bessarabian tribes (Tatars). It was a forsaken land." This impression was no doubt reinforced by the frequency of locust swarms in Dobruja, which blighted what little vegetation was available to the region's inhabitants.[15] The Prussian captain Helmuth von Moltke—who (as a military advisor to Sultan Mahmud II) traveled extensively throughout the Ottoman Empire from 1835 to 1839—described Dobruja as a "bleak wilderness (*trostlose Einöde*)…of no more than 20,000 inhabitants."[16]

Travelers remarked on the similarities between the landscapes of Dobruja and the steppe lands extending east across the Eurasian plain. While bivouacked in Dobruja during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, the Russian soldier Porfirii Nikolaevich Glebov described it as a "land almost unpopulated, without trees and water, like the Kirgiz-Kazakh steppe."[17] Moving south from the Danubian delta into the open plains of Dobruja in the summer of 1828, a Russian officer wrote, "around seventeen *versts* from Babadağ the landscape changed, the trees thinned-out, the hills flattened and my eyes looked out on a boundless and barren steppe (*neobozrimaia, golaia step'*) which stretched outwards for 170 *versts*. Except for the expanse and open sky of the Black Sea steppe I had never seen an expanse such as this."[18] The presence of Kalmyk soldiers and drovers in Dobruja no doubt contributed to the visual similarities between central Eurasia and northeastern Ottoman Rumelia. In the summer of 1829, the German physician Dr. Zeidlits, who was attached to a troop of Russian soldiers advancing through Dobruja during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, wrote, "we held to a west-by-northwest route across the steppe headed toward Shumla. Around 10 AM we encountered a large caravan of camels—there must have been 1,000 of them. Our horses were frightened and stopped in their tracks. The Kalmyk camel-drivers sang their beautiful songs which were well-known to me from my time in Astrakhan."[19]

Long a migration corridor between the heavily populated regions around the Ottoman capital of Istanbul and the steppe highway north of the Black Sea, the Dobruja displayed a demographic diversity common to the Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. During his travels through Dobruja, von Moltke described a mixed population of Tatars, Wallachians, Moldavians, Bulgarians, and Turks.[20] Hacıoğlu Pazarcık (Dobrich) contained a typically diverse Dobrujan population of Turks, Tatars, Armenians, and Bulgarians.[21] In the mid-nineteenth century, an Ottoman census of ten *kazas* in Dobruja (Tulça, Isakçı, Maçin, Hirsova, Babadağ, Köstence, Mangalia, Pazarcık, Balçık, and Silistre) counted 4,800 Turkish, 3,656 Romanian, 2,225 Tatar, 2,214 Bulgar, 1,092 Cossack, 747 Lipovan (or Russian Old Believers), 300 Greek, 212 Roma, 145 Arab, 126 Armenian, 119 Jewish, and 59 German families settled in Dobruja.[22]

Freebooters of all types, ethnicities, and denominations pursued their fortunes in the Black Sea region. According to Charles King, Bessarabia in the early part of the nineteenth century "became a haven for smugglers and other criminals operating along the Danube and the Black Sea."[23] Expert in navigating the coastal waters of the north-western Black Sea coast, smugglers and pirates easily evaded Ottoman, Russian, and Wallachian quarantine facilities and generally operated beyond the detection of provincial and port authorities.[24] Assigned to peacetime duty in southern Bessarabia, Zaporozhian Cossack servitors bootlegged black-market goods through ports in the Danubian delta.

Trafficking in human cargo, as well, proved to be a lucrative business on the Black Sea steppe. In return for cash payments, bands of Zaporozhian Cossacks organized the clandestine transportation of Bulgarian migrants across the Prut River into the Principality of Moldavia.[25] Bulgarian migrants also paid boat captains to safely and secretly transport their families from the Bessarabian to the Moldavian side of the Prut River.[26] In the 1820s, Russian efforts to improve and strengthen their quarantine and customs lines along the Prut River were geared, in part, toward checking illicit commercial and migratory traffic between the Danubian Principalities and Bessarabia. As was noted in official reports, this kind of activity had picked up considerably in the preceding two decades.[27]

Migrants and settlers

Large-scale population movements, shifting patterns of agricultural settlement, and the commercial and political activities of migrant diasporas animated and energized the Black Sea world in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[28] A short and by no means exhaustive inventory of the "ethnic" and religious populations on the move around the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region would include ***Armenians*** who established large migrant communities in Grigoriopol (which was founded in 1792 on the eastern shore of the Dniester River by Armenian migrants from Bender, Kilia, and Ibrail), Nakhichevan (founded on the Don River in 1779 by Armenian migrants from the Crimean Peninsula), and Kizlyar and Mozdok on the Terek River in the northern Caucasus. In the mid-1790s, Armenians formed the majority of the population in Grigoriopol, 2,800 Armenians (as opposed to only 1,000 Russians) lived in Kizlyar, and Armenians constituted roughly half of the population in Mozdok. Similarly, Armenian communities could be found in most of the important towns in the Danubian Principalities and Ottoman Rumelia. In a census conducted in 1809 during the Russian occupation of Wallachia, Russian military officials counted 801 Armenian inhabitants in Bucharest.[29]

Greek merchant and migrant communities, as well, were established throughout the Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the 1780s, Greek merchant communities flourished in Taganrog, Kerch, and Yenikale.[30] By the early part of the nineteenth century, numerous Greek migrant communities existed in southern Russia. These communities were reinforced and reinvigorated in the 1820s by Greek fugitives and refugees fleeing generalized violence in the Danubian Principalities and Dobruja.

Russian tsars provided large land grants on the Russian side of the Dniester to exiled ***Wallachian*** and ***Moldavian*** noble families. Moldavian peasants responded in large numbers to Russian appeals for agricultural settlers in southern Russia and Bessarabia. By the early part of the nineteenth century, Moldavians formed a majority of the population in the northern part of the Bessarabian Oblast.[31]

Commonly referred to as “Orthodox Christian Turks” or (more controversially in Bulgarian historiography) as “Turkicized Bulgarians” (Bulgarian—*poturcheni Bulgari*), the ***Gagauz*** formed compact settlements in Bessarabia, Dobruja, and along the western Black Sea coast.[32] In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, large communities of Gagauz lived in Silistre, the northern Dobrujan town of Vister (termed a “pure” Gagauz settlement of roughly 1,000 homes), and around the Black Sea towns of Balçık, Kavarna, Köstence, Mangalia, and Varna.[33] Often misidentified by Russian provincial authorities as Bulgarians (and to a lesser extent as Serbians, Moldavians, or Greeks), the Turkic-speaking Gagauz first migrated into southern Russia in the early part of the eighteenth century. During the Russo-Ottoman Wars of 1786–1792, 1806–1812, and 1828–1829, thousands of Gagauz fled the Ottoman Empire and found refuge in the Bucak and around the towns of Ismail and Bender.[34] By the mid-1830s, an estimated 27,000 Gagauz lived in Bessarabia—a population figure which held steady throughout the nineteenth century.[35]

Roma (*Tsigani* in Bulgarian, *Çingeneler* in Turkish, *Zigeuner* in German) formed a significant part of the trans-Danubian migrations into the Russian Empire during and after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812. According to a Russian census conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, roughly 12,000

Roma lived in Bessarabia. The British consul in Bucharest, William Wilkinson, estimated that in the first decade of the nineteenth century, over 150,000 Roma resided in the Danubian Principalities (a number which had increased to 190,000 by the 1870s). In the words of Wilkinson, Roma in Wallachia "frequently changed the place of their abode."[36] The Prussian vice-consul in Sarajevo, Carl von Sax, estimated that in the mid-nineteenth century, the Roma population in the Ottoman Empire's sub-Danubian provinces numbered roughly 25,000 (a figure he divided into "Mohammedan Roma" and "non-Mohammedan Roma").[37]

Bulgarians formed one of the largest and most dynamic migrant communities in the Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Over 250,000 Bulgarians (or 10–15 percent of the total Bulgarian population in the Ottoman Empire) migrated from Ottoman Rumelia to the Danubian Principalities and southern Russia in the period between 1768 and the 1830s. Many of these migrants opted to return to their former towns and villages in the Ottoman Empire after a short stay in the Russian Empire. A detailed case study of Bulgarian population movements between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries will be taken up in Chapter 2.

Alan Fisher estimates that between 1768 and 1792, 150,000–200,000 ***Crimean Tatars*** migrated from the Russian Empire to the Ottoman Empire.[38] Brian Williams notes that in the first few decades of the nineteenth century, there was a quiet and steady movement of tens of thousands of Crimean Tatars into Ottoman Rumelia.[39] Crimean Tatar migrations from the Russian Empire to the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Following the Bulavin uprising in southern Russia in 1707, large numbers of ***Nekrasovites***—a mixed group of Cossacks and Russian Old Believers—migrated into the Danubian estuary in the early part of the eighteenth century.[40] Under the terms of a *ferman* issued by the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed III (reigned from 1703 to 1730), Nekrasovite settlers in the Ottoman Empire received lands and exemption from taxes in return for service (when called) in the Ottoman army. Loyal subjects of the Ottoman Sultan, Nekrasovites fought against the Russians in the Russo-Ottoman Wars of 1768–1774, 1786–1792, 1806–1812, and 1828–1829.[41]

Besides their three main settlements in the Danubian estuary (Seriköy, Dunavets, and Beştepeler), Nekrasovites were also settled on Ottoman lands around the Dobrujan towns of Babadağ, Maçin, Tulça, and Hirsova and in towns along the Black Sea coast—including Balçık and Varna.[42] Nekrasovites combined with other groups fleeing Russian state control (including Zaporozhian Cossacks) to form a socio-territorial group known to Russian authorities as "The Mouth-of-Danube Cossacks" (*Ust'-Dunaiskoe Kazachestvo*).

Following the dissolution of the Zaporozhian Cossack *Sich* and its incorporation into the formal structure of the Russian Empire in the 1750s, thousands of ***Zaporozhian Cossacks*** fled to the Ottoman Empire. In the 1770s, an estimated 10,000 Zaporozhian Cossacks were settled on Ottoman lands north and east of the Danubian delta.[43] By the late eighteenth century, Zaporozhian Cossack settlements were firmly established in the Danubian estuary and around the Danubian port-towns of Hirsova and Silistre. Zaporozhian Cossacks also formed sizable communities in the principal Rumelian city of Edirne, the Ottoman capital Istanbul, and along the southern coast of the Black Sea in Anatolia.[44] In 1859, the French demographer Eugéne Poujade estimated that roughly 50,000 Zaporozhian Cossacks lived in Ottoman Bulgaria.[45] Zaporozhian Cossack settlers in the Ottoman Empire received many of the same privileges and exemptions extended to Nekrasovite settlers. In return for these privileges and exemptions, Zaporozhian Cossacks turned out in large numbers for service in the Ottoman army. For example, Zaporozhian troops formed a core component of the Ottoman army assigned to the defense of Rusçuk (Ruse) during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812. Zaporozhian Cossack brigades were also employed as auxiliary forces during the Greek uprising in the 1820s.[46]

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, many ***Russian Old Believers*** fled from the Russian Empire in search of religious freedom and found refuge in Bessarabia, the Danubian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and Ottoman Rumelia. To their compatriots in the Russian Empire, Old Believer settlements in the Ottoman Empire were known collectively as the "community of Trans-Danubian Old Believers" (*Zadunaiskoe Staroobriadcheskoe Obshchestvo*).[47]

In Bessarabia, Old Believer communities were concentrated in the southern part of the province and in the environs of the principal towns of Kishinev and Bender. According to the All-Russian census of 1897, at the turn of the twentieth century over 28,000 Old Believers lived in Bessarabia. In Wallachia, Russian Old Believers established numerous monastic communities (*skiti* or *sketes*) where they were free to practice their religion without state interference. In Moldavia, "many thousands" of Old Believers lived in Jassy and sizable groups of Old Believer migrants from the Russian Empire settled along the upper reaches of the Siret River. Leading members of Old Believer communities in Wallachia and Moldavia returned frequently to the Russian Empire for religious gatherings and traveled regularly to Ottoman Dobruja for commercial purposes.[48] The settlement of Nekrasovites, Russian Old Believers, and Zaporozhian Cossacks in the Ottoman Empire will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

Disease in the Black Sea region

In the post–Küçük Kaynarca era, enhanced trade connections between the Ottoman and Russian empires, consistent and sizable human migrations in the Black Sea region, and regular outbreaks of Russo-Ottoman warfare resulted in frequent and increasingly severe outbreaks of epidemic diseases in the Black Sea region.[49] It is important to note here at the outset that when discussing outbreaks of epidemic diseases in the pre-modern period, the term "plague" (*veba*, in Ottoman Turkish) is often used as a catch-all term for a variety of diseases and ailments including typhus, malaria, and various viral infections.[50] My purpose in this text is not to wade too deeply into the historiographical discussion on the type and terminology surrounding the diseases prevalent in the Ottoman Balkans during the period under discussion, but rather to highlight the social and state responses to the appearance and spread of epidemic diseases (whether it be plague, cholera, or other diseases and pathogens).[51]

As an insect-borne bacterial disease, the plague's etiology revolved around a rat-flea-human nexus. Fleas, after biting plague-infected rats, transferred the disease to humans. Textiles and hides constituted a particularly conducive breeding environment for fleas and rats. Thus, the primary method for the long-range spread of the disease between human populations was through trade in wool, silk, cotton, and the personal effects (i.e., clothing) of merchants, migrants, and soldiers.[52] The communicability of the plague was fostered by warm weather (between 20° and 25°C). Dislocations and displacements caused by exogenous shocks to the normal patterns of life (i.e., earthquakes and floods) devastated already rudimentary levels of sanitation and—through reductions in food intake—severely compromised human immune systems.[53] These exogenous shocks extended the life cycles of epidemic diseases and increased fatality rates.[54]

The appearance of the so-called Asiatic cholera (*cholera morbus*) in the Ganges plain in 1817, coupled with the increased use of steamship travel by Muslim pilgrims (*Hajjis*) from the Indian subcontinent, resulted in significant outbreaks of epidemic cholera in Mecca and Medina in the early part of the nineteenth century. Spread (via Astrakhan and Russian Black Sea ports) by Russian Muslim *hajjis* returning from the Hejaz, the Russian Empire was the first European nation to suffer the ravages of the global cholera epidemic of the 1820s and 1830s. From 1823 to 1831, over 250,000 Russians died of cholera.[55] The measures undertaken by the Ottoman and Russian states to check the spread of plague and cholera and to protect their populations from epidemic diseases will be discussed in depth in Chapters 5 and 6.

A bacterial disease, typhus flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in crowded and unsanitary locales in the Ottoman Balkans such as towns and fortresses under siege, army bivouacs, and refugee camps.[56] Malaria, as well, ravaged populations in the Ottoman Balkans including those settled along the low-lying Black Sea coast (mainly in the area around Varna), in the marshy swampland of the Danubian estuary ("… where ghastly mosquitoes—whose bite was capable of killing a man—bred and festered"), and in isolated pockets of the Rumelian interior and eastern Thrace ("where the air was bad").[57] Travelers in the Ottoman Balkans complained of aching fevers (*likhoradki*) and the general malaise caused by breathing in "air full of noxious vapors."[58] And as Sam White has pointed out, overcrowding, poor sanitation, and rudimentary water supply systems in Ottoman cities produced a cocktail of "ordinary" (but deadly) urban endemic diseases and infections such as anthrax, dysentery, fevers, gastrointestinal disturbances, malaria, smallpox, and typhus.[59]

The Danubian Principalities as the "middle ground" between the Ottoman and Russian empires

The indeterminate status of the Danubian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia contributed to the fluidity of the Black Sea frontier between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In this period, the Danubian Principalities were nominally part of the Ottoman Empire. However, Russian influence in the Danubian Principalities increased considerably in the late 1700s and early 1800s, and from 1806 to 1812 and from 1828 to 1835, the Russian Empire occupied the Danubian Principalities and effectively assumed authority over military and civil affairs in Wallachia and Moldavia.

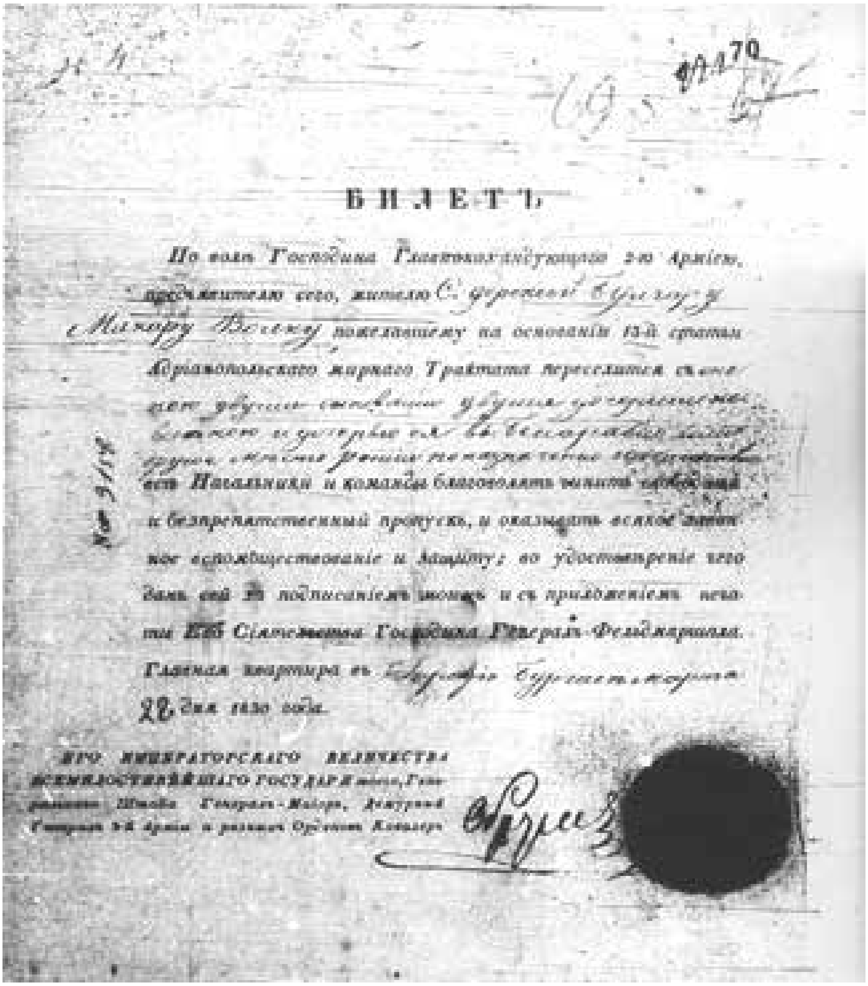
Conventionally conceived of as mere pawns in "Great Power" diplomatic and geostrategic games of chess, the Danubian Principalities—in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—occupied the all-important "middle ground" between the Ottoman and Russian empires. In his work on the relations among Native American confederations and the British and French empires in the Great Lakes region of North America, Richard White defines the middle ground as a "messy and complicated world." On the middle ground "native" elites exploited shifts in imperial fortunes and played one imperial power off against the other. While the British and French empires fought wars and negotiated for peace, native elites single-mindedly pursued their own interests. In this way, minor actors, native allies, and individual subjects of the middle ground "often guided the course of empires." To minimize risk and maximize gain, imperial powers looked to control territory and trade routes through the agency of native proxies. These tactics elevated certain native elites and undercut others.[60]

Historians of Romania have long debated the jurisdictional and political status of the Danubian Principalities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the view of Viorel Panaite, the "Romanian" Principalities were both "tributary Principalities" and "buffer-protectorates" of the Ottoman Empire.[61] Mihai Maxim maintains that the Danubian Principalities occupied a neutral position (as a *Dar ül-Ahd* or, literally, House of the Pact) in the Ottoman state's early modern *Weltanschauung*—a worldview which, in its classical formulation, divided the world between a *Dar ül-Harb* (House of War) and a *Dar ül-Islam* (House of Islam).[62] Terming Moldavia and Wallachia "vassal" states of the Ottoman Empire, Charles King argues that the relationship between the Ottoman Porte and Moldavian elites was "one of suzerainty rather than outright domination."[63]

Both the Ottomans and the Russians had difficulties in dealing with Wallachian and Moldavian elites and establishing political influence on the middle ground between the two empires. For the Ottomans, the planning and completion of military and transport-related infrastructure projects required the (not always forthcoming) cooperation of native elites.[64] Ottoman investigations of crimes committed against couriers and merchants traversing the Danubian Principalities were conducted through the offices of the local rulers (*Hospodars*) of Wallachia and Moldavia and the Wallachian *Hospodar* maintained the authority to adjudicate in disputes between Muslim and non-Muslim peasants and townspeople in Wallachia.[65] Following the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, Ottoman agents in Wallachia and Moldavia appealed to Bulgarian migrants in the Danubian Principalities to return to their prewar homes in Ottoman Rumelia. These efforts were undermined by Wallachian and Moldavian officials who—fearing the loss of productive agricultural workers—forcibly restrained Bulgarian migrants from moving south across the Danube River.[66] Furthermore, in an attempt to appropriate sovereignty over population movements into and throughout the Danubian Principalities in the first decades of the nineteenth century, Wallachian *Hospodars* issued permits governing entrance and exit from the Wallachian capital of Bucharest and issued travel documents to Wallachian "citizens" conducting business in Ottoman Rumelia.[67]

The resistance of local elites undermined the effectiveness of the Russian Empire's two early nineteenth-century occupational governments in the Danubian Principalities.[68] For example, in 1807, the provisional Russian government in Bucharest granted Bulgarian migrants in Wallachia the right to purchase and farm private lands and exempted Bulgarian migrants from paying taxes typically levied on peasant-agriculturalists (*reaya*) in Wallachia.[69] The litany of petitions submitted by Bulgarian migrants to Russian authorities in the Danubian Principalities accusing local Wallachian elites of violating these rights attests to the difficulties Russian occupational governments had in projecting political power in the Danubian Principalities.[70] Aware of their circumscribed authority in the Danubian Principalities, Russian officials often resorted to clandestine operations to accomplish their migration-related goals in Wallachia and Moldavia. For example, a Russian military officer engaged in migrant recruitment efforts in Moldavia in the summer of 1812 proudly reported to his superiors in Bucharest that he had been able to accomplish his work undetected by Moldavian authorities.[71]

The jurisdictional and political ambiguity of Wallachia and Moldavia's middle ground position between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the first part of the nineteenth century is best understood through a comparative analysis of two Russian travel documents (*bilets*) issued in May 1830. The text of the first *bilet*—issued to a Bulgarian migrant being resettled from Ottoman Rumelia to Bessarabia—explicitly references the fact that the migrant is requesting and receiving the right to resettle in the Russian Empire under the terms of Article 13 of the Treaty of Adrianople. In this article, the Ottoman and Russian empires agreed to allow—for a period of eighteen months—free and unfettered migration of any and all Ottoman and Russian subjects wishing to resettle from the *territory* of the Russian Empire to the *territory* of the Ottoman Empire and vice versa. The second *bilet*—issued to a Bulgarian migrant being resettled from Ottoman Rumelia to Moldavia—is perfectly identical in terminology and markings to the first *bilet* except for the fact that it omits the reference to Article 13 of the Treaty of Adrianople. As this second Bulgarian migrant was moving within the internationally recognized territory of the Ottoman Empire (i.e., from Ottoman Rumelia to the Principality of Moldavia), Russian authorities saw no need to reference Article 13 of the Treaty of Adrianople in this *bilet*.



70

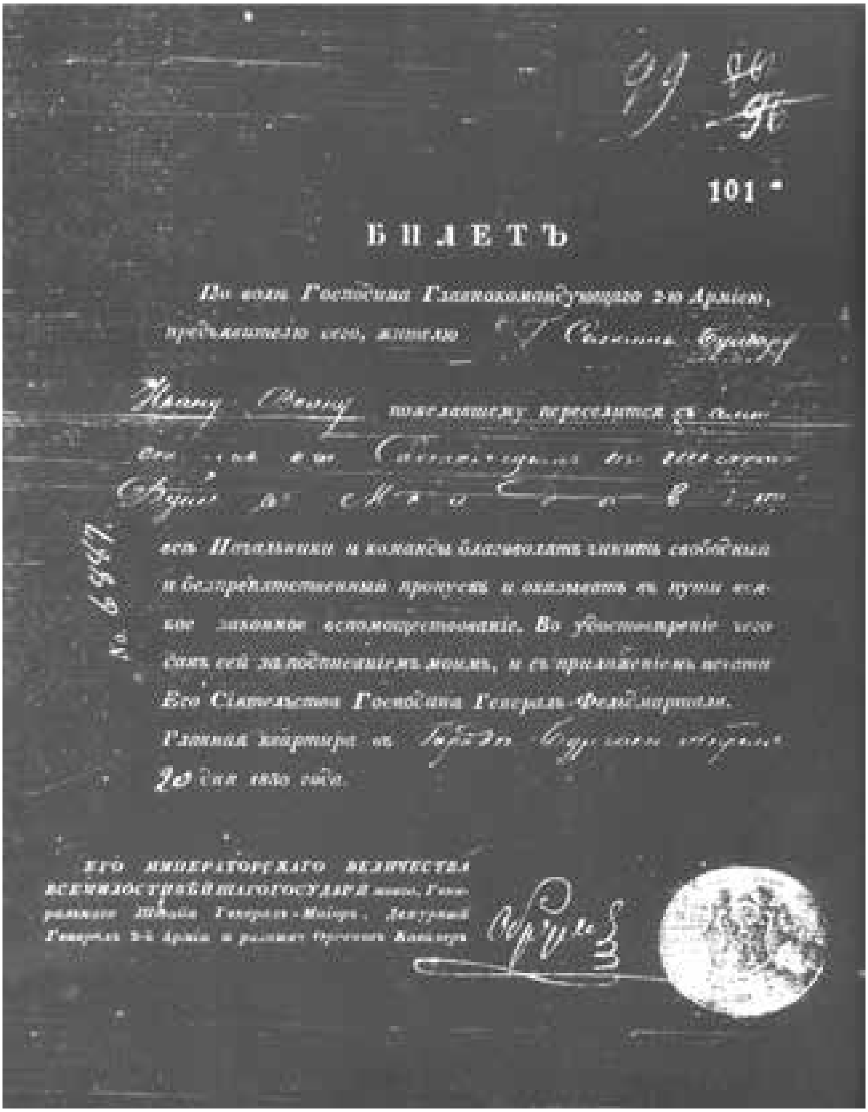
БИЛЕТЪ

По волѣ Господина Главнокомандующаго 2-ю Арміею,
предъявителю сего, жителю [illegible]
[illegible] пожелавшему на основаніи 13-й статьи
Адріанопольскаго мирнаго Трактата переселиться [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
всѣ Начальники и команды благоволятъ чинить свободный
и безпрепятственный пропускъ, и оказывать всякое закон-
ное вспомоществованіе и защиту; во удостовѣреніе чего
данъ сей за подписаніемъ моимъ и съ приложеніемъ печа-
ти ЕГО Сіятельства Господина Генералъ-Фельдмаршала.
Главная квартира въ [illegible]
28 Дня 1830 года.

ЕГО ИМПЕРАТОРСКАГО ВЕЛИЧЕСТВА
ВСЕМИЛОСТИВѢЙШАГО ГОСУДАРЯ моего, Гене-
ральнаго Штаба Генералъ-Маіоръ, Дежурный
Генералъ 2-й Арміи и разныхъ Орденовъ Кавалеръ

Figure 1.1 Russian travel document (*bilet*) authorizing the resettlement (according to the terms of Article 13 in the Treaty of Adrianople) of a Bulgarian migrant in Bessarabia (1830).

Source: *Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennoi Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (TsGIA)—*Moldavskaia Sovetskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika* (MSSR), f. 2, op. 1, d. 1467, l. 70.



101

БИЛЕТЪ

По волѣ Господина Главнокомандующаго 2ю Арміею, предъявителю сего, жителю [illegible] [illegible] пожелавшему переселится [illegible]

[illegible]

всѣ Начальники и команды благоволятъ чинить свободный и безпрепятственный пропускъ и оказывать въ пути всякое законное вспомоществованіе. Во увѣреніе чего данъ сей за подписаніемъ моимъ, и съ приложеніемъ печати Его Сіятельства Господина Генералъ-Фельдмаршала.

Главная квартира въ [illegible] 20 дня 1830 года.

ЕГО ИМПЕРАТОРСКАГО ВЕЛИЧЕСТВА ВСЕМИЛОСТИВѢЙШАГО ГОСУДАРЯ [illegible] Генералъ-Маіоръ, Дежурный Генералъ 2-й Арміи и разныхъ Орденовъ Кавалеръ

Figure 1.2 Russian travel document (*bilet*) authorizing the resettlement of a Bulgarian migrant in Moldavia (1830).

Source: *Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennoi Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (TsGIA)—*Moldavskaia Sovetskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika* (MSSR), f. 2, op 1, d. 1467, l. 101.

By comparing these two documents, it is evident that in the early 1830s Russian officials considered a move from Ottoman Rumelia to Bessarabia to be an *external* migration from the Ottoman Empire and a move from Ottoman Rumelia to the Principality of Moldavia to be an *internal* migration *within* the Ottoman

Empire. However, this de jure deference to the Ottoman Empire's territorial sovereignty over the Danubian Principalities did not dissuade Russian officials from assuming and attempting to exercise—as evidenced in the issuance of the second *bilet* to the Bulgarian migrant moving from Ottoman Rumelia to Moldavia—direct and de facto control over population movements from Ottoman Rumelia to *both* southern Russia *and* the Danubian Principalities.[72]

It is these types of maneuvers which have led historians to equivocate when assessing the jurisdictional and political status of the Danubian Principalities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As Panaite writes, "from the last quarter of the eighteenth century, in conformity with the treaties concluded with the Ottoman Empire, Russia assumed a protecting role over Wallachia and Moldavia. At the same time, all Ottoman-Russian peace agreements concluded in the years between 1774 and 1829 confirmed the autonomy status of the Romanian Principalities within the Ottoman Empire."[73]

Fluid identities and situational allegiances

Around the Black Sea basin in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, military conflict, political rivalry, and the physical and psychological dislocation associated with migration challenged many individuals' sense of identity and loyalty. As part of an appeal submitted for the right to return to the Russian Empire after the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, three Zaporozhian Cossacks recounted a classic (and circuitous) frontier odyssey in which they served in the Russian army, were captured and incarcerated by the Ottomans, were set free, lived in Istanbul, served in the Ottoman army, and finally re-enlisted (toward the end of the war) in the Russian army.[74] Zaporozhian Cossack returnees from the Ottoman Empire were often referred to by Russian officials as "Turkish Zaporozhians" (*Turetskie Zaporozhtsy*).[75] During the Russo-Ottoman Wars of 1806–1812 and 1828–1829, Zaporozhian Cossacks served in both the Ottoman and Russian armies.[76] In the first few decades of the nineteenth century, Crimean Tatar returnees from the Ottoman Empire enlisted in the Russian army and fought against Ottoman troops. During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, Ottoman prisoners of war took oaths of allegiance to the Russian tsar, acquired Russian subjecthood, and settled in the Russian Empire.[77] Despite their mutual enmity, at the beginning of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, Zaporozhian Cossacks and Crimean Tatars joined forces to attack the armies of a rebellious Ottoman provincial governor.[78]

In exchange for social freedoms and political autonomy, entrepreneurial frontiersmen peddled debased oaths of loyalty and dubious pledges of military service. In evaluating petitions submitted by Zaporozhian Cossacks for the right to return to the Russian Empire, Russian generals cautioned their subordinates to refrain from lending too much credence to the words of these "scoundrels" (*zlodei*) and "deceivers" (*obmanshchiki*).[79] In the Ottoman Empire, Zaporozhian call-ups and reinforcements often failed to report in a timely manner and Ottoman commanders were reluctant to deploy Zaporozhian Cossack troops along the Russian frontier.[80] To improve their standing and gain access to the lucrative Russian market, Ottoman merchants—in possession of black-market Russian travel documents and flying Russian flags from their ships—attempted to pass themselves off as Russian subjects.[81] Leery of the long-term loyalty of settlers from the Ottoman Empire, Russian military officers refused to provide travel and identity documents to migrants seeking temporary residence (*vremennoe prebyvanie*) on Russian soil.[82] Bulgarian migrants in the Russian Empire preserved their Ottoman subjecthood for as long as they could. When forced to renounce their allegiance to the Ottoman Sultan (in exchange for the right to remain permanently in the Russian Empire), many opted to return to the Ottoman Empire.[83]

Defections and desertions were commonplace in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region.[84] Noting that many of the soldiers recruited by the Ottoman Empire to defend Ochakov during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774 were notoriously un-disciplined *levends*, Virgina Aksan states that Ottoman troops routinely mutinied and wound up fighting with Russian forces against the Ottoman army.[85] Conversely, in the 1790s, renegade Russian soldiers served as officers in the reformed Ottoman army.[86] In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, dissident (and at times rebellious) Ottoman military servitors and provincial governors often found refuge in the Russian Empire.[87] For example, in the late eighteenth century, Ottoman defectors established a settlement a few miles outside of the Russian town of Nikolayev (in the province of Novorossiya). This settlement was led by a Turkish naval officer, Salih Ağa, who remained in Russia after being sent to negotiate with Prince Potemkin during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1786–1792. Salih Ağa ultimately achieved the rank of Brigadier General in the Russian Navy.[88] In the period between 1808 and 1809, a large contingent of Ottoman troops (42 officers and 155 soldiers) defected to the Russian Empire. These troops were also resettled in Nikolayev.[89] One high-level Ottoman defector, Yusuf Sirozi Pasha, was accused by his subordinates of "engaging in treason" (*hıyanetini icra ederek*) for the purposes of "becoming a subject of Russia" (*Ruslara tebaiyyet ediyordu*) during the Russian siege of Varna in 1828.[90] Many of the soldiers in Zaporozhian Cossack brigades employed by the Ottoman army to suppress the Greek uprising of 1821 subsequently defected to the Russian Empire and fought against the Ottoman Empire in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829.[91]

Religious conversion was a common response to the existential realities of life in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In December 1808, an Ottoman soldier by the name of Ahmet Bey deserted from the Ottoman army and voluntarily placed himself in the custody of a brigade of Cossack soldiers laying siege to Turnovo in Ottoman Rumelia. As recounted in a dispatch to Russian General Headquarters in Bucahrest, Ahmet Bey petitioned for assistance to convert to Christianity in order to cleanse himself of "mohammedanism." In response, the General Staff in Bucharest directed Ahmet Bey to confer with an Orthodox priest in Turnovo to learn the ways of Christianity. Upon completing his training, Ahmet Bey was to be settled in Odessa and, if he continued in his Christian ways, given the opportunity to become a true subject of the Russian Empire.[92] Conversely, Russian soldiers converted to Islam during and after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829.[93] Highlighting the significant number of religious conversions in Wallachia (both Christian and Muslim) in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, an Ottoman Imperial Rescript (*Hatt-i Şerif*) of 1802 contained a series of articles clarifying the legal position of converts in Wallachian society. Many of these articles concerned the disposition of property owned by converts (and nonconverts married to converts) and the inheritance rights of relatives and former slaves of deceased converts.[94]

Information-gathering in the Black Sea region: Agents, spies, deserters, and prisoners of war

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Russian state developed an extensive information-gathering network in Crimea, Bessarabia, the Danubian Principalities, and Ottoman Dobruja. The principal nodes in this information-gathering network included consular officials posted in Jassy and Bucharest, military spies assigned to monitor movements through Russian quarantine stations along the Prut and Danube rivers, and secret police agents stationed in Odessa, Tulça, Ochakov, Ismail, and Akkerman. These officials tracked and reported the movements of Polish fugitives, freemasons, Greek rebels, and Russian dissenters. Based upon interviews conducted with detained migrants and interrogations of suspected "Turkish criminals" hiding-out among migrant groups, Russian agents and spies kept officials in Saint Petersburg abreast of the political situation in Ottoman Rumelia and Istanbul.[95]

Russian agents and spies relied upon a diverse cadre of nonofficial informants to monitor political and military developments in the Ottoman Empire. In 1814 and 1815, Pavel Kiselev, a trusted advisor of Tsar Alexander I and Saint Petersburg's point person in the Russian south, relied upon an Armenian agent in Kishinev for much of his information on the situation in Bessarabia and Ottoman Rumelia. Greek, Armenian, and Russian merchants (especially those holding supply contracts with the Ottoman army) were a reliable source of information on the logistical capabilities of the Ottoman army. Female Tatars posing as guides for Ottoman agents operating in Bessarabia and the Crimea acted as double agents and reported to Russian officials on Ottoman espionage in southern Russia. Non-Russian agents infiltrated the ranks of the Ottoman army and provided their "handlers" with detailed information on Ottoman troop movements.[96] In return for cash payments, a Muslim-Turk by the name of Haji Musa provided ongoing (albeit unspecified) assistance to the Russian army.[97]

The Ottoman state was more than capable of countering Russian intelligence-gathering efforts in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region. Operating deep in Russian territory, Ottoman spies reported on Russian troop movements and military installations and gathered intelligence on political disturbances (*jacobinlik*) in the Russian south.[98] From the Danubian Principalities, Ottoman spies filed reports on Russian intrigues in Jassy and Bucharest, monitored Russian troop movements across the Danube River, and alerted Istanbul to the difficulties faced by Bulgarian migrant-settlers in Wallachia.[99] In Bessarabia, multilingual Ottoman agents infiltrated Bulgarian migrant communities, agitated for the return migration of Bulgarians to the Ottoman Empire, and assisted Bulgarian migrants in acquiring exit documents. These agents were also tasked to reconnoiter with and recruit Zaporozhian Cossack troops for service in the Ottoman army.[100] Like the Russians, the Ottomans also recruited spies from subaltern communities. In 1809, Russian authorities accused two Bulgarians (Christo Ivan from Rusçuk and Velizar Stoianovich from Sviştov) and a Wallachian (known only as Nikola) of being spies for the Ottoman Empire.[101]

Both the Ottomans and Russians relied upon prisoners of war to provide real-time military and political intelligence. For example, Turkish prisoners of war captured and released during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774 were fully informed on the outbreak and suppression of the Pugachev rebellion (1774–1775) in southern Russia. A detailed report filed in 1775 by the Ottoman ambassador in Russia, Abdülkerim Pasha, on economic and political conditions in the Russian Empire was based, in large measure, upon information obtained from these prisoners of war.[102] According to William Wilkinson, the British consul in Bucharest, at the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1786–1792, "diligent enquiry was made of many persons who had been in the hands of the Russians with regard to the power and condition of the enemies of the faith."[103] An interrogation of a captured Turkish soldier during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812 yielded information on the names of Ottoman spies in the Russian army, the disposition and strength of Ottoman troops in Rusçuk and Sviştov (both key Ottoman fortress-towns on the southern bank of the Danube River), and the number and type of Ottoman reinforcements en route to the Danubian front from Istanbul and Anatolia.[104] During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, escaped Turkish prisoners of war provided intelligence reports on the general situation in Russia as well as on Russian war preparations (*Rusya ahvaline ve Rusya'nın tedarikat-ı harbiye*). In 1828 and 1829, released Russian prisoners of war briefed Russian Third Section agents on Ottoman troop movements and the morale of Ottoman soldiers.[105]

The detention and interrogation of migrants and refugees was also an important part of Ottoman and Russian intelligence-gathering activities. For example, in July 1808 a Moldavian migrant by the name of Ilia—in what was euphemistically termed a "deposition" (*pokazanie*)—provided Russian officials with information on the disposition of Ottoman troops along the Danube River.[106] In 1828, a refugee from Varna by the name of Ahmed Ağa informed officials in the Grand Vizier's office in Istanbul of the deteriorating security situation in Varna, the forced expulsion of the inhabitants of Varna, and the sinking of a Russian warship en route from Varna to Odessa. At the start of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, Russian Third Section agents sourced information from an unnamed Bulgarian migrant on Ottoman troop movements and supply lines along the Danubian front.[107]

Not surprisingly, intelligence-gathering on behalf of the Ottoman and Russian empires often proved to be a dangerous enterprise. In 1778, the Russian ambassador in Istanbul, A.S. Stakhiev, reported on the near murder of an Armenian spy in the streets of Scutari (on the Asian side of Istanbul). Apparently Margoz's assailant was a Muslim-Turkish individual who had just returned from Crimea.[108] Accusing many of the Armenian residents of Istanbul of being Russian spies and agents, Ottoman authorities expelled over 10,000 Armenians from the Ottoman capital at the start of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829. Many of these exiles took up residence in the provincial cities of Ankara, Bursa, and Edirne.[109] Apprehended by Russian officials and initially condemned to death, the Ottoman spy Safir-Bey—upon receiving a stay of execution—spent the rest of his life in a prison in the Russian city of Perm.[110]

Territorial sovereignty

In the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, both the Ottoman and Russian states—in an effort to territorialize, demarcate, and generally stabilize their control over the Black Sea region—expended considerable energy on the management and settlement of migratory populations.[111] Generally referred to by Russian imperial administrators as the "wild field" (*dikoe pole*), the northern Black Sea steppe had long been a haven for outlaws, freebooters, runaway serfs, and religious dissenters.[112] From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, the incorporation of these various groups (both nomadic and sedentary) into the empire's administrative and political structure and the settlement of peasant-agriculturalists along the Russian Empire's southern edge formed a core component of the empire's grand strategy.[113]

Linking migration with the spread of epidemic diseases, the Russian state engaged in a comprehensive quarantine and border construction project in the southwestern part of the empire in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Despite the establishment of well-marked Russian border posts and the construction of well-defended Russian quarantine lines, in the early part of the nineteenth century Russian state servitors continued to use ill-defined and ambiguous terminology when referring to the Russian state's territorial position in the southwestern part of the empire—betraying the fact that well into the nineteenth century Russian provincial authorities believed that they had not succeeded in fully demarcating and domesticating the "wild field" of the northern Black Sea steppe.[114]

A logical candidate for the construction (both physically and psychologically) of a clearly defined and geographically expressed dividing line between an imperial core and a northern frontier periphery, the Danube River gradually hardened (over the course of several centuries) into a fixed border between the Ottoman Empire and the Danubian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (*Eflak* and *Boğdan*).[115] As early as the fifteenth century, Ottoman administrators in the *sancak* of Hezargrad (Razgrad—south of the Danube River in northeastern Bulgaria) distinguished between towns located "on this side of the Danube" and towns located "on the other side of the Danube."[116] Beginning in the seventeenth century and with increasing frequency in the eighteenth century, Ottoman provincial authorities used ethnoterritorial designations to identify peasant-agriculturalists crossing from the Danubian Principalities into northern Rumelia—*Eflaklu* for migrants from Wallachia and *Boğdanlu* for migrants from Moldavia.[117] A *Hatt-i Şerif* (Sultanic Rescript) issued in 1802 prohibited Ottoman peasants in Rumelia from cultivating lands in the Danubian Principalities and from driving their herds across the Danube River for pasturage.[118] By the early nineteenth century, dispatches penned by Ottoman provincial and military servitors posted in northern Rumelia—in a clear semantic upgrade over earlier references to the Ottoman Empire's Danubian "frontier" (*serhad*)—increasingly referred to the Ottoman Empire's "border along the Danube" (*Tuna sahilinde hudud*).[119] Yet, despite repeated efforts to impose control over the river-line—which included a concerted joint Ottoman-Russian effort to erect a fortified Danubian quarantine line in the early 1830s—merchants, migrants, and microbes continued to navigate their way around the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region with a minimum of state interference.

A currency frontier

Pressing their advantage in the wake of waning Ottoman political influence in the Black Sea region, the Russian state made a serious effort to displace Ottoman money as the principal means of exchange in Bessarabia and the Danubian Principalities. In the first part of the nineteenth century, Russian currency regulations required all migrants entering quarantines along the Prut and Danube rivers to exchange their Ottoman money for Russian rubles. To effect this exchange, in 1830 the Bessarabian treasury distributed 25,000 rubles to the director of the busy Russian quarantine installation in Satunov. Quarantine staff in Satunov kept careful records of the monies exchanged and documented the amount of Ottoman money (usually notated as *Turetskii Chervonets*) carried by Ottoman merchants and migrants. Additionally, in the 1820s and 1830s, the Russian state prohibited Russian merchants and petty traders in Bessarabia from receiving payments in Turkish currency.[120]

The legacy of the Ottoman Empire's commercial monopoly in the Black Sea region, however, was not easily dismantled. In the first part of the nineteenth century, Ottoman currency remained an acceptable means of exchange in Russian Black Sea quarantines. Well into the 1820s, populations settled in Bessarabia and along the Prut and Danube rivers continued to use Ottoman currency in their day-to-day transactions.[121] Acknowledging the failure of Russian efforts to suppress the use of Ottoman currency in Wallachia, the Russian general and statesman I.I. Dibich-Zabalkanski concluded "that we can not completely exclude Turkish money from circulating in the Principalities."[122]

The continued widespread use of Ottoman currency in Russian-controlled Bessarabia highlights the strength and endurance of the commercial and migratory connections established between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is toward a case study of the structural connections forged by one such "transnational" community that this book will now turn.

2

A Trans-Danubian Waltz: Bulgarian Migration in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea Region

At the start of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, Ruscho Vulkov Mirkovich was living with his family in the village of Çengene Saray in the Sliven-Yambol region of Ottoman Rumelia. As recounted in Mirkovich's memoirs, in 1828, the extended Mirkovich family abandoned their homes, vineyards, and immovable goods and fled ahead of the advancing Russian army to the town of Ahyolu (Ankhialo, Pomorie) on the Black Sea coast.[1] From Ahyolu, the Mirkovich family traveled by ship to Galatz (a port city in the Danubian estuary). Plague had recently appeared in Galatz and upon their arrival in Galatz's port, the Mirkovich family was placed into quarantine for twenty days. After completing their period of medical observation, the Mirkovich family rented a house in Galatz. During this time, Ruscho Mirkovich's father traveled to the nearby town of Braila (Ibrail) in search of a permanent residence for his family. His house-hunting efforts in Braila were slowed by an outbreak of cholera. Ruscho Mirkovich's father ultimately found and purchased a house vacated by a Turkish family that had recently fled to Ottoman Rumelia. The rest of the Mirkovich family subsequently moved to Braila. Many of Ruscho Mirkovich's relatives found work in Braila and settled there permanently.[2]

The story of the Mirkovich family's migrations from eastern Rumelia to Galatz and then to Braila in 1828 typifies the experiences of hundreds of thousands of Bulgarians on the move in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region in the early part of the nineteenth century. In the period from 1806 to the mid-1830s, an estimated 250,000 Bulgarians left Ottoman Rumelia for the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia), Bessarabia, and southern Russia. This figure constitutes roughly 10–15 percent of the estimated Bulgarian population in the Ottoman Empire in the early nineteenth century.

Bulgarian migration between the Ottoman and Russian empires—an overview

Research conducted by Bulgarian, Russian, and Ukrainian scholars such as Ivan Grek, Ivan Meshcheriuk, Elena Druzhinina, and Stefan Doinov provides a comprehensive account of Bulgarian migration between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[3] In general, however, these works address the question of Bulgarian migration through the prism of nationalist and/or cold-war historiography. This historiography highlights the paternal role played by the Russian state in providing a safe haven for Bulgarians fleeing the "tyranny of Ottoman oppression," places Bulgarian migration to the Russian Empire within the context of the historical development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, and focuses on the important intellectual and economic contributions of the Bulgarian diaspora to the cause of Bulgarian national liberation in the second half of the nineteenth century.[4]

My goal is not to critique the work of these historians (whose scholarship I draw upon heavily throughout this study) but rather to shift the focus of inquiry concerning Bulgarian migration between the Ottoman and Russian empires. I do so by concentrating on Bulgarian migration in the period prior to the 1840s, highlighting the significant amount of Bulgarian return migration from the Russian Empire to the Ottoman Empire in the early part of the nineteenth century and emphasizing linkages between migratory movements and the spread of disease.

In the general narrative of Bulgarian migration between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, two basic points needs to be made. First, the establishment of structural connections—through trade, communication, and return migration—among members of Bulgarian migrant communities in Ottoman Rumelia, the Danubian Principalities, and southern Russia preceded early nineteenth-century Ottoman and Russian border demarcation initiatives. Second, these connections endured despite ongoing efforts by the Ottoman and Russian states to police their borders and manage (or control) in- and out-migration.

The first significant move by Bulgarians north and east of the Danube River into the Danubian Principalities and Ukrainian Cossack lands occurred following a series of late seventeenth-century uprisings (known collectively as the *Chiprovsko Vŭstanie*) by Bulgarian Catholics in the Ottoman Empire. In the first part of the eighteenth century, Bulgarians migrated to the

Russian Empire to take up military service in the Russian army and were formed into voluntary military formations.[5] As part of a pro-Orthodox propaganda campaign that would be emulated by subsequent Russian rulers, Peter I (reigned 1696–1725) repeatedly called upon Bulgarians to enlist in the Russian armed forces and invited Bulgarian peasants in the Ottoman Empire to resettle in the Russian Empire.[6] By the 1720s, an estimated 12,000 Bulgarians had responded to Peter I's appeals.[7] Comprehensive enrollment lists containing the names of individual Bulgarian servitors in the Russian army exist from as early as 1751.[8] By the mid-1700s, the Russian state (under the auspices of the College of Foreign Affairs) was actively engaged in recruiting Orthodox Christian peasant settlers from Ottoman Rumelia. This period also witnessed the first sustained migration of nonmilitary Bulgarian agricultural settlers to the Russian Empire and some of the earliest examples of individual Bulgarian migrants accepting Russian subjecthood.[9] Following the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774, Bulgarians who had fought on the side of the Russians during the war were offered settlement in the Russian Empire. Many of these early Bulgarian migrants to the Russian Empire took up residence in towns along the northern Black Sea coast including Simferopol, Kerch, and Yenikale.

Bulgarian merchant activity and trade connections in the Black Sea region increased significantly in the period after the signing of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (which ended the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774). The establishment of Bulgarian merchant houses with factors in both the Ottoman and Russian empires stimulated Bulgarian migration to Russian Black Sea ports (especially Odessa), intermediate trading centers such as Bucharest and Akkerman, and port cities in the Danubian estuary such as Kilia, Ismail, Galatz, and Braila.[10]

Trade connections between Bulgarian merchants in the Ottoman town of Gabrovo and Bulgarian merchants in various cities in the Russian Empire and the Danubian Principalities were particularly well developed.[11] For example, in the immediate post–Küçük Kaynarca period, Bulgarian merchants from Gabrovo established a thriving merchant community in Bucharest. This community specialized in the silk trade.[12] In many cases, Gabrovar merchant settlements in the Danubian Principalities and the Russian Empire formed anchor communities which attracted additional Bulgarian settlers—merchants and migrants alike. In 1800, during a period of increased instability in Ottoman Rumelia, many residents of Gabrovo left their homes and joined relatives and kinsmen in various towns in Russia and the Danubian Principalities. The experiences of Vasil Rasheev and Vasil Aprilov provide two individual examples of this particular migration dynamic. As a young man, Vasil Rasheev was sent from Gabrovo to Odessa in the 1820s to live and work with an uncle who had previously settled in this thriving port city. Rasheev ultimately established himself as prosperous merchant and leader of the Bulgarian community in Odessa.[13] Around 1800, in the wake of a period of sustained political instability in northern Rumelia, Vasil Aprilov, at the age of 11, was sent for his safety to Moscow to live with a relative who ran a trading house in the Russian capital. Following his stay in Moscow, Aprilov was sent to Braşov, the home of a longstanding and prosperous Bulgarian community in Transylvania, to complete his studies. In 1811, at the age of 22, he joined another relative in Odessa and took up the family vocation as a merchant. Aprilov later became a famous Bulgarian educator and one of the leading intellectuals in the Bulgarian diaspora.[14]

The first Bulgarian settlers in eastern Moldavia (or Bessarabia) arrived in the 1750s.[15] Their numbers grew steadily and consistently throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Most of the early Bulgarian migrants in Bessarabia settled in fortress-towns along the northern braches of the Danubian River estuary and in towns along the Prut River.[16] In the period from the 1760s to the 1790s, many Bulgarian settlers in Bessarabia engaged in a secondary migration to the Russian interior.[17] Following the Russian annexation of Bessarabia in 1812, Bulgarian migrants contributed to the growth of important Bessarabian towns (such as Kishinev and Reni) and established new towns in the relatively underpopulated Bessarabian Oblast (such as Bolgrad and Komrat).

In the last few decades of the eighteenth century, significant numbers of Bulgarian agricultural settlers migrated into the more rural parts of southern Bessarabia (or the Bucak). These Bulgarian migrants initially settled among Tatar populations and displaced Cossack groups.[18] Emblematic of the fluid nature of the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea frontier in the early nineteenth century, migrants traveling between the Ottoman and Russian empires often passed fellow migrants heading in the opposite direction. For example, in 1806 and 1807, a group of Bulgarian migrants displaced during the early stages of fighting in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812 fled north and east across the Danube River in search of refuge in the Russian Empire. They eventually settled in the Bucak. On their way to Bessarabia they encountered a group of Nogay Tatars fleeing from southern Bessarabia toward the Ottoman Empire. Upon arrival in the Bucak, many of these Bulgarian migrants settled in vacated Tatar villages and found shelter in uninhabited Tatar dwellings.[19]

While many Bulgarian migrants from Ottoman Rumelia set out for and intended to settle in the Russian Empire, a fair number never reached their final destination. Exhaustion and illness prompted many to end their journey early and settle in the Danubian Principalities. Additionally, many thousands died during migration.[20] For example, of a group of 15,000 Bulgarian migrants from eastern Rumelia who were headed to settlement sites in Bessarabia in 1830, less than half made it to the Russian Empire. Some chose to settle in the Danubian Principalities while others succumbed to the plague.[21]

The dynamic of Bulgarian population movements between the Ottoman and Russian empires

The prevailing view on the dynamic of Bulgarian population movements between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is that most, if not all, Bulgarian migrations to the Russian Empire and the Danubian Principalities occurred during and immediately after outbreaks of Russo-Ottoman warfare and that Bulgarians primarily engaged in a one-way migration from the Ottoman Empire to the Russian Empire. However, these views on the timing and character of Bulgarian migration to the Russian Empire undersell the complexity of Bulgarian migration between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

While large numbers of Bulgarians did flee the Ottoman Empire during and after Russo-Ottoman wars, an analysis of Russian registration lists of migrants crossing the Danube, Prut, and Dniester rivers into the Russian Empire provides evidence of considerable Bulgarian in-migration for every year in the period from 1768 to 1834.[22] Historians of Bulgarian migration between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries tend to overlook the significant Bulgarian displacement, which occurred in the first decade of the nineteenth century (a period known in Bulgarian historiography as the *Kŭrdzhalisko Vreme* and in Turkish historiography as the *Dağlı Isyanları*) and in the 1820s during the period of the Greek uprising against Ottoman rule.[23] Banditry and political destabilization in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region peaked in the period from 1800 to 1808 and the threat of physical violence during this period prompted many Bulgarians to seek security and safety in the Russian Empire.[24] Similarly, as a result of military skirmishes and generalized instability in the Danubian region during the period of the Greek uprising, large numbers of Bulgarians migrated between Ottoman Rumelia, the Danubian Principalities, and southern Russia.[25] For example, in March 1821 Russian border officials posted along the Prut River noted a significant increase of Bulgarians seeking authorization to enter Russian territory in Bessarabia. According to testimonials presented by these asylum-seekers, generalized conflict between Ottoman and Greek forces in and around key Danubian port-towns such as Galatz and Braila had forced many to flee their homes and seek safety in the Russian Empire.[26]

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, a significant number of Bulgarian settlers in Bessarabia and southern Russia opted to return to the Ottoman Empire. Many of these return migrations occurred after only a short stay in the Russian Empire. For example, in 1811 a large group of Bulgarian peasants from the village of Cherna in Dobruja migrated to Bessarabia, stayed for a year, and then returned to their home village.[27]

Heavy Bulgarian return migration alarmed Russian authorities. In 1816, Pavel Kiselev, the future Russian governor of the Danubian Principalities and at the time a senior officer in the Russian 2nd Army, participated in an investigation of the governance and administration of the recently annexed Bessarabian Oblast. Reporting on the conclusions of his mission during an audience with Tsar Alexander I, Kiselev remarked that the overall situation for settlers in Bessarabia had deteriorated under Russian rule. According to Kiselev, recent migrants in Bessarabia were being exploited by predatory Russian and Moldavian landowners and were not receiving the protection or material and financial assistance they had been promised by Russian military officers prior to their departure from Ottoman Rumelia. Moreover, Kiselev noted, Russian anti-plague measures, including the erection of a fortified quarantine line along the Prut River, were proving ineffective in protecting migrant populations from outbreaks of epidemic diseases. Kiselev informed the tsar that as a consequence of the general unhappiness and misery among recent migrants to Bessarabia, many of the Bulgarians who had sought safety and security in Russia under the terms of the Treaty of Bucharest (which had ended the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812) were returning to the Ottoman Empire. In Kiselev's opinion, these Bulgarians (by voting with their feet) were demonstrating a preference for the burdens placed on them by the Ottoman state to the hardships they experienced during their stay in the Russian Empire.[28]

In the early 1830s, a repetition of the Russian state's failure to provide for and protect Bulgarian migrants in Bessarabia sparked another wave of Bulgarian return migration to the Ottoman Empire. For example, of a group of 9,000 Bulgarians who settled in Bessarabia after the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, 4,100 returned almost immediately.[29] In 1831, roughly 5,000 Bulgarians who had migrated to the Russian Empire in 1829 returned to the Ottoman Empire. It is estimated that in the period from 1833 to 1834, 20,000 Bulgarians engaged in return migrations from Bessarabia to the Ottoman Empire.[30] Reports filed by Ottoman provincial governors in Rumelia attest to the generalized nature of Bulgarian return migration to the Ottoman Empire in the early 1830s. The destination points identified in these reports for Bulgarian returnees included Dobrujan and Black Sea coastal towns such as Ahyolu, Mesembria (Nesebur), Babadağ, and Hacıoğlu Pazarcık (Dobrich); Danubian fortress-towns such as Silistre; Samakocuk (Demirköy), Karnobat (Karinabad), and Yambol (Yanbolu) in eastern Rumelia; and several villages along the northern shores of the Sea of Marmara.[31]

Bulgarians migrating back across the Danube River from southern Russia to Ottoman Rumelia did not always return to their original village or town. Finding good agricultural conditions and generally positive economic opportunities, many Bulgarians on their way back to eastern Rumelia from Bessarabia and southern Russia stopped and settled permanently in Dobruja. For example, the population of the village of Kasapköy (located on the main road between Köstence and Babadağ) nearly quadrupled in the early 1830s due to the arrival of Bulgarian return migrants from the Russian Empire. The Dobrujan village of Kamana was founded in 1831 by Bulgarian return migrants from Bessarabia.[32]

The seasonal migration of agricultural workers contributed to the flow of two-way traffic across the Danube River in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Migrant workers (Turkish—*orakçı*) from the Danubian Principalities and Danubian estuary towns were particularly welcomed by Ottoman authorities in the underpopulated but agriculturally productive region of Dobruja.[33] Up until the early 1830s, Bulgarian agricultural workers traveled freely across the Danube River in search of economic opportunity in the Danubian Principalities. For example, many Bulgarians from the town of Turnovo tended gardens and sold vegetables in Wallachia in the summers and returned to their families in Turnovo for the winters. However, Russian initiatives in the early 1830s to establish an effective Danubian border between Wallachia and Ottoman Rumelia made this type of economic lifestyle more difficult to sustain. Facing a situation where they were liable for taxes in both

Russian-controlled Wallachia and in the Ottoman Empire, these gardeners petitioned local Wallachian authorities for the right to settle as "regular migrants" in Wallachia. Their petitions were denied.[34] Victims of both a hardening Danubian border in the 1830s and a prototypical early nineteenth-century state-directed drive to classify and control migrant populations, these Bulgarian agricultural workers were compelled to curtail their seasonal work in Wallachia and return permanently to Ottoman Rumelia.

A significant number of Bulgarian migrants on the move in the Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries engaged in what is known in migration literature as "secondary migrations." Many Bulgarian migrants who initially settled in Bessarabia and southern Russia opted to move back across the Prut River into the Danubian Principalities—joining relatives and fellow villagers who had established earlier settlements in Wallachia and Moldavia. Some of these migrants ultimately found their way back to Ottoman Rumelia. Conversely, upon hearing from their kinsmen (Russian—*edinoplemenniki*) about the privileges offered by the Russian state to agricultural settlers in the Russian Empire, many Bulgarian migrants left their initial settlement sites in the Danubian Principalities and crossed the Prut River into Bessarabia.[35]

Many small migrant groups and (in some cases) individuals found themselves wandering around the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region in search of a permanent settlement site. In a formal petition to Wallachian authorities requesting the right to return to the Ottoman Empire, a group of Bulgarian migrants recounted their ongoing migration in the late 1820s from Ottoman Rumelia to several locations within the Danubian Principalities.[36] After the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, a former Bulgarian volunteer in the Russian army migrated to Bessarabia, stayed in the Russian Empire for a short time, and then moved back across the Danube to Silistre. Here, he sought permission from Russian authorities for the right to return to his home village in the Ottoman Empire. Upon learning that his petition had been denied, he moved farther up the Danube to Slobozia and continued to press for the right of return to the Ottoman Empire.[37] Nonlinear migrations and, for certain groups and individuals, circular migrations involving out-migration, multiple secondary moves, and a return trip to Ottoman Rumelia were a common experience for many Bulgarians in the Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Bulgarian migration between the Ottoman and Russian empires—push and pull factors

One of the main tools employed by migration specialists and demographers to understand the motivations for migrant behavior is an analysis of so-called migrant "push" and "pull" factors. During the period in question, there were a myriad of reasons why Bulgarians migrated between the Ottoman and Russian empires. The main reasons are described below:

Reasons for leaving the Ottoman Empire (push factors):

1. Political instability, bandit activity, and frequent outbreaks of epidemic disease resulted in the regular displacement of Bulgarian peasant populations in the Ottoman Empire. During these distressed periods, Ottoman state servitors in Rumelia struggled to provide adequate food, water, and housing to displaced populations. As a result, many Bulgarian peasants boarded ships or set out over land for Moldavia, Wallachia, Bessarabia, and southern Russia.[38]
2. During periods of Russo-Ottoman warfare many Bulgarian peasants volunteered for service in the Russian army. Upon the cessation of fighting, some of these volunteers, fearing retribution from Ottoman authorities, joined Russian soldiers in their return march to the Russian Empire.[39] For example, after the conclusion of the 1806–1812 war, a group of 2,000 Bulgarian volunteers opted for resettlement in Bessarabia.[40]

Reasons for leaving the Ottoman Empire (pull factors):

1. In an effort to gain the allegiance and support of the Bulgarian populace during periods of Ottoman-Russian warfare, Russian army officers distributed proclamations in occupied Ottoman territory promising material assistance, rights, and privileges to any Bulgarians wishing to migrate to the Russian Empire.[41] Many Bulgarian peasants in Ottoman Rumelia responded to these incentives and migrated to the Russian Empire with expectations for improved economic, political, and social conditions.
2. The previous settlement of Bulgarians in the Russian Empire and the Danubian Principalities promoted further out-migration from the Ottoman Empire. In the 1820s and 1830s, many Bulgarian migrants from the Ottoman Empire settled in long-established Bulgarian communities in

Wallachia. Previous settlers in these communities provided food, housing, and employment to new arrivals. For example, the village of Alexandrii in Wallachia was established during the war of 1806–1812 by Bulgarian migrants from Sviştov (a port-town on the right bank of the Danube River). In the 1830s, Alexandrii proved to be an attractive settlement destination for Bulgarian migrants moving north across the Danube River.[42]

Reasons for returning to the Ottoman Empire (push factors):

1. Fear of enserfment by Russian and Moldavian landowners constituted the main reason for Bulgarian return migration from Bessarabia in the period from 1812 to 1819.[43] Similarly, in Wallachia in the 1820s and 1830s, disputes between Bulgarian settlers and Wallachian landowners prompted many Bulgarian migrants to return to Ottoman Rumelia. In the 1830s, petitions to the Russian governor-general in the Danubian Principalities, Pavel Kiselev, were filled with allegations by Bulgarian settlers of ill-treatment by Wallachian landowners. In these petitions, Bulgarian migrants often argued that their current situation in Wallachia was no better than, and in many cases worse than, what they had left behind in the Ottoman Empire. For many Bulgarian migrants, expectations of a better life in Wallachia were not fulfilled and for this reason many decided to return to Ottoman Rumelia.[44]
2. Bulgarian migrants to southern Bessarabia faced difficulties in adapting to the land and climate of the Bucak steppe and many died of malnourishment during the winter months. This acclimation process proved especially difficult for migrants from southern Rumelia and Thrace.[45]
3. Rapid and large-scale in-migration to southern Bessarabia during and immediately after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829 placed considerable stress on the region's natural resources. Dwindling water supplies and a lack of arable land resulted in significant crop failures in the period from 1831 to 1834, prompting many Bulgarian agriculturalists to return to the Ottoman Empire.[46]
4. Particularly deadly outbreaks of plague and cholera struck southern Russia and Bessarabia in the early 1830s.[47] Thousands of recently arrived Bulgarian migrants succumbed to disease during this period. In Bolgrad (the largest Bulgarian settlement in Bessarabia), a large graveyard was devoted solely to those who died of plague.[48] The lethalness of the migrant

experience in Bessarabia and southern Russia compelled many Bulgarians to return to the Ottoman Empire.

5. Many Bulgarians who had fled to Bessarabia during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829 believed that their stay in Russia would be temporary. They expected that the terms of the treaty concluding the war would result in the liberation of Bulgarian lands from Ottoman rule and that they would return to their homeland following the conclusion of the war. Therefore, many Bulgarian migrants in southern Russia did not make significant efforts to settle in Russia permanently and did not invest energy, money, and time in farming land. When the expected Bulgarian liberation did not occur, these Bulgarian migrants were left in a psychological "no man's land." Many went bankrupt.[49] Poor economic circumstances in Bessarabia and southern Russia prompted large numbers of Bulgarians to return to the Ottoman Empire.
6. Many Bulgarian migrants in Bessarabia feared that they would be forcibly enlisted into the Russian army. These fears kept many Bulgarians from settling permanently in the Russian Empire and, together with encroaching enserfment, promoted the return migration of many Bulgarian settlers to the Ottoman Empire.[50]
7. The imposition of onerous *corvée* duties compelled many Bulgarian migrants in the Danubian Principalities to return to the Ottoman Empire. Among the workers at a newly established lazaret on the land of a Wallachian boyar in Dudesht (outside of Bucharest), recently settled Bulgarian migrants were responsible for transporting the sick, digging graves, and burying the dead.[51]
8. Administrative confusion hampered the provision of resettlement services to Bulgarian arrivals in southern Russia and Bessarabia. Additionally, many local and civil authorities in Bessarabia and southern Russia viewed the arrival of Bulgarian migrants as an unwelcome burden. These officials advocated reduced numbers of settlers and, occasionally, the outright deportation of Bulgarian migrants. The inability and, at times, unwillingness of Russian state officials to provide for new arrivals prompted many Bulgarian migrants to return to the Ottoman Empire.[52]
9. Overcrowding and squalid conditions at Russian border quarantine stations prompted the immediate return of large numbers of Bulgarian migrants to the Danubian Principalities and Ottoman Rumelia.[53]

10. Bulgarian migrants in the Danubian Principalities and southern Russia faced difficulties in adapting to their new cultural and linguistic environment. According to petitions appealing for the right to leave Wallachia and return to Ottoman Rumelia, many Bulgarian settlers indicated that they felt like strangers in Wallachia.[54] For these Bulgarian migrants, the Ottoman Empire was home and the familiarity of life there drew many back to Ottoman Rumelia.[55]

Reasons for returning to the Ottoman Empire (pull factors):

1. Like all migrants, many Bulgarians felt the natural desire to return to their homeland and be reunited with their kinsmen. An example of this sentiment can be found in a petition written by a group of Bulgarian refugees from Yambol in August 1831. This group had left the Ottoman Empire following the retreat of the Russian Army in 1830 and had split up in three different directions. One part of the group had left for Bessarabia, another part had gone to Braila, and one part had gone elsewhere in Wallachia. In a petition to the Wallachian government, they requested that they be returned to the Ottoman Empire collectively so that they could be reunited in their home town.[56]
2. Many Bulgarian migrants from Ottoman Rumelia fled in a hurry—leaving behind their possessions, property, and farmland. Often, these vacated lands were occupied by fellow villagers or recent migrants from the Russian Empire (generally Crimean and Nogay Tatars). In order to reclaim their goods and resolve property disputes, many Bulgarian migrants returned to the Ottoman Empire on both a temporary and permanent basis.[57]
3. After the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, in a period of rising Bulgarian nationalism, many Bulgarians responded to appeals by exiled revolutionary leaders operating among Bulgarian migrant communities to return to their homeland and fight for Bulgarian national liberation.[58]
4. Ottoman decrees providing for guarantees of amnesty for any Bulgarians who had joined the Russian cause in 1828 and 1829 and promises of assistance in resettling in the Ottoman Empire promoted considerable Bulgarian return migration to Ottoman Rumelia in the 1830s. In support of these decrees, Ottoman agents operating among Bulgarian migrant communities (mostly in the Danubian Principalities and Bessarabia) informed Bulgarian migrants of the guarantees and promises issued by the Ottoman government and generally propagandized in favor of Bulgarian return migration.[59]

5. Bulgarian migrants in the Russian Empire often engaged in long pilgrimages through Ottoman territory to important religious sites on the Khalkidiki Peninsula (in the northern Aegean). For example, in the period from 1816 to 1821, an estimated 1,400 Bulgarian pilgrims traveled from Russia to the Zograf Monastery on Mt. Athos in Khalkidiki. Many of these Bulgarian pilgrims opted to remain in the Ottoman Empire rather than undertake the arduous journey back to the Russian Empire.[60]

Bulgarian migration and settlement in the Danubian Principalities

Geographic proximity, the existence of previously established Bulgarian migrant communities, and, up until the 1830s, a porous riverine border made the Danubian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia a desirable and easily accessible migration destination for Bulgarians leaving Ottoman Rumelia.[61] According to research conducted by Romanian historians, migrants from "south of the Danube" established roughly 400 new settlements in the Danubian Principalities in the period from 1740 to 1834. These data also show that Bulgarian arrivals in Wallachia and Moldavia were continuous over this roughly 150-year period.[62] It is estimated that in the period from the late 1700s to 1812, around 87,000 Bulgarians migrated to, and settled in, the Danubian Principalities. By 1812, the largest concentrations of Bulgarian settlers in the Danubian Principalities were 17,000 in the Bucharest region, 5,500 in Giurgiu, and 1,400 in Ibrail (Braila).[63]

Migrant travel documentation, identity, and status in the Danubian Principalities

All migrants entering Wallachian and Moldavian territory were, theoretically, required to possess some form of travel documentation. Valid travel documentation granted migrants the right of entry into the Danubian Principalities and indicated the designated settlement site for the migrant and his family. Under certain circumstances, a specific type of travel document (termed a *bilet*) was issued to forced migrants seeking refuge in Wallachian or Moldavian territory. Possession of a *bilet* entitled the holder and his family to privileges above and beyond those accorded an economic migrant, seasonal worker, or native inhabitant (Bulgarian—*korenni zhitel*) of Wallachia. In the period during and immediately after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, many Bulgarians crossed the Danube River into Wallachia in possession of *bilets* issued by Russian consular, military, and civilian officials. These *bilets* effectively established their identity as "refugees" from Ottoman Rumelia.

Each *bilet* carried an expiration date indicating how long the holder was entitled to privileged status in Wallachia. Upon expiry, the holder's status in Wallachia was meant to revert to that of a native inhabitant. Many Bulgarian migrants in Wallachia were accused of disposing of their *bilets* at the end of the expiry period in order to avoid the *corvée* responsibilities incumbent upon all native inhabitants in Wallachia. The length of the *bilet's* validity depended on the individual's specific date of arrival in Wallachia (as stamped on the *bilet*). Those Bulgarians who arrived during the period of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829 were issued *bilets* with a longer period of validity and more privileges than those who were able to cross the Danube River into Wallachia in the early 1830s—an indication of Russian initiatives to reduce cross-river traffic and to impose control over a hardening Danubian border.[64]

The efficacy of *bilets* and the protection which accompanied "refugee" status in the Danubian Principalities were questionable at best. Wallachian authorities accused many trans-Danubian migrants of falsifying their status in Wallachia by acquiring counterfeit *bilets*. In 1832, the members of the Wallachian *Divan* dismissed a petition from a Bulgarian *bilet* holder which accused local authorities and landowners of violating his rights as a "refugee" from Ottoman Rumelia. In support of their decision, the members of the *Divan* argued that during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, the native population of Wallachia had suffered as much as, if not more than, Bulgarian migrants from Ottoman Rumelia. Reproving Bulgarians for taking advantage of the goodwill of the Wallachian government, the members of the *Divan* determined that forced migrants from Ottoman Rumelia were liable for the same taxes and *corvée* responsibilities as those imposed upon the native population.[65]

Theoretically, Bulgarians who wished to change their settlement location within the Danubian Principalities, engage in a secondary migration to the Russian Empire, or return to the Ottoman Empire were obliged to petition relevant government authorities for transfer rights.[66] In practice, however, once a Bulgarian migrant crossed the Danube into Wallachian or Moldavian territory, he or she enjoyed a freedom of movement that belied the ability of Russian, Wallachian, and Moldavian authorities to control migratory populations. As part of a comprehensive report sent to Bucharest in 1830, a Wallachian official posted at a Danubian border crossing point noted that of 2,289 registered Bulgarian migrants who were asked where they intended to settle in Wallachia, 566 replied that they intended to "disperse themselves of their own free will."[67]

Migrant community formation—the town of Braila (Ibrail)

There were three key features of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Bulgarian migrant community formation in the Black Sea region: coordinated migration movements on the part of Bulgarian settlers moving north of the Danube River; communication among, and coalescence of, disparate migrant groups; and the appearance of a cadre of migrant leaders. The emergence, in the early 1830s, of a well-organized and coherent Bulgarian community in the Danubian port-town of Braila (Ibrail) epitomizes the process of Bulgarian migrant community formation in the Danubian Principalities during the period in question.

In 1832, the leaders of the Bulgarian migrant community in Braila petitioned Wallachian and Russian authorities in Bucharest for increased levels of financial assistance. Previous petitions from Bulgarian migrant groups in Wallachia had usually been signed by a handful of Bulgarian migrants from the same village and had typically sought government handouts to avoid following into poverty. This particular petition from the Bulgarian migrant community in Braila, however, presented a common and unified front, was signed by migrants from a diverse set of Rumelian towns, and offered a far more sophisticated line of argument as to why they should receive financial support from the Wallachian government. In the petition, the leaders of the Bulgarian migrant community in Braila noted that many recent Bulgarian arrivals were struggling to make a living in Wallachia and that many had already opted to return to the Ottoman Empire. The petitioners threatened to do the same and argued that this action would be to the ultimate detriment of Wallachia and its economy. The petitioners noted that through their hard work and their engagement in international trade, the Bulgarian migrant community in Braila had contributed to the emergence of the port of Braila as an important node in a flourishing Bulgarian Black Sea trading network. The petitioners argued that financial disbursements to the Bulgarian community in Braila should be viewed as an investment in the future of Wallachia rather than another round of government handouts. With increased government financial support, the petitioners concluded, the Bulgarian migrant community would contribute directly to the growth of their adopted homeland.[68]

The emergence of a coordinated migrant leadership group in Braila in the period from 1828 to 1834 marks a subtle but distinct moment in the history of Bulgarian migration between the Ottoman and Russian empires. In this period, one can detect the beginnings of a shift in the nature of Bulgarian migrant interaction in the Black Sea region from a connected but passive network of communities to an active, organized, vocal, and internationally coordinated diaspora.

Bulgarian migrant representation and assimilation in host communities

A strong indication of the size and importance of a specific migrant group is the emergence, over time, of individuals from within this migrant group who act as representatives of migrant interests before state and local authorities.[69] During the period in question, the most forceful and effective advocate for Bulgarian migrants was Sofronii Vrachanski. Appointed the bishop of Vratsa in 1794, Vrachanski fled to Bucharest during the *Kŭrdzhalisko Vreme*. In 1804, Vrachanski traveled to Saint Petersburg to appeal directly to Tsar Alexander I to provide aid to uprooted Bulgarians in the Black Sea region. During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, Vrachanski led a group of Bulgarians to Bessarabia for resettlement under the protection of Russian authorities. Here he advocated the appointment of a doctor to each migrant community, self-governance for Bulgarian settlements, and customs relief for Bulgarian merchants engaged in international trade.[70]

In the Danubian Principalities and southern Russia, individuals emerged to serve as representatives for their respective migrant communities. In 1830, Vasil Haji Mikhail was selected from among a group of recently settled Bulgarian migrants to represent migrant interests before the Wallachian *Divan* in Bucharest.[71] The mayor of the town of Bolgrad in Bessarabia was typically a Bulgarian migrant, and in each Okrug in Bessarabia a representative (*starshina*) from the Bulgarian migrant community was elected to sit on the Okrug administrative council. Dimitŭr Kulia, a former translator in the Russian army, spent twelve years on the Okrug council for the Gorne-Budzhashkata district of Bessarabia.[72]

Often, migrant deputies and representatives were assigned tasks pertinent to the governance and administration of their respective communities. For example, in 1831, Vasil Nenovich—a Bulgarian deputy in the employ of the

Wallachian government—was tasked by the Wallachian *Divan* to investigate the legitimacy of claims submitted by Bulgarian migrants from Yanbolu (Yambol) accusing local landowners of violating their rights.[73] And in the early 1830s, Petar Duimova (a recently settled Bulgarian migrant) headed a Russian committee assigned to investigate the living conditions of Bulgarian migrants in and around the town of Akkerman. Additionally, Bulgarian deputies assisted Russian authorities in gathering statistical information on migrant settlements in Bessarabia.[74]

Despite the fact that many Bulgarian migrants in Wallachia lived in compact settlements with other Bulgarians or engaged in return migration to the Ottoman Empire, a fair number of Bulgarian migrants in Wallachia ultimately assimilated into local society.[75] The assimilation process in Walachia was encouraged by government authorities. In an effort to replenish a peasant population that had been decimated by war and disease, the Wallachian government, during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, opened its borders to Bulgarian migrants and refugees fleeing north across the Danube River. These population replacement efforts were supported by pro-migration policies. Special regulations, laws, and administrative organs were created to assist Bulgarians in their resettlement in the Danubian Principalities.[76] As discussed earlier, the Wallachian government expected Bulgarian migrants to eventually obtain equality in status to the native population and to effectively become "citizens" of Wallachia. This naturalization process was envisioned as an intermediate step toward the assimilation of Bulgarian migrants into Wallachian society. The dissolution of a distinct Bulgarian identity among a Bulgarian migrant population in the Danubian port-city of Kilia is just one example of Bulgarian migrant assimilation in the Danubian Principalities in the 1830s.[77] Similar processes of assimilation occurred among Bulgarian military servitors in the Russian Empire. Some Bulgarian migrants spent their entire careers in the Russian army and were essentially Russianized.[78]

As is typical in any case of large-scale in-migration, friction and, at times, open hostility developed between newly arrived Bulgarian migrant groups and host communities in the Danubian Principalities and Bessarabia. Disputes generally revolved around economic competition, resource allocation, or land distribution. Perceptions of favoritism and unequal treatment led to resentment on the part of local populations. The animosity engendered by the refusal of a group of 200 Bulgarian migrant families in the village of Kirnodzh in Wallachia to pay the same taxes as those imposed on the native population required the repeated intervention of local authorities assigned to mediate between host and migrant populations.[79] In Bessarabia, Russian businessmen, merchants, and artisans did not welcome the arrival of Bulgarian competitors and generally opposed efforts by Bulgarian migrants to acquire *meshchanstvo* status in Bessarabian towns.[80]

Bulgarian migration between the Ottoman and Russian empires—the human dimension

Historians tend to analyze migrant populations in units of hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands. The adoption of this macro-level perspective is often unavoidable as historians lack the conventional tools (such as real-time surveys and personal interviews) used by scholars of contemporary migrations to track individual migrations. Memoirs and travel accounts penned by migrants and refugees are rare for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Therefore, in order to engage the topic of early nineteenth-century Bulgarian migration between the Ottoman and Russian empires at the human or individual level, the historian must draw upon unconventional archival and secondary sources and employ a little historical imagination.[81]

Bulgarian migration from Plovdiv

In the 1860s, the Bulgarian educator Konstantin Moravenov conducted a survey of the Christian population in his native city of Plovdiv (Filibe).[82] Through his research (which yielded a mix of census and biographical information), Moravenov was able to reconstruct generational histories of Bulgarian families in Plovdiv stretching as far back as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. An analysis of the data contained in Moravenov's genealogical record of the Bulgarian population of Plovdiv leads to the conclusion that displacement, death from disease, and migration to the Danubian Principalities and southern Russia was a fact of life for a significant part of the Bulgarian population in Ottoman Rumelia in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Of the roughly 400 Christian households surveyed by Moravenov, 90 experienced the loss of at least one family member through permanent out-migration or death due to plague or cholera over the course of the 100-year period from 1750 to 1850.

Moravenov often used general terms such as "Russia" or "Wallachia" to identify the destination points for migrants from Plovdiv. For example, the eldest son of Ivan Kostadinov left for Wallachia in the early part of the nineteenth century and never returned; Todoraki Diulgeroğlu left Plovdiv and passed away in either Wallachia or Russia. Occasionally, migrant destination points in the Danubian Principalities and the Russian Empire are specifically identified by Moravenov. Bucharest, Braila, and Odessa drew significant numbers of Bulgarian migrants from Plovdiv. For example, the brother of Dimitar Stroevets left for Bucharest in the late eighteenth century; the two sons of Dimitri Abadzhi (Mikhail and Kostadin) emigrated to Bucharest in this same period; the only son of Ivan Zarbuzan emigrated to and died in Bucharest; Sotir Gerdzhikoğlu squandered his wages on drink, sold his possessions, and left Plovdiv for Braila; Stoian Toshkovich moved with his family from Plovdiv to Odessa; the great-grandfather of Christo Koiumdzhioğlu was one of the first Bulgarian merchants to set up shop in Odessa; Stancho Mutev emigrated to and died in Odessa; and several members of the Mandoğlu family emigrated to Odessa and sent remittances to support their family back in Plovdiv. There is also the example of the family (two parents and two sons) of Kostaki Papasaula which moved from Plovdiv to the Black Sea town of Constanţa (Köstence) in northern Dobruja. The reasons for this move are not entirely clear but it is implied that because the parents were of a mixed Bulgarian-Turkish marriage the family was unable to remain in Plovdiv. Kostaki, identified as a Bulgarian, had married a young widow from an Anatolian (Turkish) family.

Moravenov's survey also provides some evidence of return migration from the Danubian Principalities and southern Russia to Ottoman Rumelia. For example, a member of the Greek household of Andrea Georgiadi Seleniklii left for Wallachia in the early 1820s and returned to Plovdiv in 1828; Sotiraki Kaftandzhi obtained Russian subjecthood while in the Russian Empire and returned to Plovdiv; and a family (unnamed) returned from Wallachia to Plovdiv in the 1830s and purchased a new home from an Armenian resident in Plovdiv.

In addition to the Danubian Principalities and southern Russia, popular destinations for Bulgarian migrants during this period included Syria (Damascus and Aleppo), Istanbul, İzmir, and various (unidentified) Anatolian towns. Further afield, one migrant from Plovdiv (Atanas Sakhatchi) found himself in Khorasan in Persia and a surprising number of Bulgarian migrants from Plovdiv made their way to India (Hindustan).[83] Apparently there was enough trade between South Asia and Ottoman Rumelia in the early to mid-nineteenth century to support a Bulgarian-Ottoman merchant community on the Indian subcontinent.

Plague and cholera epidemics posed a constant threat to the population of Plovdiv in the early part of the nineteenth century. Mavrodi Dimitraki died (unmarried) of cholera in Plovdiv in the 1830s and all of the members of the large Merdzhanova family save one (Lambra) perished during a series of plague epidemics in Plovdiv in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Plague and cholera epidemics in the early 1800s were so devastating that they remained in the collective conscious of the population of Plovdiv well into the late nineteenth century. These searing events included the so-called "Plague of 1815" and "The First Cholera Epidemic of 1831." By the mid-1800s, a graveyard existed in Plovdiv (at the base of Cambaz Tepe) dedicated solely to the victims of early nineteenth-century plague epidemics.

The experiences of the four children of Moko Boiadzhi encapsulate the overall trauma and loss from plague and migration that was typical of life in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Ottoman Rumelia. One daughter, Sultanitsa, married a prosperous Bulgarian merchant who grew rich engaging in trade with India. The second daughter, Zoitsa, married a man by the name of Stavri. Zoitsa and Stavri had two children—a daughter who died of the plague and a son who emigrated to Bolgrad (in Bessarabia). The third daughter, Elena, had a daughter who died of the plague. The only son, Konstandinaki, migrated to Bucharest, became a merchant, and moved to Braşov in Transylvania.[84]

Bulgarian migration into Bessarabia

From the 1770s onward, the chancellery of the Novorossiya Gubernate and (after 1812) the Bessarabian Oblast requested, received, and maintained fairly comprehensive lists of Bulgarian migrants entering the Russian Empire. These lists were generated by quarantine officials at border crossing points and by civilian authorities and police units in Bessarabian towns. In general, these lists contained basic demographic information on migrant families entering the Russian Empire including the name of the head of household, the number of adults in the household, the number of children in the household, and the total number of individuals in the migrant household. More sophisticated versions of the lists contained information on the age of the migrants (usually that of the head of household but sometimes of all household members), the stated occupation of the head of household (usually either "agriculturalist" or "merchant"), the home village of migrant families, and the intended settlement site of specific migrant groups.[85]

In July 1830, the commander of the Satunov quarantine (one of the busiest of the nine Russian border quarantine posts along the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea frontier in the early 1830s) forwarded a list to Kishinev (the Bessarabian capital) with information on "Bulgarian families crossing the border through the Satunov quarantine."[86] Included in this particular group of 33 Bulgarian households (totaling 146 individuals) were Yura Dimova (age 86), her son Stanko (age 60), Stanko's wife (age 38), their daughter Sofia (age 14), and their three sons Nikolai (7), Yano (5), and Yuri (1); Todor Nikolaev (70), his wife (60), their sons Petro (25) and Zheko (18), and their daughters Stana (14) and Stoyana (10); Petro Vasiliev (60), his wife Mira (45), their sons Zheko (20), Yura (18), Stoyan (8), and Rado (3), and their daughters Stoyana (16), Stana (14), and Nedelia (12); and the widower Stoyana (50) who crossed into Russia with her four sons Marincho (25), Koncho (20), Stanko (19), and Bolko (2), and her two daughters Karina (6) and Sultana (3). The occasionally wide discrepancy in the age of an adult female migrant and child migrants listed as her "sons" or "daughters" leads to speculation that these "sons" and "daughters" were in fact either the children of her real sons and daughters who had died en route to the Russian Empire or orphaned child migrants who attached themselves to intact family units during migration.

Local and town officials in the Novorossiya Gubernate and Bessarabian Oblast also submitted registration lists to provincial-level authorities with the names of newly arrived Bulgarian migrants. Seven registration lists under the title of "correspondence to the Governor-General of Novorossiya from town police on the in-migration of Bulgarian subjects to Russia" were produced in the spring and summer of 1830.[87] One list compiled in April 1830 contained information about 295 Bulgarian migrant families "from various places in Rumelia wishing to settle in Bessarabia." The 295 listed family units totaled 1,644 individuals (317 male adults, 309 female adults, 547 male children, and 471 female children). This particular group of Bulgarian migrants consisted of some large extended family units including those of Stoyan Petko (sixteen family members including three male adults, three female adults, five male children, and five female children), Momcho Pisar (fourteen family members including one male adult, one female adult, six male children, and six female children), and Panaiot Pancho (seventeen family members including four male adults, four female adults, five male children, and four female children).

Most of the Bulgarian migrants registered on these lists arrived from Black Sea coastal towns (such as Balçık, Mangalia, and Ahyolu) or from eastern and central Rumelian towns (such as Aytos, Edirne, Islimiye, and Yanbolu).

One interesting feature of this particular batch of migrant registration lists is the notation, next to the name of each individual migrant, of an assigned *bilet* number. As discussed earlier, *bilets* were a form of migrant travel documentation. The placement of a *bilet* number next to a migrant's basic demographic information leads to the conclusion that by the early 1830s *bilets* were utilized by Russian officials as the primary form of migrant identification in the Russian Empire.

Bulgarian migrants were tracked not only at their point of entry and in their initial settlements, but also through the recording of changes in the composition of migrant communities. A good example of this ongoing statistical management of Bulgarian migrant communities in Bessarabia can be found in a document titled "List of residents of the colony of Tashbunar who have died of fever and are afflicted with disease." This list contained the names and ages of 48 Bulgarian migrants (grouped by family unit) who had died or who were suffering from disease in Tashbunar in the summer of 1829. Those named included Dimo Nikolaev (45), his wife Yana (30), their sons Nikolai (12) and Stoiko (6), and Yana's sister (21); and Nikolai Penov (age 60), his wife Stoyana (age 50), their four sons Stoyan (28), Stepan (15), Petro (13), and Todor (7), and their daughter Rada (11).[88]

Conclusion

Trade, return migration, and intracommunal communication forged strong and enduring structural connections among Bulgarian migrant communities in the Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These connections endured despite ongoing efforts by the Ottoman and Russian states—through the construction of quarantine lines and the imposition of comprehensive migration management regimes—to establish territorial sovereignty in the Black Sea region.

Members of Bulgarian migrant communities in the Black Sea region communicated with their kinsmen about the pros and cons of settlement conditions in the Russian Empire, the Danubian Principalities, and Ottoman Rumelia.[89] Information obtained in this manner often convinced Bulgarians in the Ottoman Empire to take their chances and seek material improvement through migration to the Danubian Principalities and southern Russia.[90] Conversely, word of favorable economic and resettlement conditions in

Ottoman Rumelia in the period after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829 stimulated considerable Bulgarian return migration to the Ottoman Empire.[91]

Russian and Ottoman officials took into account the existence of communication networks among Bulgarian migrant communities in the Black Sea region when formulating migration and settlement policies. For example, in the mid-1830s, the Ottoman governor of Silistre took advantage of the existence of communication channels among Bulgarian migrants to publicize the Ottoman state's offer of preferential treatment for Bulgarians returning from the Danubian Principalities and southern Russia to Ottoman Rumelia.[92]

In 1815, General-Cavalier L.L. Bennigsen produced a report on conditions in a recently established Bulgarian migrant-settler community in Bessarabia. In his report, Bennigsen castigated the provincial government in Bessarabia for failing to deliver on promises made to Bulgarian migrants concerning the provision of state support and material assistance in the Russian Empire. Bennigsen noted that many Bulgarian migrants, fearing enserfment by large landowners, had packed up their possessions and had returned across the Danube River to the Ottoman Empire. Bennigsen warned that the news delivered by these returnees about their less-than-positive migrant experience in the Russian Empire would discourage future Bulgarian migration to Bessarabia. Improvements in the provision of resettlement services to Bulgarian migrants in Bessarabia would not only attract future settlers, Bennigsen argued, but would also serve to promote the prestige and reputation of the Russian Empire among Bulgarian peasant populations in Ottoman Rumelia.[93]

For more security-minded Russian officials, however, the question of the Russian Empire's international prestige was subordinate to the threat posed by unchecked migration across in the Black Sea region. In a report presented to Tsar Alexander I in 1816 on the steps being taken to incorporate Bessarabia into the political and administrative structure of the Russian Empire, Pavel Kiselev made note of the potency and vitality of Bulgarian migrant networks in the Black Sea region. Impressed with the level of communication between Bulgarians in Bessarabia and Bulgarians in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Ottoman Rumelia, Kiselev argued that, in times of heightened security, the Russian state would face significant difficulties in severing connections between migrant communities within and without the empire. He further warned the tsar that the durability of these "transnational" migrant networks would impede the Russian state's ability to control migration and check the concomitant spread of disease into the Russian Empire.[94]

3

At the Limits of Empire: Migration, Settlement, and Border Security in Russia's Imperial South

To commanders of border posts:

Persuade Bulgarians living along the Danube—especially those in the region of Orshova and Galatz and those living around the fortresses of Ismail and Kilia—to migrate and settle in the Russian Empire. Conduct this work in a quiet and discrete manner. Demonstrate to them the success of their kinsmen and compatriots who have previously settled in Russia. In your interactions with Bulgarians, when you sense an inclination to migrate, reinforce this urge by informing potential Bulgarian settlers of the following incentives: a residence and life in Russia free of any danger to their person or possessions; protection from enserfment; subordination only to the crown of Russia; exemption from military service; the possibility to choose the most advantageous settlement site for the construction of their homes; relief from any imposts; and government assistance for town-planning and economic development. Once a migrant family has opted to migrate to and settle in the Russian Empire, forward the details of the timing and initiation of their migration to me for final approval.

"Orders to Frontier Commanders" issued by the Governor-General of Novorossiya Duc de Richelieu (October 18, 1805).[1]

The measures adopted by the Duc de Richelieu in the early nineteenth century to attract migrant-settlers to recently acquired Russian lands on the Black Sea steppe would have been familiar to previous provincial administrators in Russia's imperial south. For centuries, the settlement of peasant-agriculturalists along the Russian Empire's southern edge had been a core component of the empire's grand strategy. This historiographical ground has been well covered.[2]

In the last decade, histories of Russian imperial expansion to the south and west have focused less on procedure and more on the concept of the taming or pacification of Russia's steppe frontier (known to imperial administrators as the *dikoe pole* or wild field) in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.[3] This emergent historiography has focused on the incorporation of various groups (both nomadic and sedentary) into the empire's administrative and political structure. The goal of this chapter is to push this narrative forward (both literally and figuratively) by moving further to the south and west and ahead into the early part of the nineteenth century.

I argue that early nineteenth-century Russian imperial expansion to the south and west must be addressed within a regional context.[4] The forward impulse of frontier expansion which drove the Russian Empire—in an almost organic manner—did not dissipate upon reaching the shores of the Black Sea. On the contrary, transnational interests (such as trade and migration) connected southwestern Russia with the Dobrujan steppe and Ottoman Rumelia and—along with long-standing geostrategic goals in the Black Sea region—lured the Russian Empire across the Danubian Rubicon.

The adoption of a bottom-up approach to imperial history affords me the opportunity to overturn several hoary bromides in Russian imperial historiography. For example, belying pan-Slavist argumentation for Russian patrimony over Slavic-Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Balkans, I argue that a close reading of imperial proclamations read to assembled groups of recent Bulgarian migrants in Bessarabia in 1820s indicates that at this time the Russian state's primary motivation for granting privileges and exemptions to migrant-settlers from the Balkans had more to do with economic and security concerns (such as establishing and solidifying Russia's demographic footprint in its southwestern borderlands) rather than any ideological sympathy for the plight of Slavic Orthodox populations in the Ottoman Empire.

Late eighteenth-century migration management in the Russian south

Early in her reign, Empress Catherine II embarked upon a concerted and organized campaign to recruit and settle migrants in the southern provinces of the Russian Empire. In 1762 and 1763, two manifestos were issued that created an administrative system—at both the imperial and local levels—to organize and manage the recruitment, reception, and distribution of migrants and settlers in the Russian Empire. As an incentive for migration, Catherine II's manifestos offered a variety of privileges and inducements for potential migrants including transportation assistance, hereditary land grants of up to 81 acres, the right to practice religion freely, the right to construct places of worship, exemption from taxes, interest-free cash loans for ten years to purchase agricultural materials, and exemptions from military and civil service.[5] Russian consuls in London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Istanbul were ordered to publish the manifestos in national newspapers. If prohibited by host governments to publish these manifestos, Russian consuls were directed to spread the information contained in the manifestos through clandestine and informal channels. In the Balkans, Russian officials employed local agents to distribute the manifestos and to promote migration and settlement in the Russian Empire.[6]

In issuing these manifestos, Catherine II drew upon late eighteenth-century populationist theories which held that economic and military strength derived directly from the size of an empire's population. In Prussia and Austria, particularly, statecraft and administrative structures were geared toward the promotion of population growth through in-migration. In step with populationist projects undertaken by continental sovereigns, Catherine's migration policies focused on the "development of the economy, both generally through population increase and specifically through the use of migrants to encourage trade, industry, and agriculture."[7]

In the 1760s, a Chancellery of Foreign Guardianship was established under the direction of G.G. Orlov to oversee the recruitment, reception, and settlement of migrants in the Russian Empire. Orlov reported directly to Catherine II and his deputies communicated directly with Russian consuls abroad on all migration-related matters. At the provincial level, special Guardianship (*Popechitelstvo)* Commissions were created to deal with specific migrant groups (primarily Germans, Greeks, Albanians, Armenians, and Bulgarians).[8]

Staffed with individuals who spoke the language of relevant migrant groups, Guardianship Commissions generally handled a wide variety of practical and logistical issues associated with the settlement of migrants in the Russian Empire. Commission officials accompanied migrant groups in transit from border posts to the Russian interior, registered migrants upon arrival, and distributed maintenance and start-up funds to migrant-settlers. As centrally appointed guarantors of migrant rights, commission officials were charged with shielding new arrivals from the depredations of corrupt local officials.[9] In time, *Popechitelstvo* Commissions employed members of migrant groups and a number of migrants rose to leadership positions within provincial-level *Popechitelstvo* Commissions.[10]

Migration and settlement in the Russian Empire was often linked to urban planning and commercial development. The statutes that officially established Odessa in 1794 stressed the openness of this Black Sea port-city to foreign settlement. Slavs and other migrants from the Ottoman Empire were particularly welcomed, especially Albanians, Bulgarians, and Greeks, who "had served Us with excellent zeal in the last war with the Turks." Migrants were provided free government housing for one year and encouraged, through subsidies and loans, to build their own homes. Poorer migrants wishing to settle in Odessa were given travel and maintenance funds, supported by the state for one year, exempted from quartering responsibilities, and offered ten-year interest-free loans. A special *Popechitelstvo* Commission was created for foreign migrants in Odessa to "assist and protect the newcomers in their initial settlement and to ensure the observance among them of peace, tranquility and friendly agreement."[11]

Russian refugee relief and migrant removal operations in the Ottoman Empire

On the morning of May 16, 1801, two ships filled with 200 Bulgarian migrants seeking refuge from general instability and banditry in Ottoman Rumelia arrived without warning in the Danubian port of Galatz. In an official report sent to his superiors in Jassy (Iaşi—the capital of Moldavia), P. Renski, a translator in the service of the Russian consulate in Galatz, remarked that most of these refugees were single women and orphaned children. Renski speculated that the adult male refugees had, while in transit, been impressed by roving gangs of bandits or had opted to engage in brigandage activity to support their families. One week after the initial appearance of these refugees in Galatz, another similarly composed group of 200 Bulgarian refugees arrived in Galatz on ships from the Black Sea port of Mesembria (Nesebur). In his report, Renski recounted the refugees' circuitous journey from the Rumelian interior to the Bulgarian Black Sea coast—some via temporary stays in Edirne and Istanbul. According to Renski, "it would be impossible to describe the miserable state of these unfortunate people."[12]

It can be argued that reports filed by Russian consular and military officials posted in the Black Sea region detailing the difficulties encountered by displaced populations in the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia) and Ottoman Rumelia contributed to the organization of Russian refugee relief and migrant removal operations in the Ottoman Empire in the first decade of the nineteenth century. In 1802, the Russian ambassador in Istanbul, Vasil Tomara, initiated discussions with the Ottoman Grand Vizier Kör Yusuf Ziyaüddin Pasha on the joint provision of assistance to migrants and refugees displaced in Ottoman Rumelia. During these negotiations, Tomara floated a proposal to use Russian ships to transport (from Ottoman Black Sea ports to Russian ports along the northern Black sea littoral) any refugees and migrants declaring a desire to be resettled in the Russian Empire. In recompense for Ottoman population losses, Tomara offered to support and to assist with the free and unhindered emigration of Muslim-Tatar populations from the Russian Empire to the Ottoman Empire. This early nineteenth-century proposal for a planned population exchange in the Black Sea region was rejected by the Ottoman government.[13]

Shortly after the unsuccessful conclusion of his negotiations with the Ottoman Grand Vizier, Tomara began to organize clandestine refugee relief and removal operations in Thrace and southern Rumelia. Under the leadership of Ianaki Dimitrov (a Bulgarian staff member in the Russian embassy in Istanbul) and State Councilor Froding (a Russian consular official temporarily assigned to the Russian embassy in Istanbul), Tomara's operatives reconnoitered with community leaders and scouted towns and villages in Thrace and eastern Rumelia to identify potential migrant-settlers for southern Russia. Upon the collection of a sizable number of recruits, Dimitrov and Froding signed contracts (on behalf of the Russian state) with Russian and Greek ship captains to transport the settlers from Rumelian Black Sea ports to Russian ports along the northern coast of the Black Sea. The ship captains were paid a per capita sum for each settler safely transported across the Black Sea. Most of the Balkan peasants recruited by Dimitrov and Froding came from villages in eastern Rumelia and were resettled in and around Odessa.[14]

Russian migrant and refugee removal operations on Ottoman territory intensified during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812. These efforts were spearheaded by Tomara's successor in Istanbul, Amassador A. Italianskii. Reprising the activities of Tomara, Italianskii dispatched Istanbul-based Bulgarian agents to southeastern Rumelia and the Black Sea ports of Sozopol, Mesembria (Nesebur), Balçık, and Kavarna to recruit Bulgarian migrants for settlement in the Russian Empire. These Bulgarian agents directed potential migrants to previously determined hiding places, established and provisioned supply caches for migrants in transit, and contracted with Russian and Greek merchant ship captains to transport Bulgarian migrants to Russian Black Sea ports. As an indication of the scale of these types of migrant-transport operations each contracted ship carried anywhere between 100 and 450 Bulgarian migrants.[15]

The Danubian Principalities as well proved to be fertile ground for Russian migrant-recruitment initiatives. In a communiqué from the Russian minister of foreign affairs, A.R. Vorontsov, to the Russian consul general in Jassy, A. A. Zherve, Vorontsov ordered his subordinate to actively encourage the secondary migration of Balkan peasants from the Danubian Principalities to southern Russia.[16] To assist in his recruitment operation, Zherve received approval from Vorontsov to offer potential migrant-agriculturalists sizable plots of land in southern Russia and financial assistance in establishing agricultural enterprises. Zherve and his agents were authorized to disburse money and to issue travel documents to potential migrants. To ensure the safe passage of recruited and documented migrants to Russian territory, Zherve was directed to coordinate with Ministry of Internal Affairs officials posted along the Prut River. Vorontsov urged Zherve to be cautious in his efforts and to avoid attracting any undue publicity.[17]

Migration and settlement in Bessarabia

It can be argued that the creation of a civil bureaucracy (after 1812) to assist with the settlement of migrant-agriculturalists was a core component of the Russian state's overall efforts to incorporate Bessarabia into the political and administrative structure of the empire. A variety of factors, however, including a lack of easily defined and defensible borders and the entrenched interests of provincial landowners, hampered the Russian state's ability to fully absorb the land and people of Bessarabia into the Russian Empire. Besides providing a glimpse of the nuts and bolts of Russian imperial machinery in the early nineteenth century, an analysis of the implementation of Russian migration and settlement projects in Bessarabia after 1812 illustrates the limits of the Russian state's power and influence at what would prove to be the farthest southwestern reach of Russian imperial expansion.

The influx of a large number of migrant-settlers in the period during and immediately after the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman war of 1806–1812 overwhelmed the nascent Russian provincial administration in Bessarabia. Toward the end of the war, General M. I. Kutuzov and his subordinates in Ottoman Rumelia and the Danubian Principalities hurriedly recruited and organized Bulgarian migrants for settlement in the underpopulated

Bessarabian Oblast.[18] To stimulate migration into Bessarabia, Kutuzov and his subordinates disseminated pamphlets among Bulgarian peasant communities describing the extensive privileges and perquisites (*preimushchestva*) for new settlers in the Russian Empire. The privileges and exemptions extended to Bulgarian settlers in 1811 included freedom from all taxes and *corvée* duties (*zemskie povinnosti*) for a period of ten years, the advancement of credit to indigent families for the purchase of personal belongings, the distribution of 60 *desiatins* (approximately 150 acres) of hereditary land to each migrant family, the right to construct churches, and exemptions for all new settlers and their descendants from military service and the quartering of soldiers.[19] In response to Kutuzov's promises of privileges and exemptions for potential migrant-settlers, an estimated 20,000 families migrated across the Danube and Prut rivers into the southwestern part of the Russian Empire.

The disconnect between Kutuzov's successful recruitment efforts and the limited capacity of the Russian state in Bessarabia to deal with significant in-migration inevitably resulted in problems for migrant-settlers in the empire's newest province. For example, in a grievance letter (Russian—*zhaloba*) delivered to a representative of the Bessarabian provincial government in June 1814, the elders (Russian—*starosti*) of a Bulgarian migrant-settler community in the Ismail region detailed the unauthorized duties and responsibilities imposed upon them and their community members by provincial-level state servitors. These undue burdens included the quartering of Cossack soldiers, the supply and transportation of fuel for government offices and border posts, and the provision of horse-stabling and wagon-repair services to travelers. The elders of this Bulgarian migrant community claimed exemption from these duties and responsibilities and castigated (by name) the governor-general of the Bessarabian Oblast, I.M. Garting, for failing to ensure the rights and privileges of Bulgarian migrants in Bessarabia.[20]

In response to these types of petitions, Garting investigated the alleged abuses of migrant-settlers, gathered information from diverse sources on the situation among various migrant communities under his jurisdiction, and produced reports for his superiors in Odessa on the administration of migration in Bessarabia. Concerned about the ability of the Russian Empire to attract future migrants to southwestern Russia and fearing the loss of even more settler populations through return migration, the failure of the Russian state to provide for and protect its newest inhabitants garnered the attention of both populationist and security-minded statesmen in Saint Petersburg. Among the latter, the

Russian minister of internal affairs Osip Kozodavlev took the lead in seeking an explanation for the weakness of the Russian state at its imperial limits.[21]

Upon Kozodavlev's orders, General-Cavalier L.L. Bennigsen formed a Committee to Collect Information on Trans-Danubian Migrants in Bessarabia. The four individuals appointed to the committee were the future Decembrist A.P. Iushnevski, the future Director of the Guardianship Commission for Foreign Settlers in the southern region of Russia Staff-Rotmeister D.P. Vatikioti, the future secret police agent I. Marchenko, and Major Miletich, who was fluent in Bulgarian. As part of their overall orders to investigate the reasons behind the recent return migration of settlers in southern Russia to the Ottoman Rumelia, the four committee members were directed to gather information on the number of migrant-settlers currently in Bessarabia (broken down by how many arrived before and after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812), the primary settlement sites for migrants in Bessarabia, statistical information on how many migrants had returned to Ottoman Rumelia and to which towns and villages, the type of financial and material assistance which would be required to keep Bulgarian migrant-settlers from leaving Bessarabia, the differences (if any) in the material circumstances between migrants who arrived in 1811 and those migrants who arrived in the months immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest (on May 28, 1812), the relationship between migrants settled on private lands and their landlords, and whether or not the duties performed by settlers for landowners were conducted on a contractual or a customary basis.[22]

In 1818, six years after the Russian acquisition of Bessarabia, the provincial-level "Guardianship Commission for Southern Russia" was reorganized to include the oversight and administration of migration and settlement in Bessarabia. Renamed the "Guardianship Commission for Foreign Settlers in the southern region of Russia" (*Popechitelnago Komiteta ob Inostrannykh Poselentsakh Iuzhnago Kraia Rossii*), one of the main goals of this administrative organ was to encourage the permanent settlement of the relatively transient Bulgarian migratory population in Bessarabia. As a reflection of the linkage (in the mind of Russian statesmen) between security and migration, this reconstituted Guardianship Commission was placed under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The regulations governing the establishment and operation of the Guardianship Commission indicated that the members of the commission would be appointed by the minister of internal affairs, that the commission would receive proposals and instructions directly from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and that the designation of settlement sites for newly arrived migrants would require the approval of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.[23]

Initially under the direction of Staff-Rotmeister D.P. Vatikioti, the Guardianship Commission reached the height of its influence and effectiveness under its second director Ivan Nikitich Inzov.[24] In 1819, while attached to Alexander I's retinue during an inspection tour of Novorossiya, Inzov presented the tsar with a detailed report on the difficulties encountered by Bulgarian settlers in Bessarabia in the post-1812 period. Inzov's report served as the basis for interim regulations issued by the Ministry of the Interior concerning the settlement of migrants in southern Russia and ultimately resulted in the proclamation of an imperial *Ukaz* on "The Settlement in the Bessarabian Oblast of Bulgarians and other Trans-Danubian Migrants."[25] Issued on December 29, 1819, this *Ukaz* codified, confirmed, and extended the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of foreign settlers in Bessarabia—the majority of which were Bulgarian migrants from the Danubian Principalities and Ottoman Rumelia.

Consisting of 16 points, the imperial *Ukaz* was read aloud at a public ceremony in the town of Bolgrad (which at the time contained a majority Bulgarian population) and placed for public viewing on the altar of Bolgrad's main church. While the *Ukaz* of 1819 did contain some introductory remarks extolling Russia's paternal role as the protector of Slavic Orthodox populations in the Ottoman Empire, an analysis of the specific articles in the *Ukaz* indicates that the Russian state's primary motivation for granting privileges and exemptions to migrant-settlers had more to do with economic and security concerns (such as establishing and solidifying Russia's demographic footprint in its southwestern borderlands) rather than any ideological sympathy for Slavic Orthodox migrants from the Ottoman Balkans. Indeed it is worth mentioning here that up until the late 1830s, migrant-settlers from Ottoman Rumelia were typically identified according to their geographic origin—that is, as "trans-Danubian" migrants (*zadunaiskie pereselentsy*) or "Rumelian" migrants (*Rumeliskie pereselentsy*).[26] It was only toward the middle of the reign of Nicholas I (around 1840) that migrants crossing the Danube and Prut rivers into Bessarabia and southern Russia began to be identified as "Orthodox Christian" settlers.

The first few points of the *Ukaz* confirmed previous edicts and proclamations (including those issued by Catherine II and General Kutuzov) regarding the rights and privileges of migrants in the Russian Empire. Most of the new measures introduced in the 1819 *Ukaz* focused on the stimulation of agricultural and industrial development in Bessarabia and the promotion of trade in the Black Sea region. Incentives were offered to encourage migrant settlement on state lands and government assistance was extended to migrant-settlers interested in establishing artisanal and light industrial production centers in southern Russia. Bulgarian merchants in Bessarabia received the right to trade freely both within the Russian Empire and across the Prut and Danube rivers in Ottoman Rumelia. Customs payments and import–export duties for migrants engaged in merchant activity were reduced.

Security concerns were raised in the concluding points of the *Ukaz* of 1819, suggesting that, trade and economic development interests notwithstanding, Russian statesmen looked upon migratory populations in southwestern Russia with a certain amount of wariness. One of the final points in the *Ukaz* warned migrant-settlers in Bessarabia that any signs of unruliness or disobedience would result in their immediate deportation from the Russian Empire. This was not an idle threat as many examples exist of the deportation and exile of migrant-settlers for engaging in what was perceived to be criminal or antigovernment behavior.

Migration and settlement in the Russian Empire under the terms of the Treaty of Adrianople (1829)

In Article 13 of the Treaty of Adrianople (which ended the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829), the Ottoman and Russian empires agreed to provide amnesty to all Ottoman and Russian subjects who had taken up arms during the war against their own government or who had provided logistical support to armed combatants. For a period of eighteen months (from September 1829 to March 1831), these individuals and their families were free to recover and dispose of their property and relocate with all their possessions to either the Ottoman or Russian Empire. The same right of reciprocal relocation was extended to noncombatants who resided in any of the territory restituted to the Ottoman Empire (i.e., the Danubian Principalities) or ceded to the Russian Empire (i.e., strategically important fortress-towns in the Danubian estuary) under the terms of the Treaty of Adrianople. For a period of eighteen months, Ottoman and Russian subjects in these locales were at liberty to dispose of any property acquired either before or after the war and to travel unhindered with all their capital and possessions to either the Ottoman or Russian Empire.[27]

Following the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, Russian army, naval, and civilian personnel moved swiftly and in a coordinated manner to organize, collect, and transport migrant-settlers who had opted (under the terms of Article 13 of the Treaty of Adrianople) to relocate from Ottoman Rumelia to Bessarabia and southern Russia. Most of these migrants had previously fled their hometowns and villages and were living in makeshift settlements in towns on or near the Black Sea coast such as Varna, Kavarna, Balçık, Burgas, and Ahyolu (Ankhialo, Pomorie). In his travels in the Rumelian countryside in the spring of 1830, the Russian official Gerasim Vashchenko remarked upon the complete desertion of Bulgarian towns in the area between Burgas and Karnobat and estimated that 12,000 Bulgarian villagers had been displaced in eastern Rumelia.[28]

In preparation for transport by land and sea to the Russian Empire, Russian army officials directed Bulgarian migrants to three collection points in Ottoman Rumelia—the two Black Sea ports of Sizebolu (Sozopol) and Köstence (Constanţa) and the area around Aytos. In Sizebolu and Köstence, migrants were loaded onto Russian naval ships and transported to ports along Russia's northern Black Sea coast (principally Odessa, Ovidiopol, Theodosia, Sevastopol, and Kherson). Migrant and refugee flows often exceeded the capacity of the Russian Black Sea navy—compelling Russian officials to contract with merchant captains to transport Bulgarian migrants to Odessa and ports on the Crimean Peninsula.[29]

On land, Russian army officers coordinated with provincial, municipal, and quarantine officials in Bessarabia on the mechanics and logistics of migrant-settlement operations. In the summer and fall of 1830, Russian army officers, supported by civilian officials dispatched from Saint Petersburg and Novorossiya, established and provisioned a well-defined migrant transportation route from Sliven (Islimiye) to Bessarabia. Settlers from Ottoman Rumelia were organized into caravans of 2,000 and escorted, under the supervision and protection of the Russian army, to newly constructed Russian quarantine posts along the axis of the Prut and Danube rivers. Bulgarian deputies selected from among migrant populations provided assistance to Russian army officers. Former Bulgarian volunteers were likewise recruited to act as military escorts for large-scale refugee movements from Ottoman Rumelia to the Russian Empire.[30]

Russian quarantine stations functioned as organizational centers for the collection, registration, and distribution of migrant-settlers to various locales in Bessarabia and southern Russia.[31] The experiences of one group of Bulgarian migrants from eastern Rumelia included a period of observation in the Satunov quarantine (the main Russian quarantine station on the northern branch of the Danubian estuary) and the escort by a provincial official to a designated settlement site in Bessarabia.[32] Other less fortunate groups of Bulgarian migrants spent weeks, and in some cases months, in quarantine awaiting word on their future settlement destination.[33] Only severely impoverished and undernourished Bulgarian refugees received government assistance during their quarantine stays. Most were left to their own devices.[34]

Despite the best efforts of Russian military and civilian officials, migrant transport and settlement operations in the late 1820s and early 1830s did not always go as planned. As demonstrated by communications among provincial-level officials in Odessa and Kishinev, municipal-level officials in key resettlement sites around Akkerman, Ismail, and Reni, and quarantine officials in Bessarabia, the Russian state often struggled to effectively and efficiently administer to arriving migrants.[35] Delays in the designation of settlement sites frequently resulted in overcrowding and rioting at Russian quarantine border stations. In Satunov, separate quarantine camps were erected to deal with migrant overflows. In these temporary camps, migrant families were housed in makeshift shelters constructed out of branches and twigs.[36] Financial issues forced quarantine officials in Akkerman to house 626 migrants on naval ships stationed in the town's harbor.[37]

The unexpected appearance of migrant groups strained municipal services and bred antimigrant hostility among local officials and native inhabitants. In May 1830, around 800 particularly indigent Bulgarian migrants arriving by boat from Ahyolu were placed into quarantine in the port of Akkerman. Upon completing their quarantine observation period, these migrants were assigned to temporary settlement sites in the environs of Akkerman. Faced with dwindling supplies of fuel and food, local officials in Akkerman complained that the settlement of migrants placed an unnecessary burden on the town and its permanent inhabitants.[38] In Ismail, Bulgarian migrants maintained that local officials consistently and consciously reneged on promises of settlement assistance and financial support for new arrivals. In Reni, in response to outbreaks of violence between local police and recently arrived migrants, the Bessarabian Guardianship Committee dispatched officials to protect the property of settlers. The Reni police, arguing that the Guardianship Committee lacked jurisdiction over civilian affairs in Reni, denied access to these migrant communities.[39]

Migrant travel and identity documentation

During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, the Russian state initiated a migrant documentation regime which included the provision of individual travel documents (generally termed *bilets*) to specific categories of migrants crossing the Prut and Danube rivers into the Russian Empire.[40] Acting in effect as "international" travel documents, Russian *bilets* granted and guaranteed the right of migrants from Ottoman Rumelia to be resettled in Bessarabia and southern Russia. Many Russian *bilets* issued in the early nineteenth century bore testimonies (*svidetel'stva*) by Russian military officers, consuls, or civil servants attesting to the "identity and trustworthiness" of individual migrants. Some *bilets* noted the occupation of settlers as well as the perceived (or self-identified) "ethnicity" of the *bilet* holder. On occasion the original petition (*proshenie*) by a Bulgarian migrant for the right to settle in the Russian Empire would be attached to a *bilet*.[41]

Prior to the 1820s, Russian *bilets* tended to be handwritten and were not issued in any standardized form. For example, in June 1809, the town magistrate office in Odessa issued a *bilet* to the Bulgarian migrant Vasil Aprilov. Addressed solely and specifically to police authorities, this handwritten document resembled a rough draft of a private letter. It lacked a stamp or seal and contained many cross-outs and corrections.[42]

In the period immediately following the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, the chancellery of the Russian 2nd Army issued a large number of *bilets* to Bulgarian migrants from Ottoman Rumelia who had decided to relocate to Bessarabia under the terms of Article 13 of the Treaty of Adrianople. The standard (and printed) parts of these *bilets* noted that the *bilet* was being issued under the authority of the commander of the 2nd Army and that the named migrant had chosen resettlement in Russia on the basis of the provisions agreed to in Article 13 of the Treaty of Adrianople. The text of these *bilets* conferred free and unhindered passage to the *bilet* holder and requested all Russian officials and government servitors to provide assistance and protection to the migrant while en route to the Russian Empire. The form concluded with standard language indicating that the signature below and the affixed stamp of the general-field marshal of the Russian army certified the validity of the *bilet*. Blank spaces on the printed form were reserved for inputting the name, home village, and stated ethnicity of the migrant; the number of family members who would be accompanying the named migrant (as head of household); the migrant family's intended settlement site in the Russian Empire; and the *bilet*'s day, month, and place of issue. A few of the *bilets* issued by the Russian 2nd Army lacked any reference to a predetermined settlement site in Bessarabia or southern Russia. In these cases, the geographic validity of the *bilet* was restricted to arrival at the "limits" (*predely*) of the Russian Empire.[43]

The wording on Russian *bilets* issued in the period following the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829 suggests that *bilets* provided to migrants from Ottoman Rumelia in the late 1820s and early 1830s carried more weight than other more general types of Russian state-issued travel documents (such as passports and *propusks*). For example, in the spring and summer of 1830, a series of *bilets* were issued under the authority of the governor-general of Novorossiya and Bessarabia, Mikhail Vorontsov, to Bulgarian migrants from Ottoman Rumelia. Standard in form, the printed text on this series of *bilets* read:

> Upon the highest authority, I issue this bilet to the following named subject of the Turkish government migrating to Russia from [blank space for handwritten information on the migrant's home town, the name of the migrant, and the number and relation of family members accompanying the lead migrant]. Henceforth, by order of this government to land captains and civil authorities, the above-named migrant and his family are permitted to settle freely in any and all towns and villages in Novorossiya and Bessarabia without the need of any other type of document besides this bilet.[44]

Additionally, examples exist of Russian state-issued *bilets* bearing a notation that the holder had the right to "free residence" (*svobodnoe zhitel'stvo*) in Bessarabia.[45]

From a legal-administrative perspective, the Russian state—through the provision of *bilets* to migrants, refugees, and those in need of special protection—accorded a specific and protected social status to migrant-settlers in the southwestern part of the Russian Empire. I argue that compared to passports issued abroad by Russian consular officials (which served primarily as a guarantee of the identity of nonmigrant visitors and provided a limited scope and term for travel to and within the Russian Empire) *bilets* issued by Russian military and civilian authorities stationed in the Black Sea region accorded more durable and less circumscribed rights to migrants and refugees settling in Bessarabia and southern Russia.[46] For example, compare the above-referenced *bilets* with a passport issued in 1830 to the Austrian merchant Jacob Lev Koritzer. Issued by the Russian consulate in the Galician town of Brody, this passport contained detailed personal information on Koritzer including his age (43), faith (Jewish—*vera*), height (medium), hair color (black), face shape (oblong—*prodolgovatyi*), eye color (black), and nose and mouth size (moderate). The passport indicated that Koritzer was authorized to travel only from Brody to Berdichev in the Russian Empire during the seven-month period from September 1830 to April 1831.[47]

Migrant status in the Bessarabian Oblast—the legal dimension

Possession of a *bilet* was not the only signifier of one's legal and social status in the Russian Empire. Varying rights, privileges, exemptions, and responsibilities differentiated inhabitant from inhabitant, village from village, and migrant community from migrant community in Bessarabia. For example, based upon their perception of the rights granted to them by General Kutuzov in 1811, post-1811 Bulgarian migrant-settlers in the Russian Empire's Bessarabian Oblast self-identified themselves as distinct from both the native Moldavian inhabitants of Bessarabia (*korennye Bessarabskie zhiteli*, *korenye obyvateli*, *prirodnye zhiteli*) and "old" or pre-1811 Bulgarian migrant-settlers (*starozhilnie poselentsy, Bolgary starozhiliy*) in the Bessarabian lands. This self-categorization received official sanction in a census conducted by Bessarabian officials in 1815 and 1816. In this census, the inhabitants of Bessarabia were divided into three categories: *Korennye Zhiteli*; *Starye Poselentsy*; and *Novye Poselentsy*.[48]

The actions of Moldavian agriculturalists on both sides of the Prut River indicate that members of peasant societies in Moldavia and Bessarabia understood that post-1811 migrant-settlers enjoyed a privileged status in the Bessarabian Oblast. Russian consular officials in Jassy (Moldavia) reported that many Moldavian peasants—when applying for Russian travel and entry documents—claimed to be Bulgarian migrants from Ottoman Rumelia. Arguing that they deserved the same rights as Bulgarian migrants, native Moldavian inhabitants of the Bessarabian lands pressed Russian provincial authorities to be re-registered and recategorized as post-1811 migrant-settlers.[49]

In the first part of the nineteenth century, Russian state servitors confronted a host of contentious issues concerning the legal standing of post-1811 migrant-settlers in Bessarabia. Shortly after the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, the leaders of several post-1811 Bulgarian migrant communities in Bessarabia submitted a series of grievance letters to provincial authorities vigorously protesting attempts by local landowners to impose duties on them similar to those levied on native inhabitants or other pre-1811 migrant-settlers. The submission of these grievance letters initiated protracted discussions among provincial and municipal authorities concerning the rights of post-1811 migrant-settlers in Bessarabia.[50] The arguments made and points debated by Russian state servitors in response to these grievance letters shed light not only on the legal and social status of migrants in Bessarabia, but also on the evolving conceptualization of subjecthood in early nineteenth-century Russia.

The two main protagonists in the intragovernmental debate on the validity of Bulgarian claims to special rights and status in Bessarabia were the governor of the Bessarabian Oblast, Major General I.M. Garting, and the lead member of the Committee to Collect Information on Trans-Danubian Migrants in Bessarabia, State Councilor (and future Decembrist) A.P. Iushnevski. Major General Garting argued that local laws and customs in Bessarabia held precedence over any promises issued by Russian military officials outside the Russian Empire (i.e., those made by General Kutuzov in 1811) or any dictates handed down by Saint Petersburg. Therefore, Garting reasoned, post-1811 Bulgarian settlers in Bessarabia should be treated by local officials and landowners in the same manner as both native inhabitants and pre-1811 settlers.[51]

Noting that many Bulgarian migrants arrived in Bessarabia after it had become part of the Russian Empire, Iushnevski argued that the conventions of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Moldavian laws and customs did not apply to these “new Bulgarians” (*novye Bolgare*).[52] He asserted that relations between peasant-settlers and local landowners should be formalized and fixed on a contractual basis and that peasant-settlers had the right to expect a fair hearing from Russian state officials in any contractual disputes with local landowners. As a vocal advocate for the rights of post-1811 Bulgarian migrant-settlers in Bessarabia, Iushnevski called upon the “progressive” elements within the Russian provincial apparatus to honor the promises made by General Kutuzov to Bulgarian migrant-settlers in 1811.[53] Adopting a humanitarian stance and working through arguments that would ultimately inform Decembrist views on serfdom in the Russian Empire, Iushnevski maintained that, upon fulfilling their contractual obligations to their landowners, migrant-settlers in Bessarabia had the right to dispose of their possessions and personal property without the interference of landowners, to move freely within the Russian Empire in search of further employment opportunities, and to own private land.[54]

The debate over the rights and status of migrant-settlers in Bessarabia came to a head over the question of subjecthood for post-1811 arrivals. In 1817, as an act of protest against the alleged failure of the Russian state to uphold the rights of post-1811 settlers in Bessarabia, a group of Bulgarian migrants refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Russian crown and, by extension, rejected subjecthood in the Russian Empire. Compounded by the fact that the vast majority of pre-1811 Bulgarian migrant-settlers had already taken the oath of allegiance and accepted Russian subjecthood, the rejection of Russian subjecthood by this group of post-1811 migrant-settlers infuriated those who advocated the leveling of rights and responsibilities for all the inhabitants of Bessarabia.[55] Following another round of recriminations among political and economic elites in Novorossiya (which included public and personal insults leveled at Iushnevski by a prominent Russian imperial official who also happened to be a large landowner in Bessarabia) the issue was ultimately resolved in favor of the arguments made by Iushnevski.[56]

In holding out for the confirmation of their privileges and exemptions, it can be argued that post-1811 Bulgarian migrant-settlers forced Russian state officials to consider a type of residence status in the empire that was based upon rights (and not responsibilities) and that did not require the taking of Russian subjecthood.[57] Many of the issues concerning the rights of migrants in Bessarabia in the 1820s were reflected in the preparatory drafts of the *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*. Some of the rights and legal concepts debated in Bessarabia that were ultimately raised and discussed at the highest levels of Russian officialdom included the legality of extending certain civil rights to foreigners resident in the Russian Empire prior to their acceptance of Russian subjecthood; inheritance rights for foreign families resident in the empire; the right of foreign merchants in the Russian Empire to enter and exit the empire freely; the right of foreign workers to repatriate profits earned in the Russian Empire; and the right for foreigners resident in the empire to pursue their chosen profession.[58]

Migration and border security

> The material benefits to the government of the settlement of Bulgarians in Novorossiya are evident. The vast steppe, which for a long time existed as a wild field is now populated with hard-working Bulgarians sowing wheat and grazing cattle… There can be no doubt that, as you are instructing, the settlement of Bulgarians in Bessarabia would also be clearly advantageous to Russia. But, will the Bessarabian steppe which is now partially Russian and partially Turkish and which is completely de-populated always be part of Russia? If so, this raises another question—can we be fully assured that the Bulgarians who crossed the frontier and now reside in Russia will not return to their former towns and villages? The proposal put forth by Mr. Koronelli regarding the formation of a frontier guard from among Bulgarian settlers is intimately connected with the answer to these two questions… Consider the possibility that Bessarabia does not fully or completely become ours or that Bulgarian migrants do not

> settle permanently in Bessarabia or that Bulgarians do not remain reliable or trustworthy subjects. In this case, it would be wise to remove them a certain distance from the border. This action would promote their permanent settlement in Russia, their acceptance of Russian customs, and their obedience to the Russian government.
>
> *Note from the Duc de Richelieu to V. I. Krasno-Milashevich on the inadvisability of settling trans-Danubian migrants on lands along the Turkish frontier (pogranichnykh s Turtsiei zemliakh) (March 1812).*[59]

For the Russian state, it can be argued, immediate security concerns such as severe outbreaks of epidemic disease or increased instability in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region frequently superseded populationist and economic development initiatives in Bessarabia and southern Russia. During these periods of heightened security, the Russian state—through the interdiction of migration and the restriction of trade in the Black Sea region—attempted to sever "transnational" connections among migratory communities.

Russian authorities readily acknowledged the threat posed by connections sustained between migrant groups settled on both sides of the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea frontier. For example, in 1830, a group of Nekrasovites from the village of Seriköy (one of many Nekrasovite settlements in the Danubian estuary) petitioned Russian military authorities for the right to resettle in Russia. During discussions among Russian military authorities in the Danubian Principalities, civil authorities in southern Russia, and imperial statesmen in Saint Petersburg concerning where to resettle this group of Nekrasovites, it was proposed that they be resettled in Bessarabia. However, some concerns were raised about the threat which the settlement of Nekrasovites in Bessarabia would pose to Russian security interests along the Prut and Danube rivers. It was argued that settlement in proximity to the Danubian estuary and Dobruja would allow Nekrasovites settled in Bessarabia to remain in close contact with what were termed "dubious elements" among Nekrasovite communities in the Ottoman Empire. Additionally, it was argued that Nekrasovite knowledge of the topography of the Danubian estuary and the Bucak steppe would allow Nekrasovite migrants to slip back and forth between the Ottoman and Russian empires undetected by Russian quarantine officials and border guards. To eliminate any risks posed by Nekrasovites as potential carriers of epidemic disease into the Russian Empire, it was ultimately decided that this Nekrasovite group would be resettled in Kerch on the far easternmost tip of the Crimean Peninsula.[60]

Ministry of Internal Affairs officials explicitly linked migration control with the suppression of infectious diseases in the Russian Empire. In 1829, in an article published in the first issue of the *Journal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs* titled "Brief Observations on Plague Compiled by the Medical Council of the Ministry of Internal Affairs," migrants were identified as the primary carriers of disease into and throughout the Russian Empire. In this article, the Ministry of Internal Affairs warned people living along the empire's southern periphery of the increased health risks associated with their geographic proximity to the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea frontier. Following a synopsis of the history of the spread of bubonic plague in the Russian Empire, the article asserted that borderland communities (or those areas where "many people come after crossing into the Russian Empire") were the most susceptible to deadly outbreaks of disease.[61]

During periods of heightened security, the Russian state moved to impose tighter administrative controls on migrant populations. In 1821, at the start of the Greek uprising against Ottoman rule, the Russian minister of internal affairs, V.P. Kochubei, ordered the governor-general of Novorossiya, A.F. Langeron, to temporarily suspend the processing of exit documents for Greek migrants in Odessa.[62] In 1832, a group of Bulgarian migrants in Silistre—many of whom had served the Russian army as volunteers in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829 and had initially been settled in Bessarabia—applied to Russian authorities for the right to return to their former homes in Ottoman Rumelia.[63] According to intelligence gathered while these migrants were in quarantine in Silistre, Russian authorities had reason to believe that some members of this migrant group had engaged in "cross-border" insurgency activity from bases in Silistre. Fearing further destabilization along the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea frontier and not wishing to antagonize Ottoman authorities in northern Rumelia during a period of warming Ottoman-Russian relations, Russian authorities denied several "suspicious" members of this Bulgarian migrant group permission to leave the Russian Empire.[64]

In step with these administrative controls, Russian quarantine officials routinely refused to honor travel documentation issued prior to a migrant's arrival at a Russian quarantine station. For example, in July 1830, a Bulgarian migrant from Islimiye (Sliven) named Dimitar Dimitriev arrived with his family at a Russian quarantine station on the Prut River. In possession of a *bilet* issued in Islimiye by a Russian army official as well as an attestation from the director of the Guardianship Committee for Foreign Settlers in the southern regions of Russia, Ivan Inzov, Dimitriev sought permission to enter and settle in the Russian Empire. Despite the fact that the *bilet* guaranteed Dimitriev and his family unhindered passage across the Prut River into the Russian Empire, he and his family were prevented from entering Bessarabia. According to a petition sent by Dimitriev to the governor-general of Bessarabia protesting his detention at the border, Dimitriev was told by Russian quarantine officials that his *bilet*, while valid for travel through the Danubian Principalities, did not conform to the documentation required to settle in the Bessarabian Oblast.[65]

The ineffectiveness of the Russian Empire's southwestern border with the Ottoman Empire

Despite the periodic implementation of measures designed to restrict migration in the Black Sea region, it can be argued that the Russian state struggled to effectively police its southwestern border with the Ottoman Empire. The inherent limitations of the Russian state's migrant documentation regime coupled with a lack of consensus (at all levels of Russian officialdom) on migration policy contributed to the ineffectiveness of Russian border control measures in the early part of the nineteenth century.

A variety of Russian state officials (military, civil, consular, and police) assumed the authority to issue travel and identity documents to migrants moving across the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea frontier. In the late 1820s and early 1830s, Russian consuls in Jassy and Bucharest issued *bilets* to Bulgarian migrants granting free and unhindered passage to designated settlement sites in southern Russia and Bessarabia.[66] In 1830, the Russian military governor in Dobruja, General Rogovski, distributed *bilets* to fifty-three Bulgarian families on their way from Varna to Bessarabia.[67] In the same year, the governor-general of Bessarabia authorized the distribution of *bilets* to Bulgarian migrants exiting Russian quarantines along the Prut and Danube rivers.[68] A variety of provincial-level authorities in Novorossiya and Bessarabia issued exit *bilets* to Bulgarian migrants returning to Ottoman Rumelia in the period between 1812 and 1835.[69]

The diffusion of *bilet*-granting authority among Russian officials resulted in the unauthorized issuance of travel documents to Ottoman merchants and migrants. For example, in 1809, the head of the Russian occupation army in the Danubian Principalities, General Prozorovksi, severely reprimanded his subordinate, General Major Issaev, for the unauthorized issuance of travel documents to Ottoman-Turkish merchants engaged in trans-Danubian trading activities. The issuance of these travel documents directly contravened an order Prozorovski had issued a few months earlier which prohibited Ottoman-Turkish merchants from trading in the Danubian Principalities.[70]

As an administrative innovation introduced to improve the management of migratory populations crossing into Russian territory, it can be argued that the overall effectiveness of the Russian state's travel documentation regime was minimal at best. Many migrants arrived, established households, and found work in southern Russia and Bessarabia without being in possession of a *bilet*.[71] In 1814, a Russian frontier commissioner stationed in Dubossar (near the lower reaches of the Dniester River) reported the seizure of seven undocumented Bulgarians who had fled from state lands and were caught roaming the Bessarabian countryside.[72] In 1816, an undocumented migrant was captured attempting to ford the Prut River and cross "illegally" from Bessarabia into the Principality of Moldavia.[73] And despite the frequent imposition of restrictions on migration across the Prut River, in the period from 1817 to 1819 local and town police officials in Bessarabia noted a large influx of migrant-settlers without proper travel or residence documentation.

The inability of provincial and local-level officials in Bessarabia to control the movement of migratory populations in the Black Sea region alarmed the more security-minded members of the Russian Empire's central government. In the late 1820s, the head of the Russian secret police, Count Alexander Benckendorff, dispatched an agent to Bessarabia to gather information on political developments along the empire's southwestern border and to track the movement and activities of migrants and other travelers entering Russian territory from Ottoman Rumelia and the Danubian Principalities.[74] This agent, G. Kobervein, quickly developed a network of informants in Bessarabia, the Danubian Principalities, and Ottoman Dobruja. In a packet of documents sent in May 1828 by Kobervein to Count Benckendorff, he included a detailed report filed by one of his Bessarabian-based informants M. Tuchkov. In his report, Tuchkov remarked that many foreigners (*inostrantsy*) lived and traveled freely in Bessarabia despite the fact that their passports had expired. Furthermore, Tuchkov observed, even those foreigners who did possess valid documentation rarely resided in the locales designated in their passports. Tuchkov blamed the laxity of the management of foreign populations in Bessarabia on the inadequacies and imperfections (*nesovershentsva*) of the local police.[75]

A lack of consensus on migration policy and the consequent oscillation in the implementation of migration regulations contributed to the ineffectiveness of Russian border control in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There were significant differences of opinion at all levels of Russian officialdom on the type of migration regime (open or closed), which would best suit Russian imperial interests. Questions such as the number and type of migrants who should be allowed to settle in the Russian Empire were debated and left unresolved. Some high-level Russian officials argued that the Russian state should only look to recruit skilled migrants who purposefully chose to migrate to the Russian Empire. Adopting a more humanitarian approach, others maintained that refugees fleeing the Ottoman Empire for noneconomic reasons were the most deserving of Russian protection.

In the 1760s and 1770s—during a period when the Russian state undertook its first concerted efforts to establish a comprehensive quarantine line in the south and southwestern parts of the empire—senior members of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs and Collegium of Manufactures voiced their opposition to the implementation of stringent quarantine regulations and the adoption of enhanced border security measures. These high-level state servitors argued that antimigrant initiatives would negatively affect Russia's international standing, harm relations with the empire's neighboring states, and (through the reduction of trade and trade diversion) result in lower customs receipts.[76] Similar concerns were raised in the 1820s during another round of quarantine construction along the empire's Black Sea frontier. Charged with protecting the security and stability of the Russian Empire, officials in the Ministry of Internal Affairs advocated tighter border control measures and longer quarantine periods.[77] Conversely, pro-trade officials in the Ministry of Finance argued strenuously for more open borders, shorter quarantine periods, and less stringent documentation for merchants.[78] Ministry of Finance officials were supported by large landowners and the heads of large industrial concerns, who viewed migrants as a ready source for agricultural and factory labor, and by Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials who were concerned about the effect closed borders would have on the conduct of Russian diplomacy.[79]

Ministerial rivalry and bureaucratic in-fighting, it can be argued, inhibited the development of coherent migration policies and contributed to the ineffectiveness of Russian border control measures in the 1820s and 1830s. Although the Ministry of Internal Affairs was charged with supervising and administering quarantines, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance shared responsibility for developing quarantine policies. Jurisdiction over the issuance of passports and the surveillance of foreigners on Russian territory was equally contested. From 1810 to 1819 a *Bureau des Étrangers* with the authority to issue passports and *permis de sejour* (residence rights) to foreigners existed within an independent Ministry of Police. This department was also charged with tracking, observing, and, when necessary, arresting and incarcerating foreigners traveling in the Russian Empire. In 1821, shortly after the transference of most of the duties of the Ministry of Police to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the still intact *Bureau des Étrangers* assumed administrative responsibility for regulating the naturalization process for foreigners accepting Russian subjecthood.[80] In this same period, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also assumed the right to issue travel permits to foreigners and a variety of nonpolice and non-Ministry of Internal Affairs officials appropriated the authority to administer the oath of allegiance to migrants resident in the empire.

Bureaucratic in-fighting in Saint Petersburg over the question of which type of migration regime best suited Russia's imperial interests placed undue burdens on provincial officials charged with the daily business of policing population movements in the Black Sea region. For example, as previously mentioned, in 1821 the governor-general of Novorossiya and Bessarabia, A.F. Langeron, received orders from the Russian minister of internal affairs, V.P. Kochubei, to suspend the issuance of travel documents to any Greek residents of Odessa seeking to cross into the Ottoman Empire. However, in a subsequent letter to Russian minister of foreign affairs, Count Nesselrode, Langeron admitted that in the interests of free trade he continued to provide travel documents to Greek merchants. Langeron rationalized his decision to flout Kochubei's orders by issuing travel documents only to Greek merchants in Odessa who could claim Turkish subjecthood. Langeron did note that, in the spirit of Kochubei's order, he had curtailed the issuance of travel documents to Greeks in Odessa who had accepted Russian subjecthood.[81]

The chronic disconnect among Russian state officials concerning the issues of migration and border control resulted in administrative confusion in the Russian Empire's southern provinces and contributed to the destabilization of the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region. The following example will illustrate this point. In the summer of 1830, many Bulgarian migrants applied for Russian exit documents to leave Bessarabia and return to the Ottoman Empire. Ivan Inzov, the Russian official in charge of managing trans-Danubian migrant settlements in Bessarabia, obliged and began to issue exit documents to these returnees. This action was opposed by various provincial and local-level officials in Bessarabia who feared that the issuance of exit documents to Bulgarian migrants would precipitate a potentially sizable out-migration of productive peasant populations. This led to a certain amount of hesitancy on the part of border officials as to whether or not they should honor exit documents issued by Inzov. As a result, many Bulgarian migrants were detained at the Russian border and soon began to riot as an act of protest against their detention. To resolve the confusion and ease tensions in Bessarabia, Mikhail Vorontsov, the governor-general of Novorossiya and Bessarabia, appealed to Saint Petersburg for clarification regarding the issuance of exit documents to Bulgarian migrants. In reply, the minister of foreign affairs Count Nesselrode advised Vorontsov that any migrants who had resided in the Russian Empire for a period of less than three years were to be denied exit documents. For provincial-level officials, this decision left open the question of what to do about those migrants who were merely expressing a desire to return temporarily to the Ottoman Empire to deal with personal or property matters or to engage in merchant or commercial activity. Count Nesselrode indicated that Russian law was silent on this topic.

Meanwhile, disturbances at the border and among disaffected Bulgarian migrant communities in Bessarabia increased. Flouting directives from Saint Petersburg, Inzov continued to issue Russian exit documents to Bulgarian migrants. And border officials continued to deny passage through border posts to Bulgarian migrants in possession of *bilets* signed by Inzov. These officials stated that they would only honor *bilets* issued by Governor-General Vorontsov. Finally, Vorontsov took it upon himself to issue exit documents to any Bulgarians who wished to leave the Russian Empire and return to the Ottoman Empire. He averred, however, that this activity should not be publicized and should be handled discretely. The result, nevertheless, was a large outflow of Bulgarians from the Russian Empire in the spring and summer of 1831.[82]

Conclusion

It can be argued that it was not really until the beginning of the 1830s—following the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829—that the Ottoman and Russian states were able to establish an effective border across their mutual Black Sea frontier. In the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), the Ottoman Empire agreed to the establishment of a comprehensive Russian-controlled quarantine line along the northern shore of the Danube River. Consisting of three main quarantine stations and five secondary quarantine posts, this quarantine line was reinforced by militarized observation posts and the deployment of Russian and Wallachian military personnel to enforce quarantine regulations. During the construction of this fortified and Russian-controlled Danubian quarantine line, General Pavel Kiselev wrote to his superiors in Saint Petersburg that “Our border will be on the Danube and we will defend this border against the spread of disease into the Russian Empire."[83]

The last word here, however, will go to the migrants. Despite the best efforts of Russian state servitors and border guards, Bulgarians on the move in the early 1830s were aware of, and sought out, the easiest points of entry into the Danubian Principalities. For example, in the fall of 1830, Russian officials in Wallachia received reports on a significant drop in Bulgarian migrant arrivals at the Kalaraşi quarantine and a significant increase in migrant arrivals at the Braila and Pioa Pietri quarantines.[84] The result of a shorter quarantine period and less stringent documentation requirements in Braila and Pioa Pietri as compared to those in force in Kalaraşi, this shift in the Bulgarian migratory pattern—as a counter to recently enacted Russian border security measures—typifies the ineffectiveness and futility of control-oriented migration policies in regionalized zones of interaction.

4

Reconstruction and Reconciliation: Migration and Settlement in the Early Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Balkans

> *Recently, my life and freedom were threatened by the Russian and Austrian Empires. The Turkish people, however, came to our rescue and provided us (me and my companions) with protection and care. With an elevated sense of respect for human rights, the Turks did not give into pressure and threats. In this way, the Turkish nation showed that it possesses great strength. Today and in the future, Turkey's actions will serve to benefit Europe and all of humanity. I will always be thankful and remember the kindness and respect I received from the Turks.*
>
> Lajos Kossuth to the English press (1851)[1]

Testimonials from migrants and refugees on the move in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are fragmentary at best. Therefore, the words of Lajos Kossuth—the well-known Hungarian lawyer, politician, and freedom fighter who, after the Hungarian revolution of 1848, found safe-haven in the Ottoman Empire from 1849 to 1851—will give voice to the anonymous and countless number of displaced (both Muslim and non-Muslim) individuals who found refuge in the Ottoman Empire in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Three topics dominate the historiography on population movements, migration, and settlement in the Ottoman Empire: (1) the Ottoman state's implementation of forced settlement projects in the early modern period (collectively known as the *sürgün usülü*); (2) migrations of both Ottoman and non-Ottoman subjects into the Ottoman capital of Istanbul; and (3) the migration and settlement of Muslim populations (primarily Crimean and Nogay Tatars) in the Ottoman Empire.

Alternately defined as a system of “deportation,” “coerced or compulsory resettlement,” or “population transfer,” the Ottoman *sürgün usülü* focused primarily on the deportation of populations from central and southeastern Anatolia and their forced resettlement in northern Rumelia.[2] Discussions of the Ottoman *sürgün usülü* emphasize the state-directed and security-oriented nature of Ottoman migration and settlement initiatives.[3] Histories of the Ottoman *sürgün usülü* often extend into the modern period as the Ottoman state continued to pursue the sedentarization of nomadic elements (*aşiretler*) in Anatolia well into the early part of the nineteenth century.[4]

Across the Ottoman centuries, guildsmen, merchants, and peasants from the Rumelian and Anatolian countrysides continuously circulated through Istanbul. These “internal” migrations figure prominently in nationalist historiography as migrants moving from the provinces into the Istanbul contributed to the formation of ethnic-national communities in the Ottoman capital.[5] Additionally, from Sephardic Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal in the second half of the fifteenth century through the arrival of Muslim-Turkic intellectuals and students from the Caucasus and Central Asia around the turn of the twentieth century, Istanbul served as a migration magnet for those in search of refuge, economic opportunity, or the space to articulate their political views.

When addressing migration and settlement in the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries, historians tend to focus on the migration and settlement of Muslim populations (primarily Crimean and Nogay Tatars) in the Ottoman Empire. In these discussions, a heavy emphasis is placed on the migration of Crimean Tatars and Circassians from the Russian Empire and their settlement in Dobruja and Rumelia in the period following the conclusion of the Crimean War (1853–1856).[6]

Following a brief discussion of the state-directed and security-oriented *sürgün usülü* in the early modern period, this chapter will explore Ottoman migration initiatives in the first half of the nineteenth century. Focusing on the varied responses of provincial and local-level Ottoman officials in Rumelia to the sizable return migrations of Ottoman *reaya* from the Russian Empire in the early part of the nineteenth century, this chapter will explore the linkage between the settlement of returning *reaya* populations from the Russian Empire and the Ottoman state’s administrative reform and economic revitalization efforts in its Balkan provinces in the period following the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829. By concentrating on migration and settlement initiatives in the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldvia) and Ottoman Rumelia, this chapter will shift the historiographical ground away from the focus on migration and settlement in Istanbul and Anatolia. Together with a discussion of Crimean and Nogay Tatar population movements into the Ottoman Empire, the settlement of non-Muslim migratory groups (principally Bulgarians, Nekrasovites, Russian Old Believers, and Zaporozhian Cossacks) will be addressed.

Early modern migration and settlement in Ottoman Rumelia and Dobruja

Drawing upon Roman and Byzantine colonization practices, the Ottoman state—as part of an overall imperial strategy adopted during its expansionary era from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries—frequently engaged in the forced, large-scale, and centrally planned removal and resettlement of nomadic and migratory populations to newly conquered frontier territories. Known in aggregate as the *sürgün usülü* these removal and resettlement operations served a variety of penal, political, and military purposes, including the punishment of brigands and petty criminals, the re-establishment of public security and public welfare (*asayiş*) through the settlement and exile of rebellious populations to distant frontier territories, the movement of large numbers of people from overpopulated to underpopulated lands, the sedentarization of nomadic populations, the construction of roads, post-stations, and bridges along the empire's key transportation arteries, and the establishment of military settlements and fortresses along the empire's expanding frontier.[7]

Starting in the fourteenth century and continuing into the sixteenth century, the Ottoman state deported nomadic tribes en masse from Anatolia to northern Rumelia and Dobruja.[8] Settled along the Ottoman Empire's Black Sea frontier, Turcoman nomads (*yürüks*), under the direction of Ottoman officials, were re-formed into settled military servitors (*müsellem*).[9] These *yürük* settlements, which often included large Crimean Tatar noble families and their retinues, contributed to the formation of administratively defined frontier zones (*uç*) north of the Rodope and Balkan mountain ranges.[10] Although no specific or reliable numbers are available for the total number of settlers transferred from Anatolia to Rumelia, it is estimated that in the sixteenth century Muslims constituted 25 percent of the overall population in Ottoman Rumelia.[11] According to Ottoman registers, by the seventeenth century Muslims outnumbered non-Muslims by a ratio of 2:1 in northern Rumelia and Dobruja.[12]

Following the identification by the Ottoman state of towns which were to be subject to resettlement operations, local *kadılar* (district governors) and *Subaşılar* (police officials) were tasked to select individual families for deportation to Rumelia. Generally speaking, one out of every ten households was selected and deported. The deportees' names, family information, and occupational history were written down in a special register. Specific officers (*sürgün subaşısı*) were assigned to oversee the movement and resettlement of deportees from Anatolia to Rumelia. In order to promote economic development in newly conquered lands, the Ottoman authorities often selected wealthy merchants and skilled craftsmen for resettlement. Economic, religious, and social institutions were established in lands selected for resettlement. These state institutions formed the nucleus for subsequent population settlements and, in turn, promoted voluntary migrations from other parts of the empire to underpopulated or strategically important lands.[13] Continuing into the early eighteenth century, this migratory process resulted in an uninterrupted corridor of Turkic-Muslim populations extending north from Istanbul, through eastern Rumelia and Dobruja, to the Crimean Tatar lands north of the Black Sea.[14]

By the eighteenth century, *sürgün*-type operations in Rumelia and Dobruja (at least at the level and intensity of those undertaken during the empire's expansionary era) were no longer a recognizable feature of the Ottoman Empire's migration regime. Confronted by large-scale and unauthorized population movements in the Black Sea region, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Ottoman state servitors in Wallachia, Moldavia, Rumelia, and Dobruja adopted migration and settlement policies that oscillated between the confrontational (i.e., interdiction and forced returns of migratory populations) and the assimilatory (i.e., the provision of material benefits and the extension of tax privileges to migrants and settlers).

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Ottoman officials frequently imposed restrictions on population movements into and out of the Danubian Principalities. In 1753, in an effort to protect the peasant population of Wallachia from bandit activity, the *kadılar* of Filibe (Plovdiv) and Silistre (Silistria) prohibited travel to and from Wallachian territory with the exception of merchants engaged in the all-important provisioning (*zahire*) trade between the Danubian Principalities and Istanbul.[15] In 1772, several groups of peasants who had been forced to flee from Tutrakan (on the Danube River between Silistre and Rusçuk) to Wallachia during the early stages of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774 were denied permission to return to their hometown.[16] In 1788, as part of Ottoman preparations for warfare with the Russian Empire along the

Black Sea frontier, the Ottoman *kadı* in Lofça (Lovech) directed Ottoman military commanders in Wallachia and Moldavia to crack down on "undocumented" migrants (*fermansız kimslerin*) moving into the Danubian Principalities.[17]

Similarly stern measures were applied to migratory populations during the period of the Greek uprising in the 1820s. Ships carrying non-Muslim passengers or employing non-Muslim (*gayr-ı müslim*) sailors were prohibited from plying the Rumelian Black Sea coast.[18] Serbian, Greek, Bulgarian, and Albanian peasants in the Danubian Principalities who refused to comply with orders to relocate south across the Danube were forcibly removed and resettled in Ottoman Rumelia.[19] Ottoman authorities—concerned with the possible presence of revolutionaries and outlaws hiding among displaced peasant populations—harried mixed migrant-rebel groups along the Prut River border and imposed restrictions on the flow of population movements from Russian-controlled Bessarabia into Moldavia and Wallachia.[20]

On occasion, Ottoman raiding parties crossed into Russian territory in pursuit of exiles and migrants. These "international" incidents precipitated extended diplomatic negotiations between Ottoman and Russian officials. The Ottoman Porte pressured Saint Petersburg to extradite (Russian—*vydavat*) and remand suspected Greek rebel leaders (as well as their Bulgarian, Albanian, and Serbian supporters) to Ottoman authorities in the Danubian Principalities. Russian authorities generally resisted these entreaties—arguing that these migrants were entitled to asylum (*asile*) on Russian territory.[21]

Top-down directives concerning the control or interdiction of migratory populations diverged from the reality of the situation in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region. Ottoman servitors in Wallachia and Moldavia often found themselves overwhelmed by large-scale (and uncontrollable) migratory movements through the Danubian Principalities. In the late eighteenth century, peasants, brigands, and fugitives (to the frustration of Ottoman border guards and customs collectors) moved easily across the Prut River from the Principality of Moldavia into the Bucak and the northern Black Sea steppe.[22] During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, Ottoman-Russian skirmishes south of the Balkan mountain range forced large numbers of peasants to seek refuge in the western Black Sea port-city of Varna. The influx of refugees from the Rumelian interior overwhelmed the city's municipal services and Ottoman civil (*muhafız*) and military (*seriasker*) officials in Varna struggled to accommodate and provision displaced populations.[23] During the Greek uprising of the 1820s, criminals, fugitives, and rebels evaded Ottoman border control and found safe haven outside the Ottoman Empire.[24]

In the period during and immediately after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774, Ottoman officials experimented with pro-migration initiatives that over time evolved into the core components of the Ottoman state's reconstruction and resettlement programs in Rumelia. These measures included the extension of tax exemptions and amnesties to migratory populations, direct financial assistance to settlers, and the undertaking of joint-resettlement initiatives with provincial-level Russian officials posted in the Black Sea region. For example, during the opening stages of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774, the Ottoman Grand Vizier (Ivazzade Halil Pasha)—in an effort to forestall peasant disturbances and prevent the out-migration of productive agriculturalists in the strategically and economically important area between Galatz and Jassy (Iaşi)—issued a *ferman* to the *kadı* of (Ruse) authorizing a five-year tax exemption for all peasants. Additionally, the *ferman* authorized the *kadı* of Rusçuk to extend amnesty to any peasants previously charged with engaging in criminal activities.[25] In 1770, Polish exiles and refugees resettled in Varna received direct financial assistance (in the form of a per diem) from the Ottoman treasury.[26] And following the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774, Ottoman officials in the Danubian fortress-town of Yergöğü (Giurgiu) coordinated with their Russian counterparts on the provision of assistance to peasants displaced during the war.[27]

The settlement of Crimean and Nogay Tatars in the Ottoman Empire

As a geographical extension of the Eurasian steppe and the terminus of an ancient migration route, Dobruja had long served as a settlement site for migratory populations of Crimean and Nogay Tatars. According to the Romanian historian Nagy Pienaru, Ottoman Sultan Bayezid Yıldırım (reigned from 1389 to 1402)—as part of his campaign to secure Ottoman control over the Danubian region in the 1390s—recruited displaced Tatar groups to settle and defend Varna.[28] Bulgarian historians estimate that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries roughly 50,000 Crimean Tatars migrated to and settled in Dobruja.[29] In the mid-1600s, the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi recorded the presence of over 200 Tatar villages in the Bucak and described Dobruja as a completely Turkish-Muslim region.[30] In 1689, in the midst of a long war with the Austrian Empire, the Ottoman Empire invited a 30,000-man Crimean Tatar army to take up defensive positions in Dobruja and northern Rumelia. Many of these troops ultimately stayed in Dobruja and took up permanent residence in the Ottoman Empire.[31]

By the late 1700s, a semi-independent Crimean Tatar vassal state (under the nominal jurisdiction of the Ottoman *Vali* in Rusçuk) had been established in the Bucak and an estimated 15,000–20,000 Crimean and Nogay Tatar households had been settled along the Dniester River.[32] Manpower drawn from these populations helped shore-up the Ottoman state's dwindling military capacity in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region. Tatars were deployed as border guards and *zaptiyes* (gendarmes) in the strategically important northeastern Rumelian zone and Nogay Tatars were employed to watch and defend roads and passes in and around the fortress-towns of Akkerman and Ismail.[33] In the period after the Russian annexation of the Crimean Khanate (1783), Turkish agents and Turkish spies were active on the Crimean Peninsula and engaged in clandestine smuggling operations of Crimean Tatar migrants. Plying the Crimean coast at night, boats manned by Ottoman agents brought Crimean Tatar migrants to safety in the Ottoman Empire. These efforts proved successful in encouraging large numbers of Crimean Tatars to migrate to the Ottoman Empire.[34]

Between 1783 and the start of the Crimean War in 1853, tens of thousands of Nogay and Crimean Tatars settled in Dobruja. In this period, Dobruja was commonly referred to as Little Tartary (*Küçük Tatarstan*).[35] The German geographer G. Hassel calculated that in 1822, 60,000 Tatars lived in the Ottoman Empire.[36] By the 1860s, it was estimated that roughly 80,000–100,000 Tatars lived in the Danubian region of the Ottoman Empire.[37]

In general, Crimean Tatar settlements in Dobruja were self-governing units and within these settlements a hierarchy developed over time that differentiated between notables (*ayanlar*) and the majority peasant population—known in Bulgarian historiography as "Muslim *reaya*" (*Miusiulmanska raia*). Crimean Tatar nobles assumed hereditary-like rights over key government posts in the *eyalets* of Rusçuk and Silistre and noble Crimean Tatar families controlled large estates in Dobruja and eastern Rumelia (around the towns of Yanbolu, Karnobat, and Islimiye). However, by the late eighteenth century the privileges enjoyed by noble Tatar families in Dobruja and eastern Rumelia (which were derived primarily from their claims of Chingizid descent) had fallen into desuetude and the status of Tatar *Ayans* in the Ottoman Empire's overall sociopolitical structure resembled that of any other bureaucratic servitor posted to the provinces.

In their capacity as provincial governors in Dobruja and eastern Rumelia, Tatar *Ayans* controlled and administered to sizable *reaya* populations including many Bulgarian agriculturalists. Bulgarian historiography (which on balance takes a negative view of Crimean Tatar overlordship in Ottoman Bulgaria) identifies a few positive examples of Crimean Tatar rule in the early part of the nineteenth century. Crimean Tatar overlords were capable of imposing law and order and protecting *reaya* populations from the depredations of brigands and bandit groups. For example, Khan Murza, a Tatar noble established in Çatalorman, responded to appeals from victimized *reaya* populations in the town of Potur by dispatching soldiers to ward off criminals, brigands, and cattle thieves.[38] Mesud Giray, the *Ayan* of the Varbitsa district near Shumen, took an interest in the Orthodox Christian religion and supported church construction on lands under his control. Ahmed Giray, an *Ayan* in the area of Karnobat, displayed an impartial (and at times tolerant) attitude toward Bulgarian populations in his charge—allowing them to live their lives according their traditions and customs and actively resisting pressure to engage in Islamicization campaigns in *reaya*-populated towns and villages.[39]

The experience of one Bucak-Tatar group settled in the Ottoman Empire after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812 typifies the dynamic nature of migration and settlement in the Black Sea region in the early part of the nineteenth century. Following the Russian annexation of Bessarabia in 1812, large numbers of Tatar-Muslim migrants from the Bucak were resettled in the environs of the western Black Sea port of Varna.[40] After a fifteen-year period of relative calm during which many of these Bucak-Tatar settlers found work as merchants and guildsmen in Varna, in 1828 many of the same Tatar families displaced from the Bucak to Varna in 1812 were confronted again by the vicissitudes of Ottoman-Russian warfare.

Unlike many Tatar-Muslim refugees who immediately fled south toward Istanbul and Anatolian towns (such as Eskişehir) ahead of the advancing Russian army during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, a significant number of individuals in the previously settled Bucak-Tatar group opted to stay in Varna. As part of a larger force of Muslim-Tatar irregulars pressed into service to defend Varna against a Russian siege, they were ultimately taken prisoner following the Russian occupation of Varna on October 10, 1829. Extended Ottoman-Russian negotiations concerning the disposition of nonregular army combatants produced an agreement in which many of the prisoners were exchanged for a group of female slaves and the personal possessions of the Ottoman commander of Varna Siroz Yusuf Paşa. As part of this agreement, roughly 840 of Varna's Tatar-Muslim residents were boarded on three ships and dispatched for resettlement in the southern Black Sea coastal town of Ahyolu (Ankhialo, Pomorie). While these refugees were en route to Ahyolu, Ottoman provincial authorities, anticipating continued Russian advances toward Edirne, decided to divert the refugee-laden ships to Istanbul to spare this group of refugees another round of displacement. On November 19, 1829, the three ships filled with refugees from Varna (minus a good number of infants and elderly who died of disease en route) docked in Galata harbor in Istanbul. The Tatar-Muslim refugees were registered by port authorities and assigned resettlement sites in the Ottoman capital (mostly in the Büyükdere district). An examination of the *defter* that was used to record the biographical and background information of these refugee arrivals shows that a fair number of these refugees had originally migrated from the Bucak to Varna during and after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812.[41]

The settlement of Nekrasovites, Russian Old Believers, and Zaporozhian Cossacks in the Ottoman Empire

> Our ancestors (who were service Cossacks and were known as Nekrasovites) left their fatherland and moved to the Turkish Empire. There the ruling Sultan decreed that our ancestors should be allotted good lands that would be useful to them and where they could be productive. In a later decree issued to their relatives and successors, these privileges were confirmed for all Nekrasovites establishing new settlements in the Turkish Empire. Our ancestors and their children proved useful and the Benevolent Sovereign of the Ottoman Porte decreed that our ancestors should not pay any taxes. They did not suffer any hardships and only during times of war did Cossacks serve the Turkish army.

Excerpt from a letter from a Nekrasovite group in the Ottoman Empire to the Russian General Ivan Inzov in Bessarabia (1821)[42]

Following the 1707 Bulavin uprising in the Russian Empire, a mixed Cossack-Russian Old Believer group (known as Nekrasovites after the name of their leader Ataman Ignata Nekrasy) fled south toward the Black Sea coast and settled under the auspices of the Crimean Khanate in the Kuban region and around the mouth of the Don River. Most of this Nekrasovite group—joined by a large number of other *raskol'niki* (dissidents and religious schismatics)—ultimately migrated into the Danubian estuary in the second and third decades of the eighteenth century.[43] Here Nekrasovites received protection from the Ottoman state and, according to the terms of a *ferman* issued by the Ottoman Sultan

Ahmed III (reigned from 1703 to 1730), the right to settle freely on Ottoman lands. In return for this privilege, Nekrasovite settlers in the Ottoman Empire were expected to serve in the Ottoman army.[44] Nekrasovites continued to migrate into the Ottoman Empire over the course of the eighteenth century—particularly in the period after the Russian annexation of the Crimean Khanate in 1783.

Known to the Ottomans as *ignat, ağnad,* or *anad kazaklar* (all variations on the first name of Ignata Nekrasy), Nekrasovites established three main settlements in the Danubian estuary (in Seriköy, Dunavets, and Beştepeler). Nekrasovites also settled in large groups on Ottoman lands around the Dobrujan towns of Babadağ, Maçin, Tulça, and Hirsova and in towns along the Black Sea coast including Balçık and Varna. During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1786–1792, Nekrasovite groups found refuge in Danubian port-fortresses and ultimately established permanent settlements in Ismail, Kilia, and Silistre.[45]

The exploration of the itineraries of Russian Old Believer communities moving between the Ottoman and Russian empires, textual analysis of the conflation of warfare and tourism in the diaries and memoirs of Russian military officers who traveled and served in the Ottoman Balkans, and investigation of the multiple and varied encounters among Russian military officers and Old Believers outside of the Russian Empire offer a perspective on the question of "Russianness" or Russian identity in the early modern period and highlight the connection between movement and the making (or remaking) of imperial space in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In emigration, Nekrasovite-Old Believer groups in the Ottoman Empire managed to sustain their language, political organization, occupations, attire, religious beliefs, and cultural traditions. Coming upon a Nekrasovite community settled near a Greek monastery in the vicinity of Babadağ in 1828, a Russian military officer remarked, "They are Russians in every sense of the word. They dress and have beards like Russians. They wear blue and red shirts. They have clear eyes and speak a pure Russian. Their huts and dwellings … are like those in our Motherland. It is amazing. The appearance they have preserved is almost exactly like the appearance of a Russian."[46] In the same year, upon approaching a Nekrasovite settlement near Köstence, a Russian soldier observed, "Here are Nekrasovites—who have settled on almost the entire shore of the Danube River. They are Russian Old Believers, who migrated here during the reign of Peter I. They have preserved to this time their beliefs and customs, their former attire, and their clean Russian dialect."[47]

Following a short period of settlement in and around the Danubian estuary, many Nekrasovite groups engaged in a secondary migration from northern Rumelia to Anatolia. In the wake of the Russian occupation of the Danubian estuary and Dobruja during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, a Nekrasovite group relocated (*hicret etmek*) to Manyas (north of Balıkesir) in Anatolia.[48] Despite their secondary migration to Anatolia, this Nekrasovite group enjoyed many of the same rights conferred during their original Danubian settlement including exemption from fishing licenses and relief from duties on fish caught in nearby Lake Iznik.[49] One group of Nekrasovites found their way to the mouth of the Çarşamba River in the Yeşilırmak delta (on the southern coast of the Black Sea). Upon arrival, this Nekrasovite group was placed under the jurisdiction of the *Vali* of Trabzon and received financial assistance from the Ottoman state.[50] Nekrasovites also established a settlement called Toprakköprü near the modern-day city of Karacabey (southeast of Bandırma in northeastern Anatolia).[51] Additionally, Cossack groups (most likely Nekrasovite but possibly Zaporozhian) found refuge in the central Anatolian city of Konya and in Enos (Enez—south of Edirne on the Aegean Sea near the Gulf of Saros).[52]

Loyal subjects of the Ottoman Sultan, Nekrasovites fought against the Russians in the Russo-Ottoman Wars of 1768–1774, 1786–1792, 1806–1812, and 1828–1829.[53] Their Russian language abilities were prized and Nekrasovite soldiers, acting as spies and double agents, provided important battle-field information on the disposition and material condition of Russian forces.[54] Not surprisingly, Nekrasovite brigades—usually under the command of an Ottoman-Turkish officer—were mostly deployed in the Danubian estuary or around key Danubian fortresses such as Ismail. Here, they harried Russian troops and conducted effective guerilla operations in the confused riverine terrain of the estuary.[55] In close action skirmishes with Ottoman forces, the appearance of Russian-speaking adversaries contributed significantly to battlefield confusion and, ultimately, Russian losses.[56] In a Russian military report analyzing the martial qualities of non-Muslim brigades in the Ottoman army, Nekrasovite servitors were described in the following manner: "they have proven to be reliable and trustworthy forces. They are generally deployed to forward posts and utilized for important military actions. Their hatred of Russia is extreme."[57] Dr. Zeidlits, a German physician assigned to review the Russian army's anti-disease measures during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, articulated the Russian soldier's general opinion of Nekrasovites in the Ottoman army when he remarked after inspecting a group of prisoners that "among the captives were some Nekrasovites and Raskolnikovs—who had earlier escaped from persecution in Russia. They are the Russian soldier's worst enemies. They do not give any quarter and are constantly ambushing the Russians. They cause harm in every way."[58] Considering Nekrasovite and Zaporozhian Cossack servitors in the Ottoman army to be "half-civilized barbarians," Russian soldiers slandered the character of the "bloody, unfaithful Old Believers," and disparaged the "blood-thirsty hatred of Nekrasovites toward Russians."[59]

On the home front, Nekrasovites were utilized to pacify peasant disturbances in the Danubian Principalities and to interdict bandit groups attempting to cross the Danube from Rumelia into Wallachia and Moldavia.[60] Reflecting the trust Ottoman authorities placed in Nekrasovite loyalty and military skill, many Nekrasovite groups were attached to the personal retinue of Ottoman provincial governors. In one case, the commander of the Ottoman army in Ismail drew on central treasury funds to support a private army of 400 Nekrasovite soldiers.[61]

Reflective of a latent and persistent longing for "home" embedded within the culture of migrant diaspora communities, a certain number of Nekrasovites in the Ottoman Empire pursued the option of returning to the Russian Empire in the period following the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, during the time of the Greek uprising in the 1820s, and after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829. In the first part of the nineteenth century, new Nekrasovite settlements were established near Akkerman and Rostov-on-the-Don.[62] Nekrasovite returnees dismantled their wooden churches, carried the planks by land and sea to southern Russia, and resurrected the churches in their new settlements in the Russian Empire.[63] Despite these return migrations, significant numbers of Nekrasovites remained permanently in the Ottoman Empire and, together with other Russian Old Believer communities, continued to form a recognizable ethnic-religious group in modern-day Bulgaria.[64]

Nineteenth-century European demographers and geographers consistently estimated that the total "Russian" population in European Turkey was about 10,000.[65] However, there are a few deviations from this statistical conformity. For example, in 1873, the Prussian vice-consul in Sarajevo, Carl von Sax, estimated that 15,000–20,000 "Russian" settlers lived in northern Dobruja. These "Russians," von Sax remarked, were part Orthodox, part Old Believer (*altgläubige—starovierci*), part *Lipovaner* (a term generally used to identify mixed Nekrasovite-Old Believer groups in Ottoman Rumelia), and part Protestant.[66] And, after analyzing figures produced by the Ottoman census of 1875–1876, the French academic A. Ubicini figured that 32,000 Cossacks and 18,000 *Lipovans* lived in European Turkey. Interestingly, when categorized by religion (rather than "race") this same population of 50,000 was reproportioned into 9,000 Cossacks and 41,000 Old Believers (*Staro-Viertzi*).[67] This statistical re-composition is as good an indication as any of the difficulty nineteenth-century demographers and geographers had in differentiating between Russian Old Believer and Cossack communities in the Ottoman Empire. The Bulgarian historian Stoyan Romanski used the terms "Great Russians" and "Lipovani" interchangeably, and in his estimates of the number of Nekrasovite-Old Believer communities in Dobruja the Bulgarian historian Stilian Chilingirov resorted to the all-encompassing appellation *Lipovani Ruski Staroobriadtsi Nekrasovtsi*.[68]

In the Ottoman Empire, Nekrasovites occupied a socioeconomic status akin to that enjoyed by certain non-Muslim populations (*muaf ve müsellem reaya*) who, in lieu of tax payments, provided military, transport, and construction-related services to the Ottoman state.[69] In return for their loyalty and obligatory military service to the Ottoman state, Nekrasovites expected to be allowed to live their lives according to their rites and customs, to practice their religion freely, and to construct churches and monasteries.[70] The terms of this "contractual" relationship between Nekrasovite settlers and the Ottoman state was codified in a Sultanic decree (*hüküm*) issued in 1774. A good deal of the official Ottoman state correspondence concerning the settlement of Nekrasovites in the Ottoman Empire dealt with issues concerning the perceived encroachment on these closely guarded rights.[71]

For their livelihood, Nekrasovites looked to the Ottoman state to ensure and protect their fishing rights in the Danubian estuary (along the Bortica, Hızırilyas, and Sünne channels) and hunting and pasturage rights on the Dobrujan plain. Nekrasovite-Old Believer communities prospered in the Ottoman Empire. According to one Russian eye-witness, "by nature sober and hard-working they have acquired wealth amongst the Turks. Nekrasovites prefer to engage in agriculture and for a good price sell their products in Turkish towns and villages. In their free time they fish in the Danube. This fish they sell for a good profit."[72]

Nekrasovite tax exemptions were subject to periodic renewal and Nekrasovites maintained their privileged tax status in the Ottoman Empire into the 1860s.[73] Renewal certificates issued to Nekrasovite leaders (*Atamans*) formed part of the Nekrasovites' formal regalia and in 1830 Nekrasovite returnees to the Russian Empire carried with them 14 Sultanic and 31 Grand Vizierial renewal certificates, to be used, perhaps, as bargaining chips in ongoing discussions concerning the rights and responsibilities of resettled Nekrasovite communities in southern Russia.[74] As late as 1834, despite the submission of a formal request from the Ottoman provincial administrator in Babadağ to normalize the taxation of Nekrasovites settled in Dobruja, Nekrasovites retained their relief from the *cizye*, *avarız*, and *ispenc* tax assessments.[75] Indicative of a standard empire-wide approach to Nekrasovite settlements, tax exemptions were renewed at the same time for all Nekrasovite groups settled in the Ottoman Empire—including those in Anatolia.[76] By the 1860s and 1870s, Nekrasovite groups had been stripped of their social and economic privileges and their social status relegated to the general (and larger) category of *reaya*.[77]

Nekrasovites who settled in the Danubian estuary intermingled with other groups fleeing Russian state control including Zaporozhian Cossacks and Russian Old Believers. Collectively, these settlers formed a socioterritorial group known to Russian military officers as "the Mouth-of-Danube Cossacks" (*Ust'-Dunaiskoe Kazachestvo*).[78] However, territorial proximity and a shared exile experience did not lead to harmonious relations among Nekrasovite and Zaporozhian groups in the Ottoman Empire. In 1775, the settlement of 5,000 Zaporozhians in and around the Nekrasovite town of Dunavets provoked intense competition between Nekrasovites and Zaporozhians for access to the richest fishing areas in the Danubian estuary.[79] In 1792 and 1793, the settlement of Zaporozhians in established Nekrasovite districts in the towns of Hirsova and Silistre resulted in widespread disturbances forcing the *Vali* of Silistre to designate lands outside of Hirsova and Silistre as alternative settlement sites for Zaporozhians.[80]

Known to the Ottomans as *Potkali* or *Pankali Kazaklar*, Zaporozhian Cossack settlers in the Ottoman Empire received many of the same privileges and exemptions extended to Nekrasovite settlers.[81] Grateful for the refuge which they found in the Ottoman Empire, Zaporozhian Cossacks frequently turned out in large numbers for Ottoman military service.[82] For example, Zaporozhian Cossacks in the area of Ochakov (Özi) rallied to the Ottoman banner at the start of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1786–1792 and were joined by Zaporozhian forces called up from Edirne.[83] According to the *Vali* of Silistre, Zaporozhian troops provided extraordinary (*fevkalade*) service to the Ottoman Empire in defending the Danubian estuary against incursions by Russian forces during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1786–1792.[84] Zaporozhians were utilized to harry bandits (*dağlı eşkiyaları*) hiding out in the mountains south and west of Hirsova and Silistre and were deployed to suppress Serbian rebel activity in 1817.

Financial support for Zaporozhian troops was drawn from taxes collected from *reaya* populations in the Danubian Principalities and Rumelia. In one instance, proceeds from the *cizye* levies (a capitation tax on non-Muslim subjects) were utilized to equip 50 squads (*bölükler*) of Zaporozhian soldiers (a total of 2,000 troops). Formed in a nonwar year (1802), these Zaporozhian troops may have acted as a type of standing army in the Danubian Principalities or, like their Nekrasovite brethren, utilized for general and ongoing pacification operations during the *Kŭrdzhalisko Vreme*.[85] Zaporozhian troops drawn from settlements in the Hızırilyas channel received funds (*ulufe*) for the maintenance of their horses and they were provided with monthly allowances (*mahiyeler*) during their extended and successful defense of Bucharest at the start of the Greek uprising.[86]

The Ottoman state's response to Bulgarian out-migration

Up until the first few decades of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman response to Bulgarian out-migration from Ottoman Rumelia to the Russian Empire and the Danubian Principalities focused on interdiction and forced return. In 1802, responding to large-scale out-migrations of *reaya* populations to Wallachia at the height of the *Kŭrdzhalisko Vreme*, the Ottoman Grand Vizier in Istanbul ordered all provincial commanders and officials (in Rumelia and the Danubian Principalities) to force migrants who had left the Ottoman Empire within the last ten years to return to their hometowns and villages.[87]

At the local level, various measures were adopted to stem Bulgarian out-migration and to secure the return of Bulgarian migrants to the Ottoman Empire. For example, in May 1805, a large group of Bulgarian migrants attempting to cross the Danube into Wallachia were detained by an Ottoman customs official (*mitnichar*), stripped of their belongings, and ordered to return to their homes in Rumelia.[88] In a similar vein, harbor officials in Danubian ports such as Tulça and Isakçı searched the holds of arriving ships for "illegal" Orthodox Christian migrants.[89] Ottoman provincial governors in northern Rumelia dispatched raiding parties across the Danube River into Wallachia to seize and forcibly return Bulgarian migrant families.[90]

These types of operations did not always go as planned. In the Danubian Principalities, many Bulgarian migrants who had fled north of the Danube during the time of the Greek uprising refused to comply with orders demanding their return.[91] Tacitly acknowledging the difficulties involved in tracking and seizing elusive migrant populations in the Black Sea region, Ottoman migration and settlement policies gradually acquired a more nuanced (and pro-migrant) character in the first few decades of the nineteenth century. From 1801 to 1805 and in 1813, Bulgarian return settlers were offered comparatively more rights and privileges than those normally extended to *reaya* populations in the Ottoman Empire.[92] Following the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, an Ottoman servitor in the Danubian Principalities interceded with Russian civil and military authorities in Wallachia on behalf of 1,500 Bulgarian families who had expressed their desire to return to their homelands in Rusçuk (Ruse) and Lofça (Lovech). Following extended negotiations, Russian authorities in Wallachia acceded to Ottoman entreaties to provide *bilets* (migrant travel documents) to these Bulgarian families—effectively authorizing their return migration to Ottoman Rumelia.[93]

In an ad hoc manner, officials and military commanders posted in the Black Sea region reacted to the realities of local conditions by engaging in "unauthorized" pro-migrant operations. In 1801, despite orders from Istanbul to provincial commanders posted along the Danube River to arrest and return refugees and migrants to their hometowns in Rumelia, an Ottoman port administrator in Galatz (carrying the rank of *Tüfekcibaşı*) decided to allow arriving migrants to find temporary quarters among the residents of Galatz.[94] In 1802, the recently installed commander of the Ismail and Kilia fortresses, Mehmed Pasha, actively recruited Bulgarian migrants to take up residence in and around these strategically important (and still heavily damaged) Ottoman fortress-towns. In return for their relocation, Mehmed Pasha extended an offer of a two-year tax exemption to all Bulgarian settlers.[95] Typifying the nuanced approach of the Ottoman state toward the management of migratory populations in the early part of the nineteenth century, Nogay Tatar populations moving between the Bucak and Dobruja were forcibly returned to their previous settlements, while equally mobile Bulgarian populations were assisted in finding new settlement sites that suited their own interests and needs.[96]

In the 1830s, Ottoman officials in Rumelia were tasked by Sultan Mahmud II (reigned from 1808 to 1839) to cross the Danube into Wallachia and recruit Bulgarian migrants to return to the Ottoman Empire.[97] These agents were authorized to disburse funds to any migrants opting to return to the Ottoman Empire, to offer full amnesty to potential returnees, and to inform migrants of anticipated administrative and political reforms in Rumelia.[98] Although expected to propagandize among migrant populations throughout the Danubian Principalities, Ottoman agents focused most of their efforts on migrant populations settled in the Danbuian port-city of Galatz. Here Ottoman agents were able to convince 500 Bulgarian families to return to the Ottoman Empire.[99] Ottoman agents or mediators (*aracılar*) were often seconded to Ottoman state service by the Rum Patriarchate. These officials, many of whom spoke fluent Bulgarian, distributed funds to assist Bulgarians with their passage back from the Russian Empire to the Ottoman Empire.[100]

Pro-Turkish elements existed in many of the Ottoman diaspora communities in the Black Sea region and were especially prevalent among migrant populations in the Danubian Principalities and Bessarabia. These Ottoman "sympathizers" provided material and logistical assistance to Ottoman recruitment agents.[101] In one controversial episode, pro-Turkish elements operating among the Bulgarian migrant community in Bessarabia bribed corrupt Russian officials to procure exit documents for Bulgarians wishing to return to the Ottoman Empire.[102]

Resettlement and reconstruction in Dobruja and Ottoman Rumelia after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829

During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, significant fighting along the Danubian front and north of the Balkan Mountains resulted in severe and widespread destruction in the core Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The damage inflicted (both physical and demographic) on Ottoman Rumelia in 1828 and 1829 was compounded by the siege of important economic and population centers (including Silistre and Varna), the Russian military occupation of Dobruja and most of Rumelia, and evacuation operations conducted by the Russian army following the signing of the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829. Velko Kiriuv, a Bulgarian migrant traveling through Dobruja to the Russian Empire in 1830, described the devastation caused by the war in the following manner: "when we passed through Dobrich on the way to Bessarabia the land was bleak and everything was deserted (Bulgarian—*pusto*) and in ruins (Bulgarian—*razvalini*)—we did not see any villages that were left intact."[103] The German doctor Ziedlits, while traveling through Rumelia (from Shumen to Edirne) in 1829 similarly observed that "everything around here is deserted and uninhabited (*pustynia*). After travelling a few more *versts* we came across a village that was completely abandoned."[104]

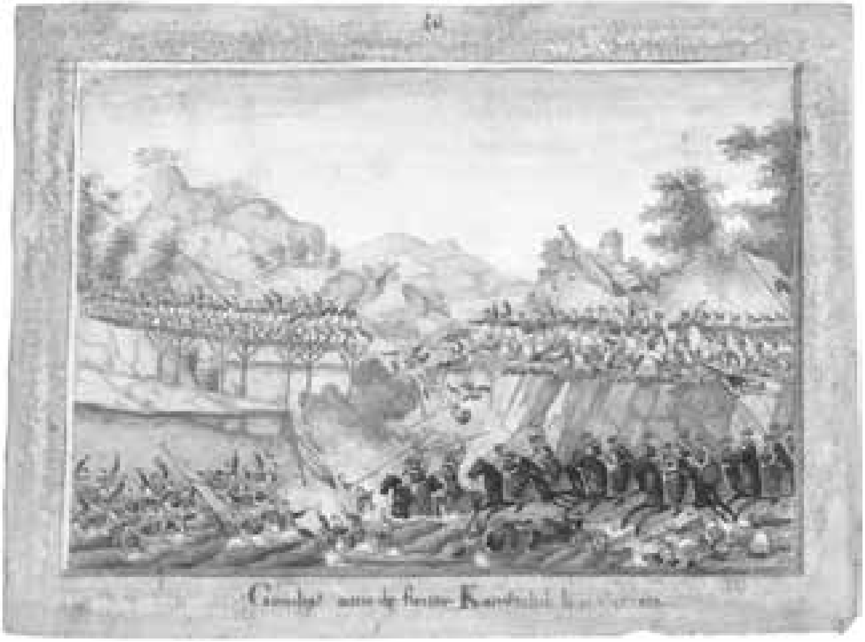


Figure 4.1 The battle on the River Kamchik on October 15, 1828. Photo by Fine Art Images/Heritage Images/Getty Images.

In large measure, economic imperatives—including the repopulation of vital agricultural lands and the reinvigoration of the industrial, commercial, and mercantile enterprises of non-Muslim subjects—necessitated the Ottoman state's adoption of pro-migration policies in postwar Dobruja and Rumelia. By the mid-eighteenth century, most of the grains (especially wheat) destined for the Istanbul market were grown in Dobruja—a commercial relationship cemented by deteriorating political ties between Egypt (a long-standing grain exporting center) and the Sublime Porte. Besides grains and cereals, ships bound for Istanbul from Dobrujan and eastern Rumelian ports carried large quantities of salt, butter, lumber (*kereste*), felts, wax, and tallow. The Stranja (a mountain massif east of Sizebolu known to the Ottomans as the *Yıldız Dağları*) produced wood valued by Ottoman architects, builders, and engineers. Renowned for the high quality of its pasturage lands, Dobruja was an ideal locale for the rearing of cattle, horses, buffalo, and sheep. The Danubian Principalities supplied large numbers of sheep to the Istanbul market and Moldavian oak was used extensively in the Ottoman ship-building industry.[105]

Trade fairs (Bulgarian—*panairi*) flourished in eighteenth-century Dobruja and Rumelia. Large weekly, monthly, and seasonal fairs in Islimiye, Uzundzhovo (near Haskovo), Hacıoğlu Pazarcık, Mangalia, Karasu (Chervena Voda), Eski Juma (Turgovishte), and Babadağ drew buyers and sellers from the countryside, regional traders from Rumelia, and merchants from Anatolia.[106] For example, the Islimiye fair (held every May) drew merchants from all of European Turkey as well as long-distance traders from Smyrna (İzmir), Sinope, and Trebizond (Trabzon).[107] At its height the large annual fair in Uzundzhovo drew 50,000 people over a forty-day period.[108] Smaller peripheral fairs (staged in Tutrakan, Pravadi, and Balçık) specialized in locally grown agricultural goods. These local fairs performed an important economic function by providing an outlet for excess agricultural production.[109]

The outbreak of Russo-Ottoman hostilities in 1828 and the Russian army's advance on Edirne in 1829 disrupted economic activity in Dobruja and Rumelia and—by prompting the significant out-migration of agriculturalists and skilled laborers to the Russian Empire—drained the Ottoman Empire of vital human capital. The out-migration to the Russian Empire of many skilled *reaya* workers from the towns of Midye, Vize, and Pinarhisar resulted in a marked drop in output at the important Ottoman armaments foundry (*dökümhane*) in Samakocuk (Demirköy).[110] Additionally, the targeting by Russian military and civilian officials of ship-builders, master wood-workers, and dockyard laborers for resettlement in Russian Black Sea ports severely reduced the number of naval and merchant marine vessels produced in Ottoman shipyards in the early 1830s. These losses were compounded by the out-migration of many Ottoman sailors and oarsmen who had traditionally been recruited from Greek and Bulgarian seafaring populations along the Black Sea coast. Replacements drawn from towns and villages in the Rumelian interior lacked necessary experience and skills—further frustrating Ottoman efforts to revitalize merchant activity in the Black Sea region following the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829.[111]

Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, trusted officials were dispatched from Istanbul to re-establish public order and security (*asayiş ve emniyet*) in the Rumelian countryside and to assess conditions for the resettlement of displaced populations.[112] Reports filed by these officials attested to the devastation and near-anarchic conditions in postwar Ottoman Rumelia.[113] Roving bands of armed brigands (the remnants of volunteer forces organized by the Russians during the war) pillaged vulnerable peasant populations. Cossack groups (bivouacked in occupied Rumelian towns and villages to guard supply lines) plundered unarmed *reaya* populations—especially in the area around the Black Sea port of Burgas.[114] Reports filtered in on rising intercommunal violence between Christian and Muslim peasants.[115]

On behalf of *reaya* populations under their charge, municipal authorities (*nahiye ayanları*) pleaded with Ottoman military officials to take action against roving criminal gangs.[116] In response to these pleas, orders were issued to all Ottoman military commanders in Rumelia to investigate the reasons for disorder in the Rumelian countryside, to take measures to restore law and order among *reaya* populations, and to provide security guarantees to migrant and displaced populations who were wavering in their commitment to the Ottoman Empire and were contemplating out-migration to the Russian Empire.[117] Specific orders included the stationing of 2,000 Ottoman troops in Edirne, the deployment of Ottoman troops in vulnerable towns and villages in eastern Rumelia, and the dispatch of soldiers to escort migrant *reaya* populations returning from the Russian Empire.[118]

In developing plans for the reconstruction and revitalization of postwar Ottoman Rumelia, the Ottoman state solicited the input of local non-Muslim elites. Committees (*nasihat heyetleri*) composed of respected local representatives were formed and their recommendations passed along to provincial officials.[119] In Edirne, the Ottoman *kadı* convened a council composed of the Rum Metropolitan, the Armenian Patriarch, and a senior Jewish Rabbi to discuss ways to reduce intercommunal violence and promote the settlement of displaced populations.[120] Along the Black Sea coast (around Ahyolu, Misevri, and Sizebolu), town priests (*Papaslar*) and non-Muslim elites (*Çorbacılar*)[121] submitted letters and petitions to senior Ottoman officials in Samakocuk.[122] Grievance letters (*arzuhallar*) sent to provincial administrators by town priests (*Papaslar*) and village headmen (*Kocabaşlar*) were compiled and summarized in reports forwarded to the Grand Vizier's office in Istanbul.[123]

Information gathered from local populations and compiled by provincial officials contributed to the formulation of state-organized projects to promote the resettlement of displaced *reaya* populations in Ottoman Rumelia. The resettlement program rolled out by the Ottoman state in the period after the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829 offered an array of practical and material incentives to check out-migration and lure potential return migrants from the Russian Empire. This incentive or benefits-based approach to migration and settlement signaled a departure from the types of forced settlement and coerced sedentarization operations which defined the early modern *sürgün usülü*.

Pro-migrant reform measures implemented by the Ottoman state in Rumelia after 1829 included the rationalization of the taxes imposed on peasant populations (as means to reinvigorate economic activity in the postwar Balkans); a crackdown on corrupt tax-farmers (*mültezimler*); administrative reforms to improve the delivery of resettlement services; the extension of material benefits, administrative assistance, and tax exemptions to return migrants; and an offer of amnesty to any Bulgarians who had sided with the Russians during the war.[124]

Lands vacated by Bulgarian out-migrants were converted into *mülk* status (effectively private ownership) and placed under the guardianship of village headmen. Income and rents from these lands were set aside and used as an incentive to promote the return migration of agriculturalists to Ottoman Rumelia and Dobruja.[125] In 1833, returnees to Islimiye were offered a two-year exemption from *cizye* (a regular-levied capitation tax) and a one-year exemption from any *tekalif-i örfiye* (irregular and extraordinary tax) levies. In the same year, returnees to the village of Papaslı (near Plovdiv) received a two-year break from all *tekalif* taxes. This offer was sweetened in 1834 as Bulgarian migrants in Bessarabia were offered not only the standard two-year relief from *cizye* but exemptions from all other taxes in perpetuity in exchange for returning to their former homes in Islimiye and Yanbolu.[126] As indicated in a report filed by a Russian consular official in Islimiye, Bulgarian *reaya* populations were not above using the threat of out-migration to extract increased financial assistance and enhanced tax privileges from the Ottoman state.[127]

The basic components of the post-1829 Ottoman resettlement plan were published in the form of a declaration or *beyanname* to the subjects of the Ottoman Empire and distributed among *reaya* populations in Rumelia.[128] This public proclamation of a set of defined rights and privileges accorded to a specific group of non-Muslim subjects (i.e., returnees from the Russian Empire) anticipated—by roughly a decade—the radical redefinition of the relationship between the Ottoman state and its *reaya* subjects as articulated in the well-known Gülhane Rescript of 1839.[129]

Provincial and municipal-level officials were given a certain amount of latitude to implement resettlement initiatives befitting the realities of local conditions. For example, the Grand Vizier in Istanbul authorized the *Kaymakam* of Edirne to adjust his local tax assessments to reduce financial burdens on recently resettled peasant populations. In making these adjustments, the *Kaymakam* of Edirne relied heavily on the input of *Kocabaşlar* from the towns and villages surrounding the city.[130] In certain jurisdictions, *kadılar* dismissed all legal claims (*davalar*) filed by Muslims seeking compensation for property damaged or goods seized by non-Muslims during the war.[131] In Islimiye, a group of *reaya*—in exchange for agreeing to return to their original residences—extracted funds from the local treasury for the reparation of a neighborhood church.[132] In an effort to promote the return of *reaya* from the Danubian Principalities to their former lands just south of the Danube River, the *Vali* of Silistre offered exemptions from *cizye* and other taxes (*cizye ve vergiden muafiyetleri*).[133] In a similar vein, Ottoman officials posted along the southern shores of the Danube River offered to pay any debts incurred by Bulgarian return migrants during their period of emigration in the Danubian Principalities.[134]

The Ottoman state looked to the Greek Rum Patriarchate for support in dissuading Orthodox Christian peasants from leaving the Ottoman Empire.[135] Greek prelates were dispatched to villages on the Black Sea coast to intercede with Bulgarians contemplating out-migration to the Russian Empire.[136] In February and March of 1830, the Rum Metropolitan in Edirne traveled to Yanbolu and Islimiye to implore peasant populations in eastern Rumelia to remain in the Ottoman Empire.[137] Additionally, prominent and well-to-do Muslim-Turkish townspeople also appealed to their Bulgarian neighbors (and fellow Ottoman subjects) to remain in the Ottoman Empire and contribute to the reconstruction and rehabilitation of their Rumelian homeland.[138]

Ottoman officials encouraged *reaya* populations in the Ottoman Empire to communicate with their co-religionists (*dindaşlar*) in the Black Sea diaspora regarding the favorable economic and resettlement conditions in postwar Ottoman Rumelia.[139] Non-Muslim elites (*Çorbacılar*) in Rumelia penned laudatory accounts of the Ottoman state's pro-migrant initiatives. These accounts emphasized the generosity (*cömertlik*) and empathy (*anlayış*) of the Ottoman state. Bulgarian returnees wrote letters to family members, fellow villagers, and kinsmen in the Russian Empire describing the assistance provided by the Ottoman state to resettled populations.[140] Expectations that the dissemination of the details of the Ottoman resettlement program would promote sizable return migrations from the Russian Empire were bolstered by Ottoman intelligence reports highlighting the difficulties faced by Bulgarian settlers in Bessarabia.[141]

Agriculture had been the mainstay of the prewar economy in Dobruja and Rumelia and the majority of Ottoman migrant and settlement initiatives in the early 1830s were focused on revitalizing this important economic sector. A significant drop in grain production and the store of cereals in Rumelia was directly linked to the anxiety, skittishness, and ongoing displacement of *reaya* populations.[142] One month after the signing of the Treaty of Adrianople (and following an investigation of lands vacated by Russian occupation troops), the Ottoman Grand Vizier approved a 20,000 *kuruş* disbursement to *reaya* populations in the heavily damaged *kaza* of Yanbolu. These monies were allocated for the purchase of sheep and seeds and were intended to jump-start agricultural activity in postwar eastern Rumelia.[143]

In Dobruja, Bulgarian returnees found fertile lands and a supportive local administration. For example, in 1831 in the village of Sargül (near Tulça) local Ottoman officials welcomed the return of Bulgarians from Bessarabia and encouraged (through material and economic incentives) their resettlement in Dobruja. The assistance provided to Bulgarian returnees by a pro-active local Ottoman administrator in Dobruja by the name of Hasan Pasha resulted in a small population boom around the Dobrujan town of Kasapköy (Sinoe—near Babadağ) in the 1830s.[144]

Dobruja experienced an impressive demographic and economic revival in the 1830s.[145] This revival was the product of sound local administration, a lack of significant intercommunal violence, fertile agriculture land, and a geographically central location astride Ottoman-Russian trade routes. Two telling metrics attest to this revival: the significant increase in church construction in Dobruja in the 1830s; and the reorganization of trade fairs in Dobrujan market towns. Prior to the outbreak of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, only fifteen churches existed in all of Dobruja. By the late 1830s, an additional twenty churches had been constructed in Dobrujan towns.[146] In 1830, Islimiye staged its important trade fair for the first time since 1827.[147] Likewise the annual fair in Eski Juma (Turgovishte) was revived and, over the course of the 1830s, the Eski Juma fairgrounds developed into a permanent trading complex of 1,200 stands and shops. Under the direction of the local Ottoman administrator Rashid Ağa, the Eski Juma fair attracted an international clientele—hosting merchants from Austria, England, France, Prussia, Holland, Russia, and Sweden. By the mid-nineteenth century, the autumn trade fair in Karasu was attracting roughly 35,000–40,000 visitors per annum.[148]

An analysis of migration between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries offers an opportunity to speculate on the evolving conceptualization of territorial sovereignty in the Black Sea region. Although short-changing Ottoman diplomatic sophistication and down-playing Ottoman officialdom's awareness of shifts in the international balance of power, the perception that the early modern Ottoman state delineated the world into two religious and ideologically based spheres of influence—that is, the *Dar ül-Harb* (House or Abode of War) and the *Dar ül-Islam* (House or Abode of Islam)—has become a standard (and entrenched) concept in Ottoman historiography. From the early 1700s to the mid-nineteenth century, however, a series of geopolitical recalibrations (as codified in various treaties signed by the Ottoman state with the Austrian and Russian empires) compelled Ottoman political elites to adhere to a more Westphalian (or "European") conception of territorial sovereignty.[149] According to Virginia Aksan, the signing of the multilateral Treaties of Karlowitz (1699), Passarowitz (1718), and Belgrade (1738) "required Ottoman bureaucrats to abandon (or modify) the idealized image of the boundless (ever-expanding) borders of empire, and the idea of 'temporary' and unilateral peace treaties, for fixed boundaries driven by 'permanent' peace and trade instruments that essentially lasted until the end of the empire."[150]

The Ottoman state's shift toward a more territorially based approach to its conduct of international relations is evident in early nineteenth-century Ottoman-Russian diplomatic correspondence concerning migratory populations, in the wording of centrally issued decrees and directives regarding resettlement operations in Ottoman Rumelia, and in the measures taken by provincial and municipal-level state servitors to manage migration in the Black Sea region. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the significant increase in the movement of *reaya* populations from the treaty-defined territory of the Ottoman Empire to the treaty-defined territory of the Russian Empire *and* their eventual return in large numbers to Ottoman Rumelia contributed to a division in the development of the Ottoman state's migration policies between those geared toward external (or "international") migrants and those geared toward the sedentarization and management of internal (or "domestic") populations.

Conclusion

Three topics have traditionally dominated the historiography surrounding population movements, migration, and settlement in the Ottoman Empire: (1) the Ottoman state's implementation of forced settlement projects in the early modern period (collectively known as the *sürgün usülü*); (2) migrations of both Ottoman and non-Ottoman subjects into the Ottoman capital of Istanbul; and (3) the migration and settlement of Muslim populations (primarily Crimean and Nogay Tatars) in the Ottoman Empire in the period following the conclusion of the Crimean War (1853–1856).

Following a brief discussion of the state-directed and security-oriented *sürgün usülü* in the early modern period, this chapter highlighted the Ottoman state's adoption of pro-migration policies in the first half of the nineteenth century. It focused on the varied responses of local and provincial-level officials in the Ottoman Balkans (Rumelia) to the sizable return migrations of Ottoman agriculturalists (*reaya*) from the Russian Empire in the early part of the nineteenth century. It explored the linkage between the settlement of returning populations from the Russian Empire and the Ottoman state's reconstruction, administrative reform, and economic revitalization efforts in its Balkan provinces in the period following the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829.[151]

Along these lines and as a counter to nationalist historiography, I examined the process whereby the Ottoman state in developing plans for the reconstruction and revitalization of postwar Ottoman Rumelia solicited the input of local non-Muslim elites. Committees composed of respected local representatives were formed and their recommendations passed along to provincial and imperial-level officials. These local-level inputs informed and drove imperial-level reform agendas in the early part of the nineteenth century. By focusing on the settlement of migrants and refugees along the periphery of the Ottoman Empire and by foregrounding the role of local and municipal-level state authorities in the management of migration in the Ottoman Empire, this chapter offered a contribution to the developing field of provincial studies in Ottoman imperial historiography.[152]

This chapter highlighted the extensive amnesties and privileges offered by the Ottoman state to Bulgarian return migrants in Rumelia in the early part of the nineteenth century.[153] Here, I argued that the extension by the Ottoman state of a set of defined rights and privileges for a specific group of non-Muslim subjects (i.e., Bulgarian return migrants from the Russian Empire) anticipated—by roughly a decade—the radical redefinition of the relationship between the Ottoman state and its subject populations as articulated in the Gülhane Rescript of 1839.[154]

5

“Instruments of Despotism” (I): Quarantines, Travel Documentation, and Migration Management in the Ottoman Empire

This chapter will analyze the nexus between epidemic disease, human mobility, and the Ottoman state in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Drawing upon Ottoman, Bulgarian, and Russian archival sources, as well as Bulgarian, Russian, and western European travel accounts, it will argue that in the 1830s and 1840s, the Ottoman state—in the wake of a prolonged period of warfare and decentralization in Rumeli—expanded quarantine construction as a means to surveil and reassert central control over displaced and migratory populations in the Balkans.

The first section of this chapter will survey epidemic diseases in the Ottoman Balkans in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It will highlight how and in what ways disease-induced displacements resulted in the formation of new population settlements and alterations in the human geography of nineteenth-century Rumeli. The second section will explore the evolution of multiconfessional rituals and ceremonies staged to stave off death and disease and examine the development of “traditional” anti-disease and communal policing initiatives in the towns and villages of the Balkan countryside.

The third section will analyze Ottoman initiatives to contain epidemics in the first half of the nineteenth century, focusing particularly on the role of lazarets (pest houses) and quarantine complexes as institutions of migration management and social control. This chapter will argue that early nineteenth-century Ottoman quarantines rapidly evolved into all-purpose border posts where trade goods were inspected, customs collected, currency exchanged, criminals and fugitives surveilled, intelligence gathered, and migrants and refugees registered and provided with travel documents.

Overview of epidemic diseases in the Ottoman Balkans

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, few parts of Rumeli and the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia or, roughly, modern-day Romania) were spared the ravages of epidemic diseases.[1] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, outbreaks of what we believe to be plague lasted, on average, 1.5 years in the Balkans.[2] Depending upon various factors (including topography, settlement patterns, population density, and travel and transportation networks) plague spread outwards from Ottoman urban centers (principally Istanbul) at a rate of around 1 kilometer per day (or 200–400 kilometers per year).[3] At the start of the eighteenth century, an outbreak of infectious disease in Zağra-i Atik (Stara Zagora, in central Bulgaria) reduced the population of the town, through death and flight, by half.[4] Rusçuk (Ruse, in northern Bulgaria) was visited by the plague in 1703 as was Arbanasi (north of the Balkan Mountains near Turnovo) in 1729, Bender (astride the modern Moldovan-Ukrainian border) in 1737, Karasu in 1739, and Jassy (Iaşi, near the current Romanian-Moldovan border) in 1753.[5]

Generally temperate meteorological conditions, increased trade and migratory connections, regular outbreaks of Russo-Ottoman warfare, and a series of anomalous natural events (including a string of early and warm springs and high levels of seismological activity) made the Ottoman Balkans and Danubian Principalities a particularly active zone for the spread of diseases in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As textiles, hides, and grains constituted a particularly conducive breeding environment for fleas and rats, the primary method for the long-range spread of the disease between human populations was through trade in wool, silk, cotton, grains, and the personal effects of merchants, migrants, and soldiers.[6] Dislocations and displacements caused by exogenous shocks to the normal patterns of life (i.e., earthquakes and floods) devastated already rudimentary levels of sanitation and—through reductions in food intake—severely compromised human immune systems.[7] These exogenous shocks extended the life cycles of epidemic diseases and increased fatality rates.

From 1789 to 1795, a sustained plague epidemic in Filibe (Plovdiv, in central Bulgaria) killed an estimated 10,000 people—or roughly 33 percent of the town's population.[8] In 1795, a Bulgarian émigré in Craiova (in modern-day Romania) wrote to a relative in Rumelia that a plague epidemic had struck the town, ten people were dying per day, and all economic activity had come to a standstill.[9]

Outbreaks of epidemic disease in the years from 1813 to 1815—known in Bulgarian historiography as the period of the *Goliamata Moria* (great plague)—were particularly devastating. In the words of one individual who survived an outbreak of plague in Rumelia in 1814, "from east to west the plague killed half the world. The plague had come before, but never killed as it does now."[10] The majority of the population of the Dobrujan town of Vister (in northeastern Bulgaria) succumbed to plague in 1814—resulting, ultimately, in the disappearance of this town from later maps.[11] In the summer of 1814, roughly 50–60 people died per day in Stara Zagora. By September 1814, roughly 5,000 (around 25%) of the town's inhabitants had died of plague.[12] And in 1816, 5,000 inhabitants of Focşani (in Ottoman-controlled Moldavia) died of the plague.[13]

In the 1820s and 1830s, cholera and plague combined to produce a particularly powerful epidemiological threat to populations in the Ottoman Balkans.[14] From 1828 to 1829, plague and cholera epidemics struck the Black Sea and eastern Rumelian towns of Varna, Sliven, Aytos, Karnobat, Ahyolu (Pomorie), Burgas, and Sizebolu (Sozopol).[15] Victims of disease constituted the majority of the 17,000 inhabitants of Varna who died during the Russian siege of the key Black Sea port-city in 1828. Overwhelmed grave-diggers in Varna hastily buried thousands of corpses in the early winter mud and snow, exposing—during the spring thaw in 1829—a landscape of protruding limbs and half-buried bodies in the fields around Varna.[16] In 1833, a cholera epidemic in the Macedonian town of Bitola killed over 400 people.[17] By the mid-1800s, a graveyard existed in Plovdiv (at the base of Cambaz Tepe) dedicated solely to the victims of early nineteenth-century plague epidemics.[18]

The economic, military, and security-related consequences of epidemic disease in the Ottoman Empire

> *Chuesh li za chuma, Biagai v shuma* ("If you feel the plague coming, flee to the forest")[19]

For many Ottoman subjects in the Balkans, flight (for safety and to escape social ostracism) was the common initial response to the outbreak and/or contraction of an epidemic disease. These disease-induced displacements disrupted the collection of taxes, inhibited the recruitment of soldiers, and contributed to lawlessness and a breakdown in public order in the Ottoman Empire's Balkan provinces.[20] During the prolonged period of warfare with the Russian Empire in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in particular, outbreaks of infectious disease reduced Ottoman military preparedness and hampered the state's war-making capabilities. For example, during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774, large-scale desertions among soldiers stationed in the strategic Danubian estuary fortress-town of Isakçı were, to a certain extent, the consequence of a plague epidemic.[21] During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1786–1792, a severe outbreak of plague in Anatolia forced the Ottoman state to grant various municipalities exemptions from troop contribution obligations.[22] In Sivas and Tavas (southwestern Anatolia), plague reduced Ottoman recruitment levies by half.[23] In 1801, famine and accompanying plague in Alasonya *kaza* (in Morea) compelled the local *kadı* to exempt the population of the *kaza* from providing auxiliary troops for the Ottoman army.[24] Following the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, the inability to collect revenue in northern Rumelia impeded the Ottoman's ability to repair fortresses along the Danube River.[25] And in 1814, the displacement of many of the skilled factory workers employed at an important Ottoman weapons manufacturing facility in Islimiye resulted in a shortfall in the plant's monthly output of armaments.[26]

Periodic outbursts of public disorder accompanied the appearance of epidemic disease in Ottoman cities. In 1831, rumors that an American ship docked in Istanbul was infected with cholera resulted in the boarding of the ship by an unruly mob and the killing of three American sailors.[27] Steps taken by the Ottoman state to curb the spread of disease often produced civil unrest in urban environments. In the late 1830s, the Aegean port-city of Kuşadası experienced significant rioting in opposition to the implementation of quarantine and sanitation measures. In response, the Ottoman government published articles emphasizing the religious permissibility of quarantines and the benefits to society of improved sanitation. In the 1830s and 1840s, quarantine guards and *zaptiye* (gendarmerie) units were repeatedly dispatched to locations convulsed by plague-induced riots.[28]

Society's response to the spread of epidemic disease

In his memoirs, a Hungarian military commander (*başbuğ*) in the service of the Ottoman army recounted the following story he heard while over-nighting in the Dobrujan town of Karasu (Cherna Voda):

> Late at night four men with hoes and shovels came to the yard of an Orthodox priest and began to dig and throw earth as if they were making a grave. When he heard the noise at his door, the priest came outside and asked what these men were doing. They replied that they were burying a corpse. The priest asked that they dig the grave elsewhere, but the men kept on digging. The priest pondered the situation and asked if the corpse had died of the plague. Yes, the diggers replied, he died of the plague. Scared, the Priest offered the men three bottles of wine if they agreed to dig their grave elsewhere. They kept digging. The priest offered four jugs of wine then five. While this bargaining was taking place the Priest observed that the men had placed the corpse on a plank. Growing ever more scared, the Priest noticed that the digging of the grave had been completed. At this point the leader of the grave-diggers told the Priest that if he gave them five jugs of wine, they would bury the corpse somewhere else. The poor Priest, relieved and feeling saved, gave them the five jugs. The Priest secretly followed the men to see where they were carrying the corpse. With amazement, he saw that the corpse was no longer on the plank, had joined the men, and was drinking wine. The Priest did not know whether to laugh or cry. He had been swindled.[29]

As revealed in this vignette, the appearance and spread of epidemic diseases fostered an atmosphere of heightened anxiety among *reaya* populations in Ottoman Rumelia. In response to outbreaks of epidemic disease, local communities turned to time-honored "traditional" anti-disease measures. Developed over centuries, these local mechanisms drew upon practical experience acquired in response to local environmental and social conditions.

Ottoman subjects relied upon home remedies and superstition to ward off the plague. In the Balkans, villagers heaped piles of dung in front of their homes and smeared their doors with tar as a preventative measure against the plague.[30] According to legend, Roma rarely contracted disease because they tended to live in smoky houses. The burning of rags and garbage became, therefore, a common response to the appearance of plague.[31]

Preventive measures sometimes included ritual offerings as plague was often depicted as a mythical personage (most often in the form of a female demon). As a defense against the plague, Bulgarian women frequently placed offerings to "Old Woman Plague" (*Baba Chuma*) in their village's central square. A typical offering to *Baba Chuma* would include one roasted chicken, a bottle of wine, two shoes, and a cane. Other ritualistic defenses against the plague included sacrificing a bull, killing a blackbird, or walking over the roots of an old tree. The residents of the village of Gintsi (near Sofia) used herbs from the town of Izlas (at the confluence of the Danube and Olt rivers) as a fumigant against plague. The Olt–Danube confluence, it was believed, was the site (in biblical times) of an appeal made by the Angel Gabriel to the demon Plague to spare humanity from the ravages of all diseases.[32]

Bulgarian subjects of the Ottoman Empire turned to prayer and religious devotion to ward off the contraction of disease. On February 10—a day otherwise known as "Plague Day" (Bulgarian—*Chumniden*) or the "Day of Good Health" (Bulgarian—*Praznik za Zdrave*)—Balkan villagers would carry a special vessel filled with honey to the local church. Bread dipped into honey would be distributed to the children of the village to protect them from disease.[33] An active Christian devotional movement dedicated to prayer and sacrifice as a defense against disease existed in Ottoman Rumelia. Centered on Kharalambos (*Хараламбос*), the patron saint of and defender of plague victims, adherents to this movement believed that the relics of Kharalambos were capable of warding off disease.[34] One verse attributed to Kharalambos read in part "wherever one finds my relics and wherever people honor my memory there will be no hunger or plague or ruinous vapors. In these places there will be peace, health, and a feeling of security. In these places there will an abundance of wheat and wine and a multitude of beasts of burden."[35]

In certain localities in Ottoman Rumelia, multiconfessional rituals and ceremonies were organized and performed to stave off death and disease. For example, in the mixed Christian-Muslim village of Trunchovitsa (near Pleven), anti-disease rituals involved an elaborate ceremony of sacrifice to the "Goddess of Plague" (*Boginiata Chuma*) performed to allay the Goddess' anger and to divert her attention away from the village. On the day of the ceremony, so-called "prophets of plague" advised the villagers of Trunchovitsa to fast and avoid the use of fire. Surrounded by all the villagers and inside of a space formed by the circling of wagons and carts, religious leaders from Trunchovitsa's three confessional communities (Islam, Catholicism, and Eastern Orthodoxy) performed a common liturgy and read aloud a common prayer to protect the village from disease. Following the ceremony, the villagers would throw a specially baked bread (unleavened and mixed with honey) from their carts into the center of the enclosure.[36]

Community policing measures were adopted to curb the spread of disease in the Rumelian countryside. Houses deemed to be infected by plague were doused in vinegar, limed, or, in extreme cases, demolished.[37] Houses constructed out of straw and plaster were destroyed and stone houses built in their place. In the 1830s, entire neighborhoods in Turnovo were cordoned off and entry and exit to quarantined neighborhoods severely restricted. A red rag or fur hat (*kalpak*) flown from the roof of a house indicated to townspeople that an inhabitant had died of the plague. Town residents often appealed to municipal authorities to forcibly isolate neighbors suspected of being infected with plague.[38]

In an echo of contemporary anti-disease initiatives, religious and societal authority figures appealed to the masses to attend to their personal cleanliness and touted the benefits of good personal hygiene as a preventive measure against disease. During the official opening of a new school in Plovdiv in 1834, the Greek Patriarch Kiril exhorted the students to clean themselves before coming to school in the morning and to strive, on a daily basis, to keep themselves, their clothes, and their books as clean as possible. And in the appendix of a Bulgarian phrase book published in 1835, the publisher (Khristaki Pavloviç) opined that "for everyone health was the most important matter. Keep your hands, and face, and whole body clean. And for the best results, use running water instead of bathwater."[39]

Plague-induced displacements resulted in the formation of new population settlements and significant alterations to the human geography of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ottoman Rumelia. For example, on several occasions in the late eighteenth century, the town of Karnobat—upon the appearance of the plague—effectively dissolved and reformed several kilometers distant from the town's original site. Many residents of the town of Stara Zagora (Zağra-ı Atik) preferred to ride out plague epidemics in makeshift settlements in the Balkan Mountains.[40] Caves, monasteries, and earthen dugouts provided temporary refuge from plague-infested areas. Plague-free "quarantine villages" were established in the Rumelian countryside—usually in the environs of Bulgarian monasteries. For example, with the appearance of the plague in the early summer of 1837, frightened residents from the towns of Karlovo, Kazanlŭk, and Stara Zagora erected a fortified camp in the environs of the Kalofer Monastery (located in central Bulgaria about 70 kilometers north of Plovdiv). No one was allowed to enter or leave the grounds of the camp and strict measures were adopted to disinfect imported food and supplies. In the fall—after the virulence of the plague had dissipated—the camp was dismantled and the inhabitants of the camp returned to their hometowns.[41] And, in 1837, after wandering the countryside for about one month, the Saroğlu family (consisting of a father and three sons) came upon the small settlement of Kemallar (located about 100 kilometers southwest of Silistre). Here the Saroğlu family opted to settle permanently. Around a mosque constructed soon after their arrival, the Saroğlu family ultimately formed the nucleus of a new neighborhood (*mahalle*) in Kemallar. This new neighborhood was called Saroğlu. Another new *mahalle* in Kemallar was formed around the subsequent settlement of the extended family of another plague-displaced Turkish migrant, Efendi Danadzhi. Like the Saroğlular, the Danadzhiler built a stone mosque in their "part of town."[42]

The state's response to the spread of epidemic disease

As conventionally understood, comprehensive sanitation, anti-disease, and quarantine measures were introduced in the Ottoman Empire in the late 1830s. According to this narrative, the Ottoman Empire—under pressure from the west and as part of the Tanzimat modernizing projects undertaken by Sultan Mahmud II—called upon European experts to provide technical assistance and guidance in drafting policies and regulations to check the spread of disease in the Ottoman Empire.[43] While a central part of any discussion of Ottoman anti-disease programs, a narrow focus on the European contribution to the development and implementation of the Ottoman quarantine system in the 1830s and 1840 shortchanges the long history of the Ottoman state's domestic anti-disease initiatives and overlooks the important and forward-looking quarantine-like projects undertaken during the reign of Sultan Selim III (reigned from 1789 to 1807). Indeed, during multilateral negotiations at the Congress of Vienna in 1814 concerning the adoption of cooperative international efforts to curb the spread of disease, Ottoman officials—satisfied with the anti-disease measures already in place in the Ottoman Empire—rejected Austrian pressure to shore up the *cordon sanitaire* along the two empires' common Balkan frontier.[44]

Moreover, in developing and implementing a comprehensive quarantine regime in the first part of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman state looked to and drew upon the Russian Empire's decades-long experience in dealing with the outbreaks of epidemic disease in the Black Sea region. Both the Ottoman and Russian states moved to check the spread of disease across the Black Sea region through the imposition of stern anti-disease measures on infected populations and the creation of new institutions of border and social control (quarantines). The regional dimension of the joint Ottoman-Russian response to a common security threat must be addressed in conjunction with any discussion on the international (or western European) contributions to the establishment of the Ottoman quarantine system in the early part of the nineteenth century.

The Ottoman tahaffuzhane

The detention and imposition of travel restrictions on individuals suspected of carrying disease had long been a common practice in the Ottoman Empire. By the early nineteenth century, travelers suspected of carrying disease were isolated and subjected to extended periods of medical observation in state-operated *tahaffuzhane* (*tahaffuz*—"a guarding oneself, preservation, conservation" and *hane*—"house, building, dwelling"). Little is known about the staffing or operation of the *tahaffuzhane*; however, a reading of the early drafts of the Ottoman Empire's 1838 quarantine legislation indicates that Ottoman statesmen expected quarantines to be built in places where *tahaffuzhane* were already operational.[45] The translation of *tahaffuzhane* into European languages as "lazaret" supports the notion that a *tahaffuzhane* was a single-structure, single-use pest house used for the isolation and observation of those suspected of carrying disease.

Tahaffuzhaneler operated in the key Ottoman fortress-town of Çanakkale on the Anatolian side of the Dardanelles, at various ferry stations along the straits of the Bosporus and Dardanelles, and in Edirne which lay astride the main road into Istanbul from points north and west. And in the late eighteenth century, orders were issued from Istanbul to the provincial administrator and fortress commander in Çanakkale to implement quarantine-type measures against ships arriving from Egypt.[46] Building upon a preexistent *tahaffuzhane*, a full quarantine complex was constructed in Çanakkale in 1835. Ground was broken on the construction of a quarantine station in Smyrna (İzmir) in 1834, and by 1837 a full quarantine complex was operational in this important Aegean port.[47] Around this time, smaller quarantine posts appeared in Bursa and Trabzon in Anatolia, on the Cycladic island of Siros, and on the north Aegean island of Midilli (Mitilini or Lesbos).[48]

Anti-disease initiatives in Istanbul

In the early nineteenth century, the Ottoman state developed and implemented enhanced anti-disease measures designed to protect the population of Istanbul against outbreaks of deadly epidemic diseases. In 1812, in the wake of one of the most severe outbreaks of plague in the history of the Ottoman Empire, draconian measures were undertaken to curb the spread of disease and limit the number of deaths in Istanbul. Individuals arriving in the Ottoman capital were closely monitored, infected areas were cordoned off by military personnel, goods and clothes were subject to disinfection procedures, and infected houses burned to the ground.[49]

In Istanbul, inns and flophouses utilized by itinerant workers and migrants (*bekar odalari*) were identified by municipal officials as particularly pernicious breeding grounds for infectious diseases. Termed by the more pious members of the Ottoman state as *habasethaneler* (dens of iniquity), the growth in the number of these institutions and the fact that they were becoming permanent places of residence drew the attention of state authorities. Increased economic competition, as well, resulted in the scapegoating of seasonal workers and migrants as carriers of disease in the Ottoman Empire. Taking advantage of anti-disease measures to increase state control over the civilian population in the Ottoman capital, *bekar odalari* (which were typically located in the Galata and Kasımpaşa districts of Istanbul) were closed, their grounds and interiors disinfected, and their former inhabitants placed under surveillance.[50]

Exposure to the (seemingly random) imposition of stern sanitation and anti-plague measures was a fact of life for the residents of Istanbul in the 1820s and 1830s. In one case, the members of several families suspected of being infected with plague were forcibly evicted from their homes in Kadiköy and settled temporarily in a field outside of Istanbul. While in exile, their homes were fumigated and their furniture and clothing burned.[51] As an alternative form of societal isolation, suspected carriers of disease were forcibly confined to their homes and not allowed to leave or receive visitors. These "domestic quarantine" operations were described in the following manner by an American expatriate in Istanbul:

> the doors of the house are carefully locked and bolted, and all provisions and other necessities are passed through a temporary wooden barrier … a brasier of hot coals is placed in the hall, upon which branches of heath are occasionally thrown to fumigate the apartments … letters, or similar small articles, are dipped into hot vinegar and then smoked in a box prepared for that purpose.[52]

The Prussian captain Helmuth von Moltke—who, as a military advisor to Sultan Mahmud II, lived in Istanbul off and on from 1835 to 1839—took it upon himself to apply domestic quarantine measures to combat what he called *die türkische Pest.* During a plague epidemic which struck Istanbul in the spring of 1837, Moltke engaged in a personal and household cleanliness campaign. He bathed thoroughly, cleaned his clothes regularly, and slept with all the windows open. His bedding and carpets were sanitized, the walls of his house whitewashed, and lobbies and anterior rooms scrubbed thoroughly. All paper and parchments in his house were fumigated.[53]

Von Moltke juxtaposed these pro-active measures with what he believed was the fatalism of Turkish-Muslim society in Istanbul. According to von Moltke, rather than adopt precautionary anti-plague practices many of the residents of Istanbul deferred to fate (*kismet*) to determine their destiny during plague epidemics. In his letters, von Moltke recounted an argument made by an imam to a crowd gathered at a local coffeehouse who, questioning the efficacy of sanitation measures in combating the plague, noted that many foreigners who adhered to strict cleanliness guidelines ultimately succumbed to plague while many Muslim-Turks who did not go to these lengths survived.[54]

The promulgation of city-wide anti-disease legislation in Istanbul in the late 1830s directly addressed and attacked this type of fatalism. In both spirit and specificity, these new regulations built upon previous measures adopted by the Ottoman state to check the spread of disease in Istanbul through the imposition of social control mechanisms. Doctors and policing officials were dispatched to examine homes in the poorer neighborhoods of Istanbul. Guards were posted to restrict exit and entry into neighborhoods deemed to be infected with disease. Neighborhood elders were deputized to provide reports to municipal authorities on the overall disease situation in their respective locales. Ottoman subjects were ordered to inform municipal authorities on the appearance of disease in their neighbor's homes. Individuals who failed to comply with these measures were fined and, in some cases, subjected to corporal punishment. Foreigners suspected of withholding disease-related information were deported.[55]

In the late 1830s and early 1840s, additional anti-disease and sanitation measures introduced in Istanbul included the twice-weekly cleaning of city streets, bazaars, and squares; the removal of garbage from city streets (and its dumping in the Sea of Marmara); the imposition of fines on those who littered; the regular cleaning of fountains, reservoirs, and sewers; the relocation outside of the city of slaughterhouses, tanneries, tobacco workshops, catgut factories, and olive oil distilleries; the siting of new graveyards as far away from the city as possible; the stipulation that all graves must be dug to a depth of at least five feet; the inspection, by city administrators in Yenikapı and Üsküdar, of all small ships (*caiques*) plying the inland waters of the Bosporus and the Sea of Marmara; and the inspection and fumigation of all postal sacks at gates leading into the city.[56]

Quarantines in the Ottoman Balkans

Prior to the late 1830s, most of the quarantine-like structures in the Ottoman Empire existed along the empire's land frontiers or in the autonomous regions of the empire.[57] The Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia) in particular were the site of some of the more vigorous anti-disease measures undertaken in the Ottoman Empire in the early 1800s.[58] These measures included the burning of infected houses in Bucharest, the increased surveillance of visitors to Bucharest, a prohibition against the import of clothing, the closing of coffeehouses, the closing of market stalls, the deportation of Roma, and the confinement of mendicants to monasteries.[59]

A lazaret (pesthouse) existed in the Wallachian town of Izlas (at the confluence of the Olt and Danube rivers) in 1740, and in the late eighteenth century three lazarets were erected around Bucharest.[60] Around the turn of the nineteenth century, a medical inspection post was established in the Wallachian town of Orşova, and small quarantine-like stations were operational on the Danube River at Kalaraşi and Zimnich. All travelers crossing the Danube River from Silistre into Kalaraşi were obligated to undergo a seven-day period of medical observation.[61] During the Russo-Ottoman Wars of 1806–1812 and 1828–1829, lazarets were constructed around Bucharest and Jassy and quarantine posts established along the Danube River (in Braila, Galatz, and Giurgiu).[62]

In the early part of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman state increasingly viewed the implementation of anti-disease measures and the expansion of quarantine construction as a means to surveil and reassert central state control over displaced and migratory populations in the Balkans. By 1813, several full-fledged medical inspection complexes lay astride all roads leading into Bucharest from the south.[63] In that same year, the provincial governor (*Ayan*) of Yanina, Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, ordered all post stations in western Rumelia to be fumigated and disinfected. Checkpoints were constructed to guard mountain passes leading into Yanina. Travelers crossing the Pindus Mountains from Thessaly (from the east) were detained at these new checkpoints and forced to undergo a period of medical observation. In Ohrid, the local governor, Celaleddin Bey, converted most of the monasteries around Lake Ohrid into lazarets.[64] By 1814, a medical complex existed in the important Danubian fortress-town of Vidin. This complex included facilities for the detention and observation of individuals afflicted with plague as well as the first military hospital constructed in Ottoman Rumelia.[65] In the 1820s, travel restrictions were imposed on merchant vessels crossing the Bosporus and the Dardanelles from the north and west.[66] A temporary lazaret was constructed in Edirne in the fall of 1829 and quarantine-like measures imposed on the town's population.[67] By the mid-1830s, this temporary lazaret in Edirne had evolved into a full-scale quarantine station.[68]

Following the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, a chain of quarantine stations were constructed on the northern shore of the Danube River and lazarets erected astride key interior commercial arteries in Wallachia.[69] This Danubian *cordon sanitaire* consisted of three main quarantine stations in Galatz, Braila (Ibrail), and Giurgiu (Yergöğü) and six secondary quarantine posts along the Danube River (in Kalaraşi, Pioa Pietri, Kalafat, Zimnich, Turnu Mugurele, and Severin). The quarantine in Braila—the largest of the quarantine stations constructed along the Danube River in the early 1830s—encompassed an area of 8,000 square meters and was composed of a mix of brick and wooden buildings. The complex was staffed by a doctor, a nurse practitioner, an interpreter, a secretary and two aides, and six guards. In 1831, the length of the quarantine at Braila fluctuated between four and sixteen days.[70]

To check clandestine cross-river movements, raised observation posts were erected along the northern shore of the Danube.[71] Military personnel were deployed to enforce quarantine regulations including the cleansing (in a mix of chlorine and sulfur) of the personal effects of individual travelers and the merchandise of traders.[72] In his memoirs, the future Bulgarian Metropolitan Panaret Rashev described his experiences in the Giurgiu Quarantine in 1829. Upon entering the complex, he was stripped naked and disinfected with lime. His coins were placed into pots of vinegar to be cleansed. While in quarantine Rashev spent the night on the floor and used his own bedding.[73]

The promulgation of regulations governing the administration of this Danubian quarantine line and the adoption of any new anti-disease measures in the Danubian Principalities required the approval of the Ottoman government.[74] Following the withdrawal of Russian occupation forces from the Danubian Principalities in the mid-1830s, control over the quarantine line reverted from Russian to Ottoman authority, the Ottoman state assumed supervision over the Danubian quarantine line, and senior-level quarantine officials were reassigned from Istanbul to the Danubian Principalities.[75]

Following the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, the retreating Russian army abandoned and left behind a significant amount of anti-disease infrastructure. For example, Russian military engineers had constructed temporary (or mobile) quarantine stations (*quarantaines volantes*) in occupied Ottoman territory to shield soldiers from infected civilian populations.[76] Sited around the Wallachian capital of Bucharest, in key Danubian fortress-towns (such as Ismail, Kilia, and Hirsova), and at important fortified transportation hubs (such as Novipazar/Yenipazar in northern Dobruja and Nova Zagora/Yenizagora in eastern Rumelia) many of these temporary quarantine stations were eventually expanded by the Ottomans into full-scale and permanent quarantine stations.[77]

The implementation of state-initiated public health and migration management measures in Ottoman Ruemlia established the groundwork for the formation of a comprehensive quarantine system in the Balkans in the 1830s and 1840s. These measures included the prohibition of all population movements in and out of the towns of Sofia and Plovdiv, the quarantining of villages in the area around Turnovo, and the severing of transportation links between the towns of Pirot and Nish (along today's Bulgarian-Serbian border). In 1836, two lazarets were constructed on the Ottoman side of the Danube River in Ruse (Rusçuk) and Silistre. Merchants and migrants passing through these two important transportation hubs were obliged to undergo a twelve-day period of medical observation.[78] With the reopening of the Pirot–Nish road in 1837, soldiers were posted to control travel between these two towns and all travelers arriving in Nish from Pirot were placed into quarantine.[79] By the mid-1840s, 25 of the 81 quarantines operational in the Ottoman Empire outside of Istanbul were located in Rumelia and along the western Black Sea coast.[80]

Quarantines in Istanbul

In the 1830s, protecting the population of Istanbul from epidemic disease remained a top priority of the Ottoman state. In late 1831, quarantine stations were constructed on the upper Bosporus at Büyük Liman (Liman Kebir) and Istinye. Reflecting an understanding on the part of the Ottoman state that trade and migration linkages with the Russian Empire were the primary reason for the spread of cholera into the Ottoman Empire, these two quarantine stations were initially designed to inspect merchant ships arriving in Istanbul from Russian Black Sea ports.[81]

In 1838, governors and administrators in Anatolia began work on the construction of a *cordon sanitaire* (*hudud-i sıhhiye*) on the Anatolian side of Istanbul. Completed in a few years' time, this *cordon sanitaire* stretched from Edremit on the Aegean coast to the mouth of the Sakarya River on the Black Sea coast and encompassed cities such as Balıkesir and Bursa.[82] Quarantine stations were erected where the *cordon* bisected the six main roads leading into Istanbul from Anatolia and travel on any roads besides these six was prohibited.[83] Around this same time, the Ottoman state contemplated erecting a *cordon sanitaire* on the Rumelian side of Istanbul. As envisaged, this *cordon* would have stretched from the northern Aegean coast to the Black Sea coast northwest of Istanbul. Plans for this comprehensive Rumelian *cordon* were ultimately scrapped due to a lack of funds.[84]

By the late 1830s, the two main quarantine stations in the Istanbul region were located in Fenerbahçe and in the converted military barracks of Kuleli Kışlası.[85] Kuleli was the larger of the two, and between 1838 and the early 1840s, the number of personnel (both medical and nonmedical) assigned to staff the Kuleli station tripled—from 60 to 180.[86] These two quarantine facilities were often overwhelmed, and customs houses and the holds of large ships were commandeered and used as provisional quarantines. In time, these customs houses were permanently converted into quarantine stations. On one occasion, tents were pitched outside the Fenerbahçe quarantine station to accommodate excess arrivals. Guards were posted to separate the new arrivals from the local population, and enhanced anti-disease measures were applied in neighborhoods adjacent to the Fenerbahçe station.[87]

On June 22, 1838, the Ottoman state, under the auspices of the newly created Ottoman Quarantine Council, issued a series of new quarantine regulations geared toward controlling population movements into Istanbul. These new measures were issued to all quarantine directors and fort commanders (*muhafızlar*) along the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. Commanders were ordered to detain, inspect, and search all ships and travelers arriving in the Ottoman Empire regardless of status, subjecthood, or religion.[88]

The text of these new quarantine regulations were distributed to the diplomatic community in Istanbul on June 10, 1839. Written in French, these "Reglements organique quarantenaire du Conseil de santé pour les provenances de Mer" targeted the Ottoman Empire's maritime borders.[89] The most important provisos in these regulations are summarized below.

The regulations stipulated that all ships docking in Istanbul or transiting the straits of the Bosporus and Dardanelles had to possess a health certificate (French—*patente de santé,* Turkish—*sıhhiye tezkiresi*). Although not specifically stated, the inference was that these *patentes* were to be issued prior to a ship's arrival in the Ottoman Empire. Passed to a health official (by placing it on the tip of a pole), the *patente* was to be submitted to officials manning newly constructed sanitation stations in Kavak and Çanakkale (at the head of the Bosporus and Dardanelles, respectively). According to the regulations, the Ottoman state recognized three types of *patentes*: a *patente nette* (clear or clean, Turkish—*temiz*), a *patente suspecte* (suspicious, Turkish—*şüpheli*), and a *patente brute* (infectious, Turkish—*bulaşıcı*). Those holding a *patente nette* (indicating that they were arriving from places free of disease) were allowed to travel, immediately and unimpeded, to their final destination. Those ships holding a *patente suspecte* (indicating that they had anchored in a port where disease was evident up until 15 days prior to their arrival in Istanbul) were ordered to undergo a 15-day quarantine period if they were fully loaded with cargo or 10 days if their holds were empty. Ships holding a *patente brute* (indicating that they had arrived from a place where disease was evident within 15 days of arrival) were ordered to undergo a 20-day quarantine period if they were loaded with cargo and a 15-day quarantine period if their holds were empty. For purposes of clarity and expedience, a clean ship was ordered to fly a white flag, a suspect ship ordered to fly a checkered black-and-white flag, and an infected ship ordered to fly a black flag. All suspect and infected ships were obliged to take on a sanitation officer (in either Çanakkale or Kavak depending upon their point of arrival). This individual was the only person authorized to enter or exit the ship until the required quarantine period had been completed.

At the point of initial contact with an Ottoman health or port official, the captain of the ship had to declare whether or not the ship intended to dock in Istanbul or was just in transit via the straits of the Bosporus and Dardanelles. Ships transiting the straits from the Mediterranean Sea to Russian ports on the northern shore of the Black Sea were exempted from most of the anti-disease provisions in the regulations—implying, perhaps, an understanding on the part of the Ottoman state that these ships would be subject to a thorough health-related inspection upon their arrival at Russian Black Sea quarantine facilities.

Smyrna (İzmir): An example of an Ottoman quarantine complex

In 1844, the Russian Ministry of the Interior published a report on the Ottoman quarantine complex in Smyrna (İzmir).[90] The author of the report (identified only as A.Y.) noted that in the early 1840s the Smyrna quarantine complex formed an important hub in what he referred to as the "Turkish quarantine system." Drawing upon information obtained in 1841, this report detailed the administration, staffing, and regulations of the second largest quarantine complex in the Ottoman Empire.

My purpose here in including a brief discussion of the regulations in place at the Ottoman quarantine complex in Smyrna is fourfold. First, I would like to highlight the ways in which Ottoman quarantine stations served as surveillance posts and sites for information-gathering on all merchants, migrants, diplomats, and travelers entering and moving through the Ottoman Empire in the 1840s. Second, given the centralized, comprehensive, and empirewide nature of Ottoman quarantine administration in the middle part of the nineteenth century, it is reasonable to assume that the procedures in place in İzmir closely resembled those in place in other Ottoman quarantine stations, including those recently constructed in the Balkans. Third, to highlight the full report upon which this brief account is taken as it provides us with the most detailed description we have of a mid-nineteenth-century Ottoman quarantine complex. And, fourth, to help us imagine, as best as possible, the experience of the individual traveler entering an Ottoman quarantine complex in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Relying upon a letter of introduction (procured in Odessa prior to his departure for İzmir), the Russian author of the report on the Smyrna quarantine complex (A.Y.) befriended a British merchant in Smyrna by the name of Atkinson. Through Atkinson, A.Y. met a French doctor (Dr. Ikar) who—as the leading international health practitioner in İzmir—served as the chief medical officer at the Smyrna quarantine. Dr. Ikar introduced A.Y. to the Ottoman-Turkish director of the Smyrna quarantine and accompanied him during his tour and stay at the quarantine. According to A.Y., the (unnamed) Ottoman-Turkish director was an experienced, reliable, and trustworthy state servitor who, prior to his appointment in Smyrna, had overseen the construction of the Ottoman quarantine station in Trebizond (Trabzon).

On the relationship between Ikar and the Turkish director, A.Y. observed that it was standard operating procedure in the Ottoman quarantine system to pair foreign medical specialists with Ottoman-Turkish directors—with the latter assuming overall authority over the management of the quarantine complex. A.Y. highlighted three other important officials in the hierarchy of the Smyrna quarantine administration: the Director of the Lazaret (pesthouse), the Director of the Guards, and the Secretary of the Chancellery. Quarantine guards were responsible for supervising the movements of arrivals at the port of Smyrna, for overseeing intake and processing procedures at the main quarantine building, and for providing security in both the main quarantine building and the lazaret. In Smyrna, quarantine guards were drawn from the local (Muslim and non-Muslim) population and many of the guards served the quarantine in a voluntary capacity. The Secretary of the Chancellery acted as the main registrar of the quarantine complex. In this capacity, he recorded information on all arrivals in the quarantine complex including their overall health status and determinations made regarding the amount of time they were required to remain in quarantine. The Secretary of the Chancellery assigned to the Smyrna quarantine complex had previously served as a scribe at a Greek quarantine station located on the island of Siros (in the Cyclades about 150 kilometers southeast of Athens)—an indication, perhaps, of the career trajectory and upward mobility available to experienced quarantine officials in the eastern Mediterranean.[91]

According to A.Y., the main Smyrna quarantine complex was "vast" and his guided tour of the complex took the better part of a day to complete. In his description of the main quarantine building, A.Y. noted that a tall tower dominated the cityside of the main quarantine building. From this tower a red flag was flown when the quarantine was open and operational. A warehouse, located off the courtyard of the main quarantine building, stored provisions and goods that had been purified and ventilated for use in the quarantine.

Every ship entering the port of Smyrna was met by a quarantine guard. The passengers and goods on the ship were inspected and the ship's *patente* handed over from the ship's captain to the quarantine guard. Carried in a tin box, this *patente* contained information on the overall health of the ship's passengers, the home port of the ship, and the ports through which the ship had passed while en route to Smyrna. Those with a clean *patente* were authorized to fly a yellow flag indicating that the ship had been permitted to dock in the main harbor and allowed to engage in direct contact with merchant houses and residents in Smyrna. Ships suspected of carrying plague-ridden cargo or transporting individuals suspected of being afflicted with infectious diseases were towed to a long wooden pier leading directly into the courtyard of the main quarantine building. In the main quarantine building, the passengers were registered and inspected by the quarantine's medical officer. These intake and processing procedures were overseen by the quarantine guards.

As part of the record-keeping requirements of the Smyrna quarantine, the Secretary of the Chancellery maintained three separate registers. The first register contained information on all arriving ships in Smyrna including their port of origin, the name of their captain, the number of sailors on each ship, the number of passengers on each ship, the types of goods carried, and the name of the merchant house or shops in Smyrna where the goods were to be delivered. The second register recorded health- and disease-related information such as the name of each ship arriving in Smyrna from places known to have been infected with plague, the required quarantine period for passengers on infected ships, the date on which the passengers had completed their quarantine period, and the date on which the passengers were discharged from the complex. The third register contained annual mortality statistics for the city of Smyrna including the number of dead in any given year, the name, gender, age, and occupation of the dead, and the cause of death. On a biweekly basis, the director of the Smyrna quarantine was required to submit a statistical report to Istanbul with information on plague-related deaths in Smyrna.[92] A close reading of A.Y.'s report indicates that the Smyrna quarantine served not only as the main repository for information on disease and public health in Smyrna but also as the clearinghouse for intelligence gathered on all merchants and travelers arriving in the city's harbor.

Following his tour of the main quarantine building, A.Y. was escorted to the Smyrna quarantine complex's lazaret—a stone, two-story building located about a kilometer and half from the city center. According to A.Y., passengers placed into quarantine were subject to prison-like conditions. The four rooms along the first floor—allocated to "simple" or "regular" individuals—did not have any windows. While the more spacious second-floor accommodations—which were reserved for privileged guests—did have windows they were encased behind heavy iron bars. Rooms on both floors had a little window facing the lazaret's 20-meter by 20-meter interior courtyard through which food and small items could be passed to the room's inhabitants. During periods of overcrowding, "regular" passengers were forced to sleep side-by-side in the lazaret's courtyard. A.Y. noted that diplomats and other prominent individuals arriving in Smyrna were assigned to separate quarters in private homes near the lazaret.

Because Smyrna's tax revenues were not sufficient to cover the full operating cost of the quarantine, a one-time room charge was levied on all individuals assigned to the lazaret. Theoretically, funds collected in this manner were to be used for the upkeep and repair of buildings in the quarantine complex. Additionally, each guest was obliged to pay an extra fee for every day he or she spent in the lazaret. It was expected that these payments would be made directly from guests to quarantine guards. Not surprisingly, given the budget deficit and the procedures implemented to remedy the situation, A.Y repeatedly raised concerns about the likelihood of corruption in the operation of the Smyrna quarantine complex. He noted that each interaction in the quarantine process—from initial contact with the captains of arriving ships, to intake and registration, to the designation of quarantine periods, to the assignment of rooms in the lazaret—provided opportunities for graft.

Ottoman quarantines as instruments of border control and migration management

Quarantines are primarily constructed in an effort to combat the spread of disease and, from an historiographical standpoint, are generally discussed within this context. However, it is clear that in the Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, quarantines rapidly evolved into all-purpose border posts where trade goods were inspected, customs collected, currency exchanged, criminals and fugitives surveilled, intelligence gathered, and migrants and refugees registered and provided with travel documents.

As mentioned earlier, the staffing list and spatial distribution of buildings in the Ottoman quarantine complex in Smyrna indicate that the lazaret function was only one of many parts of a full-scale quarantine operation. Nonmedical interrogation units operated within quarantine complexes in Istanbul and, in addition to medical personnel, many Ottoman quarantine facilities employed a staff of multilingual officials specifically assigned to issue health certificates (*sıhhiye tezkiresi* or a *karantina tezkiresi*) to individual travelers.[93] The texts of these documents indicated the completion of all required quarantine obligations and granted the holder permission to travel throughout the Ottoman Empire.

In Rumelia, quarantine stations demarcated borders and served as the primary border crossing posts into the Ottoman Empire. In the 1830s, newly constructed lazarets lined the recently constructed Ottoman-Serbian and Ottoman-Greek borders. These lazarets, in time, developed into comprehensive Ottoman customs and surveillance posts. Along the Ottoman-Serbian border, a series of guard stations (manned by militia drawn from the local populace) and makeshift barriers (constructed out of thickets and straw) radiated outward from a central lazaret. By 1837, a large five-lazaret border and surveillance complex operated in Aleksinac (just north of Nish along the Ottoman-Serbian border). Surrounded by a wooden fence the interior courtyard of this complex was, at any given time, capable of holding over 1,200 people. In Thessaly—along the emergent Ottoman-Greek border—all travelers entering and exiting the Ottoman Empire were required to undergo an extended period of quarantine (nine days for ordinary travelers and fifteen days for merchants). Upon the appearance of plague, lazaret posts were militarized and regular army units were dispatched to bolster border-control, surveillance, and disease-monitoring efforts.[94] Provincial-level quarantine officials in Anatolia and Rumelia surveilled and often interrogated travelers entering and exiting the Ottoman Empire. For example, in 1838, "suspicious" looking travelers heading for Ankara were detained and questioned at a quarantine station in Erzurum. These individuals were delayed in their travels to such an extent that they exhausted their private funds and were forced to rely on quarantine officials for food handouts.[95]

Underscoring the role of quarantines as all-purpose border posts in the Ottoman Empire, customs houses were commandeered and converted into quarantine stations and customs collectors were reappointed as quarantine officials.[96] In this manner, the normal functions of Ottoman customs houses were subsumed within the overall operation of Ottoman quarantine complexes. For example, in the 1830s, Bulgarian merchants paid customs duties upon entering into quarantine stations along the Danube River.[97]

In the 1830s, the Ottoman state—in the wake of an extended period of warfare and decentralization in Ottoman Rumelia—viewed the expansion of quarantine construction and the implementation of anti-disease measures as a means to reassert central state control over rural populations. As mentioned earlier, in response to severe outbreaks of cholera in the 1830s, a provisional quarantine council was formed in Istanbul to oversee the implementation of previously ad hoc quarantine, disease control, and sanitation measures in the Ottoman Empire.[98] The maintenance of public order and the provision of security were among the core competencies of the Ottoman Quarantine Council. Military officials worked with members of the council on the development and implementation of *cordon sanitaires* and oversaw the establishment of security perimeters around Ottoman quarantine complexes.[99] Retired soldiers were employed to help staff in newly established quarantine stations in Rumelia. At the municipal level, the Ottoman gendarmerie (*zaptiye*) was often charged with implementing local anti-disease and sanitation measures.[100] Officials were dispatched by the council in Istanbul to assist local authorities in the Balkans in suppressing the spread of disease. Typically seconded from the Kuleli quarantine station in Istanbul, these officials were charged with reporting on any irregularities in the administration of provincial quarantines and gathering information on the quality and effectiveness of Ottoman quarantine lines.[101] By the 1840s, the council was operating a training academy within the Kuleli complex. In time, the graduates of this academy rose to leadership positions in various quarantine posts in the empire and eventually replaced the medical professionals who, in the 1830s, had formed the initial leadership cadre in Ottoman quarantines.[102]

As part of Ottoman quarantine and anti-disease legislation, quarantine officials were required to compile registration lists with the full names, family composition, current and previous places of residence, and occupation of all individuals and families entering and exiting Ottoman quarantine stations.[103] In a similar vein, quarantine authorities were directed to gather basic health statistics on *reaya* populations. This information was forwarded to the council and compiled into a monthly report for the Grand Vizier.[104] As part of an empirewide information-gathering network, quarantine directors communicated on a regular basis with members of the Ottoman Quarantine Council in Istanbul. The council, in turn, liaised with the Ottoman Foreign (*Hariciye*) and Interior (*Dahilye*) Ministries on all disease- and migration-related matters.[105]

Ottoman travel documentation

The linkage, in the mind of Ottoman state officials, between migration and the spread of disease resulted in the introduction—in the first half of the nineteenth century—of multiple layers of travel and identity documentation requirements for all individuals entering and exiting the Ottoman Empire. Up until the late eighteenth century, a centrally issued *berat* or *ferman* constituted the primary form of travel and identity documentation for individuals conducting business in the Ottoman Empire.[106] A general type of document used by Ottoman Sultans to confer privileges, make an appointment to a government post, or grant lands to valued servitors, the *berat*—in the context of travel within and without the Ottoman Empire—was primarily reserved for foreign dignitaries and important non-Muslim merchants.

As possession of a *berat* exempted the holder from certain tax obligations, *beratlı* (or *berat*-holding) status in the Ottoman Empire was highly prized. In the early part of the nineteenth century, Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire increasingly sought to attach themselves to the retinue of powerful foreign residents in the Ottoman Empire in order to obtain tax-exempting Ottoman *berats*.[107] It is worth noting, however, that outside of certain members of the retinue of powerful provincial notables (*Ayans*) few, if any, of the *reaya* population in the Rumelian countryside possessed *berats*. Restricted access to foreign consular officials in Istanbul (or the few other large cities in the Ottoman Empire where foreign consulates existed) and the commensurate means and connections required to effectively establish relations with foreign consuls in Ottoman cities limited the franchise of *berat*-holding *reaya* in the early part of the nineteenth century.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, travelers in the Ottoman Empire often supplemented their *berats* with a type of basic travel document called a *mürur tezkiresi* (literally, "permit to pass"). Alternate forms of this Ottoman travel document included the *geçiş tezkiresi*, *yol emir,* or *yol hüküm*.[108] The *mürur tezkiresi* tended to be a small document, was generally printed on poor-quality paper, and contained only four lines of basic information on the traveler and his business (name, purpose of visit, intended route, and final destination).

By the early nineteenth century, the *mürur tezkiresi* and *yol emri* had evolved into stand-alone travel documents and had gradually supplanted the *berat* and the *ferman* as the standard type of international and domestic travel documentation issued by the Ottoman state.[109] Addressed to all individuals contemplating travel to the Ottoman Empire (including pilgrims and tourists), an article published in 1836 in the Russian newspaper *Odesski Vestnik* noted that travel-related *fermans* were no longer being issued by the Ottoman state and advised potential travelers to apply for and acquire a *mürur tezkiresi*. This *mürur tezkiresi,* as indicated in the article, could be obtained from any minor official (*chinovnik vtorostepennyi*) in the Ottoman Empire.[110]

By the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman state expanded the writ of the *mürur tezkiresi* to govern domestic as well as international travel. In step with the Ottoman state's efforts to manage internal population movements, a decree issued in 1822 required all subjects (Muslim and non-Muslim) intending to travel outside of their hometown or village to obtain—from a *kadı* or a *Naib*—a *mürur tezkiresi*. Internal checkpoints (mainly along roads leading into Istanbul) were established and any individuals found on the open road without a *mürur tezkiresi* were liable for punishment. A particular emphasis was placed on checking unauthorized travel across the Bosporus and the Dardanelles from the north and west. Travelers and migrants heading toward Istanbul from this direction were required to produce travel documentation indicating the reasons for their travel.[111] Upon entering Istanbul, all subjects were to present their *mürur tezkiresi* at a tax collection office for verification and registration.[112]

The *yol emri*- and *yol hüküm*-type travel documents were typically issued to foreign merchants engaged in trade within the Ottoman Empire and Christian pilgrims en route to Mount Athos or Jerusalem.[113] These documents were issued upon the request of the merchant or pilgrim's respective ambassador in

Istanbul.[114] In theory, possession of a *yol emri* and *yol hüküm* guaranteed the holder free and unhindered passage throughout the empire, protection against any hazards encountered while on the road, and exemption from customs or post fees levied by provincial authorities.[115] They also granted foreign travelers the right to make use of and overnight in Ottoman post-stations (*menzilhaneler*). These types of travel documents were often checked and registered at post-stations and copies were forwarded to the local *kadı*. Travelers in possession of additional documentation (alternatively called an *ulak hükmü*, *buyuruldu,* or *yarlığ*) could requisition food for their horses or obtain fresh horses in Ottoman *menzilhaneler*.[116]

Variants of the *yol emri*- and *yol hüküm*-type travel documents granted the bearer the right to requisition food, fodder, and supplies from *reaya* populations located along a specified travel route. For example, following their posting to the northern Rumelian front during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, a group of Nekrasovite soldiers in possession of state-issued travel documents drew upon local populations for provisions while en route to their hometown of Ispsala (in eastern Thrace).[117] Some Ottoman-issued travel documents restricted the bearer to specific routes while others were more interested in identifying the purpose of the visit (travel or trade) rather than the places to be visited.[118]

There is no evidence to suggest, as was the case with the issuance of *bilets* by the Russian state to Bulgarian migrant-settlers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, that migrants moving between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the first part of the nineteenth century were issued any type of specific Ottoman travel documentation such as the *berat* or *mürur tezkiresi*. Interestingly, however, some examples do exist of migrant-settlers from the Russian Empire who—after establishing themselves in the Ottoman Empire—received official permission (*yol fermanları*) to travel freely (for both private and commercial reasons) within and without the empire.[119] Similarly, certain non-Muslim elites in Rumelia were eligible to acquire and were granted official travel documentation to engage in commercial activity on behalf of their respective communities.[120] In addition to Ottoman provincial authorities, *Çorbacılar* were also authorized to issue travel documents to non-Muslim subjects of the empire.[121]

Migrant travel documents which specifically authorized the holder the right to live and work in the Ottoman Empire were first issued in the late 1840s to Hungarian and Polish refugees (*mülteciler*) from the Austrian Empire. Initially settled in the region around Şumnu (Shumen) in 1849, many of these Hungarian and Polish refugees were subsequently granted permission to reside and work in Istanbul (*Istanbul'da Ikamete Ruhsat*). An examination of Ottoman registration lists indicates that skilled Hungarian and Polish craftsmen were particularly targeted for resettlement in Istanbul. Some of these Hungarian and Polish refugees eventually received residency documents granting the right of "unrestricted" or "free" residence in Istanbul (*Istanbul'da Ikamete Serbest*).[122]

The question of "residency" in the early modern Ottoman Empire and the types of bureaucratic tools (including documentation) employed to confer "residency" on subject populations have yet to be fully explored. However, Machiel Kiel and Virginia Aksan have made some initial scholarly forays into this important topic. For example, Kiel notes that—in the context of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Bulgarian migrations from Rumelia to the Danubian Principalities—certain migrants crossing over the Danube River into Wallachia were classified by the Ottoman state as *haymane* (or, in Kiel's translation, "people without permanent residence").[123] Aksan refers to the *ispence* papers given to *reaya* upon their payment of the *ispence* tax as a type of "residence" permit.[124] These *ispence* papers noted the authority to which the tax was paid and thus—in the context of shifting territorial sovereignty in the Danubian region in the late eighteenth century—to which political entity these peasants "belonged."[125]

Commerce and travel documentation

In response to the marked increase in trade between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the late 1700s, the Ottoman state developed and imposed an enhanced travel documentation regime on non-Muslim subjects engaged in trading activities in the Black Sea region. The goal of this new regime was to stem the out-migration of *reaya* merchants and sailors who—in taking advantage of trade and migratory connections between the Ottoman and Russian empires—maneuvered to set up permanent residence in southern Russia and, in certain cases, dual residence in both the Ottoman and Russian empires.

The centerpiece of this new travel documentation regime was the requirement that all merchant ships (both foreign and local) passing through Çanakkale and Istanbul en route to Black Sea ports possess and (when boarded) produce a document called an *izn-i sefine emri* or an *izn-i sefine fermanı*.[126] Technically restricted to ships sailing through the Bosporus and the Dardanelles, the *izn-i sefine* regime was, in time, extended to all Muslim and non-Muslim merchant ships (and their crews) conducting trade in the Black Sea region.[127] In the opinion of the Turkish historian Idris Bostan, the *izn-i sefine* served as the maritime equivalent of the *yol hüküm* or *mürur* *tezkiresi*.[128] Although the earliest reference to the granting of an *izn-i sefine* by the Ottoman state dates to 1765, the issuance of these types of travel documents increased considerably in the period after the signing of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774).[129]

Pertaining primarily to vessels owned and operated by non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, the regulations governing the granting of the *izn-i sefine* imposed a series of bureaucratic and financial checks to ensure that Ottoman merchant ships conducting business in the Russian Empire returned to their home ports in a timely manner and with their full complement of *reaya* crew members. Prior to departure, ship captains were required to first apply to an Ottoman state servitor (usually in Istanbul) for an *izn-i sefine*. Once in possession of an *izn-i sefine*, the ship captain was required to apply to the Russian consulate in Istanbul for a Russian commercial passport identifying the Russian port where the ship intended to dock and off-load its wares.[130] The official applications for these two documents typically indentified the captain of the ship by name and listed the ship's cargo.[131] In general, each merchant ship was granted a period of three to six months to travel to the Russian Empire, complete its business, and return to the Ottoman Empire.[132]

A variety of bonds (*kefaletler*) had to be obtained prior to an Ottoman-flagged ship's departure for Russian ports. Ship owners had to place a financial bond with the customs office in Istanbul against the return of the ship to Istanbul. Another bond was required from a guarantor in Istanbul who knew the ship's captain and could vouch for his return to Istanbul. In time, owing to an alarming increase in the out-migration of *reaya* sailors to the Russian Empire, bonds were extracted from village elders (and in some cases entire villages) to guarantee the return of *reaya* crew members.[133]

At Rumeli Kavağı (a state installation guarding the entrance from the Bosporus into the open waters of the Black Sea), ships bound for the Russian Empire were boarded, ships' holds checked for any contraband goods, and the manifest of crew members checked against a registration list appended to the *izn-i sefine*. A similar check was conducted upon the ship's return from the Ottoman Empire—most often by customs and harbor officials in Istanbul. In cases of discrepancies between the number of crew on the ship's out-going *izn-i sefine* registration and the number counted upon the ship's return to Istanbul, the ship's captain—in order to avoid forfeiture of the bonds obtained prior to departure—was required to produce an official death certificate with the name, location, cause, and date of death of the missing crew members.[134]

Passports

As early as 1805, Ottoman officials utilized the term *pasaport* in reference to travel documents issued by the Russian state to Ottoman subjects.[135] In a communication from Istanbul to the *kadı* of Selanik (Salonika) in 1811, an Ottoman state servitor referred to "passports" as the primary form of travel documentation issued by European consular representatives to Ottoman subjects looking to leave and take up residence outside the empire.[136] By 1832, foreign residents in Istanbul were required (for both domestic and international travel) to obtain a passport from a local police office before leaving the city. Apparently, this Ottoman-issued passport system was in use only in the Ottoman capital for, in the words of an American resident of Istanbul in the early 1830s, "although it is necessary to obtain a passport upon leaving the capital, yet the traveler may roam through the whole empire without being asked to produce it. Indeed, it may be doubted whether in the provinces they ever heard that such passports were required."[137]

Although, as argued earlier, Ottoman officialdom was aware of the use of passports as the primary instrument of migration management in post-Napoleonic Europe, it was only in the 1850s that the Ottoman state adopted the term "passport" to indicate a travel document issued by an Ottoman bureaucratic authority to an Ottoman subject leaving the territory of the Ottoman Empire and traveling abroad. This mid-century terminological shift may have been a delayed measure to align the bureaucratic lexicon of the Ottoman state with the migration-related terminology employed in Russia and Austria.[138]

The limitations of the Ottoman Empire's travel documentation regime

As was the case in the Russian context, the administrative measures introduced by the Ottoman state to control migration in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region proved to be only partially effective. In the late eighteenth century, Ottoman officials posted along the Danube River frequently lamented the ease with which "undocumented" individuals moved between the Danubian Principalities and Ottoman Rumelia. In 1787, Ottoman provincial servitors in northern Rumelia struggled to check "illegal" migration across the Danube River into the Danubian Principalities (*Eflak ve Boğdan kimsenin fermansız girmemesi*).[139] In 1788, the *Voyvodas* of Wallachia and Moldavia communicated with the Ottoman *kadı* in Lofça (Lovech—north-central Bulgaria) regarding the inability of troops stationed along the Danube River to interdict "undocumented individuals" (*fermansız kimseleri*) moving between Ottoman Rumelia and the Danubian Principalities.[140] Reports filed by Russian army officers posted along the northern shore of the Danube River during the period from 1806 to 1808 attest to the high rate of undocumented (Russian—*bezpasportnyi*) Ottoman subjects looking to slip north—across the Danube River—into the Danubian Principalities.[141]

Numerous examples exist of individuals using counterfeit (*sahte*) travel documents to ease their passage through internal and external checkpoints.[142] In one case the *Ayan* of Maçin, Tahir Bey, was detained and interrogated by Russian military authorities in Wallachia for attempting to travel through the Danubian Principalities on a fake *ferman* (Russian—*fal'shivyi firman*).[143] Fugitives and runaways (*kaçaklar*) caught on the open road were punished for being "without documentation" (Turkish—*tezkiresiz*).[144] In 1803, a group of fugitive (*kaçak*) Tatars caught attempting to steal horses from a *menzilhane* near Izmit were put on trial for entering a *menzil* without proper documentation (*ellerinde menzil hükümleri olmayanlar*) and for traveling without a *ferman* (*fermansız*).[145]

In the late 1830s and early 1840s, the Ottoman state looked to shore up its migration management regime through the standardization and eventual printing of certain types of travel documents. As part of this standardization drive, a fundamental shift occurred in the way the Ottoman state identified merchant and migrants entering the empire. In the early 1830s, a traveler's religion determined the length and severity of Ottoman quarantine obligations as well as the type of health- and travel-related documentation issued to migrants exiting Ottoman quarantines. By the 1840s, the differentiation of international travelers entering the Ottoman Empire into religious categories (i.e., Muslims versus non-Muslims) had disappeared. In theory at least, all arrivals—regardless of religion—were to be subjected to the same quarantine regulations and provided with the same ongoing travel documentation. This shift away from religion as the primary identity marker of travelers and migrants entering the Ottoman Empire and its replacement by an emphasis on an individual's country of origin points to the development on the part of the Ottoman state of a "nationality" or territorially based approach to the management of migratory populations.

Conclusion

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, disease (whether bubonic plague, cholera, typhus, malaria, or other unidentified pathogens) ravaged the populations of Rumeli and the Ottoman-controlled Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. In response to epidemic diseases, the townspeople and villagers of the Ottoman Balkans turned to time-honored anti-disease measures and engaged in multiconfessional ceremonies to ward off the disease and death. Many Ottoman subjects in the Balkans opted to flee from their homes in search of safety from disease. These disease-induced displacements and socioeconomic disruptions contributed to lawlessness and a breakdown in public order in the Ottoman Balkans, severely hampered Ottoman tax-collection efforts, reduced Ottoman military preparedness, and limited the Ottoman state's overall war-making capabilities.

In the 1830s, following a prolonged period of Russo-Ottoman warfare and administrative decentralization in the Balkans, the Ottoman state moved to regain control over the economy and society of its Balkan possessions. The centralizing and postwar reconstruction initiatives undertaken by the Ottoman state included the implementation and strengthening of anti-disease and public health measures, as well as the extension and institutionalization of a previously ad hoc quarantine regime. In time, Ottoman quarantines evolved into all-purpose border posts and served as multipurpose state institutions in Rumeli. The implementation of enhanced social control measures and the evolving institutional role of quarantine stations highlight the general connection between disease suppression, migration management, and border control in the Black Sea region in the first half of the nineteenth century.[146]

Additionally, in this chapter, I have argued that the linkage in the minds of Ottoman state officials between migration and the spread of disease resulted in the introduction—in the first half of the nineteenth century—of multiple layers of travel and identity documentation requirements for all migrants and merchants entering and exiting the Ottoman Empire. As part of this analysis, I explored the nature and quality of subjecthood in the early modern Ottoman Empire, the question of "residency" status in the Ottoman Empire in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the role of migration and settlement in generating concepts of citizenship in the Ottoman Empire in the middle part of the nineteenth century.

6

“Instruments of Despotism” (II): Epidemic Disease, Quarantines, and Border Control in the Russian Empire

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, enhanced trade connections between the Ottoman and Russian empires, consistent and sizable human migrations in the Black Sea region, and regular outbreaks of Russo-Ottoman warfare resulted in frequent and increasingly severe outbreaks of plague in the Russian Empire. Additionally, in the early 1830s, the appearance of cholera in the Russian Empire combined with plague to pose a severe “security” threat to populations settled in the Russian south. In response, the Russian Empire initiated a comprehensive quarantine construction project to inoculate its southwestern border against the spread of disease. These quarantine and, subsequent, border construction projects resulted in a contested and protracted “closing” of the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea frontier in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century anti-disease initiatives in the Russian Empire

The detention of individuals and the imposition of travel restrictions on those suspected of carrying disease was a common state response to the appearance of epidemic plague (*chuma*) in the early modern Russian heartland.[1] In the mid-sixteenth century, intermittent outbreaks of plague prompted authorities to prohibit all commercial interaction between Pskov and Novgorod. Checkpoints (*zastavy*) were erected along the main road linking these two city-states and travelers and merchants inspected for signs of plague. In Novgorod, guards were posted to cordon off plague-infested quarters of the city and watchmen were deployed to quarantine infected domiciles.[2]

In the mid-seventeenth century, Muscovite authorities expanded upon the anti-disease measures adopted previously in Pskov and Novgorod. For example, following an outbreak of plague in Moscow in 1656, fortified checkpoints were erected along the main roads leading into Moscow. Additionally, special guards were posted to city-gates and non-Muscovite travelers and merchants entering the city were interrogated and inspected for plague. Within the walls of the city, domiciles suspected of harboring the plague were razed, infected neighborhoods quarantined, and the corpses of plague victims hastily buried without proper ceremony or ritual. A prohibition was placed on direct written communication with Tsar Alexei (reigned from 1645 to 1676). All paper dispatches from government servitors and military officers were transcribed prior to their submission to members of the tsar's inner chancellery and the original copies of these documents were burned.[3]

During the reign of Peter I (reigned from 1696 to 1725), empirewide regulations were promulgated in an effort to check the spread of disease into and throughout the Russian Empire. In 1712, governors (*voyvodas*) in the Russian Empire's frontier provinces received orders to detain and inspect all individuals crossing into Russian territory. Additionally, individuals caught trying to evade Russian border posts or escaping the control of Russian authorities prior to the completion of their obligatory period of medical observation were ordered to be executed on the spot. In perhaps the first example (in the Russian context) of the use of government-issued health documents as a means to impose control over subject populations, merchants and traders contracted to supply military forces billeted in the Russian Empire's frontier provinces were required, upon entering Russian army encampments, to produce a medical certificate attesting to the fact that they were not infected with the plague.[4] Additional anti-plague measures enacted during the reign of Peter I included the burning down of all houses suspected of harboring individuals infected with epidemic diseases and the culling of horses and livestock displaying plague-like symptoms.[5]

In the early 1700s—in step with a commonly held belief that the Ottoman Empire was the main source for the spread of the plague into the Russian Empire—the Russian state made its first concerted efforts to establish a *cordon sanitaire* along the empire's southern frontiers.[6] These efforts included erecting inspection posts along the Dnieper River, the stock-piling of medicines, and the sealing off of the Sea of Azov to trade and travel. Around this time, a quarantine station functioned in the Zaporozhian Cossack *Sich* and Ottoman traders moving up the Dnieper River were required to undergo an extended period of medical observation.[7] In the 1750s and 1760s, the first Russian quarantine posts were erected north of the Black Sea littoral and provincial authorities were ordered to conduct medical inspections of all goods and individuals arriving from the south. Those deemed to be infected with the plague were placed into quarantine. Staffed with dedicated medical personnel, these quarantine posts were initially placed within preexisting customs installations.[8] In time, the collection and levying of customs duties were subsumed within the overall operations of expanded Russian quarantine complexes.

Sustained commercial linkages coupled with a significant increase in the movement of migratory populations between the Ottoman and Russian empires contributed to severe outbreaks of the plague in the Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Responding to a particularly deadly outbreak of the plague in Moscow from 1770 to 1772, state officials redoubled their efforts to check the spread of disease into the Russian interior.[9] Blaming the scourge of plague on the negligence of the "Turks," the Russian empress Catherine II implemented a variety of new anti-disease measures including a prohibition against the import of clothes manufactured in the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia); the registration of foreigners crossing the Russian Empire's southern frontier; and a requirement that all travelers to Russia possess a certificate of good health issued by their home government or by Russian consular officials posted abroad.[10]

In 1771, Catherine II formed a Plague Commission to explore ways to improve the ability of the Russian state to combat the spread of infectious diseases and to develop more effective long-term anti-plague measures. This Plague Commission was headed by Count Grigory Orlov (the first director of the Chancellery of Foreign Guardianship) and included Vasilii Baskakov (who served concurrently as vice-president in the Chancellery of Foreign Guardianship).[11] The appointment of two officials with a background in migration management to the Russian Plague Commission indicates a growing awareness on the part of the Russian state of the connection between migration and the spread of disease.

Recommendations produced by the Russian Plague Commission resulted in the codification of anti-plague procedures and the expansion of public-health facilities in the Russian Empire. Building upon these recommendations, Catherine II's Gubernia Reform (enacted in 1775) assigned to land captains the responsibility of combating the spread of disease in the Russian countryside. After 1812, checking the spread of plague was among the most important responsibilities of Russian state servitors in the newly acquired province of Bessarabia. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the Russian state considered the suppression of epidemic disease in Bessarabia as a prerequisite for the maintenance of law and order and the development of the region's economy.[12]

The Seskar Island quarantine and the Quarantine Statute of 1800

In the last two decades of the eighteenth century, previously ad hoc anti-plague measures evolved into standardized procedures and the construction of new quarantine stations became a permanent feature of the Russian state's institutional response to the appearance and spread of epidemic diseases. For example, in 1786, to protect the Russian imperial capital of Saint Petersburg from plague epidemics, Catherine II ordered the construction of a quarantine station (*dom*) on the island of Seskar in the Gulf of Finland.[13] The regulations and procedures adopted for the Seskar quarantine served as a template for quarantine complexes established in the subsequent decades in the Russian south. Personnel appointed to manage and operate the Seskar quarantine included a quarantine inspector (*Pristav*) responsible for the overall operation of the quarantine station; a quarantine superintendent (*Nadziratel'*) who acted effectively as the quarantine inspector's deputy; a multilingual medical staff (including a medical doctor and a physician's assistant); a senior customs official who reported to the quarantine inspector and supervised procedures associated with the importing of goods through the Seskar quarantine station; a quarantine sergeant and a squad of twelve Russian army veterans to provide internal security in the quarantine; a quarantine detachment to provide external security on the island; and a number of workers (criminals, prisoners, and ex-convicts) employed to load and off-load goods and bury victims of the plague.

Prior to docking in Kronstadt (the main commercial port for Saint Petersburg) all merchant ships and naval vessels arriving from places suspected of being infected with plague were automatically placed into quarantine on Seskar Island. According to the Russian state, the places deemed most likely to be infected with plague in 1786 included North and West African ports, all "Asian" ports on the Black and Mediterranean seas, and ports located on any Aegean Islands under Ottoman control. The determination of quarantine periods was based upon ports of origin and the type of cargo being imported into the Russian

Empire. For example, ships arriving from Istanbul, Smyrna, Salonika, and the Aegean island of Khios were automatically (regardless of their cargo) required to undergo a minimum thirty-day quarantine period. For ships importing goods from other Aegean Islands (besides Khios) and the Adriatic port of Ragusa, the quarantine period was fixed at three weeks. All ships arriving from "suspicious places" (*mest somnitel'nykh*) and carrying books, paper, canvas, almonds, nuts, and coffee were placed under quarantine for a period of six weeks. Ships carrying cotton, flax, hemp, fleece, hair, down, and leather into Saint Petersburg received the maximum quarantine period of four months.

Following the annexation of the Crimean Khanate (in 1783) and the acquisition of the key Black Sea ports of Ochakov (Özi) (in 1792) and Odessa (in 1794), the Russian state embarked on a large-scale program of quarantine construction in its newly acquired southern territories. Temporary quarantine facilities were expanded and new quarantine installations were erected. By the late eighteenth century, the Russian state operated a reasonably coherent quarantine line along the Dniester River. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, Russian quarantine posts were operational in Vasilkov (near Kiev), Taganrog, Dubossar (on the Dniester), Odessa, Ochakov, Kherson, Eupatoria, Sevastopol, Yalta, Theodosia (Kaffa), Yenikale, and Kerch.[14] These quarantine stations and their affiliated checkpoints employed a total of 57 medical professionals and 278 auxiliary personnel.[15] At this point, the length of quarantine observation periods in the Russian south varied from four days to two months. Determinations of quarantine periods were largely based on reports from Russian consular officials in Istanbul on the prevalence and virility of the plague in the Ottoman Empire.[16]

A special statute promulgated in 1800 improved the organization and coordination of the Russian Empire's quarantine system and codified regulations for land and maritime quarantine stations in the Russian south.[17] These regulations would form the core of the Russian Empire's anti-disease and quarantine policies in the Black Sea region well into the nineteenth century. Denouncing the perceived inconsistency, nonconformity (*nesootvetstvie*), and unreliability (*malo nadezhnyi*) of the Russian Empire's existing southern quarantine and border regime, the 1800 statute called for the implementation of enhanced measures to rescue (*izbavliat'*) the empire from epidemic diseases originating in the Ottoman Empire. Specifically, the preamble of the 179-article statute—in a direct reference to the weakness of the procedures put in place in Seskar in 1786—acknowledged the inherent fallibility of relying upon individual testimonials (documented or otherwise) to indicate whether or not goods and passengers arriving in the Russian Empire were free from the plague.

Linking disease control with the preservation of social order, Article 1 of the Quarantine Statute of 1800 stated that "the establishment of quarantines at ports and at land borders is one of the most dependable measures not only to protect the empire from the dangers posed by epidemic diseases but, in general, as a means to promote public order and prosperity." Newly constructed quarantines were to be sited on elevated land (above seaports and river embankments), surrounded by a deep trench with palisaded ramparts and located at a distance of least one *verst* (1.07 kilometers) from the nearest town or village. Decisions regarding the dimensions and staffing requirements for each new quarantine installation were driven, in large measure, by the amount of commercial and migratory traffic expected to pass through the quarantine and its affiliated border posts. Similarly, as stipulated in the Quarantine Statute of 1800, the number and location of quarantines in the Russian south could be adjusted based upon need and migratory patterns.

A quarantine *Kontora* (office or bureau)—composed of a quarantine inspector, an assistant to the quarantine inspector, and a medical director—formed the core managerial unit in each newly established quarantine installation in the Russian Empire. Responsible for the implementation and enforcement of the new regulations instituted in the Quarantine Statute of 1800, the quarantine *Kontora* oversaw the security, disease-control, customs, and provisioning operations in each new quarantine complex, appointed and managed all quarantine staff, and, in consultation with provincial authorities, determined the length of quarantine observation periods. The quarantine *Kontora* compiled and produced daily and monthly reports on the number of people and ships passing through the quarantine, the types of disease carried by passengers and goods detained in the quarantine, and the number of deaths attributable to epidemic disease in the quarantine. As determinations on the length of quarantine periods in the Russian south depended in large measure on the prevalence of disease in adjacent non-Russian territories, quarantine *Kontors* were charged with developing reliable sources of information on health and disease-related conditions in the Black Sea region. Upon exiting Russian quarantine facilities, travelers received documents signed and stamped by the members of the quarantine *Kontora* indicating that they had completed all necessary quarantine obligations and that their goods and belongings had been fumigated and sanitized according to the procedures established in the Quarantine Statute of 1800.

In a tacit acknowledgment of widespread corruption in late eighteenth-century Russian quarantine installations, Article 23 of the Quarantine Statute of 1800 expressly prohibited quarantine staff from requesting a "payment" (*mzda*) for services rendered to travelers detained in the quarantine and from engaging in any "private contracts" with travelers passing through the quarantine. The only exception to this rule was the reduction—at the discretion of the quarantine inspector—of quarantine periods for members of the clergy. The Quarantine Statute of 1800 authorized the quarantine *Kontora* to use any and all means to limit transgressions on the part of quarantine staff and recommended the elimination of any temptations for bribery. To this end, travelers and quarantine staff were forbidden to drink alcohol, play cards, and participate in games of chance on the grounds of Russian quarantine installations.

Reflecting the Russian state's ongoing concerns regarding the effectiveness of anti-disease measures implemented in the Ottoman Empire, all ships arriving from the Ottoman Empire were directed (prior to preceding to Russian Black Sea quarantine facilities) to weigh anchor and undergo a thorough medical inspection.[18] Ships deemed to be infected with the plague were required to remain anchored in the harbor for a minimum of eight days pending an additional medical inspection. During this eight-day period, the 1800 Quarantine Statute mandated a series of cleansing measures to rid the ship and its passengers of disease. These anti-disease measures included the opening of all the ship's portholes and windows; the tying of passengers' soiled clothes and bedding to stones and their disposal in the sea; the airing out of all passenger's undergarments; the wearing of shoes smeared with tar by passengers and crew; the soaking of passenger's possessions in salt water; the leashing of all cats, dogs, and other animals being transported on the ship; the immersion of the ships sails in salt water for several days; and the repeated washing with salt water of all parts of the ship where the sick slept, stayed, or walked. A red flag flown from the mast of the infected ship warned other vessels plying the harbor to avoid contact with the infected ship's passengers and crew.[19] As a precautionary measure, after being cleared to enter the port, all travelers arriving from the Ottoman Empire were mandated to undergo an additional twelve-day period of medical observation.

Early nineteenth-century anti-disease initiatives and quarantine construction in the Russian south

With the acquisition of Bessarabia in 1812, the Russian Empire's treaty-defined border with the Ottoman Empire moved forward in a southwesterly direction from the line of the Dniester River to the line of the Prut River. In step with this territorial acquisition, the Russian state constructed a north–south quarantine line along the Prut River to its juncture with the Danube River and an east–west quarantine line along the northern edge of the Danubian estuary. A specific provincial organization (the Bessarabian Quarantine and Cordon Commission) was formed to oversee the construction of these two new quarantine lines.[20] Initially placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Police, oversight of Russian quarantine operations passed to the Ministry of the Interior following the expansion of the Russian ministerial system in the early part of the nineteenth century.[21] An analysis of the correspondence between provincial authorities in Bessarabia and Ministry of the Interior officials in Saint Petersburg concerning the ongoing construction of quarantine facilities along the axis of the Prut and Danube rivers indicates that by 1816 the formation of this southwestern frontier cordon (*pogranichnyi kordon*) was nearing completion.[22]

Despite the buildup of the Prut and Danube quarantine lines, the Dniester quarantine line was kept intact, acted as an interior defense against the spread of disease, and was fortified during times of severe outbreaks of plague. As early as 1815, the Russian Committee of Ministers contemplated dismantling the secondary (*rezervnyi*) Dniester quarantine line. Ongoing debates in the 1810s and early 1820s on the utility of keeping the Dniester quarantine line intact revolved around questions concerning the extent of the Bessarabian Oblast's incorporation into the administrative and political structure (*ustroistvo*) of the Russian Empire and the ability of the inchoate Russian quarantine line along the Prut and Danube rivers to check the spread of disease into the Russian interior. In the 1820s and early 1830s, free-trade advocates repeatedly called for the dismantling of the Dniester quarantine line. In particular, Ministry of Finance officials argued that the "internal" quarantine line along the Dniester acted as an unnecessary barrier to trading activity (especially in salt sourced from the area around Akkerman) between Bessarabia and other parts of the empire. In step with the ebb and flow of these debates, the number of quarantine posts maintained along the Dniester River fluctuated in the period between 1812 and the early 1830s.

With the establishment of a militarized quarantine line along the Danube River in the early 1830s, the Dniester quarantine line fell into disuse and was ultimately dissolved in 1833.[23]

As the principal maritime entrepôt for goods and travelers arriving in Russia from the Ottoman Empire, the port-city of Odessa was particularly susceptible to outbreaks of plague and, in turn, repeatedly subject to enhanced anti-disease measures.[24] For example, in August 1812, upon hearing the news that three famous Odessan actresses had died from the plague soon after purchasing handwoven shawls imported from the Ottoman Empire, the municipal governor of Odessa, the Duc de Richelieu, immediately imposed a series of stern anti-plague measures and quarantine restrictions on the population of Odessa. These measures included the division of the city into twelve administrative districts; the appointment of district-level commissars to oversee the implementation of anti-disease measures in the city; the confinement of city residents suspected of carrying the plague or being related to an individual known to have the plague; the placement of a black flag in front of houses where an occupant had died of the plague and the placement of a red flag in front of houses harboring individuals infected with the plague; the requirement that healthy individuals carry a special document attesting to the fact that they did not have the plague; the questioning of individuals possessing these special documents upon leaving their districts and the monitoring of their movements around the city; the imposition of fines on individuals caught walking the streets of Odessa without a certified health document; the closing of all city markets except for one specially designated market in each district; and the requirement that individuals buying food and necessary household items in these designated markets be accompanied by the district commissar or his one of his deputies.

To check the potential spread of disease from Odessa to other parts of the Russian Empire, a brigade of 300 Cossack soldiers was deployed to guard all land routes connecting Odessa with the Russian interior. Temporary quarantine posts were erected along these routes and all individuals leaving Odessa were subjected to a forty-day period of medical observation. Upon completion of their required quarantine period, residents of Odessa were issued a document attesting to their clean bill of health.

Despite the fact that these stern quarantine measures severely restricted movements between Odessa and the Russian interior, a marked increase in plague fatalities in Odessa in the fall of 1812 forced the Duc to Richelieu to redouble his efforts to eliminate plague in Odessa. On November 22, 1812, a full and general quarantine was placed on the city. All city residents, both healthy and ill, were confined to their homes. Fires were set on all major thoroughfares in an attempt to fumigate the city's air. All public places, including the Odessa stock exchange, the Odessa opera house, theaters, inns, baths, schools, and churches, were closed. Despite the imposition of these draconian measures an estimated 2,600 residents of Odessa (out of a total population of 36,000) died of plague in the fall of 1812.

The persistence of plague in southern Russia in 1813 (principally in the areas around the towns of Elizavetgrad and Balta) compelled municipal authorities in Odessa to continue to enforce stern anti-disease measures in and around the city. For example, in May 1813, a group of 400 migrants fleeing an outbreak of disease in Balta were denied entrance into Odessa and placed into quarantine outside the city. In the spring of 1814, in response to a precipitous drop in commerce and an overall decline in the once vibrant economy of the port-city, the Duc de Richelieu—arguing that the cure was now worse than the disease—moved to ease restrictions on travel in and out of Odessa. Dismissive of any attempt to forge a compromise between quarantine requirements and free trade, Prince Kuriakin (the Saint Petersburg-based High Commissioner for Sanitation) countermanded Richelieu's orders and the land-based *cordon sanitaire* around the city of Odessa remained in effect until August 1814.[25]

Despite the Russian state's increasingly scientific understanding of epidemic diseases and the subsequent mounting of public awareness campaigns, rumors, myths, and superstition surrounding the plague pervaded Russian society in Odessa and Crimea. For example, Mary Holderness, in her account of her residency in Crimea in the early part of the nineteenth century, wrote,

> it is recorded, and believed by all denominations of the superstitious inhabitants of the Crimea, that hospitality was the means of preserving a whole village from the dreadful visitation of the plague during the years 1812 and 1813 … the story is as follows: near midnight a stranger knocked, and obtained admittance, at the cottage of one of these villages; he begged for food and drink, both of which were freely given to him, and his stay for the remainder of the night pressed; but having refreshed himself, he got up to depart, and thanking them for their reception of him, assured them he would amply repay it. "I am," said he, "The Plague, and during the scourge with which I am come to visit this country, your village shall remain unhurt and untouched amidst surrounding devastation." The promise was fulfilled, and the village escaped the infection, which spread with horrid rapidity around.[26]

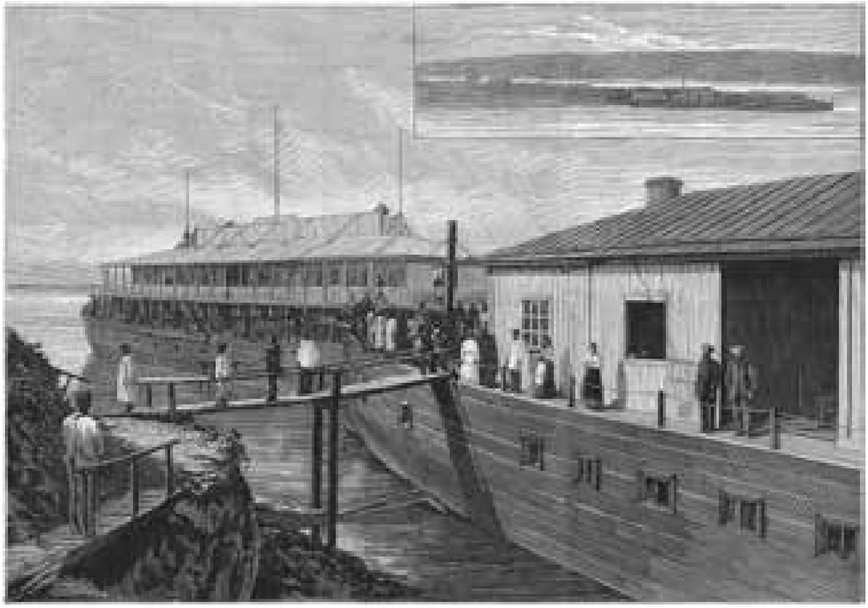


Figure 6.1 Quarantine ships in Russia. Photo by Fine Art Images/Heritage Images/ Getty Images.

Anti-disease regulations in the Russian south—1820s and 1830s

Population displacements associated with Russian troop movements through the Danubian Principalities and Ottoman Rumelia during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829 contributed to particularly severe outbreaks of plague and cholera in the Black Sea region.[27] In response to reports filed by Russian Ministry of the Interior officials and Russian secret agents posted in Odessa, Bessarabia, Dobruja, and the Danubian Principalities documenting the prevalence of disease in the Black Sea region, the Russian state closed its Black Sea ports to commercial traffic and restricted population movements into southern Russia.[28]

In early 1829, during a pause between the two campaign seasons of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, the Russian Ministry of the Interior issued a series of regulations designed to check to the spread of disease into the Russian interior.[29] Published under the auspices of the Ministry of the Interior's Medical Department, these regulations divided the principal towns in the southern Russian provinces of Novorossiya and Bessarabia into special administrative zones. Reliable individuals were selected from each zone to report to provincial authorities on the health condition of all individuals entering and exiting their respective zones. Drawing upon information gathered from local populations, municipal authorities (with the support of the police and military) were directed to cordon off all homes and (if necessary) entire neighborhoods displaying signs of the plague. Streets in front of infected houses were kept clear and the exterior of infected houses were clearly marked or signed to indicate the presence of plague. The walls, floors, doors, and furniture in plague-infected houses were thoroughly cleansed and the interior of these houses fumigated with hydrochloric or sulfuric acid. Only certain (hand-selected) police officers were allowed to deliver food and supplies to homes infected with the plague and municipal authorities were specifically advised to monitor the activities of itinerant (door-to-door) barbers. To avoid contracting plague, healthy individuals were advised to wash daily using saltwater, vinegar, or (if they could afford it) olive oil.

According to these regulations all public gatherings were forbidden. Churches, schools, and theaters were closed, annual trade fairs suspended, markets disbanded, and public baths shuttered. Public drinking houses and factories were shut down. The use of any form of conveyance (carts and boats) which contained wool, leather, canvas, wool, fur, fleece, or padding and pillows stuffed with hair was forbidden. Ships and boats using oakum (a loose hemp or jute fiber) as a form of caulking or sealant were commandeered. Paper money was ordered to be regularly fumigated and all coins ordered to be repeatedly washed in vinegar.[30] Additionally, the clothes and bedding of individuals who had succumbed to the plague were to be burned immediately and, as a precautionary measure, town officials were advised to pay special attention to trade in secondhand clothing.[31] The bodies of those who died of plague were to be buried immediately, processions and gatherings to honor the dead were not permitted, and the performance of burial ceremonies and rituals curtailed or canceled. To avoid contracting the plague, the touching, washing, clothing, or kissing of corpses was prohibited. Burial pits for victims of the plague were to be dug as deep as possible.

To reinforce the seriousness of the regulations handed down from the Russian Ministry of the Interior, in July 1829, the government of the Bessarabian Oblast, in the form of a printed and publicly disseminated “Declaration” (*Ob’iavlenie*), notified the inhabitants of Bessarabia that extraordinary measures would have to be taken to combat the spread of epidemic disease across Bessarabia and into the Russian interior.[32] Printed on one page and produced under the auspices of the “Guardianship Committee for Regions of Southern

Russia," copies of this "Declaration" were sent to police captains and members of the municipal court (*zemski sud*) in all the important towns of Bessarabia.[33] For public consumption, additional copies of the "Declaration" were posted in front of government buildings and read out loud in town squares.

Summarizing health and disease-related reports submitted by quarantine officials and medical professionals posted "at the limits of the border with Turkey" (*zagranitseiu v Turetskikh pred'lakh*), the "Declaration" impressed upon the population of Bessarabia the severity of the public health threat posed by recent outbreaks of plague along the Black Sea region. As many parts of Bessarabia had not yet been affected by the plague, the "Declaration"—in an attempt, perhaps, to preempt public disturbances in response to government-imposed social control measures—publicized the results of the most research conducted by medical staff in Bessarabia concerning the length of plague-related incubation periods and the delayed manifestation of the disease. Therefore, as stated in the "Declaration," precautionary and pro-active anti-disease measures were to be enacted immediately including the infliction of capital punishment on any individuals caught avoiding quarantine obligations, engaging in cross-border contraband trade, or moving clandestinely across the Prut River.

Disease in the Russian army

Deaths from disease outnumbered combat fatalities in the Russo-Ottoman wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[34] Reporting from Bucharest during the early stages of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, a Russian agent observed that "never in history have disease and warfare been as intertwined as they are at the present time."[35] Senior Russian military officers lamented their inability to defend their soldiers from the depredations of the plague. To quote Feodor Tornay, the cousin and aide-de-camp of the Russian Field Marshal Dibich-Zabalkanski, "Generals and Commandants were at a loss to prevent deaths from plague among their officers and clerical staff. And on more than one occasion we encountered abandoned carts full of provisions and supplies surrounded by dead horses and merchants."[36] In 1828 and 1829, travelers and military servitors in the Danubian Principalities and Ottoman Rumelia frequently remarked upon the large number of plague-related deaths in the Russian army.[37]

Following the successful Russian siege of Varna in the summer and fall of 1828, the Russian army immediately established a *cordon sanitaire* around the city, closed the gates of the city to all commercial traffic, and constructed several quarantine stations in the city's port. In the city center, Russian military hospitals treated civilian victims of the plague. Further down the Black Sea coast in Burgas, abandoned houses along the city's bay were converted into temporary quarantine stations and in Ahyolu (Ankhialo, Pomorie) the Russian army established quarantines and military hospitals to intern and treat civilians suspected of carrying the plague.[38]

Similar anti-disease measures were undertaken in 1829 and 1830 in Russian-occupied Moldavia and Wallachia.[39] Under the auspices of Russian military officers and quarantine officials, *cordons sanitaire* were established around Bucharest and Jassy and the governance of the two cities placed under the control of specially created medical directorates. The mansions of local boyars were commandeered and converted into lazarets and quarantine hospitals. Medical doctors conducted inspection tours of towns and villages in the Moldavian and Wallachian countryside and district-level medical committees (composed of one Russian procurator and three Moldavian or Wallachian boyars) were created to gather health-related information and report to the Russian provisional government on local outbreaks of plague.[40] During the Russo-Ottoman Wars of 1806–1812 and 1828–1829, the construction of lazarets (around Bucharest and Jassy) and the establishment of quarantine posts along the Danube River (in Braila, Galatz, and Giurgiu) severed long-established trade connections among Ottoman, Wallachian, and Moldavian merchants.[41]

In an effort to limit plague-related losses, Russian soldiers—rather than billet in towns and villages suspected of being infected with disease—frequently bivouacked in open fields. For example, severe outbreaks of plague in the Wallachian capital of Bucharest in the summer of 1828 compelled Russian forces to bivouac at some distance from the city.[42] And, in the spring of 1829, repeated outbreaks of plague in eastern Rumelia prompted the Russian garrison in Aytos to relocate to an area several kilometers from the town center.[43] Additionally, as Turkish and Bulgarian merchants trading in cloth, cotton, and woolen goods were often suspected of carrying disease into Russian military camps, Russian army regulations expressly forbade the sourcing of these kinds of goods from local populations.[44] These types of anti-disease measures hampered Russian supply lines and impeded the delivery of provisions to Russian armies operating in Ottoman Rumelia during the Russo-Ottoman wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[45]

Anti-disease regulations in Odessa—1829

In Odessa—the largest and most important city in the Russian south and the principal residence for most of the top-level state servitors in the Gubernate of Novorossiya—a series of plague epidemics in 1829 prompted the governor-general of Novorossiya and Bessarabia, Mikhail Vorontsov, to issue a set of far-reaching anti-disease and sanitation regulations. In issuing these regulations, Vorontsov drew upon the measures implemented by his predecessor, the Duc de Richelieu, during the plague-ridden years of 1812–1814 and expanded upon the Ministry of the Interior's provincial-level anti-disease initiatives.[46] Published (in printed form) in the early summer of 1829, Vorontsov's 52-article "Regulations Adopted to Manage the Residents of the City of Odessa during Times of Epidemic Diseases" imposed severe social control measures on the population of Odessa. The key provisions in Vorontsov's regulations are summarized below.

In Article 1 of the regulations, Vorontsov succinctly articulated the primary objective of the Odessa government's social control initiatives, and expressed, in no uncertain terms, the spirit in which the regulations were promulgated. Quoted in full, Article 1 of Vorontsov's regulations read, "The primary method for suppressing epidemic disease is to forbid interactions among residents of Odessa. To achieve this goal and to prevent epidemic disease in Odessa from spreading to other parts of the empire, the city of Odessa will be closed and encircled by a militarized *cordon sanitaire*. No one will be allowed to cross this line."

Articles 2 and 3 of Vorontsov's regulations established militarized checkpoints around sections of the city infected with the plague and ordered the vast majority of residents in other (non-plague ridden) parts to remain in their homes. Article 4 directed trustworthy and reliable heads of households to apply to their district commissars for the right to conduct business in the city. Successful petitioners were issued a tin badge (*zhestianii znak*) which they were required to wear (in a visible manner) when walking the streets of Odessa. Individuals caught moving around Odessa without a tin badge were fined 100 rubles. Repeat offenders were ordered to be placed into quarantine for an unspecified period of detention. Reflecting Vorontsov's concern that trusted individuals might be tempted to transfer their badges (for a certain fee) to unreliable individuals, tin-badged residents of Odessa found engaging in this type of identity crime were liable for fines and incarceration.

Adopting measures first implemented during the plague years from 1812 to 1814, in 1829 Vorontsov divided Odessa into special administrative districts and appointed commissars to oversee operations in each administrative district. To assist in the implementation of public health–related measures, a medical doctor was assigned to the staff of every district-level commissar in Odessa. Articles 7–12 focused on the procedural and administrative aspects of district-level operations. These procedures included the compilation of a list of the names and addresses of residents in each district; two visits per day (one before 9 a.m. and the other sometime between 6 and 9 p.m.) by the commissar or his deputies to each house in their district; the submission of daily reports on the health status of each resident in the district; and the imposition of a nighttime curfew (from 9 p.m. to 6 a.m.) on all residents of Odessa except for commissars, their deputies, and armed watchmen.

Article 13 stipulated that all heads of household—under threat of fine or penalty—were required to immediately inform their district commissar or his deputies about the death of and/or appearance of any new illnesses among their extended family members. Individuals displaying symptoms of plague were immediately sent to lazarets for extended medical observation and their domiciles ordered to be washed and fumigated. The personal items of plague victims were impounded and burned. Individuals who refused to comply with these plague-related regulations were liable for capital punishment. Article 21 of the regulations ordered all churches, working places, and markets to be closed. Due to their general poverty and slovenliness (*neopriatnost'*), beggars, mendicants, and the indigenous were expressly forbidden to walk the streets of Odessa. Those without fixed residences were ordered to be rounded up, collected in one area, and placed under twenty-four-hour surveillance by city police.

Acknowledging the fact that city residents still needed to be fed and provided with necessary household items during times of plague, Vorontsov established two committees to oversee the distribution of provisions in Odessa. The first (or external) committee—composed of regional-level (*uezd*) state servitors and trustworthy citizens (*grazhdany*) of towns and villages in the Novorossiya Gubernate—was entrusted with the task of gathering and transporting goods from the countryside through a militarized *cordon sanitaire* established around Odessa. The second (or internal) committee, composed of the head of the Odessa Police Department, the procurator-general of Odessa, and trusted civilians, was authorized (in coordination with district commissars) to oversee the distribution of goods to the residents of Odessa. Items expressly forbidden to be imported into the city of Odessa in 1828 and 1829 included paper, linens, canvas, fabrics, and textiles. Laborers hired to assist in the distribution of food and water to city residents were required to wear leather gloves smeared with olive oil.

Other articles of note in Vorontsov's anti-disease regulations included the restriction of the use of *equipage* (horse-drawn carts with liveried footmen) to district commissars, their deputies, medical doctors, and government officials; recommendations on how best to air-out and ventilate private residences; the establishment of an armed guard to monitor the import of wheat into Odessa; and the suspension of all construction projects in the city of Odessa.

The 52nd and concluding article in the 1829 regulations reiterated and reinforced the severity of the measures undertaken by Vorontsov to check the spread of disease in Odessa. Quoted in full, the article reads:

> All of these regulations will, without question, be fully-adhered to by all residents of Odessa and fully-implemented by city officials. All the aforesaid fines and penalties are intended to punish those who violate these regulations and, by extension, contribute to the spread of disease in the city. Transgressions against these regulations threaten the health and safety of society. Therefore, violators will be remanded to quarantines and subjected to justice by quarantine officials. Quarantine officials are empowered to administer capital punishment to those guilty of spreading or conspiring to spread epidemic diseases. To ensure that the goal of checking the spread of disease in Odessa is achieved, quarantine guards are authorized to shoot any individuals resisting punishment.

The Russian Empire's southwestern quarantine system—1820s and 1830s

In the mid-1820s, the Russian state redoubled its efforts to establish a comprehensive and effective southwestern quarantine line. Under the direction of Pavel Kiselev, a trusted servitor of the Russian tsar Alexander I and (at this point in his career) a general in the Russian 2nd Army, the main thrust of the Russian government's Bessarabian quarantine project involved the strengthening and expansion of preexisting quarantine installations in Skuliani, Reni, Leovo, Satunov, Ismail, Akkerman, and Ovidiopol.[47] As part of Kiselev's "war on disease," border stations were sited at regular intervals between quarantine posts and smaller pickets established to form, as and envisaged by Kiselev, an uninterrupted chain (*nepreryvnaia tsep'*) of quarantine and border stations along the axis of the Prut and Danube rivers.[48]

Drawing upon his military connections and the authority vested in him by Tsar Alexander I, Kiselev enlisted military veterans to bolster and provide leadership along the militarized Prut quarantine line and impressed migrants into border and picket duty.[49] Additionally, experienced medical doctors and large numbers of trained medical staff were redeployed from the Russian interior to quarantines in the Black Sea region. For example, in the summer of 1830, the staffing list for the medical department at the Satunov quarantine-border installation (*Satunovskaia Karantinnaia Zastava*) included three medical doctors, two feldshers (nurse practitioners), ten commissars, and twelve medical assistants.[50] Attesting to the perception of Bessarabia as a frontier (both bacterial and territorial) between the Ottoman and Russian empires, the German doctor Zeidlits, upon crossing the Prut River from Bessarabia into the Danubian Principalities in the spring of 1829, declared that "We are now on the border of the plague zone (*zachumlennago kraia*). A quarantine line has been erected along the Bessarabian frontier."[51]

The appearance of plague in the Danubian Principalities in 1828 coupled with severe outbreaks of cholera in southern Russia in 1829 prompted the Russian Ministry of the Interior to reissue a series of previously disseminated quarantine regulations and to draft several new disease-related instructions.[52] These instructions were distributed to provincial and municipal-level authorities, port officials, and quarantine directors. As part of the new instructions, the Ministry of the Interior ordered the construction of temporary quarantines along the southwestern "limits" (*predely*) of the empire. For example, to deal with increased trans-Danubian migratory traffic in the period after the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, a temporary quarantine was constructed next to the main quarantine post in Ovidiopol and a minimum twelve-day quarantine period imposed on all those crossing through the Ovidiopol quarantine installation.[53] In Akkerman and Ochakov, merchant ships were commandeered and converted into temporary migrant-holding facilities.[54] Additionally, the Ministry of the Interior directed officials in Novorossiya to establish a *cordon sanitaire* around the Black Sea port of Sebastopol and to impose a quarantine period of three days on individuals crossing the secondary (internal) quarantine line along the Dniester River. From a 50,000-ruble fund established in 1818 for unanticipated quarantine expenditures, the Ministry of the Interior appropriated 15,000 rubles to expand operations at the Kherson and Nikolaev quarantines and distributed 10,000 rubles to the Sebastopol quarantine station.[55]

Ismail: An example of a Russian quarantine complex

By the 1840s, the Russian quarantine installation in Ismail (which had originally been constructed in 1829 as a temporary facility) could no longer accommodate the heavy commercial and migratory traffic crossing across the Danube River between

Ottoman Rumelia and southern Russia. Therefore, in the early 1840s, the Russian state undertook efforts to renovate and expand the Ismail quarantine installation. As part of this process all quarantine operations in Ismail were relocated from a previous location in the city proper to an islet outside of the city. Reflecting the evolution of Russian quarantine installations into all-purpose border, customs, and port facilities, the port of Ismail was also moved to the new quarantine site and its functions subsumed within the overall operations of the Ismail quarantine complex. An article published in the *Journal of the Russian Ministry of Interior* in 1844 detailed the layout, procedures, and personnel of the expanded and recently established Russian quarantine complex in Ismail.[56] In summarizing the main parts of this article, my goal is to help us imagine, as best as possible, the experience of an individual traveler entering a Russian quarantine installation in the first half of the nineteenth century.

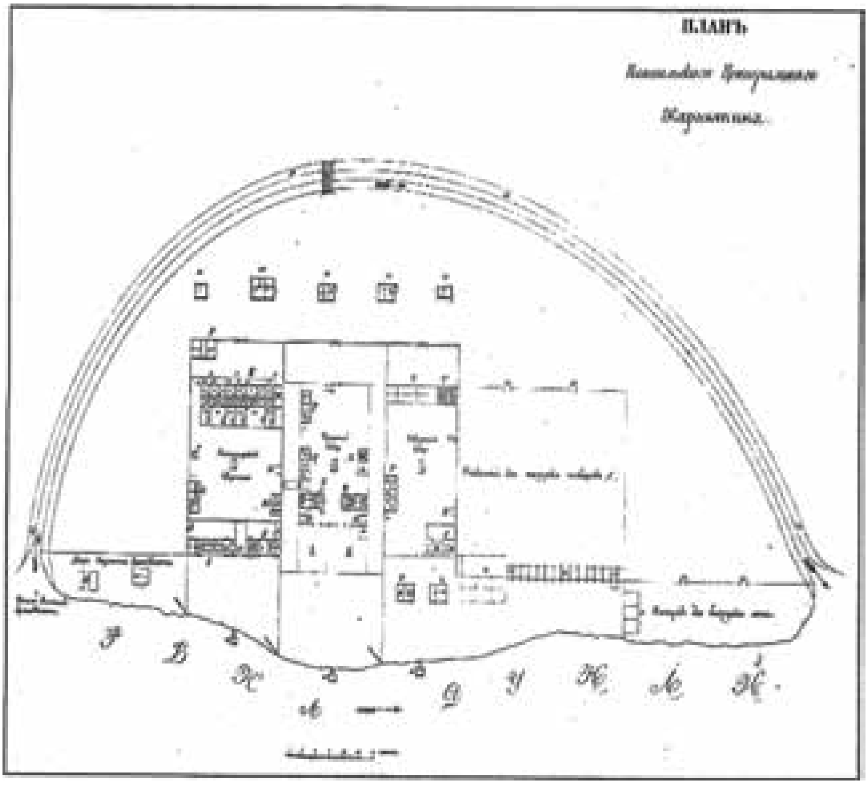


Figure 6.2 Plan of the Russian quarantine complex in Ismail (1844).

Source: "Izmail'skii Tsentral'nyi Karantin," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* (Kn. 6, June 1844), 376.

Opened in the fall of 1843, the reconstructed and re-sited Ismail quarantine complex occupied an area of roughly 22 acres (eight *desiatins*) and was surrounded on all sides by water. The main quarantine building in the complex fronted the Danube River and, for fumigation purposes, was built entirely from stone. Rectangular in shape and enclosed on three sides by high stone walls, the main quarantine building occupied a space of roughly 7,500 square meters. Subdivided into three distinct and separate chambers or quarters (*kvartal*), the main quarantine building contained a waiting room for passengers (*passazhirskii kvartal*), a lazaret (*chumnyi kvartal*), and a warehouse (*tovarnyi kvartal*) for goods being imported into the Russian Empire through the Ismail quarantine complex.

From the city-side (or land-side) of the islet a bridge bisected the 700-meter-long canal permitting movement from the quarantine complex to the city proper. From this bridge, one could see five small buildings (the chancellery of the director of the quarantine, a residence for the superintendent of the quarantine, a residence for other senior staff at the quarantine, an external guard house, and a pharmacy) erected on the flat plain between the canal and the main quarantine building. Behind these buildings, on the high rear (or northern) wall of the main quarantine building, a specially designed quarantine flag indicated to all those entering the quarantine installation that they were now under the jurisdiction of Russian quarantine regulations. To the west of the main quarantine building, a Russian warship (*brandvakhty*) lay in anchor at the confluence of the canal and the Danube River. During periods of heavy traffic through the Ismail quarantine complex, this warship was utilized as an auxiliary lazaret. To the east of the main quarantine building, two fenced courtyards served as holding and loading areas for goods sourced from the region around Ismail.

A centrally appointed quarantine director supervised all operations in the Ismail quarantine complex. Below him, a cadre of senior staff managed the day-to-day activities of the quarantine and its port. These senior staff members included the quarantine director's deputy, three commissars, a quarantine inspector, a port-master, and the commander of the warship. Responsible for security, medical, and bureaucratic operations, the three commissars maintained operational oversight over all the guards, sentinels, doctors, nurses, pharmacists, translators, and clerks employed at the Ismail quarantine complex. Deployed on the grounds of the Ismail quarantine complex and placed under the supervision of the quarantine director, a 325-man guard (the "Ismail Half-battalion Quarantine Guard"—*Izmail'skago Polubataliona Karantinnoi Strazhi*) protected the main quarantine building and the port of Ismail. Additionally, a security detail guarded the land-side (or external) perimeter of the quarantine complex.

All ships arriving in the Ismail quarantine complex were initially met and boarded by the commander of the warship. Accompanied by a team of translators, the commander inspected the ship's passengers, crew, and cargo and obtained pertinent information about the ship and its passengers including the name of the ship's captain, the flag under which the ship sailed, the ship's port of origin, the health conditions in the port of departure, the ports visited en route to Ismail, the number of days the ship had been at sea, the health situation among the ship's passengers, the type of cargo carried in the ship, and the ship's ultimate destination.

Following inspection by the commander of the warship, ships arriving at the Ismail quarantine complex were directed to dock at the main quarantine pier. Here, under the supervision of the quarantine inspector and his staff, passengers and goods were off-loaded. Ship captains and their crew disembarked further down the quay. After disembarking, all passengers were escorted to an interrogation hall located in front of the passenger's waiting room. In the interrogation hall, passengers were required to take an oath attesting to the truth of their statements and were stripped naked and inspected for signs of plague by the quarantine's medical staff. Passengers deemed free of the plague were directed to enter the passengers' waiting room. Here passengers were conducted into an antechamber which connected the interrogation room with the passenger's waiting hall. Healthy passengers were registered, their clothes changed, and their belongings fumigated.

Entering the main hall of the waiting area, healthy passengers were assigned to one of the six rooms located along the back wall of the hall. Each room had a door leading into a forecourt and a window with grilled wire through which passengers could communicate with visitors from Ismail. A grilled partition separated the forecourt in front of each chamber from the main hall. Passengers were ordered to remain in their chambers until their ship's goods could be unloaded and inspected and any additional export goods loaded into the ship's hold. During this period, passengers received treatment for any (common) illnesses detected during the medical examination and were permitted to purchase food and supplies from specially vetted vendors. These transactions took place in a courtyard located behind the passengers' chambers. A guarded entryway, cut through the rear wall of the main quarantine building, permitted passage directly into this courtyard from the flat interior plain of the quarantine complex. Adjacent to the six passengers' chambers, a specially constructed annex contained quarters for the three commissars, the quarantine inspector, and other quarantine staff. Stoked by burning rubbish, a centrally located hearth provided heat during the winter months.

While medical examinations were being conducted and passengers ushered through in-take procedures, the ship's captain—in a nod, perhaps, to commercial interests—was permitted to conduct business with merchants from Ismail. These dealings took place in a galleried room adjacent to the interrogation hall. Merchants from Ismail were escorted into the room via a courtyard connected to a small entryway located on the western wall of the main quarantine building. Divided in half by a metallic grille extending to the ceiling, this room contained a hearth and a drum to fumigate paper money and coins and was manned by quarantine guards who, from the gallery, observed and documented all interactions between ship captains and merchants.

Upon medical inspection, all passengers displaying signs of the plague were immediately consigned to the quarantine complex's lazaret. Located on both sides of the quayside entrance into the lazaret, the presence of two large graveyards attested to the fate of most of those entering into the *Chumnyi Kvartal* of the Ismail quarantine complex. Plague-infected passengers were assigned to one of twelve chambers—six on the left and six on the right—located toward the front of the lazaret. Here, plague-stricken passengers were subjected to a minimum 28-day period of medical observation. Each six-chambered annex was dedicated to housing plague-infested passengers from one ship—indicating that the Ismail quarantine was capable of handling two ship's worth of passengers at a time.[57]

Russian quarantines as instruments of border control and migration management

The construction of quarantine lines was not only the primary Russian institutional response to the spread of disease but a fundamental part of the Russian state's migration management regime. Russian authorities linked migration with the spread of disease and for the Russian state the suppression of disease became a question of controlling migration. For example, together with the return of Russian troops from the Ottoman front and unseasonably warm summer weather, Ministry of the Interior officials considered unchecked population movements to be one of the main reasons for the appearance and spread of plague in the Russian Empire in the late 1820s and early 1830s.[58] Provincial authorities in Novorossiya pinned the outbreak of a cholera epidemic in Odessa in 1829 on the arrival of infected migrants from the Black Sea port of Köstence (Constanţa).[59] And in the summer of 1829, a severe outbreak of epidemic disease among trans-Danubian migrant-settlers prompted provincial authorities in Bessarabia to draw up policies aimed at improving the ability of the Russian state to manage and control migratory populations moving into the southwestern part of the Russian Empire.[60]

As was the case in the Ottoman context, Russian quarantine stations evolved into all-purpose border posts and assumed functions beyond that of merely checking the spread of disease. In the 1790s, Russian quarantine staff manning the Dniester quarantine line supervised all activities typically associated with border operations—including customs collection and the levying of duties on imported goods.[61] In 1808, the wording on a type of military-issued travel document (*Otkryty List*)—which accorded merchants free and unhindered passage through army fore-posts and border stations—was amended to read "but it is to be understood, however, that these orders do not carry authority in quarantine posts. Determinations on whether or not merchants will be permitted to pass through will depend upon the rules and regulations specific to quarantines."[62]

At the primary crossing points for Bulgarian migrants entering the Russian Empire during and after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, the quarantine staff in Reni, Ismail, Satunov, Akkerman, and Odessa interrogated migrant arrivals and, following an intensive interview process, drew up registration lists of all migrants entering the Russian Empire. For example, in August 1830, quarantine staff in Reni developed registration lists for two groups of Nekrasovites (one group arriving from Seriköy in the Danubian delta and the other group arriving from Babadağ in Dobruja).[63] The information contained in these registration lists included the names of all migrant family members, the migrant family's town or village of origin, the head of household's occupation, the family's possessions, and the migrant family's preferred settlement site in the Russian Empire. These types of registration lists were forwarded to provincial and police authorities in Bessarabia ahead of the planned settlement of migrants in southern Russia.[64] In Odessa in the late 1820s and early 1830s, quarantine staff recorded refugee and migrant petitions requesting permission to settle permanently in the Russian Empire. These petitions were forwarded to provincial authorities in Bessarabia.[65] Similar migrant registration efforts were undertaken in the early 1830s at Russian- and Wallachian-controlled quarantine stations along the northern shore of the Danube River.[66]

Quarantine installations in southern Russia doubled as frontier listening posts and provided a base for the surveillance of cross-border criminal activity. In 1812, Russian authorities detained and interrogated a fugitive Ottoman *Ayan* and his nine-man guard for three weeks at a quarantine station along the Danube River.[67] In Bessarabia in the early 1820s, secret agents and spies—posing as military officers seconded to implement and strengthen quarantine security procedures—monitored cross-border traffic and interrogated suspected "Turkish criminals" hiding among migrant groups. In February 1821, the first Russian reports on armed clashes between Greek rebels and Turkish troops in the Danubian Principalities (the initial blows of the Greek War of Independence against Ottoman rule) were filed by military spies stationed in the Reni quarantine installation.[68] In the summer of 1821, Colonel Pavel Pestel (who around this time established and assumed the leadership of the southern society of Decembrists) reported to his superior General Kiselev in Kishinev on the movement of Greek rebels and Russian dissenters through the Galatz and Skuliani quarantine stations. In the early 1820s, Kiselev—from a posting at the Russian quarantine station in Tulça—monitored the activities of Greek rebels in the Danubian Principalities and reported on the Turkish response to these disturbances.[69]

In the summer of 1830, the governor-general of Novorossiya and Bessarabia Mikhail Vorontsov deployed special agents to surveil and report on migrant groups crossing through the Satunov quarantine installation. Fluent in Turkish and other "eastern" languages, these agents interrogated and filed reports on Turkish-speaking Bulgarian migrants.[70] In July 1832, a Russian military officer in Silistre (Lieutenant-Colonel Ber) alerted the directors of all quarantine stations along the Danubian quarantine line to be on the lookout for a known Bulgarian rebel believed to be on the move between a rebel base established in Karaorman (south of Silistre in Ottoman Rumelia) and Wallachia. Shortly thereafter, this rebel was apprehended, detained, and interrogated at the Kalarași quarantine station.[71]

In the late 1820s and early 1830s, the central leadership of the Third Section (the Russian secret police created early in the reign of Tsar Nicholas I) requested and received lists of all migrants entering Russian quarantine stations along the southwestern border of the empire. These lists were used to identify and track fugitives, Polish rebels, masons, and individuals suspected of belonging to secret societies. In the summer of 1835, Third Section agents monitoring movements around a quarantine station in Vidin captured a group of Polish officers seeking refuge in Ottoman Rumelia.[72] Gleaned from interviews conducted with detained migrants, reports filed in the late 1820s and early 1830s by Third Section agents posted to quarantine facilities in Odessa, Tulça, Ochakov, Ismail, and Akkerman kept officials in Saint Petersburg abreast of the political situation in Ottoman Rumelia and Istanbul.[73] In the 1830s, Third Section agents—posing as medical staff seconded by the Russian Ministry of the Interior—filed reports on the effectiveness (or lack thereof) of Wallachian quarantine procedures.[74] In Leovo, Akkerman, Kerch, Odessa, Yalta, and Yenikale, customs officials were integrated into the staffing structure of the cities' main quarantines and in Odessa, specifically, customs agents were recruited by the Third Section to gather information on travelers passing through the city's quarantine.[75]

Russian quarantine officials were authorized to issue health- and travel-related documents to migrants crossing into Russian territory. In Sebastopol, quarantine staff issued documents to travelers and migrants passing through the Sebastopol quarantine attesting to their fulfillment of all quarantine-related obligations.[76] Likewise, officials at the busy Akkerman, Ismail, and Satunov quarantine stations issued travel documents (*zagranichnie bilety*) to Bulgarian migrants entering the Russian Empire. These documents ensured the safe passage of migrants to their ultimate settlement sites in Bessarabia and southern Russia.[77] In 1830, travel documents issued to a group of Bulgarian migrants passing through the Ovidiopol quarantine station granted the right of free settlement anywhere in Bessarabia (*svobodnoe zhitelstvo v Bessarabii*). Choosing the nearby town of Akkerman, this group of Bulgarian migrants—following a check of their quarantine-issued travel and identity documents—received assistance from the town police in establishing permanent residence in Akkerman.[78] Together with the registration of migrants and the levying of customs fees on all imported goods, the responsibilities of Russian and Wallachian quarantine officials manning the Pioa Pietri quarantine station (across the Danube River from Hirsova) included the distribution of *bilets* to migrants crossing the Danube River from Ottoman Rumelia into Wallachia.[79]

The limitations of the Russian Empire's quarantine system and southwestern border regime

Commercial linkages, structural connections among migratory populations, and the irregular delimitation of Ottoman-Russian borders in the Black Sea region reduced the efficacy of Russian anti-plague and quarantine measures.

Quarantine stations were easily evaded and the stringent application of policies regarding the inspection of goods and migrants was more the exception than the rule. In the late 1820s and early 1830s, Russian governors in the occupied Danubian Principalities readily acknowledged the difficulties involved in imposing quarantine regulations on migratory populations moving between Ottoman Rumelia and southern Russia.[80] Additionally, reports filed by Wallachian servitors posted to the Danubian quarantine line in 1832 attest to the inability of Russian and Wallachian quarantine guards to check the "illegal" cross-border movements of Bulgarian migrants.[81]

Quarantine and cordon duty for the peace-time army in the underpopulated, windswept, cold in winter, hot and dusty in summer southern Bessarabian steppe was not a desirable posting and military and civil authorities consistently noted the poor morale of those manning the border. Provisioning was poor and housing makeshift. To supplement the patrolling of border and quarantine posts on the Dniester and Prut rivers, in 1814 the Russian Ministry of the Interior recruited and formed a provincial guard from among recently settled migrants in Bessarabia. This auxiliary guard proved to be poorly disciplined, undependable, difficult to control, and susceptible to graft and bribery. For a few rubles, migrant-settlers were able to buy their way out of border and quarantine duties.[82] Provincial and town officials looked upon quarantine posts as important sources of revenue—contributing, no doubt, to bribery and corruption along Russian quarantine lines.[83]

Memoirs penned by migrants on the move in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region in the early part of the nineteenth century indicate that bribery was rife along Russian-controlled quarantine lines. For example, en route from his hometown of Turnovo to take up studies in Bucharest in the fall of 1829, the future Bulgarian Metropolitan Panaret Rashev crossed the Danube River at Giurgevo (Giurgiu, Yergögü). Here he was placed into quarantine and, following a strip search, ordered to place his money into two tubs of vinegar—one for coins and the other for paper money. For each of these sanitation procedures, he was charged ten rubles. Upon completing his quarantine obligations, Rashev was asked to pay an additional 20 rubles as a "departure" fee.[84]

European travelers crossing the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea frontier noted that a small bribe was enough to reduce the quarantine period to only a few days and that for a reasonable sum, travelers, merchants, and migrants could avoid quarantine obligations altogether. For example, while traveling through Ottoman Rumelia in the summer of 1829, Dr. Zeidlits—a German physician assigned to review the Russian military's anti-disease procedures during the

Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829—noted that many migrants were unable or unwilling to pay a certain fee required to "hasten" (*uskorit'*) their passage through temporary Russian military quarantine stations established in Dobruja and eastern Rumelia. He observed that other (richer) migrants and merchants were able to reduce or avoid their quarantine obligations by purchasing an "express pass" (*skoryi propusk*) from quarantine staff. The costs incurred by merchants navigating their way through Russian military quarantines in this manner were, according to Dr. Zeidlits, passed along to Ottoman peasants and villagers in the form of higher prices for basic foodstuffs.[85] The Prussian captain Helmuth von Moltke observed that while the Danubian quarantine line constructed in the early 1830s acted, in theory, as a Russian barrier against the spread of disease from the Ottoman Empire (*Absperrungslinie gegen die Türkische Pest*), travelers and merchants moving between Ottoman Rumelia and Wallachia regularly (and without penalty) evaded quarantine posts along the Danube River.[86]

A vibrant black market in counterfeit and illegally procured passports existed in the Black Sea region in the first part of the nineteenth century. For example, as documented in a surveillance report produced by a Third Section agent in Kherson (on the Crimean Peninsula) in 1826, a "Turkish" subject (*turets. poddan.*) of Greek heritage by the name of Nikolai Ioano stole a passport from a passerby in Kherson and attempted to sell this passport to an undercover policeman. As punishment for his crime, Ioano received thirty lashes and was deported.[87] During a period in the 1820s when the Russian state had temporarily placed restrictions on migrants seeking to exit the Russian Empire, Russian *bilet*-granting authorities in Kishinev (Bessarabia) issued exit visas to Bulgarian migrants in return for bribes. In this same period, Ottoman agents operating in Bessarabia assisted Bulgarian migrants in illegally acquiring exit documents.[88] Bulgarian migrants in Ottoman Rumelia faced little difficulty in procuring counterfeit Russian travel documents in preparation for migration out of the Ottoman Empire.[89]

Quarantine and border officials often harassed and extorted migrants. For example, in 1830, the director of the Kalaraşi quarantine station in Wallachia—in direct contravention of the general quarantine regulations in force in the Danubian Principalities in the early 1830s—prohibited family members from bringing food to relatives detained in the station. Taking advantage of this situation, the Kalaraşi quarantine commissar monopolized food sales within the quarantine, forcing detained migrants to purchase basic goods at inflated prices.[90] Stiff commissions on the exchange of Ottoman money into Russian rubles compelled migrants in the Akkerman and Satunov quarantine stations to barter what few possessions they had for clothing and basic food stuffs.[91] Nekrasovite groups returning from the Ottoman Empire to the Russian Empire in the period after the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829 vehemently objected to the indignities, humiliations, and abuses of Russian quarantine obligations.[92] In 1832, the governor-general of Novorossiya and Bessarabia chastised quarantine officials in Sebastopol for subjecting healthy arrivals to unusually long periods of medical observation, for placing unnecessary burdens on those detained in the Sebastopol quarantine, and for otherwise "aggravating" (*otiagoshchat*) well-behaved travelers and migrants.[93]

These types of impositions galvanized efforts by migrants and merchants to find alternate routes into and out of the Russian Empire. For example, in the early 1830s, despite the fact that Russian police officials manning quarantine stations and border posts along the Prut River had standing orders to interdict and apprehend Bulgarian migrants attempting to return to the Ottoman Empire, many Bulgarian returnees were able to slip, undetected, back into Ottoman Rumelia. In one case, an enterprising group of five Bulgarian migrant families stowed away in the hold of a merchant ship docked off the southern coast of Bessarabia and, avoiding both land-based and maritime Russian quarantine installations, worked their way down the Black Sea coast to their hometown of Ahyolu.[94] In Odessa, merchants and migrants dug tunnels underneath the walls erected to bolster the land-based *cordon sanitaire* around the city. These tunnels were utilized to avoid quarantine and customs obligations.[95]

In addition to these types of irregular migrations, incidents of "human trafficking" in the Black Sea region increased considerably in the early part of the nineteenth century. In a lengthy deposition taken down in September 1820, a Zaporozhian Cossack by the name of Sharapov described the assistance he and his men provided in 1817 to Bulgarians in Bessarabia seeking to return illegally to the Ottoman Empire. The fact that Sharapov was in the service of the Russian 2nd Army at the same time that he was engaged in these smuggling activities amplified the severity of his crimes.[96] In his deposition Sharapov confessed that in return for cash payments he and his men organized the clandestine transportation of Bulgarian migrants across the Prut River into the Principality of Moldavia.[97] Sharapov had competition for his services as a lucrative business existed in the transportation of fugitive migrants across the Prut River from Bessarabia into Moldavia. In July 1816, the Bulgarian migrant Zhelu Kramovich paid a boat captain in the Moldavian town of Vaden a considerable sum of money to safely and secretly transport his family and his brother's family (a total of sixteen people) from the Bessarabian to the Moldavian side of the Prut River.[98]

In the 1820s and early 1830s, intermittent surges in population movements from the Ottoman Empire to Bessarabia and southern Russia frequently overwhelmed the capacity of Russian quarantine stations along the Prut River and northern branches of the Danubian estuary. For example, to deal with the sudden appearance in Galatz and Tulça of large numbers of Moldavian and Bulgarian migrants fleeing generalized violence in the Danubian Principalities and northern Rumelia in the spring and summer of 1821, the quartermaster-general of the Russian 2nd Army, General P.M. Volkonskii, ordered the construction of two temporary quarantines in southern Bessarabia—one in Formoasa (between Reni and Leovo) and the other in Frishtenakh (between Leovo and Skuliani).[99]

In the year 1830 alone, an estimated 70,000 migrants from the Ottoman Empire entered the Russian Empire through the Odessa, Akkerman, Kerch, Theodosia, Sebastopol, Ovidiopol, and Ismail quarantine stations.[100] In response to these waves of migrant arrivals, the Russian state adopted a series of ad hoc measures to relieve the pressure placed on its core southern quarantine installations. These measures included the construction and establishment of temporary quarantine posts and lazarets, the expediting of migrant processing and registration procedures, and the shortening of quarantine periods. In the summer of 1830, migrant arrivals at the Satunov quarantine complex were divided into small groups and assigned to hastily constructed camps around the main quarantine installation. Indigent migrants assigned to these camps were given basic supplies. Most were left to fend for themselves. Those suspected of being infected with the plague were placed into an auxiliary lazaret. Here they received only a minimum of medical attention. In some cases, migrants were permitted to bypass Russian quarantine complexes altogether and take up temporary residence in migrant settlements near quarantine installations. Military guards were posted to these settlements to ensure that migrants did not secondarily migrate into the Russian interior.[101]

Coupled with the chronic corruption in Russian quarantine management, expedient and ad hoc measures adopted by the Russian state to deal with increased population movements in the Black Sea region severely reduced the overall efficacy of the Russian Empire's southwestern quarantine and border control regime in the first part of the nineteenth century. In response to a surge in migrant arrivals in the early 1830s, provincial authorities in Bessarabia authorized quarantine officials to issue temporary residence documents (*propusknie bilety*) to migrants crossing the Prut River. These documents granted migrants short-term immunity from quarantine obligations. Once the heavy influx of migrants had abated, migrants in possession of these documents were expected to return to their point of arrival and undergo their required period of medical observation.[102] It can be assumed that few, if any, did.

7

Imperial Confrontation or Regional Cooperation? Reconceptualizing Ottoman-Russian Relations in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Black Sea region was an active zone of exchange between the Ottoman and Russian empires. The two key regional characteristics of the Black Sea basin—commercial interaction and large-scale migration—linked these two powerful empires along a clearly defined north–south axis. Defining a region as "a distinct geographical zone of interaction," Charles King identifies migrants and merchants as the main connective tissues that have historically linked the communities and political entities around the Black Sea.[1] To this list, for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, one can add diseases such as the plague and cholera which used migrants and merchants as carriers to infect human populations. On the issues of migration management and disease control, Ottoman and Russian officials—at the imperial, provincial, and local levels—communicated about and coordinated their response to surges in population movements and the mutual threat posed by the spread of epidemic disease in the Black Sea region.

Information-gathering and information exchange in the Black Sea region

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Russian officials posted in Crimea, the Danubian Principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia), Ottoman Rumelia, and Istanbul provided ongoing reports on migratory populations, frontier communities, and pilgrimage traffic.[2] These reports contained information on Ottoman resettlement plans for Crimean Tatars migrating across the Danube River into Dobruja, Ottoman state initiatives to promote stability and resettle populations in the Balkans, and statistics on the number of Bulgarian migrants moving between the Ottoman and Russian empires.[3] Likewise, in the early 1830s, Ottoman officials in the Balkans kept the Ottoman Grand Vizier in Istanbul apprised of Russian migrant extraction and resettlement operations in Dobruja and along the Danube River.[4] Examples of these Ottoman field reports include a comprehensive account of the Russian army's migrant recruitment efforts around the Danubian port of Isakçı; and a Turkish translation of Russian consular reports on the assistance provided to Bulgarian migrants seeking resettlement in the Russian Empire.[5]

Located at the confluence of the Bug and Dnieper rivers, the twin cities of Ochakov (Özi) and Kinburun (Kılburun) acted as an important nexus of communication between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the late eighteenth century. Ottoman and Russian officials in Ochakov and Kinburun regularly communicated about and, on occasion, participated in cooperative migration initiatives. For example, in 1777, Ottoman and Russian authorities negotiated over the issue of whether or not migrants and settlers in Ochakov would be allowed to forage for wood and fuel along the Dnieper River.[6] Despite the fact that Kinburun had been ceded to the Russian Empire in 1774, bilateral Ottoman-Russian commercial agreements permitted Ottoman *reaya* to continue to till lands around Kinburun and permitted Ottoman merchants to continue to export grain to the Ottoman Empire through Russian Black Sea ports.[7]

Ottoman envoys, fortress commanders, provincial governors, and spies gathered information and reported to Istanbul on quarantine- and disease-related issues in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region. In the first part of the nineteenth century, Ottoman observers filed regular reports on the toll exacted by the prevalence of disease among Russian troops bivouacked in the Danubian Principalities and Bessarabia.[8] In 1812, the Ottoman envoy in Bucharest, Galib Efendi, noted that all Russian soldiers returning from the Rumelian front were obligated to undergo an extended period of medical observation in Wallachian quarantine stations.[9] In 1823, the Ottoman fortress commander in Isakçı filed a report on the construction of Russian border stations (*karakolları*) in Bessarabia and the reinforcement of the Russian quarantine line along the Prut River.[10]

The highest levels of Ottoman officialdom were aware of Russian quarantine measures and possessed detailed information about the structure and design of

Russian quarantine facilities. A report filed in 1775 by the Ottoman ambassador to Russia, Abdülkerim Pasha, contained a full description of the layout and administrative procedures in place at the Russian quarantine station in Khotin (on the upper Dniester). In his report, Abdülkerim Pasha noted that the Russian quarantine complex in Khotin contained 15–20 separate houses constructed of wood and observed that "a goodly number of soldiers and officers have been detailed to see that arrivals carry out fully the formalities of the quarantine and to superintend the defense of the station."[11] In the period following the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1812, the Ottoman state closely monitored the intensification of Russian quarantine construction along the northern Black Sea littoral.[12] And, in the 1820s, while en route to a meeting in Boğdan (Moldavia) with his Austrian and Russian counterparts, the Ottoman *Reis ul-Kuttab* (a senior foreign affairs official) was placed into quarantine at the Moldavian border. Information on this quarantine station formed part of his official embassy report.[13]

Migration and Ottoman-Russian diplomacy

In general, in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century, Russian state servitors engaged in a proactive "international" campaign to identify, recruit, and transport migrant-settlers from Ottoman Rumelia and the Danubian Principalities to the sparsely populated lands of southern Russia and Bessarabia. It should be noted, however, that the promotion of continuous refugee and migrant resettlement from the Ottoman Empire to the Russian Empire was not a blanket Russian state policy during the period in question. Periodically, statesmen in Saint Petersburg—as part of Russian diplomatic initiatives to improve relations with the Ottoman Empire—ordered the curtailment of migrant recruitment and removal operations in the Danubian Principalities and Ottoman Rumelia. For example, as part of an Ottoman-Russian defensive alliance against Napoleonic France, Tsar Paul I (reigned from 1796 to 1801) instructed his diplomatic representatives in the Ottoman Empire to halt their migrant recruitment and transportation activities. Additionally, Paul I ordered Russian frontier personnel to interdict all migration across the Danube and Prut rivers. In Paul I's view, the continuation of Russian migrant-removal operations in Ottoman territory and the continuation of Russian support for trans-Danubian migration would unnecessarily antagonize the Ottoman government during a period when positive relations with the Ottoman Empire were paramount.[14]

The same geopolitical calculations prevailed in the period following the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest in 1812 and after the signing of the Treaty of Hünkar Iskelesi in 1833.[15] Toward the end of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, General M.I. Kutuzov petitioned his superiors for the right to form and deploy frontier military units composed of Bulgarian migrant-settlers from the Ottoman Empire. Following extended deliberations, Kutuzov's petition was denied. Imperial officials in Saint Petersburg argued that the deployment of Bulgarian military formations in the Black Sea region would undermine Russian diplomatic initiatives to meliorate postwar relations with the Ottoman Empire.[16] In the early 1830s, Tsar Nicholas I (reigned from 1825 to 1855) directed senior-level civilian and military officials in Bessarabia to impose a ban on the settlement of Bulgarians in the Russian Empire—exclusive of those Bulgarians who could demonstrate that they had fought alongside Russian military forces during the recently concluded Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829.

In step with these diplomatic gestures, local-level Russian officials frequently coordinated efforts with Ottoman authorities to check out-migration from Ottoman Rumelia. For example, in April 1830, following an intense six-month period of large-scale out-migration from the Ottoman Empire to the Russian Empire, the commander of the Russian 2nd Army, General-Field Marshal Graf Dibich-Zabalkanski, directed his subordinate Gerasim Vashchenko to cooperate with Ottoman provincial authorities on stemming the out-migration of Bulgarian peasants to Bessarabia and southern Russia. In meetings convened with village elders and clergymen in Ottoman Rumelia, Vashchenko urged Bulgarians to refrain from migrating to the Russian Empire. In one instance, upon approaching a group of Bulgarian migrants encountered on the road between Burgas and Karnobat, Vashchenko warned these would-be settlers of the severe quarantine measures they would be subjected to prior to their entry into Russia and the uncertainty of ever establishing themselves fully in the Russian Empire. Vashchenko informed Bulgarian villagers about the Ottoman state's recently enacted tax and administrative reforms, conveyed to them the fact that these measures were designed to improve the economic and security situation in postwar Ottoman Rumelia, and encouraged them to stay put and have faith in the goodwill and intentions of the Ottoman government.[17]

Ottoman-Russian cooperation on the management of migratory populations

Signed in 1774, the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca established the principle of Ottoman-Russian reciprocity in the management of migratory populations in the Black Sea region. In Article 2 of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, the Ottoman and Russian states agreed to apprehend any migrant suspected of having committed a capital crime or having engaged in treasonous activities and to remand the alleged criminal to authorities in his home "country."[18] Subsequent Ottoman-Russian agreements codified previously negotiated and mutually agreed upon migration initiatives and extended the principle of reciprocity to all types of migrants and refugees moving between the Ottoman and Russian empires. Article 7 of the Treaty of Bucharest (1812) provided for the free and unobstructed return migration of Ottoman and Russian subjects who had fled to southern Russia or Ottoman Rumelia during the preceding Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812. Article 13 of the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) extended amnesty to and allowed for the return migration and unobstructed settlement of individuals who had been displaced during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829. According to this article, the Ottoman and Russian states agreed to permit—for a period of eighteen months—the free movement of Muslim migrants from the Russian Empire to the Ottoman Empire and the free movement of Orthodox Christian migrants from Ottoman Rumelia to the Danubian Principalities and southern Russia.[19]

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Ottoman and Russian officials, at both the provincial and local levels, coordinated their responses to "cross-border" population movements and debated the legal and practical issues of organizing transportation and relief efforts. For example, in 1774—ahead of the anticipated withdrawal of Russian occupational forces from the Danubian Principalities—the Ottoman commander (*muhafız*) in Rusçuk (Ruse) corresponded with his Russian counterpart in Yergöğü (Giurgiu) on preparations for the return and resettlement of migrants who had fled Yergöğü during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774.[20] In the early 1800s, the Russian ambassador in Istanbul, V.S. Tomara, pressured his interlocutors in the Ottoman government to allow Ottoman peasants to be resettled in the Russian Empire. In response, the Ottoman Grand Vizier directed military officials in the Danubian Principalities to transport Bulgarian migrants to the Moldavian-Russian border on the Prut River.[21] In the early part of the nineteenth century, Russian diplomatic representatives in Istanbul worked with their Ottoman counterparts to facilitate the movement of Crimean Tatar *Hajjis* through the Ottoman capital.[22] In May 1830, Russian military officers contracted with Turkish ship captains to transport large numbers of Bulgarian refugee families (and all their belongings) from various Ottoman Black Sea ports to the Russian quarantine facility in Reni.[23]

In the early 1800s, Ottoman and Russian officials often saw eye to eye on the need to provide material assistance to displaced migrants and refugees. In these calculations, material concerns—principally a mutual interest in reducing the temptation of rootless young males to engage in brigandage activity—outweighed any geostrategic or ideological considerations. At the height of the *Kŭrdzhalisko Vreme*, the Ottoman commander in Galatz—rather than turn away and forcibly return Bulgarian refugees to areas rife with rebel activity—decided in direct defiance of a standing Sultanic order to allow Bulgarian refugees to remain and find shelter in Galatz. This decision was supported by Russian consular officials posted in the Danubian Principalities.[24] During the period of the Greek uprising, Russian provincial authorities in Bessarabia agreed to extradite (*vydavat'*) to Ottoman authorities any "criminals" (*prestupniki*) apprehended trying to slip across the Prut River into Russian territory.[25] In 1821, following a series of official Ottoman requests for Russian cooperation in tracking, detaining, and deporting to the Ottoman Empire bandits suspected of seeking safe haven in the Russian Empire, the Russian ambassador in Istanbul, G.A. Stroganov, ordered provincial authorities in Odessa to step up their surveillance of Ottoman subjects migrating into the Russian Empire. Additionally, Stroganov directed authorities in Odessa to notify him of any attempts by migrants from the Ottoman Empire to make contact with known Greek rebels in southern Russia.[26]

Even during periods of Ottoman-Russian warfare, the structural nature of population movements in the Black Sea region compelled Ottoman and Russian state servitors to continue to communicate and coordinate on migration-related issues. For example, in 1807, Russian envoys were dispatched to engage provincial-level Ottoman officials posted in Rusçuk regarding a range of issues including the legal status of peasant populations in the area and the condition of Bulgarian refugees fleeing into the Danubian Principalities from Ottoman Rumelia. Specific discussions concerning these Bulgarian refugees centered on whether or not the Russians could provide humanitarian assistance to the refugees while they were in the Danubian Principalities.[27] In that same year, the senior Russian military commander in the Danubian Principalities, General

M.A. Miloradovich, and the Ottoman Grand Vizier, Çelebi Mustafa Paşa, signed an agreement to prohibit Ottoman merchants in Rumelia from engaging in commercial activities in southern Wallachia.[28] As part of the negotiations leading to the lifting of the Russian siege of Varna in the fall of 1828, Russian military officials agreed to organize and pay for the transportation of over 800 Muslim refugees from Varna to Ahyolu.[29]

In the wake of the devastation and dislocation caused by the Russian army's advance on Istanbul during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, Ottoman and Russian troops undetook joint operations to source and distribute supplies to displaced villagers.[30] Additionally, as part of their "unofficial alliance" (*gayr-i resmi dostluk*), the Russian Field Marshal Dibich-Zabalkanski and the Ottoman Grand Vizier Reşid Mehmed Pasha communicated regularly on the transportation of Bulgarian migrants to and from the Ottoman and Russian empires and agreed to coordinate efforts to crack down on brigandage and rebel activity in postwar Ottoman Rumelia.[31]

Travel documentation, border control, and law enforcement

A mutual interest in the enforcement of the bureaucratic and administrative aspects of migration management provided ample opportunities for local-level Ottoman and Russian officials to coordinate their efforts to track individuals on the move in the Black Sea region. In the 1770s, the sizable migration of Crimean Tatars through the wedge of Russian-controlled land between the Bug and the Dnieper rivers into Ottoman-controlled Bessarabia and the Danubian Principalities precipitated bilateral discussions on the management of these migratory populations. One more than one occasion, Russian officials in Kinburun appealed to their superiors in Saint Petersburg for clarification on whether these Crimean Tatars were allowed to transit Russian land en route to the Ottoman Empire.[32] Russian consular officials in the Ottoman Empire agreed to refrain from providing Russian travel documents to any Ottoman *reaya* who could not produce a state-issued Ottoman travel permit (*mürur tezkiresi*).[33] Ottoman provincial authorities alerted their Russian counterparts to the proliferation of counterfeit Russian travel documents in the Ottoman Empire and proposed joint "cross-border" operations to crackdown on the use of falsified Russian travel documents by Ottoman merchants and migrants.[34] Following the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, the Russian consul in Jassy kept his Ottoman counterpart apprised of the number of Russian travel documents (*bilets*) issued to Ottoman subjects being resettled (under

Russian auspices) in Bessarabia and southern Russia.[35] In the fall of 1812, the lead Ottoman representative in Bucharest interceded with Russian officials to issue travel documents (*bilets*) to 1,500 Bulgarian families returning from Wallachia to their hometown of Lofça (Lovech) in Ottoman Rumelia.[36] And, in the 1830s, Russian consular officials in Istanbul sought Ottoman approval for the processing of travel permits for Russian merchants returning from the Aegean Sea to Russian ports along the northern shore of the Black Sea.[37]

In an interesting example of local-level border and law enforcement, in the mid-1830s Russian agents in Silistre and southern Wallachia tracked and imprisoned over 100 Bulgarian migrants suspected of engaging in rebel activity in northern Rumelia.[38] Debates ensued within Russian officialdom on where and to what extent these "criminals" should be punished. As many of these Bulgarians had served as volunteers in the Russian army during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829 and (as a reward for their service) had been resettled in Bessarabia, the issue was resolved on the basis of subjecthood. Bulgarian rebels who could support claims of Russian subjecthood were handed over to Russian civil authorities and punished according to Russian civil law. Bulgarian rebels who could not prove that they were subjects of the Russian Empire were remanded to Ottoman authorities for the adjudication of their crimes.[39]

In response to a marked increase in population movements in the Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, both the Ottoman and Russian states introduced and implemented a multilayered migrant identity and travel documentation regime. In so doing, both states adopted a more "Westphalian" approach to the management of migratory populations in the Black Sea region.[40] For example, in April 1829, Field Marshal Dibich-Zabalkanski denied an appeal by a group of Bulgarian villagers in Babadağ for Russian subjecthood on the grounds that Babadağ and its environs were not part of the Russian Empire. Dibich-Zabalkanski advised this group of villagers to migrate to Bessarabia and apply to Russian provincial authorities there for subjecthood.[41]

Ottoman-Russian cooperation on quarantine construction

In developing and implementing a comprehensive quarantine regime in the first part of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman state incorporated and built upon quarantine policies and procedures adopted in Russian Black Sea quarantine facilities. As mentioned previously, the highest levels of the Ottoman government possessed detailed knowledge of the layout and regulations of Russian quarantine stations. In the late 1830s, during a period when the Ottoman Empire was preparing to construct quarantine lines in Anatolia and Rumelia, the Ottoman Grand Vizier wrote an official letter to the Russian legation in Istanbul requesting information on Russian quarantine practices. In response to this request, the Russian legation supplied the Ottoman state with two maps of the Russian quarantine complex in Odessa and information on the Russian Empire's *cordon sanitaire* (*hudud-i sıhhiye*) across the northern Black Sea steppe.[42] In this same period, the Russian ambassador in Istanbul forwarded to his superiors in Saint Petersburg a letter from the Ottoman government seeking clarification on certain aspects of Russian quarantine policy. In response to this letter, the Russian state furnished the Ottoman Grand Vizier without background information on the Russian quarantine system including the geographic rationale behind the positioning of various Russian quarantine facilities in the Black Sea region.[43]

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, regional security concerns compelled the Ottoman and Russian states to coordinate their efforts to check the spread of deadly epidemic diseases in the Black Sea region. Following the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, the Ottoman and Russian empires agreed to construct a chain of quarantine stations along the Danube River. In 1831, the promulgation of regulations governing the administration of the Danubian quarantine line and the adoption of enhanced anti-disease measures in the Danubian Principalities required the approval of the Ottoman government.[44] Following the withdrawal of Russian occupation forces from the Danubian Principalities in the mid-1830s, control over the Danubian quarantine line reverted from Russian to Ottoman authority.[45]

Conclusion

The economic and political cycles of the Black Sea region have fluctuated between periods dominated by a closed command economy and periods marked by international openness and free trade. Between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, the political economy of the Black Sea region was organized around the monopolistic provisioning of the Ottoman capital of Istanbul. Non-Ottoman or non-Ottoman flagged trading vessels were prohibited from engaging in commerce on the Black Sea. At the start of the modern era, a series of treaties and trade agreements signed by the Ottoman and Russian empires initiated a long period in the history of the Black Sea region that, in its relative openness, commercial activity, and demographic exchange, resembled the "glory days" of the Black Sea region from the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. In this comparison, the Russians play the role of the Mongols (a strong political entity established on the northern shore of the Black Sea and its hinterland); the Ottomans play the role of the Byzantines (a stable empire established on the straits of the Bosporus and Dardanelles); and the British, French, and Austrians play the role of the Italian city-states (European states engaged, politically and economically, in the Black Sea region).

For the Ottoman and Russian empires, issues of mutual concern and shared interest arose in the Black Sea region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This book has focused on two such "transimperial" issues—population movements and the spread of the disease. In the Black Sea region, municipal-, provincial-, and imperial-level officials initiated migrant and refugee settlement projects and implemented travel documentation regimes. Likewise, both states—identifying epidemic diseases (plague and cholera) as the primary "security threats" to their subject populations—moved to check the spread of disease across the Black Sea region through the imposition of stern anti-disease measures and the creation of new institutions of border and social control. In so doing, the Ottoman and Russian states communicated about, coordinated on, and cooperated in their response to the issues of migration and the spread of epidemic diseases. An awareness of and appreciation for these diplomatic developments and an understanding of these transimperial initiatives in the Black Sea region should compel us to rethink the nature of Ottoman (Turkish)-Russian relations, both historically and today.

An historical analysis of Ottoman-Russian relations (economic, political, social, and cultural) around the Black Sea basin can provide a useful frame of reference to contextualize issues in the region today. Following a period of closure during the Cold War period, the twenty-five years since the collapse of the Soviet Union have seen the return of the Black Sea region once again to full participation in the international system. Just as the primacy of Russian-Turkish relations in Black Sea regional dynamics emerged in the late eighteenth century, so has the Russian-Turkish-oriented regionality in Black Sea affairs re-emerged in the twenty-five years since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Cold War closure of the Black Sea region.

In approaching the Black Sea region, Euro-Atlantic historians and policy analysts tend to focus on the trilateral relationship between Western Europe, Russia, and Turkey. Within this framework, historians and analysts typically emphasize Western Europe's influence on the Ottoman Empire's adoption of modernizing reforms in the nineteenth century and debate the weight and import of the European component in the Eurasianist orientation of the Russian Empire. Policy analysts expend considerable energy discussing the pros and cons of Turkey's admission into the European Union and highlight the (often) testy relationship between the Russian Federation and the European Union and NATO. This emphasis on European-Russian and European-Turkish relations (both historical and contemporary) elides and undersells the most important dimension of political and economic affairs in the Black Sea region: the relationship between Turkey and Russia. As I have argued throughout this book, this relationship has deep historical roots.[46]

Vladimir Putin and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan are cut from the same cloth, and Russia and Turkey's economic and political interests in the early twenty-first-century Black Sea region remain complementary. The possibility does exist—with Russian president Vladimir Putin's neo-imperialist impulses and the Islamist politics espoused by Turkish president Tayyip Erdoğan—for a re-emergence of an ideological schism between Russia and Turkey in the Black Sea region. However, for now, economic considerations will more than likely continue to trump any latent ideological or religious schisms between Russia and Turkey. This continuity in the Russian-Turkish condominium over the trajectory of political and economic affairs in the Black Sea region carries with it the potential for a more coherent and unitary expression of Black Sea regionalism. In sum, while not discounting occasional bouts of geostrategic and ideological confrontation between Russia and Turkey, any discussion of the history of Black Sea regionalism must emphasize the "transimperial" character of Russian-Turkish relations in the Black Sea region—both historically and today.

I have argued throughput this book that the interplay between migratory populations and state-driven policies geared toward controlling or managing population movements has been a defining element of Ottoman-Russian relations in the Black Sea region. Throughout history trade, return migration, and diasporic communications have forged strong and enduring structural connections among migrant communities in the Black Sea region. These connections endured despite ongoing efforts by the Ottoman and Russian states—through the construction of quarantine lines and the imposition of comprehensive migration management regimes—to establish territorial sovereignty in the Black Sea region.

The state-migrant nexus has formed a core analytical component of this book. In calculating the capacity of states to control (or manage) migratory populations, I have argued for the agency of migrants and refugees as drivers of historical change and, as much as one can give the available sources, attempted to give voice to the individual experiences of migrants on the move in the Black Sea region in the early part of the nineteenth century. A focus on the individual experiences of migrants and travelers has, therefore, tempered an otherwise dispassionate comparative analysis of Ottoman and Russian migration policies and resettlement projects.

In general, historical scholarship on the region's migration patterns emphasizes a one-way flow of migratory movements from one Black Sea country to another. Approaching the question of migration in the region through the prism of nationalist and/or cold-war historiography, this scholarship tends to highlight the paternal role played by the Russian and Ottoman states in providing a safe haven for Slavic Orthodox and Muslim populations fleeing the tyranny of Ottoman and Russian oppression. I have argued that this scholarship overlooks the significant amount of Slavic Orthodox *return* migration from the Russian Empire to the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century.

Additionally, it should be noted that this same migration dynamic continued throughout the nineteenth century most notably in regard to the significant amount of Tatar and Muslim *return* migration from the Ottoman Empire to the Russian Empire in the mid-1800s. In the period from 1861 to 1863, 10,000 Crimean Tatars who had fled from the Russian to the Ottoman Empire after the conclusion of the Crimean War applied for and were granted passports to return to the Russian Empire. Throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and into the early part of the twentieth century, Crimean Tatar and other Muslim migratory groups continued to return in significant numbers to the Russian Empire following brief stays in the Ottoman Empire. Many of these Crimean Tatar émigrés managed to obtain and retain subjecthood in both the Ottoman and Russian empires.[47] This "dual-citizenship" status eased population movements around the Black Sea region and diluted attempts by the Ottoman and Russian empires to impose territorial sovereignty in the Black Sea basin. In sum, return migration, nonlinear migration, circular migration, frequent in- and out-migration, and multiple secondary moves typified population movements in the Black Sea region across the nineteenth century.

In the Black Sea region connections among migrant communities have endured despite ongoing efforts by Black Sea states—through the erection of treaty-defined border lines and the imposition of travel documentation regimes—to establish territorial sovereignty. I have argued that in the modern period, the overall effectiveness of administrative, bureaucratic, and technological innovations (such as quarantines and travel documentation regimes) adopted by the Ottoman and Russian states to improve the management of migratory populations crisscrossing the Black Sea region has been minimal at best. As James Meyer has noted, in the nineteenth century,

> Russian Muslims were not simply categorized and shaped by these regulations but also engaged them and found loopholes through which they could pursue personal advantage. Like Armenians, Greeks, and Jews, and others traveling between the two empires, Russian Muslims frequently devised strategies that helped them take advantage of the categorical ambiguity of their positions. Living as Russians in the Ottoman Empire and Ottomans in Russia, these individuals succeeded in manipulating the politics of citizenship on both sides of the frontier.[48]

And, despite the best efforts of Russian and Turkish state servitors and border guards, migrants on the move in the Black Sea region in the nineteenth century were aware of, and sought out, the easiest points of entry into the Ottoman and Russian empires.

As has been the case throughout the history of the Black Sea region, the dynamism of migratory flows in the Black Sea region continues—at one and the same time—to knit the Black Sea together and erode the sovereignty of nation-states around the Black Sea littoral. Intraregional connections forged by diasporic communication networks and systems of exchange coupled with high rates of return migration in the Black Sea basin have and will more than likely continue to promote the articulation and expression of a regionally based identity among individuals, littoral societies, and coastal communities in the Black Sea region.

This book has hopefully opened up possible new avenues for productive research on the comparative imperial history of the Ottoman and Russian empires. Looking ahead, one could conceivably see the expansion of comparative research on Ottoman and Russian imperial history into the areas of cultural, environmental, and socio-legal history. Although the historiography surrounding the formation of trans-imperial consciousness and cultural solidarity among migratory populations in the Black Sea region is, as yet, not well developed, one can make the argument that the societies of key port-cities around the Black Sea littoral (the list of which would include Odessa, Constanta, Varna, Burgas, Istanbul, and Trabzon) had more in common with each other than they did with communities in their respective "national" hinterlands.

While nineteenth- and early twentieth-century political elites and state actors promoted meta-political concepts such as pan-Turkism, Pan-Slavism, and nationalism, at the local or social level ideological and/or religious differences tended to be sublimated to more communal concerns. Indeed, travelers and political anthropologists expecting to find homogenous national groupings in the region were surprised to find "individuals and communities for whom plural identities and mixed cultures were the norm."[49] Little overt antagonism existed at the grassroots level between the Slavic population of the Crimea and the local Tatars, who had "long been used to the sound of church bells."[50] In stressing cultural commonalities between populations in the Ottoman and Russian empires, one could continue the process of pushing back against a historiography that traditionally views the Ottoman/Turkish-Russian relationship as one of military conflict and ideological confrontation.

In engaging with the developing historiography on the impact of environmental and climatic factors on the historical trajectory of empires, further research could revisit and reinterpret (in a comparative manner) the role of "imperial ecology" in Ottoman and Russian imperial governance.[51] Additionally, I could foresee a research project that engages in a comparative analysis of the nature and meaning of subjecthood in the early modern Ottoman and Russian empires. Here, the notion of "residency" status in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the role of migration and settlement in generating concepts of citizenship in the Ottoman and Russian empires in the middle part of the nineteenth century could usefully be addressed.

From the long historical perspective, migration has been a normative human experience and empires have been the most common and enduring form of political organization. At the start of the modern era, imperial administrators constructed migration management regimes. These migration management regimes served a dual purpose: to limit population movements for the purposes of security, stability, or disease control; and to encourage migration for populationist or ideological reasons. Today empires have given way to nation-states, for the time being, as the principal form of state organization, and twenty-first-century states grapple with the same migration issues that perplexed imperial authorities two centuries ago. The perceived security threat posed by migrants and the religious-cultural heritage of migrant populations inform migration policies. The need to coordinate with neighboring states, whether hostile or friendly, on migration management issues is an important part of bilateral and regional negotiations among nations at the local and state levels. While located in a specific region in a specific historical period, it is hoped that, through an analysis of regional cooperation and the construction of imperial migration regimes, this work on Ottoman-Russian relations has contributed to our understanding of the nexus between empire and migration from an historical and twenty-first-century perspective.

Notes

Introduction

1 Ivan Ivanovich Veshniakov, *Putevyia Zapiski vo Sviatyi Grad Ierusalim i v Okrestnosti Onogo, Kaluzhskoi Gubernii Dvorian Veshniakovykh i Miadynskogo Kuptsa Novikova, v 1804 i 1805 God* (Moscow: Universitetskoi Tipografii, 1813).

2 The four Russo-Ottoman wars fought in the period from 1768 to 1829 took place in 1768–1774, 1786–1792, 1806–1812, and 1828–1829. For more on Russo-Ottoman warfare during the period in question, see Virginia Aksan, *Ottoman Wars 1700–1870: An Empire Besieged* (London: Pearson Longman, 2007).

3 Charles King, "Is the Black Sea a Region?" in *The Black Sea Region: Cooperation and Security Building* (eds. Oleksander Pavliuk and Ivana Klympush-Tsintsadze) (London: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), 19–20.

4 Charles King, *The Black Sea: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 223.

5 Charles King, Eyüp Özveren, and Victor Ostapchuk have pioneered the study of the Black Sea region as a distinct unit of analysis and my book draws heavily upon their work and scholarship. See King, *The Black Sea*; Eyüp Özveren, "The Black Sea World as a Unit of Analysis" in *Politics of the Black Sea: Dynamics of Cooperation and Conflict* (ed. Tunç Aybak) (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001); and Victor Ostapchuk, "The Human Landscape of the Ottoman Black Sea in the Face of the Cossack Naval Raids" *Oriente Moderno* 20, no. 1 (2001): 23–95. Other important works on the Black Sea region include Neal Ascherson, *Black Sea* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995); Halil Inalcık, "The Question of the Closing of the Black Sea under the Ottomans" *Archeion Pontou* 33 (1979): 75–100; Aleksander Halenko, "Towards the Character of Ottoman Policy in the Northern Black Sea Region after the Treaty of Belgrade (1739)" *Oriente Moderno* 18, no. 1 (1999): 101–113; Velko Tonev, *Bulgarskoto Chernomorie Prez Vuzrazhdaneto* (Sofia, Bulgaria: Akademichno Izdatelstvo "Prof. Marin Drinov", 1995); *Bulgarite v Severnoto Prichernomorie: Izsledvaniia i Materiali* (four volumes) (Veliko Turnovo, Bulgaria, 1992–1995); Elena Druzhinina, *Severnoe Prichernomor'e, 1775–1800* (Moscow: Izdatelstvo Nauka, 1959); and Idris Bostan "Izn-i Sefine Defterleri ve Karadenize Rusya ile Ticaret Yapan Devlet-i Aliyye Tüccarlari, 1780–1846" *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6 (1990): 21–41.

6 This typology of migration regimes is drawn from Barbara Schmitter Heisler, "The Sociology of Immigration" in *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* (eds. Caroline Brettell and James Hollifield) (New York: Routledge, 2000), 83.

7 For definitional purposes, I will use Dirk Hoerder's description of a migration system. According to Hoerder,

> A migration system, on the level of empirical observation of geographical space, is a cluster of moves between a region of origin and a receiving region that continues over a period of time and is distinct from non-clustered multi-directional migrations .... On the macro-level, migration systems connect two distinct societies, each characterized by a degree of industrialization and urbanization, by political structures and current policies, by specific educational, value, and belief systems, by ethnic composition and demographic factors and by traditions of internal, medium-distance and long-distance migrations. On this level, general push and pull factors and statewide admission regulations are analyzed.

See Dirk Hoerder, Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second *Millennium* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 16.

8 See, for example, Catherine Evtuhov's, *Portrait of a Russian Province: Economy, Society, and Civilization in Nineteenth-Century Nizhnii Novgorod* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011).

9 Reşat Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants & Refugees* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 15.

10 Here, I draw upon the work of Alan Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), and Isa Blumi, *Foundations of Modernity: Human Agency and the Imperial State* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

11 Here, I build upon earlier studies of quarantines and anti-disease initiatives in the Russian south and the Ottoman Balkans: Alexander Melikishvili, "Genesis of the Anti-Plague System: The Tsarist Period" *Critical Reviews in Microbiology* 32 (2006): 19–31; A. Süheyl Ünver, "Les epidémies de cholera dans les terres balkaniques aux XVIII et XIX siècles" *Etudes Balkaniques* 4 (1973): 89–97; Gülden Sarıyıldız, "Karantina" in *Islam Ansiklopedisi* (Volume 24) (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2001), 463–465; Akpinar *Osmanlı Devlet'inde Karantina,* 8; and Ismail Eren, "Bulgaristan ve Romanya'dakı Türk Sağlık Kuruluşları," *I. Türk Tıp Tarihi Kongresi: Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler* (Istanbul, February 17–19, 1988), 73–86.

12 Here, I am dialoguing with Mark Harrison's groundbreaking global study on the connection between epidemic diseases, quarantines, and commercial exchange, *Contagion: How Commerce Has Spread Disease* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

13 Alan Mikhail and Sam White have pioneered the study of environmental history in the Ottoman Empire, with a focus on Egypt and Anatolia. Here, I am extending their analytical framework to engage in an environmentally oriented history of the Ottoman Balkans. See Alan Mikhail, *Nature and Empire* and Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

14 Özveren, "The Black Sea World," 79.

15 According to Eyüp Özveren, "Istanbul relied on Moldavia, Wallachia and the Crimea for its regular provisioning of above all grain but also livestock, and other animal by-products as well as metals and wood for construction and heating." Özveren, "A Framework for the Study of the Black Sea World, 1789–1915," *Review of the Fernand Braudel Center* 20, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 84.

Chapter 1

1 The Russo-Ottoman War of 1768–1774 recalibrated the balance of power in the Black Sea region in the late eighteenth century as the Ottoman Empire (defeated militarily and divided internally) was forced to recognize Russian political and territorial supremacy in the northern Black Sea littoral. Beginning with the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774, and moving in a southwesterly direction, the Russian Empire at the Ottoman Empire's expense annexed the Crimean Khanate and the Crimean Steppe in 1783; obtained the key fortress of Ochakov (Özi) which controlled the mouths of both the Dnieper and Bug rivers in 1792; and acquired Bessarabia (between the Prut and Dniester rivers) in 1812. In this same period—as part of its expansionary drive toward the southwest—the Russian Empire pursued increased influence over economic and political affairs in the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.

2 Nikolai Ovcharov, *Ships and Shipping in the Black Sea: XIV–XIX Centuries* (Sofia: St. Kliment Ohridski Press, 1993), 74.

3 Traveling across the Black Sea steppe in 1803, the Frenchman John Baron de Reuilly remarked that during one stretch he traveled for 80 *versts* (or roughly 86 kilometers) without encountering a single habitant. John Baron de Reuilly, *Travels in the Crimea and Along the Shores of the Black Sea Performed During the Year 1803* (London: Richard Phillips, 1807), 6. As late as 1812, the male population of the southern half of Bessarabia was only 44,000. George Jewsbury, *The Russian Annexation of Bessarabia, 1774–1828* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 56.

4 Virginia Aksan, "Manning a Black Sea Garrison in the Eighteenth Century: Ochakov and Concepts of Mutiny and Rebellion in the Ottoman Context" *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 8, nos. 1–2 (Spring 2002): 63. In the

1790s, an ill-fated Ottoman project to settle nomadic Nogay Tatar populations by forcing them to replace their nomadic tents (*obalar*) with wooden huts (*kulübeler*) decimated the already scanty timber resources of the northern Black Sea steppe. Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyilda Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nun Iskan Siyaseti ve Aşiretleri Yerleştirilmesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinları, 2006), 70.

5 Iov Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia* (Sofia, 1903), 38.

6 Ivan Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar v Iuzhnuiu Besarabiiu 1828–1834 gg.* (Kishinev, 1965), 186. As recorded by the Ottoman chronicler Evliya Çelebi, the residents of Özi described their winters as being a "hellish cold" (*soğuk-i cehennem*). Quoted in Caroline Finkel and Victor Ostapchuk, "Outpost of Empire: An Appraisal of Ottoman Building Registers as Sources for the Archeology and Construction of the Black Sea Fortress of Özi" *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 150–188.

7 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 190.

8 Mikhail Guboğlu, "Turetskii Istochnik 1740 g. O Valakhii, Moldavii, i Ukraine" in *Vostochnye Istochniki po Istorii Narodov Iugo-Vostochnoi i Tsentral'noi Evropy* (Volume 1) (ed. A.S. Tvertinova) (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), 131–161.

9 Anatoli Demidov, *Travels in Southern Russia and the Crimea, through Hungary, Wallachia, and Moldavia, during the year 1837* (London: J. Mitchell, 1855), 48 and 220. According to Mark Mazower, "Bessarabian roads were notorious as among the worst in Europe, well into the 1930s"; Mark Mazower (ed.), *The Balkans: A Short History* (New York: Random House, 2000), 7.

10 Quoted in William MacMichael, *Journey from Moscow to Istanbul in the Years 1817, 1818* (London: John Murray, 1819), 56–57.

11 According to James Scott, the relative "illegibility" of marshlands and estuarial zones provides the inhabitants of these regions with "a vital margin of political safety from control by outside elites." James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 54.

12 In Turkish, *boğaz* literally means "throat" or "gullet." In maritime terminology, a *boğaz* is usually defined as a strait or a narrow.

13 *Armenski Putepisi za Balkanite VXII–XIX V* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo Nauka i Izkustvo, 1984), 198–199.

14 Guboğlu, "Turetskii Istochnik 1740 g.," 145. For a description and some nice sketches and photographs of the vessels used by fishermen and merchants to navigate the treacherous shoals of the Danubian delta, see Neculai Pădurariu, "Romanian Traditional Watercraft Types" in *Shipbuilding and Ships in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 18th and 19th Centuries* (ed. Kostas A. Damianidis) (Chios, 1999), 201–203.

15 Nadia Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena (1700–1850)* (Sofia: "IF-94," 2004), 44. Apparently, locusts (*saranchi*) were also the scourge of Bessarabia in the mid-nineteenth century. According to a report compiled by the Russian Ministry

of the Interior, in the spring and summer of 1847 swarms of locusts laid waste to Kishinev, Akkerman, the lower reaches of the Dniester River, and the environs around Ismail. "Sarancha v Rossii v 1847 Godu, i Mery k eia Istrebleniiu" *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* (Kn. 7, July 1848), 59–69.

16 Helmuth von Moltke, *Unter dem Halbmond: Erlebnisse in der alten Türkei, 1835–1839* (Tübingen: Erdmann, 1979), 183.

17 Porfirii Nikolaevich Glebov, "Vospominaniia" *Syn Otechestva* 48, no. 10 (1835): 104–105.

18 "Tri Miesiatsa za Dunavaem" *Syn Otechetsva* 1, no. 5 (1833): 111. One *verst* = 1.07 kilometers.

19 "Vospominaniia Doktora Zeidlitsa o Turetskom Pokhod 1829 Goda" *Russkii Arkhiv* 1–4 (1878): 423.

20 von Moltke, *Unter dem Halbmond,* 183.

21 Rossitsa Gradeva, "The Activities of a Kadi Court in Eighteenth-Century Rumeli: The Case of Hacıoğlu Pazarcık" *Oriente Moderno* 18, no. 1 (1999): 186.

22 Kemal Karpat, "Dobruca" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı—Islam Ansiklopedisi* (Volume 9) (Istanbul, 1994), 484.

23 Charles King, *The Moldovans: Romania, Russia, and the Politics of Culture* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2000), 23.

24 Nikolai Ovcharov, "Migration des ouvriers du chantier naval et des marins du littoral bulgare de la mer noire au cours de la première moitié du XIXe siècle" in *Shipbuilding and Ships in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 18th and 19th Centuries* (ed. Kostas A. Damianidis) (Chios, 1999), 93.

25 "Raport D.P. Vatikioti o Tselesobraznosti Osvobozhdeniia ot Nakazaniia Vozvrativshikhsia Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev, Bezhavskikh iz Bessarabii za Granitsu, i Priniatii Mer k Sokhrannosti ikh Imushchestva" (August 7, 1816), *Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennoi Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (TsGIA)—*Moldavskaia Sovetskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika* (MSSR), f. 17, op. 1, d. 17, ll. 89–90.

26 "Pokazaniia Vozvrativshegosia iz-za Granitsy Zadunaiskogo Pereselentsa Zhelu Kramovicha" (July 29, 1816), TsGIA—MSSR, f. 17, op. 1, d. 17, ll. 91–92.

27 Wilkinson, 83, *Armenski Putepisi*, 183, *Rossiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (RGVIA), f. 357, and *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (RGIA), f. 1263, op. 1, d. 505, l. 229.

28 In time, consistently heavy population movements between the Ottoman and Russian empires in the Black Sea region formed what Dirk Hoerder calls a "migration system." According to Hoerder,

> on the macro-level, migration systems connect two distinct societies, each characterized by a degree of industrialization and urbanization, by political structures and current policies, by specific educational, value, and belief systems, by ethnic composition and demographic factors and

> by traditions of internal, medium-distance and long-distance migrations. On this level, general push and pull factors and statewide admission regulations are analyzed.

See Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium*, 16.

29 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 1, op. 1, d. 1107 (August 23, 1809).

30 Roger P. Bartlett, *Human Capital: The Settlement of Foreigners in Russia: 1762–1804* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 130.

31 Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia,* 44, and Bartlett, *Human Capital*, 140.

32 The ethnogenesis of the Gagauz is very much a matter of scholarly debate. According to Charles King, scholars have offered nineteen separate theories on the origins of the Gagauz. The most plausible theory—first advanced by Paul Wittek—holds that the Gagauz are the descendants of a mixed Seljuk-Oğuz polity which arose in Ottoman Dobruja in the thirteenth century (Gagauz being a derivative of the name of a Seljuk lord—Kay-Kaus—who was granted lands in Dobruja by the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus). Although mid-nineteenth-century Russian ethnographers and demographers isolated a separate Gagauz ethnic category from among Ottoman settlers in Bessarabia, twentieth-century Bulgarian historians (highlighting the similarity between Bulgarian and Gagauz customs and folk songs and the liturgical use of Church Slavonic by the Gagauz) typically referred to the Gagauz as "Turkic Bulgars" or "Black Bulgarians." The Gagauz language is part of the southwest division of the Turkic languages (which includes Turkish, Azeri, and Turkmen). As of 1989, roughly 150,000 Gagauz lived in Moldova. It is worth noting that two scholars whose works are frequently referenced in this book—Mikhail Guboğlu and Kemal Karpat—are of Gagauz ancestry. King, *The Moldovans*, 209–223; Olga Radova, "Ethnic Identification of Transdanubian Migrants and the Gagauz Settling in Budjak (The Late 18th–Early 19th Centuries)" *Eurasian Studies* 13 (Spring 1998): 54–69; Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia,* 279–289; Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 167–171; and Karpat, "Dobruca." Karpat refers to the Gagauz as "christianized Oğuz" (*hıristiyanlaşmış Oğuzlar*).

33 *Fakiisko Predanie* (Sofia, 1985), 277. Written in 1888 by the well-known Bulgarian man of letters Balcho Neikov, *Fakiisko Predanie* is a compilation of oral histories (as told to Neikov) recounting the lives of the ancestors of the famous Bulgarian revolutionary Stefan Karadja. Under the Ottomans, Faki (near Yambol and Burgas) was an important fortified transportation hub in eastern Rumelia. *Predanie* can be translated as "legend" or "tradition." See also Velko Tonev, "Natsionalnoobrazuvashti Protsesi v Severoiztochna Bŭlgariia i Dobrudzha" in *Bŭlgarskata Natsiia prez Vŭzrazhdaneto* (Sofia, 1980), 265 and 291.

34 In her analysis of early nineteenth-century Russian migration registration lists, Olga Radova differentiates Gagauz settlers from among the larger category of

"Bulgarian" settlers by identifying as Gagauz all those settler families whose last names ended in the typically Turkic suffixes of -oğlu, -li, lı, çi, and çı. Radova, "Ethnic Identification," 56 and 65.

35 Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia,* 279, and Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 169. According to the Bulgarian historian Stoyan Romanski, by the first decade of the twentieth century, only 7,720 Gagauz remained in Dobruja. Stoyan Romanski, *Dobrudzha v Svrŭzka s Vŭprosa za Dunava kato Etnichna Granitsa Mezhdu Bŭlgari i Romŭni* (Sofia, 1918), 24.

36 Wilkinson, *An Account of the Principalities with Various Political Observations Relating to them (London: Longman, Hurst, Ress, Orme, and Brown, 1820) re-issued as An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldovia* (New York: Arno Press, 1971), 169–172.

37 Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia*, 59; Wilkinson, *An Account of the Principalities*, 169 and 172; Karpat, "Dobruca," 483; Romanski, *Dobrudzha,* 23 and 26; Carl von Sax, *Geographisch-ethnographische Skizze von Bulgarien* (Vienna: Mittheilungen der kaiserlich-königlichen geographischen Gesellschaft, 1869), 459; *The Geographical Magazine* 3 (1876): 260; and RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 6/166, d 17, ll. 47–60.

38 Alan Fisher, "Emigration of Muslims from the Russian Empire in the Years after the Crimean War" *Jahrbücher für Geschicte Osteuropas* 35 (1987): 357.

39 Brian Williams, *The Crimean Tatars: The Diaspora Experience and the Forging of a Nation* (Boston: Brill, 2001), 118 and 148.

40 The Nekrasovites (who derived their name from their leader Ataman Ignata Nekrasy) were known to the Ottomans as *ignat kazaklar* or *ağnad kazaklar*.

41 For more on the Nekrasovite-Old Believer Cossack group, see A.A. Skalkovskii, "Nekrasovtsy Zhivushchie v Bessarabii" *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 10 (October 1844): 61–82 and "Dobruzha" in *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'* (Tom 10a) (Brockhaus and Efron) (Saint Petersburg, 1893), 830–831. For general information on Russian Old Believers, see "K Istorii Russkago Raskola" *Russkaia Starina* 1 (1894).

42 Population registers maintained by the Russian army record that in 1830 roughly 600 Nekrasovites lived in the Danubian estuary town of Seriköy and that 1,200 Nekrasovites lived in and around the Dobrujan town of Babadağ. Russian registers indicate that an additional 250 Nekrasovites lived in the village of Kamensk (near Maçin). RGVIA, f. 14057, op. 16/183, d. 49, l. 20 (March 6, 1830). It is estimated that in the first part of the nineteenth century, 1,200 Old Believer households lived in the Danubian estuary town of Dunavets; "Dobruzha" (Brockhaus and Efron), 830–831.

43 "Report from Kinburun Artillery Captain Martinov to Colonel Repnin" (November 12, 1776) in N.F. Dubrovin, *Prisoedinenie Kryma k Rossii: Reskripty, Pisma, Relatsii i Doneseniia* (Volume 1) (Saint Petersburg: Tipografia Imperatorsklo Akademii Nauka, 1885), 142.

44 *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (BOA)—Cevdet Dahiliye (C.DH.) 193/9636 (1782), BOA—Cevdet Askeriye (C.AS.) 420/17421(1787), BOA—Cevdet Hariciye (C. HR.) 28/1362 (1795–1796), and RGVIA, f. 14057, op. 16/183, d. 50, ll. 16 and 121–122. For more information on Zaporozhian Cossacks, see A.A. Skalkovskii, *Istoriia Novoi Sechi ili Posledniago Kosha Zaporozhskago* (Odessa, 1846); F. Kondratovich, *Zadunaiski Sech (po Mestnym Vospominaniiam i Razskasam)* (Kiev, 1883); "Pamiat o Zaporozh i Poslednikh Dniakh Zaporozhskoi Sechi" Chteniia *Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostei Russkikh* (OIDR) (#3, July–December 1876), 125–193; V.A. Golubutskii, *Zaporozhskoe Kazachestvo* (Kiev, 1957); and Avigdor Levy, "The Contribution of Zaporozhian Cossacks to Ottoman Military Reform: Documents and Notes" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 6, no. 3 (September 1982): 372–413.

45 Eugéne Poujade, *Chrétiens et Turcs: scénes et souvenirs de la vie politique, militaire, et religieuse en orient* (Paris, 1859).

46 BOA—Hatt-ı Hümayun (HAT) 74/3095-A (1800) and "Dobruzha" (Brockhaus and Efron), 830–831.

47 "K Istorii Russkago Raskola".

48 Wilkinson, *An Account of the Principalities*, 184, Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia*, 279; *Skazanie o Stranstvii i Puteshestvii po Rossii, Moldavii, Turtsii i Sviatoi Zeml* by the monk Parfenii (Moscow, 1856); Ekaterina Anastasova, *Staroobredtsite v Bŭlgariia: Mit, Istoriia, Identichnost* (Sofia, Izdatelstvo "Prof. Marin Drinov, 1998), 130; Petr Semenovich Smirnov, *Istorii Russkago Raskola Staroobriadstva* (Saint Petersburg, 1895), 145; *Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (GARF), f. 109, op. 3a, d. 1484, l. 4; and GARF f. 109, op. 3a, d. 1523, Lists 24–27. In the mid-nineteenth century, one of the largest Old Believer communities in Moldavia existed in Manuilovk (between the Siret and Moldau rivers near the modern-day Romanian town of Fălticeni). Elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, Old Believers formed recognizable communities in both Istanbul and Cairo.

49 For more on the history of disease in the Russian Empire, see Roderick McGrew, *Russia and the Cholera, 1823–1832* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965); and John T. Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Early Modern Russia* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980). For the history of disease in the Ottoman Empire/Middle East, see Daniel Panzac, *La peste dans l'empire Ottoman, 1700–1850* (Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1985); Daniel Panzac, *Quarantines et lazarets: l'europe et la peste d'orient* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1986); Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena (1700–1850*); Tahsin Akpinar, *Osmanlı Devlet'inde Karantina Usulünün Başlaması* (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, T.C. Marmara Üniversitesi, 1986); Gülden Sarıyıldız, *Karantina Teşkilatının Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri, 1838–1876* (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Istanbul Üniversitesi, 1986); and "Karantin" in *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'* (Volume 14) (Brockhaus and Efron) (Saint Petersburg, 1895), 453–455. For a recent study of plague and disease in the

Ottoman Empire which includes a discussion of internal debates concerning the adoption of quarantine, see Birsen Bulmuş, *Plague, Quarantines, and Geo-Politics in the Ottoman Empire* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2012). See as well Nüxhet Varlik's important new study on disease and empire in the Ottoman context, *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

50 In Ottoman sources, the terms *ta'un* and *veba* are often used interchangeably to denote epidemic diseases. The term *ta'un*, however, tends to be specifically used to denote plague. I am following this convention here and when *ta'un* is used in the sources, I have translated it as "plague" and when *veba* is used I have translated into the general term "epidemic disease." For more on the terminological issues surrounding the study of epidemic diseases in the Ottoman and Middle Eastern context, see Süheyl Ünver, "Taun Nedir? Veba Nedir?" *Dirim* 3–4 (1978): 363–366 and Akpinar, *Osmanlı Devlet'inde Karantina,* 4. As Sam White has noted, in reference to outbreaks of disease in early modern Ottoman cities, "bubonic plague was just one of many deadly pathogens in a complex disease environment." Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 85–86.

51 As Sam White notes, based upon the most recent research "it now appears bubonic plague was just one of many deadly pathogens in a complex disease environment." White, *The Climate of Rebellion*, 85–86.

52 Daniel Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets: l'europe et la peste d'orient* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1986), 21. While traveling by ship in the Black Sea region in the 1820s, the Englishman James Alexander observed that the clothes of Russian seamen who succumbed to the plague were often appropriated by their fellow sailors, stored in rucksacks, and worn during subsequent voyages. *Angliski Pŭtepisi za Balkanite, XVI–XIX v*. (Sofia: Izdatelstvo "Nauka i Izkustvo", 1987), 699–700.

53 In 1821, an earthquake equivalent to a magnitude of 5 on the Richter scale occurred in northern Rumelia. Tremors and small earthquakes struck the Balkans annually from 1825 to 1830. On April 23, 1829, a massive earthquake (estimated to be between 8 and 9 on the Richter scale) ravaged southern Rumelia. In the same year, an unusually strong earthquake struck the Danubian Principalities. According to information gathered by the Russian Ministry of the Interior, during this earthquake tremors lasted 70 seconds in Jassy. Many of the buildings in this city were destroyed or heavily damaged. General data on climate and seismological conditions in early nineteenth-century Ottoman can be found in Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 48–53. Specific information on the November 1829 earthquake in the Danubian Principalities can be found in "O Zemletriasenii" *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 1 (1829): 652–654.

54 As Mikhail notes, “That plague is preceded by famine is a common occurrence observed throughout the history of plague epidemics in the Middle East and elsewhere.” Mikhail, *Nature and Empire*, 221 and 227.

55 Cholera is a highly infectious waterborne bacterial disease. Producing severe diarrhea, cholera manifests its symptoms within hours of contact and, if not treated, can be fatal within a 24-hour period. For more on cholera outbreaks and epidemics in the nineteenth century, see David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-century India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Michael Christopher Low, “Empire and the Hajj: Pilgrims, Plagues, and Pan-Islam under British Surveillance, 1865–1908” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 2 (2008): 269–290; and McGrew, *Russia and the Cholera, 1823–1832.*

56 Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 86–87. Plague and typhus (murine typhus in particular) could have easily been confused and as like plague, murine typhus is transmitted by fleas and often linked to rodent infestations.

57 von Moltke, *Unter dem Halbmond*, 181 and *Armenski Putepisi*, 153 and 199.

58 “Vospominaniia Doktora Zeidlitsa,” 434 and “Tri Miesiatsa za Dunavaem,” 111.

59 White, *The Climate of Rebellion*, 85–87, 153, and 270–271.

60 Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Thomas Barrett uses White’s concept of the Middle Ground to explore issues of cultural sharing, accommodation, and intermarriage in the northern Caucasus in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thomas Barrett, “Lines of Uncertainty: The Frontiers of the North Caucasus” *Slavic Review* 54, no. 3 (Autumn 1995): 578–601.

61 Viorel Panaite, *The Ottoman Law of War and Peace*, 473 and Viorel Panaite, “Wallachia and Moldavia from the Ottoman Juridical and Political Viewpoint, 1774–1829” in *Ottoman Rule and the Balkans, 1760–1850: Conflict, Transformation, Adaptation,* Proceedings of an international conference held in Rethymnon, Crete (December 13–14, 2003), 42. Panaite’s arguments concerning the jurisdictional–political relationship between the Danubian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire can also be found in two articles published in the *International Journal of Turkish Studies*: “Power Relationships in the Ottoman Empire: The Sultans and the Tribute-Paying Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century” 7 (2001): 26–53; and “The Re’ayas of the Tributary-Protected Principalities, the Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries” 9 (2003): 79–104.

62 Mihai Maxim, “On the Right to Strike Currency of the Reigning Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia during the Period of Ottoman Suzerainty” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* XVIII (1998): 69–88.

63 King, *The Moldovans*, 15–16.

64 BOA—C. HR. 16/772 (1769–1770).

65 BOA—C. MTZ 6/265 (1796–1797) and Mikhail Guboğlu, "Dva Ukaza (1801 g.) i 'Sviashchennyi Reskript' (1802 g.) Sviazannye s Turetsko-Russko-Rumynskimi Otnosheniiami" in *Vostochnye Istochniki po Istorii Narodov Iugo-Vostochnoi i Tsentral'noi Evropy* (Volume 2) (ed. A.S. Tvertinova) (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), 260. However, if Muslim witnesses could not be found to support the views of Muslim defendants or if questions arose over the amount of damages awarded non-Muslim plaintiffs, Muslim residents in Wallachia could appeal to the Ottoman *kadı* in Ibrail for mediation.

66 Veselin Traikov, "Bŭlgarskata Emigratsia vŭv Vlashko sled Rusko-Tŭrskata Voina ot 1828–1829" in *Odrinskiat Mir ot 1829 g. i Balkanskite Narodi* (Sofia, 1981), 162.

67 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 2, ll. 10–16 and *Osmanlılarda Sağlık* (Volumes I and II) (eds. Coşkun Yilmak and Necdet Yilmaz) (Istanbul: Bioforma, 2006), 233.

68 V.P. Grachev, "Kŭm Vŭprosa za Preselvaneto na Bŭlgari v Rusiia v Nachaloto na XIX v., 1800–1806 g." in *Bŭlgarskoto Vŭzrazhdane i Rusiia* (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1981), 282–283 and 287.

69 Stefan Doinov, "Preselnicheski Dvizheniia ot Bŭlgarskite Zemi po Vreme na Rusko-Tŭrskite Voini prez Pŭrvata Polovina na XIX v." in *Bŭlgarskoto Vŭzrazhdane i Rusiia* (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1981), 296 and 303.

70 See, for example, "Narezhdane na Izpŭlnitelniia Divan na Vlashko da se Provede Sledstvie po Povod Zhalbata na Nekoltsina Bŭlgari ot Selata Zhilaba i Kŭtsel pri Bukuresht, che Bili Ograbeni ot Vlashki Chinovnitsi" (October 2, 1830), 36–37; "Molba na Bŭlgarite ot Selo Dudesht do Pŭlnomoshtnia Namestnik i Predsedatel na Divanite na Moldova i Vlashko Graf Palen da Budat Osvobodeni ot Tegobite na kŭm Karantinnata Bolnitsa" (February 28, 1829), 20–21; and "Pismo na Vlashkata Visteriia do Vornichiiata na Vŭtreshnite Raboti na Vlashko po Oplakvaneto na Bŭlgarite ot Celo Sloboziia" (January 22, 1832), 44–45, all in *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali* (eds. Maxim Mladenov, Nikolai Zhechev, and Blagovest Niagulov) (Sofia: Akademichno Izdatelstvo "Marin Drinov," 1994). These three documents detail the ill-treatment of Bulgarian migrants by local Wallachian authorities including the imposition of unauthorized *corvée* duties.

71 "Raport komanduiushchego otriadom russkikh voisk v Bessarabii C. Ia. Repninskogo P.V. Chichagovu o merax po ustroistvu zadunaiskikh pereselentsev na bessarabskikh zemliakh" (June 17, 1812) RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 166, d. 17, ll. 92–93.

72 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1467, ll. 70 and 101. Complicating the matter further, in the 1820s Russian imperial agents operating in Bessarabia typically referred to the natives (*urozhentsy*) of Moldavia as "Turkish" subjects (in Russian shorthand—*Turets. poddan.)*. GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 2336a, l. 42 (1826).

73 Panaite, “Wallachia and Moldavia from the Ottoman Juridical and Political Viewpoint, 1774–1829,” 42.

74 *Derzhavnii Arkhiv Odeskoi Oblasti* (DAOO), f. 1, op. 190, d. 48, ll. 2–6 (1829).

75 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 1, l. 8 (1807), RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 1, l. 10 (1807), and RGVIA, f. 14057, op. 16/183, d. 50, l. 131 (1829).

76 BOA—HAT 1087/44249 (May 26, 1828).

77 To ease the transition from Ottoman to Russian subjecthood, Ottoman prisoners of war were provided with Turkish translations of the oath of allegiance to the Russian tsar. RGVIA, f. 14057, op. 16/183, d. 50, ll. 9, 39, 96, and 210–211 (1829).

78 “Commander of the Moldavian Army I.I. Michelson to Alexander I” (January 1807) in *Vneshnaia Politika Rossii XIX i Nachala XX Veka: Dokumenty Rossiiskogo Ministerstva Inostrannykh Del* (*VPR*) (Volume 3) (Moscow: Nauka, 1980), 485.

79 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 1, l. 7 (1807).

80 BOA—HAT 1383/54729 (1788–1789).

81 BOA—C. HR. 13/615 (1805).

82 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 13/163b, d. 19, ll. 7–8 (1809).

83 DAOO, f. 252, op. 1, d. 546, ll. 1–2 (1826).

84 See, for example, RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 17 (1808–1809).

85 *Levends* (state-funded militias) were recruited for temporary six-month assignments and were paid up-front in cash. See Aksan, “Manning a Black Sea Garrison,” 67–71.

86 Stanford Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Selim III, 1789–1807* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 127.

87 Among these prominent officials were Battal Pasha, Tayyar Pasha, Ramiz Pasha, Sirozi Yusuf Pasha, the Moldavian *Hospodar* Mavrocordato, and the Wallachian *Hospodar* Ipsilanti. Bayram Nazır, *Macar ve Polonyali Mülteciler Osmanlı'ya Sığınanlar* (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayinevi, 2006), 225.

88 Maria Guthrie, *A Tour, Performed in the Years 1795–1796, Through the Taurida, or Crimea, the Ancient Kingdom of Bosphorus, the Once-powerful Republic of Tauric Cherson, and All the Other Countries of the North Shore of the Euxine Ceded to Russia by the Peace of Kainardgi and Jassy* (London: Nichols and Son, 1802), 10. Guthrie had been the acting Directress of the Imperial Convent for the Education of the Female Nobility of Russia.

89 A.F. Miller, *Mustafa Pasha Bairaktar: Ottomanskaia Imperiia v Nachale XIX Veka* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1947), 420.

90 Ufuk Gülsoy, “1828 Yılında Istanbul'a Getirilen Varnalı Muhacirler” *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 7 (1992): 249.

91 These Cossack groups were subsequently referred to (in Bulgarian) as *Ukrainski Budzhakski Zaporozhtsi* or *Ust-Dunavski Budzhakski Kazatsi*. Elena Bachinska, “Bŭlgarskite Volontiri v Dunavskata Kazashka Voiska (1828–1829)” in *Bulgarite*

v Severnoto Prichernomorie (Volume 4) (Veliko Turnovo: Izdatelska Kŭshta Asta, 1994), 184.

92 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 6, l. 174 (December 1808).

93 BOA—C. HR. 19/941.

94 Guboğlu, "Dva Ukaza (1801 g.) i 'Sviashchennyi Reskript' (1802 g.)," 264.

95 GARF, f. 109, op. 4a, d. 7, ll. 3–6, (May 1828), GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3196, ll. 120–123 (June 21–26, 1829), GARF, f. 109, op. 4a, d. 8, l. 9 (June 24, 1829), GARF, f. 109, op. 2a, d. 120, ll. 28–29 (1835), and GARF, f. 109, op. 2a, d. 30, ll. (1836).

96 GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3195, l. 43; Dubrovin, *Prisoedinenie Kryma k Rossii* (Volume 1), "Report from Lieutenant-Colonel Buldakov to Prince Prozorovski," 614, and ibid., "The Declaration of *Hajji* Ismail-ağa to Khan Şahin Giray," 688–689; Dubrovin, *Prisoedinenie Kryma k Rossii* (Volume 2), "Statement from a Tatarina," 34, and ibid. "Letter from the Captain of the Turkish Ship *Hajji-Mehmet* to Prince Prozorovski," 88; *Feldmarshal Kutuzov: Sbornik Dokumentov i Materialov* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo Politicheski Literatura, 1947), 224–225; A.P. Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev i ego Vremia* (Saint Petersburg,1882), 34; and Wilkinson, *An Account of the Principalities*, 255 and 280.

97 RGIA, f. 1263, op. 1, d. 181, ll. 76–77 (February 1819).

98 BOA—C. HR. 121/6040, BOA—HAT 17/749 (1784–1785), and GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 2336a, l. 76. The Ottoman spies identified in these documents included Uzun Mustafa, who was active in "Ukrayna" after the Russo-Ottoman War in the 1780s, and Safar-Bey, who—according to Russian surveillance and counterespionage reports—was accused of engaging in espionage (*shpionazh*) on behalf of the Ottoman Empire in the 1820s.

99 Additionally, Ottoman statesmen—looking upon Wallachia as their window to the wider "European" world—expected their representatives in Bucharest to file regular intelligence reports on general diplomatic and political developments in Europe. Besides Jassy and Bucharest, Ibrail (Braila) was an important Ottoman listening post in the early part of the nineteenth century. During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, one of the most important Ottoman spies in Jassy was an individual by the name of Gavril Sebastian. RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 5, l. 31 (October 1807–January 1808), RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 4 (May–October 1808), RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 6, ll. 81–82 (March 1808), BOA—C. MTZ. 16/800 (1782), BOA—C. HR. 168/8372 (1787), BOA—C. HR. 18/891 (1793–1794), BOA—HAT 1096/44407-C (March 13, 1812), BOA—HAT 1096/44411-C (April 26, 1812), BOA—C. HR. 15/733 (July 26, 1812), BOA—HAT 1096/44411-E (October 18, 1812), and BOA—HAT 843/37892-H (1823). For more on Ottoman intelligence-gathering efforts in the Danubian Principalities and along the Habsburg frontier in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Gabor Agoston, "Information, Ideology, and Limits of Imperial Policy: Ottoman Grand Strategy in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry" in *The Early Modern*

Ottomans: Remapping the Empire (eds. Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 75–103.

100 Traikov, "Bŭlgarskata Emigratsia," 160–161 and Dubrovin, *Prisoedinenie Kryma k Rossii* (Volume 1), "Report from Colonel Repnin to Lieutenant-General Tekelli," 66–67.

101 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 17, l. 39 (December 1808–July 30, 1809).

102 *Mubadele: An Ottoman-Russian Exchange of Ambassadors* (annotated and trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Max Mote) (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 100 and 117.

103 Wilkinson, *An Account of the Principalities*, 227.

104 RGVIA, f. 14209, op 2/163a, d. 2, l. 3 (July 1809).

105 BOA—C. HR. 28/1391 and GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3195, l. 203 (June 1828).

106 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 2, l. 3 (July 1809).

107 BOA—HAT 1011/42436-A (1828) and GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3195, l. 197 (June 22, 1828).

108 Dubrovin, *Prisoedinenie Kryma k Rossii* (Volume 2), "Letter from Ambassador Stakhiev to Graf Panin," 99.

109 Anonymous, *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832 by an American* (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833), 305–306.

110 GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 2336a, l. 76.

111 In conceptualizing what is meant by the term "state," I have drawn upon Peter Sahlins's straightforward definition of the early modern state as, collectively, ministers and kings in imperial capitals, provincial authorities, local judicial officers, tax collectors, customs guards, and soldiers. In the aggregate, these instruments of state are defined by "their exclusive jurisdiction over a delimited territory." Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 2 and 22.

112 More prosaically, the Ottomans referred to the northern Black Sea steppe as the "wide plains between Ochakov and Perekop" (*Özi ve Or sahralar*). See, for example, BOA)–C. HR. 16/768 (1760–1761).

113 For an overview of recent developments in the historiography on the Russian Empire's southern borderlands, see Gary Hamburg, "Imperial Entanglements: Two New Histories of Russia's Western and Southern Borderlands" *Kritika* 9, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 407–431.

114 For example, "the limits of Russia" (*predely Rossii*) or "at the limits of the Empire" (*na predelakh Imperii*). GARF, f. 109 ("III Otdelenie Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva Kantseliarii, 1828–1837"), op. 4a., d. 7, l. 4 (May 11, 1828), DAOO, f. 6, op. 1, d. 2482, ll. 12–13 (July 6, 1829), and *Sobranie Postanovlenii po Chasti Raskola* (Saint Petersburg, 1858). According to Peter Perdue, the "plasticity of the landscape" and the uniformity of east–west climatic zones made it difficult for states to establish fixed and effective borders on the

Eurasian steppe. Peter Perdue, *China Marches East: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 20–23.

115 For more on the "gradual delimitation of the Ottoman border along the Danube" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Rossitsa Gradeva's "War and Peace along the Danube: Vidin at the end of the Seventeenth Century" *Oriente Moderno* 20, no. 1 (2001): 149–175 and "Shipping along the Lower Course of the Danube (end of the 17th century)" in *The Kapudan Pasha: His Office and His Domain* (ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou) (Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 2002), 301–324. It is worth noting here that early nineteenth-century travelers in the Ottoman Empire also recognized the Danube River as a territorial and geopolitical dividing line. Referring to the Ottoman Empire, the British consul in Bucharest, William Wilkinson, wrote in 1806: "the Danube being, in fact, the natural frontier of their present extent of empire … is alone calculated to offer them security." William Wilkinson, *An Account of the Principalities*, 196. Upon approaching the southern shore of the Danube River during his return from the Balkan front in 1828, a Russian officer wrote, "my heart was filled with joy as I knew that I would soon be returning to my dear Fatherland. Finally, we crossed back over the wide Danube and I looked back one last time on the land of the enemy …": "Tri Miesiatsa za Dunavaem", 285. And Felix Fonton (a French officer in the service of the Russian army) proclaimed upon reaching the Danube in May 1830, "I crossed back over the Danube once more … and, praise be to God, I was back on Russian soil." F.P. Fonton, *Pokhod Zabalkanskii* (Volume 2) (Leipzig, 1862), 242.

116 Machiel Kiel, "Hrazgrad—Hezargrad—Razgrad: The Vicissitudes of a Turkish Town in Bulgaria" *Turcica* 21–23 (1991): 495–562.

117 Panaite, *The Ottoman Law of War and Peace*, 410–411.

118 Guboğlu "Dva Ukaza (1801 g.) i 'Sviashchennyi Reskript' (1802 g.)," 266.

119 BOA—Cevdet Eyalet-i Mümtaze (C. MTZ.) 14/656 (1758), BOA—C. MTZ. 6/277 (1803–1804), BOA—Hatt-ı Hümayun (HAT) 1093/44363-H (October 6, 1811), and BOA—HAT 1042/43136-A (June 30, 1833).

120 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1467, l. 2 (June 8, 1830), TsGIA—MSSR f. 2, op. 1, d. 1326, l. 129 (June 12, 1830), and Meshcheriuk, 106, 108, 116, and 175–176.

121 GARF, f. 109, op. 4a, d. 7, l. 5 (May 1828).

122 Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev*, 340. For historical background on the "massive penetration of Ottoman Currency into Wallachia and Moldavia," see Maxim's "On the Right to Strike Currency," 69–88.

Chapter 2

1 The Mirkovich family did not travel alone. In the period during and immediately after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, the population of the town of Sliven

dropped from 15,000 to 3,000 and the population of Yambol was reduced by 75 percent. Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar*, 148–149.

2 *Bŭlgarski Istoricheski Arkhiv* (BIA), Fond 169—Ruscho Vulkov Mirkovich.

3 Ivan Grek and Nikolai Chervenkov, *Bŭlgarite ot Ukraina i Moldova: Minalo i Nastoiashte* (Sofia: Izdatelska Kŭshta "Hristo Botev," 1993); Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar;* Elena Druzhinina, *Iuzhnaia Ukraina v Period Krizisa Feodalisma: 1825–1860gg* (Moscow: Izdatelstvo Nauka, 1981); Stefan Doinov, *Bŭlgarite v Ukraina i Moldova prez Vŭzrazhdaneto 1751–1878* (Sofia: Akademichno Izdatelstvo "Marin Drinov," 2005); and Ivan Grek, "Bŭlgarskite Dobrovoltsi (Volunteri) ot 1828–1829 godina" *Vekove* (1975).

4 Here I concur with Michael Reynolds's assertion that "a problem does arise when the focus on nationalism and national identities occludes the impact of other dynamics." Michael Reynolds, *Shattering Empires: The Clash and Collapse of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, 1908–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 5.

5 Vladimir Milchev, *Materiali kŭm Istoriiata na Bŭlgarskoto Naselenie v Ukraina prez XVIII vek* (Zaporozhie: Tandem-U, 1999).

6 Ivan Tiutiundzhiev, "Bŭlgarski Voenni Formirovania v Ukraina prez XVIII vek" in *Bŭlgarite v Severnoto Prichernomorie* (Volume 4) (Veliko Turnovo: Izdatelska Kŭshta Asta, 1994), 132.

7 Ibid., 133.

8 *Rossiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnykh Aktov* (RGADA), f. 248, op. 1, d. 2732, ll. 654–663.

9 *Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennoi Istoricheskii Arkhiv—Ukrainian SSR* (TsGIA—Ukr. SSR), f. 59, op. 1, d. 3325, ll. 15–19 and Tiutiundzhiev, "Bŭlgarski Voenni Formirovania," 133.

10 Fonds in the Bulgarian Historical Archive in Sofia, Bulgaria, contain the correspondence and personal documents of many of these Bulgarian merchant families. These archival fonds provide a rich and comprehensive picture of the formation of Bulgarian merchant networks in the Black Sea region in the early part of the nineteenth century. See, for example, BIA, Fond 7—Evlogi and Christo Georgiev and BIA, Fond 14—Grigor Nachovich.

11 A specific example of a commercial transaction between a Russian merchant and a Gabrovar merchant can be found in *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (BOA)—Divan-ı Hümayun Düvel-ı Ecnebiye Kalemi (A. DVN. DVE) 1/8.

12 "Izlozhenie na Vasil Aprilov za Blagotvoritelnata i Stopanskata Deinost na Preselenite v Bukuresht Gabrovtsi" (Odessa, 1841), *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 60–61.

13 Daniela Tsoneva, "Vasil Rasheev i Tŭrgovskite Vrŭzki na Gabrovo s Odesa prez XIX vek" *Istoricheski Pregled* 1–2 (1999): 176–179.

14 Mikhail Arnaudov, *Vasil Evstatiev Aprilov* (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1971).

15 Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia*, 14.

16 Nikolai Chervenkov, "Sŭzdavane na Cherkvite v Bŭlgarskite Kolonii v Bessarabiia prez Pŭrvata Polovina na XIX v." in *Bŭlgarite v Severnoto Prichernomorie* (Volume 4) (Veliko Turnovo: Izdatelska Kŭshta Asta, 1994), 170.

17 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar*, 7.

18 Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia*, 10–11 and 14–16.

19 *Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennyi Isoricheskii Arkhiv—Moldavskaia Sovetskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika* (TsGIA—MSSR), f. 17, op. 1, d. 17 and Grek and Chervenkov*Bŭlgarite ot Ukraina i Moldova*, 14–15.

20 Doinov, "Preselnicheski Dvizheniia ot Bŭlgarskite Zemi," 309.

21 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 96.

22 For a good example of a comprehensive migrant registration compiled by the Russian state, see the list requested by the Kishinev Town Duma in 1821. Besides the name, age, and gender of each registered Bulgarian migrant, this registration list notes the year that each migrant family crossed the Danube and settled in the Russian Empire. TsGIA—MSSR, f. 75, op. 1, d. 130, ll. 22–45. See also TsGIA—MSSR, f. 5, op. 2, d. 439 and f. 5, op. 2, d. 442. It is important to note here that migrants from the Ottoman Empire tended to be identified by Russian authorities as "trans-Danubian settlers." In this frontier environment, identity was a fluid concept and most settlers from the Russian Empire would have identified themselves, at this point in time, as a Christian peasant from the Ottoman Empire.

23 For more on this important period in Bulgarian and Ottoman history, see Vera Mutafchieva, *Kŭrdzhalisko Vreme* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bŭlgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1993).

24 Grachev, "Kŭm Vŭprosa za Preselvaneto," 266–267.

25 BOA—Hatt-ı Hümayun (HAT) 872/38770 and BOA—Cevdet Haricye (C.HR.) 27/1337. Additionally, 4,000 Bulgarian volunteers from Bessarabia participated in the Greek uprising against Ottoman rule. Grek and Chervenkov, *Bŭlgarite ot Ukraina i Moldova,* 127.

26 "Ispravliaiushtii Dolzhnost Namestnika Bessarabskoi Oblasti I.I. Inzov Stats-Sekretariu I.A. Kapodistrii" (March 10, 1821) in *Vneshniaia politika Rossii XIX i nachala XX veka: Dokumenty Rossiiskogo Ministerstva Inostrannykh Del* (*VPR*), Series #2, Volume 4 (12) (Moscow, 1980), 39–40.

27 Stilian Chilingirov, *Dobrŭdzha i Nasheto Vŭzrazhdane* (Sofia: Dŭrzhavna Pechatnitsa, 1917), 187.

28 Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev,* 33–34.

29 Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia,* 24.

30 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 196–197.

31 BOA—HAT 747/35272, BOA—HAT 776/36417, BOA—HAT 778/36443-A, BOA—HAT 1038/43008, BOA—HAT 1038/43008-A, BOA—HAT 1039/43027, and BOA—HAT 1042/43136.

32 Chilingirov, *Dobrŭdzha*, 180 and 202.

33 BOA—Cevdet Iktisat (C. IKTS.) 40/1966 and BOA—Cevdet Eyalet-i *Mümtaze (C. MTZ) 6/261.*

34 "Molba ot Bŭlgari Gradinari, Sezonni Preselnitsi v Okr. Ardzhesh, do Vistieriiata na Vlashko za Osvobozhdavane ot Danutsi" (May 4, 1831) *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 40–41.

35 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 75, op. 1, d. 130, ll. 1–45 and Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 91 and 181.

36 BOA—HAT 1168/46217.

37 Grek, "Bŭlgarskite Dobrovoltsi", 9.

38 BOA—Cevdet Askeriye (C.AS.) 20/894, BOA—Cevdet Dahiliye (C.DH) 113/5636, BOA—HAT 1007/42257 and Grachev, "Kŭm Vŭprosa za Preselvaneto," 269–270.

39 *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheski Arkhiv* (RGIA), f. 379, op.1, d. 987, l. 1a. (October 4, 1829).

40 Bachinska, "Bŭlgarskite Volontiri v Dunavskata Kazashka Voiska (1828–1869)," 182.

41 Ufuk Gülsoy, *1828–1829 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı'nda Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya* (Istanbul: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1993), 27 and BOA—HAT 42606-B (May 31, 1828).

42 BIA, Fond 14—Grigor Nachovich.

43 K.P. Kryzhanovskaia and E.M. Ruseev, "K Voprosu o Deiatel'nosti Dekabrista A.P. Iushnevskogo po Ustroistvu Zadunavskikh Pereselentsev v Bessarabii" in *Moldavskii Filial AN SSSR, Institut Istorii, Iazyka i Literatury, Uchenye Zapiski* (Volume VI) (Kishinev, 1957), 106–107 and Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 135.

44 "Narezhdane na Izpŭlnitelniia Divan na Vlashko da se Provede Sledstvie po Povod Zhalbata na Nekoltsina Bŭlgari ot Selata Zhilaba i Kŭtsel pri Bukuresht, che Bili Ograbeni ot Vlashki Chinovnitsi" (October 2, 1830) *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 36–37.

45 Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia*, 28.

46 Grek, "Bŭlgarskite Dobrovoltsi," 8–9 and Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 185.

47 Grek and Chervenkov, *Bŭlgarite ot Ukraina i Moldova,* 46.

48 Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia*, 28.

49 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 180–181.

50 "Raport Inspektora Dubossarskogo Sukhoputnogo Karantina N. Karpova Khersonskomy Voennomy Gubernatory E.I. Diuku-de-Rishel'e ob Otkaze Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev ot Poseleniia v Novorossii" (June 27, 1811) in *Ustroistvo Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev v Bessarabii i Deiatel'nost A.P. Iushnevskogo: Sbornik Dokumentov* (Kishinev: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo Moldavii, 1957), 8–11.

51 "Molba na Bŭlgarite ot Selo Dudesht do Pŭlnomoshtnia Namestnik i Predsedatel na Divanite na Moldova i Vlashko Graf Palen da Budat Osvobodeni ot Tegobite na kŭm Karantinnata Bolnitsa" (February 28, 1829). Written in Russian and signed by Getsu Ivanov, Ivan Veliki, Ivan Kerchu, Iordan Tŭnas, Kresti Ivanov, and Khrestu Ganchu. *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 20–21.

52 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 110.

53 Ibid., 116–117.

54 Traikov, "Bŭlgarskata Emigratsia vŭv Vlashko," 161.

55 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 187.

56 "Molba na Bŭlgari-Preselnitsi ot Iambolsko do Goliamata Vornichiia na Vŭtreshnite Raboti na Vlakhiia da Im se Razreshi Zavŭrshtane v Rodinata" *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 42.

57 BOA—HAT 1016/42515, Grek, "Bŭlgarskite Dobrovoltsi," 8–9 and Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 183.

58 Grek, "Bŭlgarskite Dobrovoltsi," 9 and Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 184.

59 Traikov, "Bŭlgarskata Emigratsia vŭv Vlashko," 160–161.

60 Grek and Chervenkov, *Bŭlgarite ot Ukraina i Moldova,* 111.

61 The three main Danubian crossing points for Bulgarian migrants moving between Ottoman Rumelia and the Danubian Principalities were Hirsova—Pioa Pietri, Maçin—Braila, and Silistre—Kalaraşi. Traikov, "Bŭlgarskata Emigratsia vŭv Vlashko," 156.

62 *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 51–57. The majority of these new settlements were founded by Bulgarian migrants. The rest were founded by Serbian and Greek settlers.

63 Grachev, "Kŭm Vŭprosa za Preselvaneto," 275.

64 "Predlozhenie na General Kiselev do Vlashkiia Izpŭlnitelen Divan po Povod Oplakvaneto na 275 Bŭlgarski Semeistva … ot Postoiannoto Im Oblagane s Danutsi i Tegobi ot Mestnite Vlasti," *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 37–38.

65 "Pismo na Vlashkata Visteriia do Vornichiiata na Vŭtreshnite Raboti na Vlashko po Oplakvaneto na Bŭlgarite ot Celo Sloboziia" (January 22, 1832) *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 44–45.

66 BOA—HAT 1144/45469 and "Ustav za Bŭlgarskite Preselnitsi, Izraboten ot Obshtoto Sŭbranie na Izpŭlnitelniia Divan na Vlashko i Izpraten po Okrŭzi za Izpŭlnenie" (August 1830) *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 33–35.

67 "Doklad na Zam.-Predsedatelia na Divana vŭv Vlashko do Predsedatelia na Divana za Doshlite Bezhantsi ot Bŭlgariia i Razpredelenieto Im po Razlichnite Okrŭzi v Stranata" (September 4, 1830) *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 35–36.

68 "Molba na Bŭlgarski Bezhantsi do General Kiselov za Osvobozhdavane ot Danutsi" (Braila, February 15, 1832) signed by Yanu and Teodor from Yambol, Christo

Teodor from Kazanlŭk, Veliu from Karnobat, Rusi from Sliven, Peniu from Yambol, Christo from Yambol, Diado Kondiu from Aytos, Nikola from Yambol, Diado Zheku from Yambol, Kazandzhoğlu from Pazardzhik, Tino from Varna, and Kosta from Karnobat. *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 46–47.

69 For example, in 1818 several deputies were elected by the Bulgarian migrant community in Bessarabia to serve on various commissions in the Kishinev town government. TsGIA—MSSR, f. 75, op. 1, d. 36, ll. 1–8.

70 "Zapiska na Sofronii Vrachanski do General M.I. Kutuzov s Predlozhenie za Stopansko, Administrativnoto i Kulturnoto Ustroistvo na Bŭlgarskite Preselnitsi na Sever ot Dunav" (May 29, 1811) *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 16–18.

71 "Doklad na Zam.-Predsedatelia na Divana vŭv Vlashko do Predsedatelia na Divana za Doshlite Bezhantsi ot Bŭlgariia i Razpredelenieto Im po Razlichnite Okrŭzi v Stranata" (September 4, 1830) *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 35–36.

72 Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia*, 101.

73 "Molba na Bŭlgari-Preselnitsi ot Yambolsko do Goliamata Vornichiia na Vŭtreshnite Raboti na Vlakhiia na Im se Razreshi Zavrŭshtane v Rodinata" (August 28, 1831) *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali,* 42.

74 "Doklad na Zam.-Predsedatelia na Divana vŭv Vlashko do Predsedatelia na Divana za Doshlite Bezhantsi ot Bŭlgariia i Razpredelenieto Im po Razlichnite Okrŭzi v Stranata" (September 4, 1830) *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 35–36 and Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 119–122.

75 *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 6–7 and "Reshenie na Izvŭnrednoto Zasedanie na Administrativaniia Sŭvet na Vlashko za Razshiriavane na Fiskalnite Oblekcheniia na Bŭlgarskite Preselnitsi" (February 24, 1832) *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 48.

76 Traikov, "Bŭlgarskata Emigratsia," 161.

77 Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia*, 274–275.

78 Tiutiundzhiev, "Bŭlgarski Voenni Formirovania," 135.

79 "Doklad na Oblozhitelite na Bezhantsite Stolnik Stancho i Serdar Tudorake do Vistieriiata na Vlakhiia za Otkaza na Preselenite ot Tutrakan v Selo Kirnodzh okolo 200 Semeistva na Plashtat Danŭtsi" (June 27, 1829) *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 23–24.

80 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 75, op. 1, d. 241, ll. 1–79 (July-August 1824) and Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 162.

81 In so doing, I endeavor to connect "macroscopic" (political and diplomatic history) with "molecular" (ethnographic) history. This approach to history-writing is discussed in Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), xv.

82 "Unikalen Vŭzrozhdenski Rŭkopis: Konstantin D. Moravenov. Pametnik za Plovdivskoto Khristiiansko Naselenie v Grada i za Obshtite Zavedeniia po Proiznosno Predanie, Podaren na Bŭlgarskoto Chitalishte v Tsarigrad—do 1869" *Izvestia na Narodnata Biblioteka Kiril i Metodii* (Volume XIV, 1976), 511–631.

83 Calcutta (now Kolkata) is the only specific Indian city cited in Moravenov's account.

84 Additionally, there is the story of the family of the Bulgarian merchant Kalipov who lived and worked in Plovdiv in the last part of the eighteenth century. All of his sons save one died in their youth from plague. The surviving son, Dimitrii, left Plovdiv in the 1770s to become a merchant in Wallachia or Bessarabia. He ultimately died of plague in Bucharest in either 1826 or 1828. There are also the similar fates of the families of Stavria Langera and Iakobaki Argirchenin. Ancestors of these two families fled Plovdiv during the *Kŭrdzhalisko Vreme* in search of temporary safety in Wallachia. Both families opted to settle permanently in Bucharest.

85 Of the estimated 32,000 Bulgarians who crossed into Bessarabia in 1830, roughly two-thirds classified themselves as peasants. Some 1,600 declared "merchant" as their occupation. TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1501, ll. 2–3.

86 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1467, ll. 29–32.

87 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1326, ll. 112–220.

88 *Derzhavnii Arkhiv Odeskoi Oblasti* (DAOO), f. 6, op. 1, d. 2482, l. 4.

89 BOA—HAT 1047/43226.

90 "Molba na 49 Bŭlgarski Semeistva ot Selo Sloboziia do General Kiselov za Osvobozhdane ot Danutsi kato Postradali ot Voinata" (January 9, 1832) *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 43–44.

91 Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia*, 28.

92 BOA—HAT 1042/43129.

93 Kryzhanovskaia and Ruseev, "K Voprosu o Deiatel'nosti Dekabrista," 106–107.

94 A.P. Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev,* 34–35.

Chapter 3

1 Excerpted from Grachev, "Kŭm Vŭprosa za Preselvaneto," 284–285.

2 See, for example, Andreas Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History* (New York: Longman, 2001); Roger P. Bartlett, *Human Capital: The Settlement of Foreigners in Russia: 1762–1804* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Druzhinina, *Severnoe Prichernomor'e, 1775–1800*; Vladimir Kabuzan, *Emigratsiia i Reemigratsiia v Rossii v VXIII-nachale XX veka* (Moscow: Nauka, 1998); John P. LeDonne's *Grand Strategy of the Russian Empire, 1650–1831* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) and *The Russian Empire and the World, 1700–1917: The*

Geopolitics of Expansion and Containment (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); and Brian J. Boeck, *Imperial Boundaries: Cossack Communities and Empire-Building in the Age of Peter the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). One reviewer of this latter text alternately used the terms "frontier," "periphery," "borderland," and "region" in an attempt to define the patch of ground covered in Boeck's book. This typifies the slipperiness of trying to adopt wholesale a political-territorial paradigm to frame what is by nature a dynamic environment.

3 See, for example, Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002) and Willard Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

4 Although George Jewsbury has provided us with an authoritative history of the Russian annexation of Bessarabia at the far southwestern limit of the Russian Empire, his account stops at empire's edge. See Jewsbury, *The Russian Annexation of Bessarabia, 1774–1828*.

5 Bartlett, *Human Capital*, 47 and James A. Duran, "Catherine II, Potemkin, and Russian Colonization Policy in South Russia" *Russian Review* 28, no.1 (1969), 26.

6 Bartlett, *Human Capital*, 39 and 57–60.

7 Ibid., 3.

8 Mark Pinson, "Russian Policy and the Emigration of the Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman Empire, 1854–1862" in *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basimevi, 1972), 41.

9 Ivan Grek, "Preselvaneto na Bulgari ot Bessarabia Chast na Moldovskoto Kniazhestvo v Priazovieto Kraia na 50-te do Nachaloto na 60-te godini na XIX v." in *Bulgarite v Severnoto Prichernomorie* (Volume 2) (Veliko Turnovo: ACTA, 1993), 130 and Bartlett, *Human Capital*, 45 and 70.

10 Grek, "Preselvaneto na Bulgari," 137.

11 Bartlett, *Human Capital*, 135–136.

12 Grachev, "Kŭm Vŭprosa za Preselvaneto," 268–269.

13 Ibid., 276. Tomara served as Russian ambassador in Istanbul from 1802 to 1809. He was a descendent of a prominent Cossack family of Greek origin and was active in Masonic circles.

14 Ibid., 278–279.

15 Doinov, "Preselnicheski Dvizheniia ot Bŭlgarskite Zemi," 293–294; Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar*, 96.

16 The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774) granted the Russian Empire the right to establish consulates throughout the Ottoman Empire. In 1781, Russian diplomatic posts were established in Jassy (Moldavia) and Bucharest (Wallachia) and in 1784 a Russian consulate opened in Varna. Velko Tonev, "Ruskoto Konsulstvo vŭv Varna i Novobŭlgarskoto Obrazovanie" in *Bŭlgarskoto Vŭzrazhdane i Rusiia* (Sofia: Nauka

I Izkustvo, 1981), 549–553. By 1830, the main Russian consulate in Rumelia was located in Sliven (Islimiye). *Rossiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnykh Aktov* (RGADA), f. 15, d. 707, ll. 1–13.

17 "Foreign Minister Vorontsov to General Consul in Jassy A.A. Zherve" (March 15, 1803) *Vneshnaia Politika Rossii XIX i Nachala XX Veka: Dokumenty Rossiiskogo Ministerstva Inostrannykh Del* (*VPR*) (Volume 1) (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo, 1960), 401.

18 Indicative of the urgency involved in Kutuzov's recruitment efforts, migrants were offered financial incentives to abandon their lands prior to the harvesting of already planted crops. "Predpisanie M.I. Kutuzov A. Ia. Koronelli o Nemedlennom Ustroistve Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev na Kazennykh Zemliakh Bessarabii" (April 12, 1812), *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (RGVIA), f. 14209, op. 166, d. 17, l. 77 and "Otnoshenie M.I. Kutuzov A. Ia. Koronelli o Razreshenii Zadunaiskim Pereselentsev Valakhii i Moldavii Provesti Vesennii Sev" (March 9, 1812) RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 165, d. 1, l. 24. A. Ia. Koronelli was a state secretary attached to the Moldavian army. He, in effect, acted as Saint Petersburg's main political liaison with General Kutuzov. In this capacity, he was deeply involved in issues related to the migration of settlers from the Ottoman Empire to the Russian Empire.

19 "Privilegii, Darovannye Gosudarem Imperatorom Prikhodiashchim v Rossiiu dlia Poseleniia Bolgarom" RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 166, d. 17, ll. 82–83.

20 "Zhaloba Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev Tomarovsko-Izmail'skogo Tsynuta I. Nedel'kovichu na Otiagoshtenie ikh Povinnostiami Mestnymi Vlastiami" (June 7, 1814) *Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennyi Isoricheskii Arkhiv—Moldavskaia Sovetskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika* (TsGIA—MSSR), f. 5, op. 2, d. 148, l. 15. This petition was signed by 12 *starosti* including Christo *Starosta* Renskii, George *Starosta* Çeşmeköy, and Mircho *Starosta* Bolgarskii. Major General I.M. Garting served as the military and civilian governor of the Bessarabian Oblast from 1813 to 1816. For more on Garting and his administration in Bessarabia, see Jewsbury, *The Russian Annexation of Bessarabia, 1774–1828,* 89–95. I. Nedel'kovich was a Bulgarian-speaking Albanian captain assigned by Garting to administer the Bulgarian migrant communities in the region of Ismail. His remit also included surveillance and reporting on the activities of migrant communities located along the lower Prut River and the northern Danubian estuary, "Predpisanie I. M. Gartinga 2-mu Departamentu Bessarabskogo Oblastnogo Pravitelstva o Naznachenii Arnautskogo Kapitana I. Nedel'kovicha Smotritelem nad Zadunaiskimi Pereselentsami Tomarovskogo Tsynuta" (April 14, 1814) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 5, op. 2, d. 148, l. 1. A *Tsynuta* was a political-administrative unit used in the Danubian Principalities. It was similar to the Russian *uezd*.

21 "Predpisanie I. M. Garting Kiliskomu Politsmeisteru Feld'ianovichu o Rassledovanii Pritesnenii Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev Tomarovski Ispravnichestvom" (June 22,

1815) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 38, op. 1, d. 4, l. 1 and "Otnoshenie L.L. Bennigsena I.M. Gartingu ob Otkomandirovanii Osobykh Chinovnikov dlia Sbora Svedenii, Neobkhodimykh dlia Ustroistva Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev v Bessarabaii" (January 21, 1816) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 521, l. 11. Osip Kozodavlev was the Russian minister of internal affairs from 1810 to 1819. Graf (Count) L. L. Bennigsen was, in 1816, the commander of the Russian 2nd Army.

22 "Otnoshenie L.L. Bennigsena I.M. Garting o Nazhachenii Nadvornogo Sovetnika A.P. Iushnevskogo i Shtabs-rotmistra D.P. Vatikioti v Komissiiu po Sboru Svedenii o Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsakh Bessarabii" (February 26, 1816) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 521, l. 16, "Instruktsiia I.M. Gartinga Mileticha i Marchenko o Rabote ikh v Kachestve Chlenov Komissii po Sboru Svedenii o Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsakh Bessarabii" (March 8, 1816) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 521, l. 20–24, and "Predpisanie I.M. Gartinga Otstavnomu Maioru Miletichu o Naznahchenii ego v Kommissiiu po Sboru Svedenii o Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsakh Bessarabii" (March 18, 1816) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 521, l. 27.

23 "Polozhenie o Glavnom Upravelenie Kolonistov Iuzhnogo Kraia Rossii" (March 22, 1818) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 17, op. 1, d. 70, ll. 144–146.

24 A passionate defender of the rights of settlers in Bessarabia and a tireless advocate for increasing government support for migrant populations in the Russian Empire, Ivan Inzov served the interests of the Bulgarian migrant community in Bessarabia until his death in 1845. Inzov was and remains a heroic figure among the Bulgarian community in Bessarabia. Although the Guardianship Committee's headquarters were in Odessa, Inzov spent most of his time either in the Bessarabian town of Bolgrad or visiting Bulgarian migrant communities in the Bessarabian countryside. For more on Inzov and his work on behalf of Bulgarian migrant-settlers in Russia, see Iov Titorov, *Bulgarite v Bessarabia* (Sofia, 1903) and Stepan Potoskii, *Inzov, Ivan Nikitich, Biograficheski Ocherk* (Bendery, 1904).

25 The Russian text of the 1819 Ukaz ("O Poselenii v Bessarabskoi Oblasti Bolgar i Drugikh Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev") can be found in *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii* (Volume 36, #28054) and in *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheski Arkhiv* (RGIA), f. 1329, op. 1, d. 392.

26 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1326, ll. 200–201.

27 The text (in French) of Article 13 of the Treaty of Adrianople can be found in Gabriel Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'empire Ottoman—1789–1856* (Paris, 1900), 172. A Russian version of the article is in *Dogovori Rossii s Vostokom* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografi O.I. Baksta, 1869), 78–79. A Bulgarian translation can be found in G.P. Ghenov, *Actes et traités internationaux concernant la Bulgarie* (Sofia: Pridvorna Pechatnitsa, 1940), 83.

28 RGADA, f. 15, d. 15, ll. 10–12.

29 Doinov, "Preselnicheski Dvizheniia ot Bŭlgarskite Zemi," 305–306.

30 Traikov, "Bŭlgarskata Emigratsia vŭv Vlashko," 157–161 and Elena Bachinska, "Bulgarskite Volontiri v Dunavskata Kazashka Voiska (1828–1869)" in *Bulgarite v Severnoto Prichernomorie* (Volume 4) (Veliko Turnovo: Izdatelska Kŭshta Asta, 1994), 184.

31 In the late 1820s and early 1830s, the principal Russian quarantine stations along the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea frontier were located in Satunov, Akkerman, Dubosar, Reni, and Skuliani. TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1467, ll. 1–105.

32 "Communication from Satunov Border Quarantine Post to the Governor-General of Novorossiya and Bessarabia" (June 19, 1830) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1326, ll. 5 and 15.

33 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1326, ll. 151–152.

34 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1501, l. 6.

35 "Report from the Land Captain of Akkerman to the Governor-General of Novorossiya and Bessarabia" (September 24, 1830), TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1326, ll. 200–201 and "Report from the Reni Town Police to the Governor-General of Novorossiya and Bessarabia" (July 8, 1830) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1326, l. 219.

36 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 106–107.

37 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1501, l. 40.

38 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op 1, d. 1326, ll. 86–91, TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1501, l. 35, and TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1568, l. 114.

39 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1501, ll. 145–146 and 154.

40 For example, in 1812, General Kutuzov authorized the disbursement of *bilets* to two groups of migrants: Bulgarian villagers forcibly displaced from their homes during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812 and former Bulgarian volunteers in the Russian army. "Prikaz M. I. Kutuzova po Voiskam Moldavskoi Armii s Vyrazheniem Blagodarnosti A. Ia. Koronelli za Proiavlennuiu im Rasporiaditel'nost pri Ustroistve na Levom Beregu Dunaia Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev" (March 17, 1812) RGVIA, d. 2964, l. 35.

41 See, for example, the "Petition from the Bulgarian Volunteer Haji Georgaki to the Commander of the Russian 2nd Army General-Field Marshall Graf I.I. Dibich-Zabalkanski" and the accompanying "Testimony of General-Major Obruchev" (December 24, 1829) RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 183, d. 50, ll. 170–172.

42 *Bŭlgarski Istoricheski Arkhiv* (BIA), Fond 255—Professor Stefan Savov Bobchev.

43 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1467 contains many examples of *bilets* issued by officers in the Russian 2nd Army to Bulgarian migrants. Some of the best examples of these documents include a *bilet* issued in Burgas on March 22, 1830, to the Bulgarian migrant Volku from the village of Dereköy (located about 70 miles south of Burgas). This *bilet* authorized Volku to travel freely—together with his two sons and two daughters—to an unspecified location in Bessarabia (List 70); a

bilet issued in Babadağ (Dobruja) to a migrant from Babadağ traveling by himself to the "limits" (*predely*) of the Russian Empire. The clerk who processed this *bilet* must have borrowed a stack of forms from a colleague in Varna as the (printed) line indicating that the *bilet* was issued by the army chancellery in Varna is crossed out and "Babadağ" hand written below it (List 88); and a *bilet* issued in Burgas on April 17, 1830, to the Bulgarian Dimitrii Dimu from Sliven. This *bilet* authorized the migration of Dimu and his eleven-member family to Bessarabia (List 98).

44 Issued in Odessa, these *bilets* bore the stamp and signature of the governor-general of Novorossiya and Bessarabia, Mikhail Vorontsov, TsGIA—MSSR f. 2, op. 1, d. 1467, ll. 74–80.

45 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 94.

46 Police officers in Bessarabian towns such as Kishinev and Akkerman issued *bilets* to Bulgarian migrants who had already crossed into Russian territory. These types of police-issued *bilets* acted, in effect, as residence documents. TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1467, ll. 4–5.

47 *Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (GARF), f. 109 ("III Otdelenie Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva Kantseliarii, 1828–1837"), op. 3a, d. 2344, l. 5.

48 RGIA, f. 383, op. 29, d. 411, l. 220.

49 "Raport Komissii po Sboru Svedenii o Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsakh Bessarbii A.N. Bakhmetevy o Resul'tatakh Provedennoi Raboty" (July 13, 1816) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 17, op. 1, d. 17, ll. 163, 165–167 and *Ustroistvo Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev v Bessarabii i Deiatel'nost A.P. Iushnevskogo: Sbornik Dokumentov* (eds. K.P. Kryzhanovskaia and E.M. Ruseev) (Kishinev: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo Moldavii, 1957), 50–51.

50 Kryzhanovskaia and Ruseev, "K Voprosu o Deiatel'nosti Dekabrista," 112–113.

51 "Raport A.P. Iushnevskogo i D.P. Vatikioti L.L. Benigsenu o Nesostoiatel'nosti Vydvigaemykh I. M. Gartingom Polozhenii v Zashtitu Prav Bessarabskikh Pomeshchikov v Otnoshenii Zadunaiskikh Perselentsev, a Takzhe o Pomelakh, Chinamykh Komissii Mestnymi Vlastiami" (June 9, 1816) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 521.

52 Kryzhanovskaia and Ruseev, "K Voprosu o Deiatel'nosti Dekabrista," 126–127.

53 Ibid., 116–117.

54 Alexei Petrovich Iushnevski joined the "Union of Prosperity" (a secret society) in 1819 and embarked upon a period of active participation in the Southern Society of the Decembrists. Rising to a position of leadership in the Southern Society alongside Pavel Pestel, Iushnevski was one of the principal authors of the Decembrist manifesto *Russkoi Pravdy*. Many of the Decembrist's political positions on serfdom in the Russian Empire (as elaborated in the pages of *Russkoi Pravdy*) can be attributed to Iushnevski—including, ultimately, calls for the abolition of serfdom. Kryzhanovskaia and Ruseev argue that Iushnevski's revolutionary views

on serfdom and legal relations between peasants and landowners grew directly out of his experiences working with Bulgarian migrant-settlers in Bessarabia in the period after 1812. Kryzhanovskaia and Ruseev, "K Voprosu o Deiatel'nosti Dekabrista," 100 and 132–134.

55 "Raport D.P. Vatikioti A.N. Bakhmetevu o Prichinakh Otkaza Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev ot Prineseniia Prisiagu na Vernost Rossiiskomu Prestolu" (March 7, 1817) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 214, ll. 80–81 and Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia*, 83.

56 "Raport Bessarabskogo Vremennogo Komiteta A.N. Bakhmetevu ob Otklonenii Khodataistva I. Gr. Val'sha ob Otvode A.P. Iushnevskogo ot Uchastiia v Rassmotrenii ego Iska o Samovol'nom Perekhode Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev na Kazennye Zemli" (September 24, 1817) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 214, ll. 212–213. By 1824, Bulgarian migrants residing in the town of Kishinev had effectively carved out an autonomous social status. This migrant group was known, collectively, as the "Kishnevskie Zhiteli Bulgarskogo Soslovie." TsGIA—MSSR, f. 75, op. 1, d. 241, l. 38. The recognition of a differentiated social status in Bessarabia for migrant-settlers arriving from the Ottoman Empire resulted in the formation (albeit at the far southwestern limit of the empire) of a social "class" that in its mixed *meshchanstvokrest'ianin* characteristics challenged the rigidities of the Russian *soslovie* system.

57 The contours of this differentiated migrant status were still evident in Bessarabia in the 1830s. In the wake of another round of significant Bulgarian in-migration, Inzov proposed to settle Bulgarian migrants on lands tilled by Moldavian peasants. In response to this proposal, Vorontsov expressed concerns about the settlement of "privileged migrants" in such close proximity to the "native population." Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 113. Resistance by migrant-settlers to the taking of Russian subjecthood continued into the 1830s. In 1831, a group of Bulgarian peasants sought the right to move and take up residence in the town of Akkerman. Preliminarily approving the move, Vorontsov issued a requirement that the migrant-settlers had to take the oath of Russian subjecthood prior to their move into Akkerman. Some did, some did not. TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1501, ll. 268–270 and TsGIA—MSSR, f. 6, op. 2, d. 667, ll. 1–19. Pressing the issue, the Russian state passed a law in 1835 requiring migrants who applied for exit documents to take an oath of Russian subjecthood and undergo a mandatory three-year waiting period before leaving the Russian Empire. TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1864, ll. 634.

58 GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 2340, ll. 1–54.

59 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 166, d. 17, ll. 100–102. Krasno-Milashevich served as the head of the Russian occupation government in the Principality of Moldavia during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812. Following the conclusion of the war, he continued in Jassy as Russia's representative in Moldavia. Concerns regarding

the loyalty of Bulgarian settlers in Bessarabia, at least in the period during and immediately after the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, prevailed at the highest levels of the Russian military. Military officials called for the forced removal of Bulgarian migrant-settlers from areas close to the Ottoman border to settlement sites in the interior of Novorossiya. Grek and Chervenkov, *Bŭlgarite ot Ukraina i Moldova*, 16 and "Raport Komanduiushchego Otriadom Russkikh Voisk v Bessarabii C. Ia. Repninskogo P.V. Chichagov o Merax po Ustroistvu Zadunaiskikh Perselentsev na Bessarabskikh Zemliakh" (June 17, 1812) RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 166, d. 17, ll. 92–93. At one point, the governor-general of Bessarabia, A.N. Bakhmetev, referred to Bulgarian settlers in Bessarabia as distrustful, fickle, and volatile, and prone to revolt (*nedoverchivykh, nepostoiannykh, i sklonnykh k vozmushcheniiam liudei*), "Predpisanie A.N. Bakhmeteva Nachal'niku Bessarabskikh Kordonov i Karantinov S.G. Navrotskomu o Priniatii Mer k Predotvrashteniiu Pobegov Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev za Granitsu" (October 25, 1816) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 17, op. 1, d. 17, ll. 144–145.

60 RGVIA, f. 14057, op. 16/183, d. 49, ll. 22–23 (February 17, 1830).

61 "Kratkiia Zamechaniia o Chum, Sostavlennyia Meditsinskim Sovetom Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del" *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 1 (1829): 159–184.

62 "Upravliaiushtii Ministerstvom Vnutrennikh Del V.P. Kochubei Glavnomy Nachal'niku Iuzhnik Gubernii Rossii A.F. Lanzheronu" (March 27, 1821) *VPR* (Volume 12, 1980), 68.

63 According to the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), the strategically important Danubian fortress-town of Silistre was placed under direct Russian control as collateral against Ottoman indemnity payments. Silistre and its environs reverted to Ottoman rule in 1836.

64 Grek, "Bŭlgarskite Dobrovoltsi", 10–11 and RGADA, f. 15, d. 707, ll. 7–9.

65 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1467, l. 19.

66 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar*, 66.

67 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1326, l. 195.

68 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1501, l. 6.

69 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1608.

70 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 17, ll. 24–25 (March 7, 1809).

71 Mestheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar*, 90.

72 "Predpisanie I.M. Garting 1-mu Departamentu Bessarabskogo Oblastnogo Pravitel'stva o Vozvrashtenii na Prezhnee Mestozhitel'stvo Beglykh Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev" (April 30, 1814) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 36, l. 42.

73 "Bessarabskii Oblastnoi Ugolovnyi Sud" TsGIA—MSSR, f. 38, op. 1, d. 114, ll. 7–48.

74 In the late 1820s, the "Third Department of His Majesty's Own Chancellery" (*Tretiye Otdeleniia Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva Kantseliarii*) served

as the operational center for the Russian Empire's extensive secret police apparatus. Known informally as the "Third Section," this department was established shortly after the accession of Tsar Nicholas I to the Russian throne. From 1826 to 1844, it was headed by Count Alexander Benckendorff. For more on the Third Section, see Sidney Monas, *The Third Section: Police and Society in Russian Under Nicholas I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961); Ronald Hingley, *The Russian Secret Police: Muscovite, Russian Imperial, and Soviet Political Security Operations* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971); and I. Trotskii, *III-e Otdelenie pri Nikolae I* (Saint Petersburg: Lenizdat, 1990).

75 GARF, f. 109, op. 4a, d. 7, l. 5.

76 Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Early Modern Russia*, 28.

77 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar*, 107.

78 Customs officials assigned to quarantine facilities worked under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Finance. TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1467, ll. 15–18.

79 McGrew, *Russia and the Cholera, 1823–1832*, 48–49.

80 GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 2341, l. 1.

81 "Glavnyi Nachalnik Iuzhnikh Gubernii Rossii A.F. Lanzheron Stats-Sekretariu K.V. Nesselrode" (May 6, 1821) *VPR* (Volume 12), 129–131.

82 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar*, 191–197.

83 Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev*, 339.

84 "Doklad na Logofeta Sht. Vlŭdesku do Izpŭlnitelniia Divan vŭv Vrŭska s Preminavaneto i Nastaniavaneto na Bŭlgarski Bezhantsi" (May 23, 1830) in *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali* (eds. Maxim Mladenov, Nikolai Zhechev, and Blagovest Niagulov) (Sofia: Akademichno Izdatelstvo "Marin Drinov", 1994), 27–28.

Chapter 4

1 Nazır, *Macar ve Polonyali Mülteciler Osmanlı'ya Sığınanlar*, 390–391.

2 *Sürgün* is derived from the Turkish verb *sürmek*—to drive, push, or send.

3 See, for example, Ömer Lütfü Barkan, "Bir Iskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler" *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuasından Ayrı Basım* 13, nos. 1–4 (1954) and Hüseyin Arslan, *16yy. Osmanlı Toplumunda Yönetim, Nüfus, Iskan, Göç, ve Sürgün* (Istanbul: Kaknus Yaynları, 2001).

4 See Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda Aşiretleri Iskân Teşebbüsü, 1691–1696* (Istanbul: Istanbul Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1963); Halaçoğlu. *XVIII. Yüzyilda Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nun Iskan Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi*; and Musa Çadırcı, "Tanzimat'ın Ilanı Sırasında Anadolu'da Iç Güvenlik" *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3, no. 24 (1979–1980): 45–58.

5 See, for example, the collection of articles in *19. Yüzyil Istanbul'unda Gayrimüslimler* (ed. Penelope Stathis) (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997) including Yeorgios Kiutuçkas' "1878´e Kadar Istanbul'daki Bulgar Cemaati," 36–51. Other "Istanbul-centric" works include M. Munir Aktepe, "XVIII Asrın Ilk Yarısında Istanbul'un Nüfus Mes'elesine Dair Bazı Vesikalar" *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 9, no. 13 (1958): 1–30; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Migration into Eighteenth-Century 'Greater Istanbul' as Reflected in the Kadi Registers of Eyüp" *Turcica* 30 (1998): 163–183; and Yücel Özkaya, "Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda XVIII. Yüzyılda Göç Surunu" *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 14, no. 25 (1981–1982): 171–203.

6 See, for example, H. Yıldırım Ağanoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanlar'ın Makus Talihi Göç* (Istanbul: Kum Saatı, 2001); Ahmet Cevat Eren, *Türkiye'de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleri* (Istanbul: Nurgök Matbaası, 1966); Bilal Şimşir, *Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1989); Nadim Ipek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri* (Ankara: Türk Tari Kurumu, 1994); Kemal Karpat, "Ottoman Urbanism: The Crimean Emigration to Dobruca and the Founding of Mecidiye, 1856–1878" *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History* (Boston: Brill, 2002), 1–25; Mark Pinson**,** "Ottoman Colonization of the Circassians in Rumuli after the Crimean War" *Études Balkaniques* 3 (1972): 71–85; and Ömer Turan, *The Turkish Minority in Bulgaria: 1878–1908* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1998). The notable exception to this emphasis on Muslim migrations is Ufuk Gülsoy's account of the return migration and resettlement of many Christian peasants (*reaya*) from the Russian Empire to Ottoman Rumelia in the 1830s. Ufuk Gülsoy, *1828–1829 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşında Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya* (Istanbul: Türk Kültürnü Araştırma Enstitüsü, Yayınları 132, 1993).

7 Halil Inalcik, "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23–24 (1969–1970): 235 and Halaçoğlu, 58.

8 Turan, *The Turkish Minority*, 19.

9 Maria Todorova, "The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans" in *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East* (ed. L. Carl Brown) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 63 and Bilal Şimşir, *The Turks of Bulgaria* (London: K. Rustem and Brother, 1988), xi. For more on the *yürüks*, see Alexei Kalionski's *Iurutsite* (Sofia: Prosveta, 2007).

10 Ilhan Şahin, Feridun M. Emecen, and Yusuf Halaçoğlu, "Turkish Settlements in Rumelia (Bulgaria) in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Town and Village Population" in *The Turks of Bulgaria: The History, Culture, and Political Fate of a Minority* (ed. Kemal Karpat) (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1990), 30.

11 Halil Inalcik, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest" *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 125.

12 Velko Tonev, "Natsionalnoobrazuvashti Protsesi v Severoiztochna Bŭlgariia i Dobrudzha" in *Bŭlgarskata Natsiia prez Vŭzrazhdaneto* (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1980), 266.

13 A typical complex of these economic, religious, and social institutions would include a mosque, a religious school (*medrese*), a pious foundation (*vakıf*), a dervish

lodge (*tekke*), a public kitchen (*imaret*), a caravansary, an inn (*han*), and a covered marketplace (*bedestan*). Şahin, Emecen, and Halaçoğlu, "Turkish Settlements in Rumelia," 25 and 34–35.

14 For a discussion of the slow but steady settlement of Anatolian migrants in one specific locale in northeastern Bulgaria, see Machiel Kiel, "Anatolia Transplanted?: Patterns of Demographic, Religious, and Ethnic Changes in the District of Tozluk (N.E. Bulgaria), 1479–1873" *Anatolica* 17 (1991): 1–29.

15 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA)—Cevdet Hariciye (C. HR.) 17/819 (1753).

16 BOA—C. HR. 77/3824 (1772).

17 BOA—C. HR. 84/4156 (1788).

18 Bostan, "Izn-i Sefine Defterleri ve Karadenize Rusya ile Ticaret Yapan Devlet-i Aliyye Tüccarlari, 1780–1846," 34–35.

19 BOA—Hatt-ı Hümayun (HAT) 872/38770 (August 29, 1823).

20 BOA—Cevdet Eyalet-i Mümtaze (C. MTZ.) 13/641 (February 24, 1821).

21 "Nachal'nik Glavnogo Shtaba e.i.v-va P.M. Volkonskii Glavnokomanuiushchemu 2-i Armiei P. KH. Vitgenshteinu" (March 6, 1821), 79 and "Nota Poslannika v Constantinopole G.A. Stroganova Turetskomu Pravitel'stvu" (May 22, 1821), 159 in *Vneshnaia Politika Rossii XIX i Nachala XX Veka: Dokumenty Rossiiskogo Ministerstva Inostrannykh Del* (*VPR*) (Volume 12) (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo, 1960). See also, in this same volume, 640 and 647–648.

22 BOA—C. MTZ 3/117 (1780).

23 BOA—HAT 1007/42257 (1810–1811).

24 BOA—HAT 627/30968 (June 7, 1822).

25 BOA—C. MTZ. 11/534 (1769–1770).

26 BOA—C. HR. 15/712 (1770–1771).

27 BOA—C. HR. 21/1013 (1774).

28 Nagy Pienaru, "The Black Sea and the Ottomans: The Pontic Policy of Bayezid the Thunderbolt" *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9, nos. 1–2 (Summer 2003): 56 .

29 Chilingirov, *Dobrŭdzha i Nasheto Vŭzrazhdane*, 7–10. According to Stoyan Antonov of the 500,000 Crimean Tatars who left the Crimean Khanate before 1800, only 300,000 survived their out-migration. Antonov attributes the loss of these 200,000 Crimean Tatar émigrés to disease, deadly encounters with Russian soldiers, and shipwrecks on the Black Sea. Stoyan Antonov, *Tatarite v Bŭlgariia* (Dobrich: Navrez, 2004), 51.

30 Brian Williams, *The Crimean Tatars: The Diaspora Experience and the Forging of a Nation* (Boston: Brill, 2001), 201 and Kemal Karpat, "Dobruca" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı—Islam Ansiklopedisi* (Volume 9) (Istanbul, 1994), 484.

31 Tonev, "Natsionalnoobrazuvashti Protsesi," 267.

32 Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyilda Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nun*, 70.

33 Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyilda Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nun*, 57 and Williams, *The Crimean Tatars*, 201 and 206.

34 Druzhinina, *Severnoe Prichernomor'e, 1775–1800*, 92–99 and 119.

35 Williams, *The Crimean Tatars*, 205.

36 *Lehrbuch der Statistik der Europäischen Staaten für höhere Lehranstalten, zugleich als Handbuch zur Selbstbelehrung, von Dr. G. Hassel* (Weimar: Verlage des Geographischen Instituts, 1822), 691.

37 von Sax, *Geographisch-ethnographische Skizze von Bulgarien*, 459. This increase was due to the influx of Crimean Tatar populations following the Crimean War (1853–1856). Additional waves of Tatar migrants left the Russian Empire for the Ottoman Empire throughout the 1860s and 1870s, leading the French academic A. Ubicini to estimate that by 1876, roughly 220,000 Tatars lived in the Ottoman Empire. A. Ubicini, *État present de l'empire Ottoman. statistique, gouvernement, administration, finances, armeé, communautés non musulmanes, etc., etc., d'après le Salnamèh (annuaire imperial pour l'année 1293 de l'hégire (1875–1876) et les documents offciels les plus récents* (Paris: Librairie militaire de J. Dumaine, 1876), 69 .

38 *Fakiisko Predanie* (Sofia: 1985), 266.

39 Antonov, *Tatarite v Bŭlgariia*, 41–48. Antonov suggests that Ahmed Giray's mother was in fact a Bulgarian, raising the important (but understudied) question of the level of intermarriage among Bulgarian and Tatar populations in Dobruja. The topic of Bulgarian-Tatar intermarriage is addressed briefly in Tonev, "Natsionalnoobrazuvashti Protsesi," 267 and Machiel Kiel's "Hrazgrad-Hezargrad—Razgrad: The Vicissitudes of a Turkish Town in Bulgaria" *Turcica* 21–23 (1991): 538.

40 Karpat, "Dobruca," 484. The Bulgarian historian Iov Titorov estimated that 5,000 Crimean Tatars left the Bucak for the Ottoman Empire in the period from 1806 to 1812. Iov Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia* (Sofia, 1903), 47.

41 Gülsoy, "1828 Yılında Istanbul'a Getirilen Varnalı Muhacirler," 255–270. The Galata *defter* registering the arrival of the Varna refugees can be found in BOA—HAT 1021/42649 (November 19, 1829). For more on the Russian siege of Varna in 1828, see Virginia Aksan, *Ottoman Wars 1700–1870: An Empire Besieged* (London: Pearson Longman, 2007), 349–354.

42 Skalkovski, "Nekrasovtsy Zhivushchie v Bessarabii," 64.

43 Ibid., 62–63.

44 "Dobruzha" in *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'* (Volume 10a) (Brockhaus and Efron) (Saint Petersburg: 1893), 830–831. The only exception to this arrangement being the imposition of a small licensing fee for fishing rights along the channels and lake shores of the Danubian estuary. Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyilda Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nun,* 69.

45 BOA—HAT 256/14710 (1802), BOA—Cevdet Askeriye (C. AS.) 864/37030 (October 11, 1827), and "Dobruzha" (Brockhaus and Efron) 830–831.

46 "Tri Miesiatsa za Dunavaem," 285.

47 Glebov, "Vospominaniia," 98.

48 *Skazanie o Stranstvii i Puteshestvii po Rossii, Moldavii, Turtsii i Sviatoi Zeml*, 134.

49 BOA—Cevdet Maliye (C. ML.) 137/5836 (January 26, 1831).

50 BOA—Cevdet Dahiliye (C. DH.) 258/12888 (1783).

51 BOA—C. DH. 64/3157 (July 11, 1811).

52 Anastasova, *Staroobredtsite v Bŭlgariia*, 29.

53 During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, Nekrasovites in Babadağ fought alongside previously settled Bucak Tatars. BOA—HAT 1004/42118-D (April 3, 1809) and 1008/42355 (February 4, 1810).

54 BOA—C. AS. 864/37030 (October 11, 1827).

55 *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (RGVIA), f. 14209, op. 3/163b, d. 21, l. 28 (December 10–26, 1806).

56 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a. d. 1, l. 7 (1807).

57 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 6/166, d. 17, l. 85 (May 1812).

58 "Vospominaniia Doktora Zeidlitsa o Turetskom Pokhod 1829 Goda," 425.

59 *Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (GARF), f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3195, l. 216 and Glebov, "Vospominaniia," 107 and 109.

60 BOA—C. MTZ. 19/922 (1800–1801).

61 BOA—C. AS. 34/1557 (October 9, 1807).

62 Skalkovski, "Nekrasovtsy Zhivushchie v Bessarabii," 73–75.

63 Ibid., 79.

64 The Kaza of Aytos being one of the principal long-term settlement sites for Nekrasovites in the Ottoman Empire and the successor nation-state of Bulgaria. BOA—Cevdet Zabtiye (C. ZB.) 51/2540 (July 10, 1830). Mixed Nekrasovite-Old Believer settlements were, at least until the late nineteenth century, visible in Tulça. Here they continued to use their native language (similar to Russian) and adhered to traditional customs. "Dobruzha" (Brockhaus and Efron), 830–831. The two largest Nekrasovite-Old Believer settlements in modern-day Bulgaria are in Tataritsa (near Silistria) and Kazashko (near Varna). For more on Nekrasovite and Old Believer (*Lipovan*) settlements in contemporary Bulgaria, see Anastasova, *Staroobredtsite v Bŭlgariia*. For more on the fate of Nekrasovites who opted to return to the Russian Empire during and after the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806–1812, see RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 166, d. 17, ll. 92–96, RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 1 (January 1–February 16, 1807), and "Raport Komanduiushchego Otriadom Russkikh Voisk v Bessarabii C. Ia. Repninskogo P.V. Chichagov o Merax po Ustroistvu Zadunaiskikh Perselentsev na Bessarabskikh Zemliakh" (June 17, 1812), RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 166, d. 17, ll. 92–93. For more on the fate of Nekrasovites who opted to return to the Russian Empire following

the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, see RGVIA, f. 14057, op. 16/183, d. 49 (November 1829–December 1830) and RGVIA, f. 14057, op. 16/183, d. 50, ll. 38–40 (September 7, 1829).

65 See, for example, Edouard Engelhardt, "Division ethnographique de la Turquie d'Europe" *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 3 (Paris: French Geographic Society, 1872), 327–328; *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1876), 238; and E.G. Ravenstein, "Distribution of the Population in the part of Europe Overrun by Turks" *The Geographical Magazine* 3 (1876): 259–261. Many nineteenth-century demographers used the catchall term "Russians" or "Russian emigrants" when referring to Cossack and Old Believer groups in the Ottoman Empire.

66 Carl von Sax, *Türkei. Bericht verfasst im Auftrage des Comité für den Orient und Ostasien* (Vienna: Druck und Verlag der k.k. Hof und Staatsdruckerei, 1873), 7. The derivation of the term *Lipovan* is in dispute. Ekaterina Anastasova offers three theories: that a monk by the name of Philip led one of the Old Believer groups which settled in the Ottoman Empire and the name given to this group (*Filipovani*) was ultimately extended to cover all Nekrasovite settlers in the Ottoman Empire; that a general by the name of *Lipov* (who was part of Ataman Nekrasy's inner circle of advisors) assumed leadership of the Nekrasovites following Nekrasy's death and Lipov's became associated with all Nekrasovite-Old Believer settlements in the Ottoman Empire; or that many Old Believers found refuge in the *lipa* (linden) forests of northern Rumelia and thus received the geographically based appellation of *Lipovans*. Kemal Karpat maintains that the term *Lipovan* comes from the name of a river in Russia—the *Lipova*—upon whose banks a community of Old Believers lived prior to their migration into the Ottoman Empire. Kemal Karpat, "Dobruca" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı—Islam Ansiklopedisi* 9 (Istanbul: ISIS Press1994), 485.

67 A. Ubicini, *État present de l'empire Ottoman* (Paris: Librairie militaire de J. Dumaine, 1876), 69.

68 Romanski, *Dobrudzha v Svrŭzka s Vŭprosa za Dunava kato Etnichna Granitsa Mezhdu Bŭlgari i Romŭni*, 23–25 and Chilingirov, *Dobrŭdzha,* 12.

69 For more on the socioeconomic category of *müsellem reaya*, see Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyilda Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nun*, 13.

70 Nekrasovite priests established two Eparchies in the Ottoman Empire: one in Tulça and the other along the lower Slava River. "Dobruzha" (Brockhaus and Efron) 830–831.

71 For example, BOA—C. ML. 467/19025 (1793) and BOA—C. ML 367/15097 (September 16, 1827).

72 Glebov, "Vospominaniia," 98.

73 BOA—C. DH. 111/5549 (1778), BOA—Cevdet Maliye (C. ML) 605/24964 (July 8, 1807), BOA—C. ML. 367/15097 (September 16, 1827), BOA—C. AS. 864/37030 (October 11, 1827), and Karpat, "Dobruca," 485.

74 Skalkovski, "Nekrasovtsy Zhivushchie v Bessarabii," 64–65.

75 The *ispenc* was originally a pasturage tax on pigs but evolved into a land tax levied on Muslim and non-Muslim peasants. The *avarız* was a discretionary (or extraordinary) levy imposed on *reaya* populations—often in the form of *corvée* labor.

76 BOA—C. ML. 32/1498 (July 22, 1834).

77 “Dobruzha” (Brockhaus and Efron), 830–831.

78 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar v Iuzhnuiu Besarabiiu 1828–1834 gg.*, 136.

79 “Dobruzha” (Brockhaus and Efron), 830–831.

80 BOA—C. DH. 331/16517 (1792) and BOA—C. HR. 14/651 (1794).

81 The secondary literature is silent on how the term *Potkali* came to be applied to Zaporozhian Cossack settlers in the Ottoman Empire. The existence of a town called Potekali (near Yenikale) within the lands of the Zaporozhian *Sich* seems a logical source for the derivation of Ottoman terminology for Zaporozhian Cossacks. For more background on relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Zaporozhian *Sich* (in Ukraine) in the eighteenth century, see Halenko, “Towards the Character of Ottoman Policy in the Northern Black Sea Region after the Treaty of Belgrade (1739),” 101–113.

82 Zaporozhian rights and privileges were usually renewed prior to their call up for military service, BOA—C. AS. 392/16195 (December 28, 1812).

83 BOA—HAT 1383/54729 (1788–1789).

84 BOA—C. DH. 283/14119 (1791).

85 BOA—C. AS. 505/21087 (1802).

86 BOA—C. MTZ 21/1028 (July 11, 1814) and BOA—C. MTZ. 9/428 (December 4, 1821).

87 Grachev, “Kŭm Vŭprosa za Preselvaneto na Bŭlgari v Rusiia v Nachaloto na XIX v., 1800–1806 g,” 281.

88 Ibid., 273.

89 Ibid., 282–284.

90 Ibid., 285.

91 BOA—HAT 872/38770 (August 23, 1823).

92 Chilingirov, *Dobrŭdzha*, 10.

93 “Otnoshenie V.I. Krasno-Milashevicha P.V. Chichagovu o Sbore Dizhmarita s Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev Valakhii” (August 9, 1812) and “Otnoshenie V.I. Krasno-Milashevicha General-Maioru S.F. Zhelukhinu o sbore Dizhmarita s Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev Valakhii” (August 24, 1812), *Ustroistvo Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev v Bessarabii i Deiatel’nost A.P. Iushnevskogo*, 73–75.

94 Grachev, “Kŭm Vŭprosa za Preselvaneto,” 268–269. Located 60 miles inland from the Black Sea coast, Galatz was the chief riverine point of entry into the Danubian Principalities and the port of departure for most Black Sea-bound commerce and travel. It is possible that some of these unfortunate refugees in Galatz were

recruited by Ottoman officials in the Danubian Principalities to fight against the troops of Osman Pasvantoğlu of Vidin—one of the most powerful *ayans* during the *Kŭrdzhalisko Vreme*. According to the Russian consul in Jassy, Malinovski, in 1801 Ottoman officials in Wallachia organized sizable armies to fight against Pasvantoğlu. These armies were composed primarily of Bulgarian and Albanian migrants in the Danubian Principalities.

95 BOA—HAT 256/14710 (1802).

96 For more on the forced return resettlement of internally displaced Tatar groups, see Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyilda Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nun,* 142–143.

97 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,*188.

98 Traikov, "Bŭlgarskata Emigratsia vŭv Vlashko sled Rusko-Tŭrskata Voina ot 1828–1829," 161.

99 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 188.

100 Gülsoy, *1828–1829 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşında Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya*, 73–75.

101 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 17, l. 39 (April 8, 1809). In this instance, Russian army officers accused three individuals of spying for the Ottoman Empire. They were identified as Christo Ivan from Sviștov, Velizar Stoianovich from Rusçuk, and Nikola from Wallachia. See also Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 187.

102 Ivan Grek, "Bulgarskite Dobrovoltsi (Volunteri) ot 1828–1829 godina" *Vekove* 12 (1975), 8–9.

103 *Fakiisko Predanie*.

104 "Vospominaniia Doktora Zeidlitsa," 429. One Russian *verst* =1.07 kilometers.

105 Gradeva, "The Activities of a Kadi Court in Eighteenth-Century Rumeli," 181; Wilkinson, *An Account of the Principalities with Various Political Observations Relating to them,* reissued as *An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldovia*, 77–78; McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, 12 and 26; Ovcharov, "Migration des ouvriers du chantier naval et des marins du littoral bulgare de la Mer Noire au cours de la première moitié du XIXe Siècle," 93–95; "Dobruzha" (Brockhaus and Efron), 830; and Karpat, "Dobruca," 484.

106 On regional and international trade conducted by merchants from Chervena Voda, see Rossitsa Gradeva, "Villagers in International Trade: The Case of Chervena Voda, Seventeenth to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Centuries" *Oriente Moderno* 25, no. 1 (2006): 1–20.

107 "Report from Russian Consul in Islimiye Gerasim Vashchenko to Russian Field Marshal Dibich-Zabalkanski" (April 28, 1830) *Rossiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnykh Aktov* (RGADA), f. 15, d. 707, ll. 1–13.

108 The only previous disruptions to this trade fair were due to periodic outbreaks of epidemic disease in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena (1700–1850*), 98.

109 Tonev, "Natsionalnoobrazuvashti Protsesi," 277–278; Karpat, "Dobruca," 484; and McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, 20 and 24. The importance of local fairs is well described in the oral histories compiled in *Fakiisko Predanie*,148 and 278.

110 BOA—HAT 727/34628 (March 6, 1830) and BOA—HAT 747/35272 (1835). This drop in production continued a trend which had begun in the 1760s. For more on output levels in the Samakocuk foundry in the eighteenth century, see Gabor Agoston, *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 175–176 and Mehmet Genç, "18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş" in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2000), 213–214.

111 The prewar population of the important Black Sea port-town of Sizebolu (Sozopol) dropped from roughly 4,000 before the war to 1,500 in 1830. Ovcharov, "Migration des ouvriers," 93–95.

112 In one instance, an official by the name of Halil Bey was sent to Rusçuk to assess resettlement conditions in and around this important Danubian port-city. BOA—HAT 1042/43127 (August 16, 1831). Special agents were also sent to the areas around Burgas and Ahyolu to assess wartime destruction and to liaise with non-Muslim elites. Gülsoy, *Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya,* 46.

113 Favored terms used by Ottoman officials to describe circumstances in postwar Rumelia included *tevhiş* ("a making empty and desolate like a wilderness"), *tahliye* ("an emptying or vacating"), and *hengame* (uproar, tumult). Bulgarian historians tend to use the term *zapustiava* (desolate, wild, or deserted) when describing the situation in Dobruja after the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829.

114 Gülsoy, *Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya,* 28.

115 BOA—HAT 1052/43332 (November 26, 1829).

116 BOA—HAT, 1042/43120 (May 2, 1830). In Ottoman archival documents, these bandit gangs are alternately referred to as *erbab-ı fesad* or *eşkiyalar*. Individual brigands were identified by local Ottoman officials according to their gang affiliation (i.e., *Pantolar* or *Velendirler*). The leader of one of the largest bandit gangs (Alexander Velendir) lent his name both to his specific gang (active in the region around Islimiye) and to general brigand-like activity in the Rumelian countryside. BOA—HAT 1027/42792 (February 16, 1830).

117 BOA—HAT 1085/44179 (May 3, 1830) and BOA—HAT 1085/44180 (May 7, 1830).

118 BOA—HAT 1044/43169 (June 28, 1830) and "Report from Russian Consul in Islimiye Vashchenko to Russian Field Marshal Dibich-Zabalkanski" RGADA, f. 15, d. 707, ll. 1–13 (April 28, 1830). According to Vashchenko, by April 1830, Ottoman authorities had been able to impose a certain amount of law and

order in eastern Rumelia—persuading some Bulgarians (who had been making preparations to leave for the Russian Empire) to have a change of heart and stay in the Ottoman Empire. "Instructions supplementaires á Monsieur Vashchenko, consul á Slivno" RGADA, f. 15, d. 707, ll. 1–13.

119 Gülsoy, *Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya,* 44.

120 BOA—HAT 1052/43332 (November 26, 1829).

121 While *Çorbacılar* were often employed by Ottoman provincial authorities to assist with tax collection and the resolution of legal disputes, the social status of the *Çorbacı* in early nineteenth-century Rumelian society is best understood as that of the representative (or headman) of a village or, in the most general usage, as a "rich peasant."

122 BOA—HAT 1044/43169 (June 28, 1830).

123 BOA—HAT 1068/43745-C (1830). In this instance, grievance letters were provided by local priests and headmen in the small towns (*kasabalar*) of Vasilikoz (Tsarevo) and Ahtapol (both on the eastern Rumelian Black Sea coast). Examples of the recommendations offered in these petitions included the distribution of agricultural tools and supplies to a group of Bulgarian peasants in Zağra-ı Atik (Stara Zagora), BOA—HAT 1085/44179 (May 3, 1830) and the distribution of new and more fertile farmland, the disbursement of annual loans to reinvigorate trade in flour and cereals (*kapan-ı dakik*), and the provision of monies to rebuild residences and purchase farm tools to the inhabitants of Hacıoğlu Pazarcık (Dobrich in Dobruja), BOA—HAT 1038/43008-F (1830). For more examples of peasant petitions submitted to Ottoman officials in the period immediately after the conclusion of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, see BOA—HAT 1048/43239-G (July 12, 1830), BOA—HAT 1066/43722-H (1830), and BOA—HAT 1068/43745-C (1830).

124 BOA—HAT 1080/43991 (April 6, 1830). Local officials in Rumelia who did not "buy in" to administrative reforms and pro-migrant policies were dismissed. See BOA—HAT 1066/43722-G (April 19, 1830).

125 Gülsoy, *Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya,* 69. These set-asides were often time-limited. Examples exist of *Çorbacılar* writing to fellow villagers in the Russian Empire notifying them that after an absence of five months they would forfeit the right to their lands and their crops. Gülsoy, *Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya,* 72. It should be noted as well that some lands vacated by departed migrants were distributed to returnees and internally displaced Muslim-Tatar agriculturalists. BOA—HAT 776/36417 (September 13, 1830) and "Consul v Slivno G.V. Vashchenko Poslanniku v Constantinopole A.I. Ribop'er" (June 27, 1831) *VPR* (Volume 17), 98.

126 Ufuk Gülsoy, "1828–1829 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşinda Rumeli'de Rus Işgaline Uğrayan Yerlerin Durumu" in *Sultan II. Mahmud ve Reformları Semineri* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1990), 34–35.

127 BOA—HAT 922/40086-C (1831).

128 Ufuk Gülsoy*, Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya,* 45.

129 The Gülhane Rescript is frequently referred to as the Ottoman "Bill of Rights" and its proclamation in 1839 is generally considered to mark the beginning of the *Tanzimat* era in Ottoman history. For more on the Gülhane Rescript in the context of the shifting understanding of the relationship between the Ottoman state and its subjects in the mid-nineteenth century, see Ariel Salzmann, "Citizens in Search of a State: The Limits of Political Participation in the Late Ottoman Empire" in *Extending Citizenship, Reconfiguring States* (eds. Michael Hanagan and Charles Tilly) (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 39–45 and Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Islamic Roots of the Gülhane Rescript" *Die Welt des Islams* 34, no. 2 (1994): 173–203.

130 BOA—HAT 1027/42792 (February 16, 1830).

131 Gülsoy, *Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya,* 42.

132 Gülsoy, *Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya,* 53.

133 BOA—HAT 778/36443-A (January 20, 1834).

134 Traikov, "Bŭlgarskata Emigratsia," 162.

135 This despite the fact that the *kadı* of Midye (Kıyıköy) accused the Rum Metropolitan of Edirne (Yerasimos) of working with Russian forces to promote the out-migration of Bulgarians in 1828. BOA—HAT 1052/43332 (November 26, 1829) and Gülsoy, *Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya,* 32–33.

136 Doinov, "Preselnicheski Dvizheniia ot Bŭlgarskite Zemi po Vreme na Rusko-Tŭrskite Voini prez Pŭrvata Polovina na XIX v," 308. In September 1829, a Russian military officer in Islimiye (Sliven) reported that two prominent (and non-Muslim) individuals from Shumla—Pop (Priest) Dimitrii and *Çorbacı* Kosta—were distributing pro-Ottoman literature to *reaya* populations in Aytos, Karnobat, Kazanluk, Islimiye, and Yanbolu. Displaying symbols of Bulgarian heraldry and bearing the stamp of the *ayan* of Shumla, these letters stated that although the Ottoman government was aware of the damage done and harm caused by some Bulgarian peasants during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, with the advent of peace between the Ottoman and Russian empires the Ottoman state would forgive and pardon all Bulgarians who committed crimes against the Ottoman state during the preceding war. Interestingly, the letters distributed to the Bulgarian *reaya* population were written in Ottoman Turkish. RGVIA, f. 14057, op. 16/183, d. 50, ch. 1, ll. 49–53 (September 16–20, 1829).

137 BOA—HAT 1027/42792 (February 16, 1830) and BOA—HAT 1068/43742 (March 29, 1830). During these tours, a trusted state official was attached to the Metropolitan's retinue to observe his actions and record his words.

138 *Fakiisko Predanie*, 155. Bulgarian chronicles ascribe the qualities of "moderation" or "temperance" (*umereni*) to those Muslim-Turkish townspeople who appealed to their Bulgarian neighbors to stay in the Ottoman Empire.

139 BOA—HAT 43944-A (October 1829), Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 18, and Titorov, *Bŭlgarite v Bessarabia*, 28.

140 BOA—HAT 1044/43169 (June 28, 1830), BOA—HAT 1047/43226 (October 1, 1830) and Gülsoy, "Rus Işgaline," 35.

141 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 187.

142 BOA—HAT 1085/44179 (May 3, 1830).

143 BOA—HAT 1076/43944-A (October 1829).

144 Chilingirov, *Dobrŭdzha*,180.

145 A development remarked upon as early as the fall of 1830 in a report issued by the *Muhafız* of Varna to the Ottoman Grand Vizier. In this report, the *Muhafız* of Varna noted the significant revival of trading activity in Ismail, Galatz, Tulça, and Hirsova. BOA—HAT 1038/43008 (October 20, 1830).

146 Tonev, "Natsionalnoobrazuvashti Protsesi," 287.

147 RGADA, f. 15, d. 707, ll. 1–13.

148 Tonev, "Natsionalnoobrazuvashti Protsesi," 277.

149 This adjustment process began with the Treaties of Karlowitz and Passarowitz (which contained clauses on Austrian-Ottoman border demarcation and the provision of asylum for Ottoman and Austrian subjects), continued through a series of six treaties signed with the Russian Empire from 1738 to 1829 (which included similar border demarcation, asylum, and population/migrant exchange provisions), and culminated with negotiations with the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires concerning the migration and settlement of Hungarian and Polish exiles and refugees in the Ottoman Empire in the late 1840s and early 1850s. For more on the settlement of Hungarian and Polish political refugees and exiles in the Ottoman Empire, see Nazır, *Macar and Polonyalı Mülteciler* and Andrew A. Urbanik and Joseph O. Baylen, "Polish Exiles and the Turkish Empire, 1830–1876)" *The Polish Review* 26, no. 3 (1981): 43–53

150 Virginia Aksan, "Whose Territory and Whose Peasants? Ottoman Boundaries on the Danube in the 1760s" in *The Ottoman Balkans, 1750–1830* (ed. Frederick F. Anscombe) (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2006), 76. Diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers in the eighteenth century and, specifically, the importance of the treaties of Karlowitz and Passarowitz have been well studied. See, for example, J.C. Hurewitz, "Ottoman Diplomacy and the European State System" *Middle East Journal* 15 (1961), 141–152; John Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe, 1680–1730* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 165–215; Ilber Ortaylı, "Ottoman-Habsburg Relations, 1740–1770 and Structural Changes in the International Affairs of the Ottoman State" *Varia Turcica* 10 (1987): 287–298; and three articles by Rifa'at Ali Abou El-Haj— "Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87, no. 4 (October–December 1967): 498–512, "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699–1703" *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

89, no. 3 (July–September, 1969): 467–475, and "Ottoman Attitudes Towards Peace-Making: the Karlowitz Case" *Der Islam* 51 (1974): 131–137.

151 Here, I flesh out Isa Blumi's analysis of local and regional dynamics and their impact on macro-level policy formation in what he terms a transitional period (from 1826 to 1839) in the imperial trajectory of the Ottoman polity. According to Blumi, in this period the "productive results of locals interfacing with mechanisms of state often created first the institutions and then the 'reforms' that shape the entire 19th century." Blumi, *Foundations of Modernity*, 27.

152 In this book, I draw extensively on the seminal scholarship of Rositsa Gradeva on Ottoman Bulgaria including, and most importantly, "The Activities of a Kadi Court in Eighteenth-Century Rumeli," 177–190; "Shipping along the Lower Course of the Danube (end of the 17th century)," 301–324; "Villagers in International Trade," 1–20; and "War and Peace along the Danube," 149–175.

153 Here, I extend to the Ottoman Balkans Reşat Kasaba's analysis of tax exemptions and land grants offered to nomadic populations in Ottoman Anatalia, Syria, and Arabia. Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire*. From the Ottoman imperial perspective, "Rumeli" would have been the administrative designation for the Ottoman province that is roughly contiguous with modern-day "Southeastern Europe." I have opted here and throughout to use the anglicized or Europeanized variant of "Rumelia."

154 The Gülhane Rescript is frequently referred to as the Ottoman "Bill of Rights" and its proclamation in 1839 is generally considered to mark the beginning of the *Tanzimat* (reform) era in Ottoman history.

Chapter 5

1 For more on the history of epidemic diseases in the Ottoman Empire, see Varlık, *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World*; Panzac, *La peste dans l'empire Ottoman, 1700–1850*; Bulmuş, *Plague, Quarantines, and Geo-Politics in the Ottoman Empire*; and Yaron Ayalon, *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire: Plague, Famine, and Other Misfortunes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). See as well Sam White's historiographical piece, "Rethinking Disease in Ottoman History" *The International Journal of Middle East History* 42, no. 3 (November 2010): 549–567.

2 Panzac, *La peste dans l'empire Ottoman, 1700–1850*, 208.

3 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena (1700–1850)*, 36–37.

4 *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (BOA)—İbnülemin Sıhhiye (IE. SH.) 124/2 (March 3, 1699).

5 *Madzharski Pŭtepisi za Balkanite, XVI—XIX v.* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo "Nauka i Izkustvo", 1976), 62 and Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 63–65.

6 Panzac, *Quarantaines et lazarets*, 21. While traveling by ship in the Black Sea region in the 1820s, the Englishman James Alexander observed that the clothes of Russian seamen who succumbed to the plague were often appropriated by their fellow sailors, stored in rucksacks, and worn during subsequent voyages. *Angliski Pŭtepisi za Balkanite, XVI—XIX v.*, 699–700.

7 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 48–53.

8 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena,* 90.

9 *Bŭlgarski Istoricheski Arkhiv* (BIA), Fond 40—Dimitraki Hadjitoshev Tsenovich, (June 26, 1795).

10 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena,* 76.

11 *Fakiisko Predanie* (Sofia, 1985), 281 and 349.

12 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 97.

13 MacMichael, *Journey from Moscow to Istanbul in the Years 1817, 1818*, 104.

14 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena,* 77.

15 Ibid., 73.

16 As reported by the English traveler James Alexander, *Angliski Pŭtepisi za Balkanite, XVI—XIX v,* 699.

17 BIA, Fond 27—Bratia Robevi.

18 "Unikalen Vŭzrozhdenski Rŭkopis," 511–631.

19 Nineteenth-century Bulgarian proverb.

20 For example, in the late seventeenth century, Ottoman tax collectors in İpsala province (south of Edirne) reported that they were unable to perform their duties because of the disruptions caused by a plague epidemic. BOA—İbnülemin Sıhhiye (IE. SH.) 107/1–2 (June 7, 1699). In 1814, a Bulgarian inhabitant of Stara Zagora noted that Ottoman tax-collection efforts were severely hampered by the death and displacement caused by an outbreak of a severe plague epidemic. Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 75. See Coskun Yılmaz and Necdet Yılmaz, *Osmanlılarda Sağlık* II, 355. BOA—Cevdet Askeriye (C. AS.) 1177/52473 (February 20, 1814). BOA—C. AS. 600/25315 (July 9, 1814).

21 *Osmanlılarda Sağlık* (Volume II), 355.

22 BOA—Cevdet Maliye (C. ML.) 689/28260 (1789).

23 BOA—Cevdet Askeriye (C. AS.) 27/1701 (1799), and BOA—C. AS. 402/16619 (August 5, 1811).

24 BOA—C. AS. 563/23617 (April 1801).

25 BOA—C. AS. 1177/52473 (February 20, 1814).

26 BOA—C. AS. 600/25315 (July 9, 1814).

27 Anonymous, *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832 by an American*, 331.

28 Osman Şevki Uludağ, "Son Kapitülasyonlardan Biri Karantina" *Belleten* II, nos. 7–8 (1938): 449.

29 This story can be found in the memoirs of Kelemen Mikesh—a longtime valet and advisor to the Hungarian prince Ferenc Rakoczi (1676–1735). Following a

failed uprising against the Habsburg Empire, Rakoczi and his followers (including Mikesh) found refuge in the Ottoman Empire—first in Edirne, then in the environs of Istanbul (in Büyükdere and Yeniköy), and ultimately in Rodosto (Tekirdağ). Hungarian settlers in Rodosto were called up to fight for the Ottoman Empire against the Russian and Austrian empires (1735–1738). Mikesh died of plague in Rodosto in 1761. See *Madzharski Pŭtepisi za Balkanite, XVI—XIX v*., 51–64.

30 "Vospominaniia Doktora Zeidlitsa o Turetskom Pokhod 1829 Goda," 417.

31 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 190–192.

32 Ibid., 158–160 and 190.

33 Ibid., 158–159.

34 The origins of Kharalambos and his devotional movement are somewhat shrouded. The basic theory is that an individual by the name of Kharalambos lived in Asia Minor sometime in the second or third century A.D. Kharalambos would often recite a prayer to God to save him from plague. While many of his fellow villagers died of plague, Kharalambos was repeatedly spared. Thus, a belief developed that Kharalambos's prayers and his devotion to God were the route to salvation from epidemic diseases. Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 121–130.

35 In the 1830s and 1840s, compilations of these types of verses and prayers were some of the first books published in the Bulgarian language by Bulgarian-owned publishing houses. Ibid., 130–134.

36 Ibid., 183.

37 Mark Mazower, *Salonica: City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims, and Jews, 1430–1950* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 112.

38 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 186–190.

39 Ibid., 236–237.

40 Ibid., 100–101.

41 Ibid., 100–101.

42 Ibid., 184. Today the town of Kemallar is called Isperikh and has a population of 13,000.

43 See, for example, Ünver "Les epidémies de cholera," 89–97;Sarıyıldız, "Karantina," 463–465; Akpinar, *Osmanlı Devlet'inde Karantina Usulünün Başlaması*, 8; and Eren, "Bulgaristan ve Romanya'dakı Türk Sağlık Kuruluşları," 73–86.

44 Charles Maclean, M.D., *Results of an Investigation Respecting Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases: Including Researches in the Levant Concerning the Plague* (London: Thomas and George Underwood, 1817).

45 The continued use (into the Tanzimat period) of *tahaffuz*-related terminology in the lexicon of the Ottoman bureaucracy testifies to a certain amount of institutional continuity in the Ottoman Empire's *tahaffuzhane*-quarantine system. Land quarantines (as opposed to those located at ports) were called *tahaffuz-i berriye*. BOA—HAT 523/25526 (1839). A quarantine cordon was often called an *usul-i tahaffuziye*. BOA—HAT 523/25542 (1839).

46 Sarıyıldız, *Karantina Teşkilatının*, 10. For a discussion on anti-disease, sanitation, and quarantine initiatives in Ottoman Egypt in the 1820s and 1830s, see Khaled Fahmy, "Women, Medicine, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Egypt" in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (ed. Lila Abu-Lughod) (Princeton, 1998), 35–72. For more on the history of healthcare and state-directed medical interventions in and around Istanbul, see Nuran Yıldırıım's *A History of Healthcare in Istanbul* (Istanbul: Istanbul Üniversitesi, 2010).

47 "Karantin i Gospitali v Smirn" *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 8 (1844): 295–312.

48 For the most recent study of plague and disease in the Ottoman Empire including a discussion, within the overall context of European-Ottoman contacts and medical reform initiatives in the Ottoman Empire, of internal debates within the central Ottoman government concerning the pros and cons of implementing a quarantine system, see Birsen Bulmuş, *Plague, Quarantines, and Geo-Politics in the Ottoman Empire* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2012).

49 Panzac, *La peste*, 453.

50 BOA—Cevdet Sıhhiye (C. SH.) 6/290 (December 4, 1812) and Şevki Uludağ, "Son Kapitülasyonlardan Biri Karantina," 445–446.

51 *Sketches,* 174.

52 Ibid., 189–190.

53 Helmuth von Moltke, *Unter dem Halbmond: Erlebnisse in der alten Türkei, 1835–1839* (Tübingen: Erdmann, 1979), 148–149.

54 Ibid., 149–150.

55 Sarıyıldız, *Karantina Teşkilatının,* 56.

56 Akpinar, *Osmanlı Devlet'inde Karantina,* 22–23.

57 Broadly speaking, the administration and imperial position of the Ottoman provinces of Wallachia and Egypt await a comprehensive comparative study. One point of entry could be on the topic of disease control and quarantine construction as medical inspection stations functioned in Egypt as early as the sixteenth century and, as Alan Mikhail notes, a quarantine regime was first implemented in Egypt in the period from 1798 to 1801 and developed further during the reign of Mehmet Ali (reigned in Egypt from 1805 to 1848). Alan Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt: An Environmental History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 230–237.

58 For more on the outbreak of epidemic diseases in Wallachia, see Octavian Buda, "Black Death at the Outskirts of the Ottoman, Russian and Habsburg Empires. The Epidemics in the Phanariot Bucharest" in *Medicine Within and Between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 18th–19th Centuries* (ed. Teodora Daniela Sechel) (Bochum, Germany: Winkler, 2011), 109–130.

59 Panzac, *La peste,* 452–453 and Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 205.

60 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 200.

61 Panzac, *La peste*, 452–453 and Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 102.

62 RGVIA f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 6, List 8 (February 17, 1808), RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 6, l. 35 (January–December 1808), RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 3/163b, d. 6, ch. 1, l. 46 (September 1810–January 1812), and *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (RGIA), f. 1263, op. 1, d. 602, ll. 50–63 (May 6–7, 1829).

63 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 205.

64 Ibid., 204–205.

65 Ismail Eren, "Bulgaristan ve Romanya'dakı Türk Sağlık Kuruluşları" *I. Türk Tıp Tarihi Kongresi: Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler* (Istanbul, February 17–19, 1988), 75.

66 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 102.

67 Ibid., 207.

68 BOA—HAT 737/34964-A (December 17, 1836).

69 The text of the article in the Treaty of Adrianople pertaining to quarantine construction on the Danube River can be found (in Russian) in *Dogovori Rossii s Vostokom* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografi O.I. Baksta, 1869), 82 and (in French) in Gabriel Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'empire Ottoman, 1789–1856* (Paris, 1900), 175. For more on the construction of this quarantine line, see Christian Promitzer, "Stimulating the Hidden Dispositions of South-Eastern Europe. The Plague in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829 and the Introduction of Quarantine on the Lower Danube" in *Medicine Within and Between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 18th–19th Centuries* (ed. Teodora Daniela Sechel) (Bochum, Germany: Winkler, 2011), 79–108.

70 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 156.

71 Daniel Panzac, "Politique sanitaire et fixation des frontières: l'exemple Ottoman (XVIII–XIX siècles)" *Turcica* 31(1999): 96–97.

72 Panzac, *Quarantaines*, 96.

73 BIA, Fond 8—Panaret Rashev.

74 A.P. Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev i ego Vremia* (Saint Petersburg, 1882), 360–363.

75 BOA—HAT (August 14, 1835) and BOA—Cevdet Sıhhiye (C. SH.) (1837–1838). On Ottoman quarantine administration in the Danubian Principalities, see BOA—HAT 1144/45467-B (August 14, 1835), BOA—HAT 1144/45467-G (August 14, 1835), BOA—C. SH. 15/717 (1837–1838), and BOA—C. SH. 27/1343 (April 22, 1841).

76 GARF, f. 109, op. 4a, d. 7, l. 74.

77 RGIA, f. 1263, op. 1, d. 602, ll. 50–63, RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 11, l. 32 (May 6–7, 1829), and "Vospominaniia Doktora Zeidlitsa o Turetskom Pokhod 1829 Goda" Russkii Arkhiv 1–4 (1878): 423 and 426. For more on the plague in the Russian army, Russian military medicine, and the Russian military's quarantine efforts during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, see Promitzer, "Stimulating the Hidden Dispositions," 79–108.

78 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 209.

79 Panzac, *La peste*, 477–478.

80 In the late 1830s and early 1840s, quarantine stations were constructed in the following Dobrujan and Rumelian towns: Maçin, Tulça, Constanţa, Galatz, Balçık, Babadağ, Silistre, Ruse, Sviştov, Nikopol, Vidin, Varna, Burgas, Sozopol, Edirne, Plovdiv, Şipka, Ahyolu (Pomorie), Shumen, Kazanlŭk, Turnovo, Sofia, Aytos, Sliven, and Dimetoka. BOA—C. SH. 8/371 (undated, probably 1841 or 1842), *Gülden Sarıyıldız, Karantina Teşkilatının Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri, 1838–1876* (M.A. Thesis, Istanbul Üniversitesi, 1986), 76–84, and A. Süheyl Ünver, "Les épidémies de choléra," 96.

81 Foreign dignitaries (including the Russian ambassador) were invited to attend the opening of the Ottoman Empire's new quarantine facilities. Sarıyıldız, *Karantina Teşkilatının*, 12.

82 BOA—C. SH. 19/941 (May 24, 1838).

83 Akpinar, *Osmanlı Devlet'inde Karantina,* 20.

84 BOA—HAT 523/25526 (1839) and Sarıyıldız, *Karantina Teşkilatının*, 48.

85 Information on the conversion of the Kuleli military barracks into a quarantine station can be found in BOA—HAT 524/25566-A (1838).

86 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 213 and Sarıyıldız, *Karantina Teşkilatının*, 88–92.

87 Sarıyıldız, *Karantina Teşkilatının*, 57.

88 BOA—C. SH. 7/347 (June 22, 1838).

89 These regulations can be found in Gabriel Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'empire Ottoman 1789–1856* (Paris, 1900), 271–276. The text of the document refers to *peste* as the disease in question. This word is generally understood to mean "plague."

90 "Karantin i Gospitali v Smirn," 295–312.

91 In the 1830s, the three largest and most important Greek quarantine facilities in the Aegean were located in Piraeus, Siros, and Santorini. Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 211–212.

92 Translated from Russian, the name of the Istanbul-based bureaucratic entity which received and processed the health-related statistics forwarded from the İzmir quarantine was "The Ottoman Board of Public Health."

93 Sarıyıldız, *Karantina Teşkilatının*, 84–92.

94 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 211–212.

95 BOA—C. SH. 15/717 (1838).

96 BOA—HAT 523/25542 (1839).

97 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena,* 103.

98 In the bureaucratic lexicon of the Ottoman state, this Quarantine Council was alternately known as the *sıhhiye meclis*, *karantina meclis*, *meclis-i umur-i sıhhiye*, *karantine nezareti*, *sıhhiye nezareti*, or *meclis-i tahaffuz*. The overall competency

of the Ottoman Quarantine Council was threefold: to establish quarantines in important border, coastal, and interior cities throughout the Ottoman Empire; to eliminate internal outbreaks of epidemic diseases; and to dispatch doctors and officials in a timely manner to places where they were needed. Subordinate to the Foreign Ministry, the Ottoman Quarantine Council was divided into two chambers. The ambit of the upper or first (*ula*) chamber included implementing preventive measures to stem the spread of disease; managing any legal (*sharia*) issues pertinent to the implementation of a quarantine system in the Ottoman Empire; and providing for public order and security around individual quarantine stations. A director (*müdir*) in the first chamber was assigned to liaise with the foreign diplomatic community in Istanbul on quarantine and disease-related matters. The lower or second (*sani*) chamber was charged with implementing sanitation protocols and dealing with administrative and clerical matters. Under normal circumstances, the Quarantine Council met three times a week, but a proviso was included in the original regulations calling for more frequent gatherings in times of emergency. BOA—HAT 524/25572-B (1839); Ünver, "Les epidémies de cholera," 96; and Sayrıyıldız, *Karantina Teşkilatının*, 48. In a wide-ranging debate in the Ottoman Quarantine Council on how much money should be devoted to quarantine construction, those in favor of increased funding levels cited the collateral benefits associated with the establishment of comprehensive quarantine system in the Ottoman Empire. These collateral benefits included enhanced control over populations in the countryside especially in towns where quarantines were sited; improved safety and security on Ottoman roads; increased supervision of arriving ships; and a reduction in customs evasion. Sarıyıldız, *Karantina Teşkilatının*, 46–47. For an in-depth discussion on Mahmud II's efforts to improve safety and security on Ottoman roads in the 1820s and 1830s, see Yusuf Halaçoğlu, "Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nda Menzil Teşkilatı Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar" *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 2 (1981): 123–132.

99 BOA—HAT 523/25542 (1839).

100 Sarıyıldız, *Karantina Teşkilatının*, 32–36.

101 BOA—C. SH. 13/625 (September 23, 1839), BOA—C. SH. 22/1063 (September 26, 1840), and BOA—C. SH 27/1325 (1839–1840).

102 Ünver, "Les epidémies de cholera," 97.

103 Gülsoy, "1828 Yılında Istanbul'a Getirilen Varnalı Muhacirler," 252–270. An example of a Galata *defter* with registration lists of arrivals in Istanbul can be found in BOA—HAT 1021/42649 (November 19, 1829).

104 The holdings of the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Ottoman Prime Ministerial Archives) in Istanbul contain numerous examples of these reports and statistical tabulations. See, for example, BOA—HAT 523/25564-C (January 15, 1839), BOA—HAT 524/25567-C (April 15, 1839), BOA—HAT 524/25571-B

(December 17, 1838), BOA—HAT 524/25571-C (December 17, 1838), and BOA—Irade Dahiliye (I. DH.) 17/782 (July 7, 1840).

105 BOA—C. SH. 27/1330 (1840s) and Ünver, 91.

106 For more on the Ottoman *berat,* see Nejdet Gök, "An Introduction to the *Berat* in Ottoman Diplomatics" *Bulgarian Historical Review* 3–4 (2001): 141–150. *Berats* were sometimes referred to as *Ahdnameler* or *Ahitnameler* (literally, "a written or official privilege"). Fatih Tayfur, *Osmanlı Belgeleri Işığında 1821Rum Isyanı ve Buna Karşı Oluşan Tepkiler* (Master's Thesis, Marmara University, 2003), 106–107.

107 Frederick Anscombe asserts that Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire who obtained *berats* in this manner received "honorary citizenship" of the country of their foreign patron. Frederick Anscombe, "Introduction" in *The Ottoman Balkans, 1750–1830* (ed. Frederick F. Anscombe) (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2006), 9.

108 See, for example, the *yol emri* issued to the Norwegian doctor Johan Hedenborg for his travels through Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon in 1830. BOA—Cevdet Hariciye (C. HR.) 66/3299 (October 7, 1830).

109 See, for example, the *yol hüküm* issued to the Italian doctors Bicconi and Ralli during the reign of Selim III. BOA—C. SH. 10/484.

110 Unsigned and untitled article in *Odesski Vestnik* 11 (February 5, 1836).

111 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 102.

112 Zeki Arakan, "Tanzimat Döneminde Egin ve Çevresinden Istanbul'a Yönelik Göçler" in *Tanzimat'ın 150. Yildönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu* (October 31–November 3, 1989) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1994), 467–480.

113 See, for example, a *yol emir* issued to a Russian subject traveling to Mount Athos in 1804–1805. The approval of the request from the Russian ambassador in Istanbul indicated that permission had been granted for return travel to Russia via Anatolia and the Caucasus. BOA—C. HR. 6/257 (1804–1805).

114 For example, in the late 1830s and early 1840s, the Russian ambassador in Istanbul applied for travel documents on behalf of Russian merchants and pilgrims traveling through the Ottoman Empire. Examples of these appeals include a request for a *mürur tezkiresi* for the Russian merchant Mardiros to conduct business in the Ottoman Empire in 1841; a request for a *mürur tezkiresi* for the Russian subject Kornichov to travel to Jerusalem in 1842; and the request for a *yol emir* for the Russian subject Fedorov to travel to Jerusalem in 1844. BOA—Divan-ı Hümayun Düvel-ı Ecnebiye Kalemi (A. DVN. DVE) 1/13, 1/14, 1/17, 1/18, 1/19, 1/27, 1/28/,1/42 and 1A/60.

115 See, for example, the *yol emir* issued to the Wallachian Kapı Kethüdası in the late 1830s, which contains the passage "Memleketine gidecek olan Eflak Kapı Kethüdasına esna-yı rahta mümanaat olunmamak yol emir verilmesi." BOA—C. HR. 14/689 (1839). See also Halaçoğlu, "Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nda," 131.

116 For more on the Ottoman *menzilhane* system, see Colin Heywood's "Some Turkish Archival sources for the History of the Menzilhane Network in Rumelia during the Eighteenth Century" (Notes and Documents on the Ottoman Ulak); "The Ottoman Menzilhane and Ulak System in Rumeli in the Eighteenth Century"; and "The Via Egnatia in the Ottoman Period: The Menzilhanes of the Sol Kol in the late 17th/early 18th Century" in *Writing Ottoman History: Documents and Interpretations* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2002).

117 BOA—Cevdet Askeriye (C. AS.) 627/26477 (October 28, 1829).

118 See, for example, a series of *yol emirler* issued to Russian subjects in the period 1799–1800 and a *yol emr-i şerifi* issued to a French courier upon the request of the French ambassador in Istanbul. BOA—C. HR. 8/365 and BOA—C. HR. 3/128 (October 31, 1827).

119 In one case, a Nekrasovite by the name of Isak petitioned and received from an Ottoman official permission to travel to Jerusalem. BOA—Cevdet Dahilye (C. DH.) 339/16942 (1765–1766).

120 In 1826, the Pasha of Vidin (Ibrahim) issued a travel document to a prominent Bulgarian subject in Vratsa (Dimitraki Hajitoshev) to cross the Danube River into Wallachia. Bearing the stamp of Ibrahim Pasha, the travel document outlined the purpose of Hajitoshev's trip (i.e., to procure corn in Yergögü) and asked that his travel not be hindered in any way. It also requested the assistance of Ottoman officials in helping Hajitoshev while on the road and during his time in Yergögü. BIA, Fond 40—Dimitraki Hajitoshev Tsenovich (December 9, 1826).

121 For example, in 1839 and again in 1840, a group of residents of the town of Turnovo applied to *Çorbacı* Georgi Popsimeonov for a *putno tezkere* (*putno* = Bulgarian for "travel," *tezkere* = Turkish for "certificate" or "document") to travel south toward Istanbul. As part of their application, the petitioners were required to submit fingerprints to Popsimeonov. BIA, Fond 40—Dimitraki Hajitoshev Tsenovich (October 11, 1839 and July 22, 1840).

122 Nazır, *Macar ve Polonyali Mülteciler Osmanlı'ya Sığınanlar*, 399–410.

123 Kiel, "Hrazgrad—Hezargrad—Razgrad," 532.

124 The *ispence* was a poll tax levied on Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire.

125 Aksan, "Whose Territory and Whose Peasants?" 84.

126 According to the Redhouse Turkish/Ottoman English Dictionary, the *izn-i sefine fermanı* was an "Imperial firman granting permission to a ship to pass the Straits." The initial use of commercially oriented travel documents to govern merchant activity in the Black Sea region can be traced to the issuance of *muhabbatname* (literally, "letters of friendship") by Ottoman authorities in the Crimean Khanate to Zaporozhian merchants. These *muhabbatnameler* granted Zaporozhian merchants the right to trade in the Ottoman Empire. The provision of *muhabbatnameler* to Ukrainian merchants by the *kadı* of Caffa is mentioned

in Aleksander Halenko's article "Towards the Character of Ottoman Policy in the Northern Black Sea Region after the Treaty of Belgrade (1739)," 111.

127 See, for example, an *izin-i sefine* granted to two Russian merchant ships to sail from the Black Sea via the straits into the Aegean and Mediterranean seas. BOA—C. HR 4/169 (March 2, 1818). See also Bostan, "Izn-i Sefine Defterleri ve Karadenize Rusya ile Ticaret Yapan Devlet-i Aliyye Tüccarlari, 1780–1846," 26.

128 Ibid., 25.

129 BOA—C. HR. 18/851 (1765).

130 According to Idris Bostan, the turnaround time for application and receipt of an *izn-i sefine* was a remarkably efficient 4–6 days. Bostan, "Izn-i Sefine Defterleri," 30.

131 See, for example, a series of documents (1/2, 1/12, 1/22, and 1/30) in BOA—Divan-ı Hümayun Düvel-ı Ecnebiye Kalemi (A. DVN. DVE) from the period 1840 to 1842.

132 Bostan, "Izn-i Sefine Defterleri," 30 and 38.

133 See, for example, the document issued to the captain of the martika *Salih Reis,* granting permission to trade in the Russian Empire. This document indicated that a bond (*kefil*) has been procured by the ship's crew members against their abandonment of the ship in Russia and that the ship's cargo has been inspected for any contraband goods. The martika was a type of two-masted sailing vessel commonly used for travel along the Black Sea coast in the nineteenth century. BOA—Cevdet Iktisat (C. IKTS.) 32/1563 (February 20, 1830). See also Bostan, "Izn-i Sefine Defterleri," 27–29.

134 Bostan, "Izn-i Sefine Defterleri," 28–31.

135 BOA—C. HR. 13/615 (1805).

136 Tayfur, *Osmanlı Belgeleri*, 106–107.

137 *Sketches*, 458–459.

138 For more on the history of passports, see John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

139 BOA—Cevdet Eyalet-i Mümtaze (C. MTZ.) 17/806 (1787).

140 BOA—C. HR. 84/4156 (1788).

141 See, for example, *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (RGVIA) f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 2, ll. 37 and 44 (March–September, 1808).

142 Arakan, "Tanzimat Döneminde Egin," 470.

143 RGVIA f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 2, l. 30 (May–August, 1807). Additional examples of Ottoman subjects attempting to enter Wallachia with forged *fermans* can be found in RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 2, l. 4.

144 Arakan, "Tanzimat Döneminde Egin," 469.

145 BOA—Cevdet Nafia (C. NF.) 9/405 (1803).

146 This connection has been explored in various contexts in various time periods. My goal here has simply been to use this analytical frame to fill in our gap of knowledge on this connection in the Ottoman-Russian context. See, for example, John McKiernan-Gonzalez, *Fevered Measures: Public Health and Race at the Texas-Mexico* Border (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012) and Paul Julian Weindling, *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Chapter 6

1 In addition to *chuma*, the terms *mor* and *bich* were often used by Russian officials when referring to plague and/or epidemic disease.

2 "Nashi Pervye Karantiny" *Russkii Arkhiv* 2 (1882): 311–312.

3 "Karantin" (Brockhaus and Efron), 453.

4 V. Timiriazev, "Gerzog Rishel'e i Odesskaia Chuma 1812 Goda" *Istoricheskii Vestnik* 5 (1897): 581.

5 "Karantin" (Brockhaus and Efron), 453.

6 For more background information on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century plague epidemics in southern Russia and the Black Sea region, see Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Early Modern Russia,* and two books by Daniel Panzac, *La peste dans l'empire Ottoman: 1700–1850* (Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1985) and *Quarantines et lazarets*.

7 Halenko, "Towards the Character of Ottoman Policy in the Northern Black Sea Region after the Treaty of Belgrade (1739)," 110.

8 "Karantin" (Brockhaus and Efron), 453.

9 In the period from 1770 to 1772, plague epidemics killed an estimated 100,000 inhabitants in the Moscow region. Collectively, these epidemics constituted the single most fatal visitation of the plague in the history of the Russian Empire. There are two theories regarding the provenance of these plague epidemics: that the plague was brought to Moscow through the import of textiles from the Ottoman Empire via the Danubian Principalities; or that Russian soldiers contracted the plague while in occupation of the Danubian Principalities and carried it with them to Moscow. These particular plague epidemics were sustained by two consecutive years of unseasonably warm springs and autumns. Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Early Modern Russia*, 101–102.

10 Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Early Modern Russia*, 126. All travelers from the Ottoman Empire crossing into Russian territory, regardless of citizenship or status, were subject to quarantine regulations. For example, in 1774, couriers dispatched by Prince Nikolai Repnin (the Russian ambassador in Istanbul) to Catherine II in

Saint Petersburg with news of the signing of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca were subjected to quarantine procedures upon entering the territory of the Russian Empire. Official dispatches were passed over an open flame and rewritten three times. *Mubadele*, 223 and 226.

11 Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Early Modern Russia*, 203. Background information on the Russian Chancellery of Foreign Guardianship can be found in ch. 3.

12 Jewsbury, *The Russian Annexation of Bessarabia, 1774–1828*, 116.

13 *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii* (*PSZ*) 22, no. 16,390 (May 6, 1786).

14 In the 1820s, two additional quarantine posts were constructed on the Crimean Peninsula—in Sudak and Balaklava. *Derzhavnii Arkhiv Odeskoi Oblasti* (DAOO), f. 1, op. 190, d. 58, ll. 1–4 (August 1823).

15 In 1793, the Russian treasury appropriated 31,750 rubles (or the modern-day equivalent of roughly £18 million) to cover the costs associated with operating quarantine stations in the Ekaterinoslav Gubernia and the Tauride Oblast. "O Ustroenii Karantinov v Ekaterinoslavskoi Gubernii i Tavricheskoi Oblasti" *PSZ* 23, no. 17,131 (June 7, 1793).

16 For example, in 1810, Turkish prisoners of war en route to settlement sites north of the Crimean Peninsula were subjected to a twelve-day "cleansing" (*ochishchenie*) period in the Dubossar quarantine. *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (RGVIA), f. 14209, op. 3/163b, d. 15, l. 2–3 (June 1810).

17 "Ustav' Pogranichnykh' i Portovykh' Karantinov'" *PSZ* 26, no.19, 476 (July 7, 1800). In 1800, the Russian state allocated 209,000 rubles to expand and construct new quarantine installations in the provinces of Novorossiya, Podolia, and Astrakhan.

18 As stated unequivocally in Article 121 of the Quarantine Statute of 1800, "Turkey does not take the necessary precautions to save itself and its inhabitants from the calamitous consequences of the plague. This lack of vigilance has been confirmed by our ministers and consuls. Disease hides in goods brought here from Turkey."

19 For more on the color-scheme and design of flags and jacks utilized by Russian quarantines in the first part of the nineteenth century, see DAOO, f. 1, op. 191, d. 76, ll. 1–2 (1835).

20 *Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennyi Isoricheskii Arkhiv—Moldavskaia Sovetskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika* (TsGIA—MSSR), f. 17, op. 1, l. 1–180 (August 1816).

21 "Karantin" (Brockhaus and Efron), 453. As late as 1818, the Russian Ministry of Police oversaw operations along the Dniester quarantine line. *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (RGIA), f. 1263, op. 1, d. 505, l. 196.

22 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, ll. 1–130 (September 8, 1815–May 22, 1816).

23 *Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (GARF), f. 109 ("III Otdelenie Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva Kantseliarii, 1828–1837"), op. 1a, d. 36, l. 26, RGIA, f. 1263, op. 1, d. 505, ll. 195–238 (October 26, 1827), RGIA, f. 1263, op. 1, d. 602, ll. 50–63 (May 6–7, 1829), and DAOO, f. 1, op. 191, d. 87 (1833).

24 The first recorded appearance of plague in the port area of Odessa occurred in 1797—three years after the city's capture by Russian forces. The first outbreak of plague in the city proper occurred in 1802. Timiriazev, "Gerzog Rishel'e i Odesskaia Chuma 1812 Goda," 582. One-third of Odessa's population died of the plague in 1812. Mary Holderness, *Journey from Riga to Crimea, with Some Account of the Manners and Customs of the Colonists of New Russia* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1827), 77 and 136. Plague victims in Odessa were buried on Mount Chumka ("Plague Mountain"). Odesskii Istoriko-Kraevedchsekii Muzei (Odessa Regional History Museum).

25 Timiriazev, 584–592.

26 Holderness, *Journey from Riga to Crimea,* 172–173.

27 As had been the case during previous Russo-Ottoman wars, disease struck the Wallachian capital of Bucharest repeatedly during and immediately after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829. At one point, plague was killing over 100 inhabitants of Bucharest per day. In 1828 and 1829, 23 cities and towns and 300 villages in Wallachia and Moldavia reported deaths from plague. In 1829, the appearance of the plague resulted in the near-emptying of the Wallachian town of Slobozia (located between Bucharest and Köstence). Most of the town's inhabitants sought refuge in the Wallachian countryside. In the 1820s and 1830s, infected goods arriving from Danubian and western Black Sea ports resulted in repeated outbreaks of plague in Odessa. While traveling through Dobruja in 1829, a German physician assigned to review the Russian army's anti-disease measures during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829 noted the near-emptying of large towns in the area around Mangalia and Kovarna. Additionally, severe outbreaks of plague struck Bessarabia in the period 1828–1830. GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3195, ll. 203–271, GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3196, l. 11 (1828–1829); "Vospominaniia Doktora Zeidlitsa o Turetskom Pokhod 1829 Goda" *Russkii Arkhiv* (Volumes 1–4, 1878), 418–421; A.P. Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev i ego vremia* (Saint Petersburg, 1882), 334 and 371; "Zapisnaia Knizhka Grafa P. Kh. Grabbe" *Russkii Arkhiv* (#4, 1888), 1–46; Panzac, *Quarantines*, 81; and *Bulgarski Istoricheski Arkhiv* (BIA), Fond 40—Dimitraki Hadjitoshev Tsenovich (November 23, 1826).

28 These policies led to civil disturbances and riots in key Russian Black Sea ports such as Sebastopol. As late as December 1832, Russian authorities were still trying to gain a full understanding of the reasons behind the plague and cholera-inspired riots in Sebastopol. For more on the 1830 riot in Sebastopol and the measures taken by provincial and municipal authorities to suppress the riot, see "Pis'mo Vorontsova M.S. iz Odessy v III Otdelenie ob Usmirenii Volnenii v Sebastopol'skom Portu, Voznikshikh v Sviazi v Epidemiei Kholeri, o Naznachenii Stolypina v Sebastopol

i Otnoshenie Vorontsova Ministru Vnutrennikh Del po Povodu Sebastopol'sko Vosstania 1830 g." GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 1094, ll. 5–18 (September 19, 1830–December 29, 1832). Examples of the above-referenced frontier reports can be found in GARF, f. 109, op. 4a, d. 7, l. 74 and GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3196, l. 120–123 (June 1829).

29 "Obshtyiia Politseiskiia Mery vo Vremia Chumu" *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 3 (1829): 613–619.

30 Coins were rumored to be especially pernicious purveyors of plague. Coming across an individual holding a bag of coins in Varna in the summer of 1829, the English traveler James Alexander wrote,

> he told me that this purse of 100 rubles had been initially owned by a Russian officer who had died of the plague. The purse was stolen by the officer's attendant and this man had also subsequently died of the plague. Following the attendant's death the purse had come into the possession of seven men who divided the coins between themselves. They all died of the plague. Believing that this purse of money had avenging qualities and was an accursed treasure he threw the bag of money into the sea.

Angliski Pŭtepisi za Balkanite, XVI—XIX v. (Sofia: Izdatelstvo "Nauka i Izkustvo," 1987), 699.

31 According to the author of these regulations, a recent plague epidemic in Cairo was started and sustained by the trading of secondhand clothing by Jewish merchants.

32 "Ob" iavelenie" iz Popechitel'nyi Komitet Okolonistikh Iuzhnago Krai Rossii," DAOO, f. 6, op. 1, d. 2482, ll. 12–13 (July 6, 1829).

33 For example, 50 copies to the Kishinev Town Police, 200 copies to the *Zemski Sud* in Jassy, 80 copies to the *Zemski Sud* in Akkerman, and 80 copies to the *Zemski Sud* in Ismail.

34 For example, during the Russian siege of Silistre in the summer of 1809, over half of General Bagration's army succumbed to illness and disease. L.A. Kasso, *Rossiia na Dunae i Obrazovanie Bessarabskoi Oblasti* (Moscow, 1913), 73.

35 GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3195, l. 270 (May 2, 1828).

36 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena,* 76–77. Due to severe outbreaks of plague in Russian military encampments, the summer fighting season was typically referred to as *la mauvais saison*. GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3195, l. 76 and GARF f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3195, l. 271.

37 See, for example, "Zapisnaia Knizhka Grafa P. Kh. Grabbe" *Russkii Arkhiv* (Kn. 4, 1888), 33 and 44.

38 Manolova-Nikolova, 26–27.

39 In the summer of 1831, 150–180 people died per day in the Moldavian capital of Iași (Jassy). Before the disease dissipated in the winter of 1831, 15,000 inhabitants of Jassy perished from cholera and another third were evacuated from the city. By the end of 1831, only 8,000–10,000 people remained in Jassy out of a pre-epidemic population of roughly 50,000. In the opinion of Pavel Kiselev, the Russian governor of the Danubian Principalities, in the early 1830s, "the devastation caused by cholera in Jassy—it is possible to say—is unparalleled in all of Europe." Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev*, 368–369.

40 RGIA, f. 1263, op. 1, d. 602, ll. 50–63 (May 6–7, 1829),"Molba na Bŭlgarite ot Selo Dudesht do Pŭlnomoshtnia Namestnik i Predsedatel na Divanite na Moldova i Vlashko Graf Palen da Budat Osvobodeni ot Tegobite na kŭm Karantinnata Bolnitsa" (February 28, 1829) in *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali* (eds. Maxim Mladenov, Nikolai Zhechev, and Blagovest Niagulov) (Sofia: Akademichno Izdatelstvo "Marin Drinov," 1994), 20–21 and Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev*, 334–335.

41 RGVIA f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 6, List 8 (February 17, 1808), RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 6, l. 35 (January–December 1808), RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 3/163b, d. 6, ch. 1, l. 46 (September 1810–January 1812), and RGIA, f. 1263, op. 1, d. 602, ll. 50–63 (May 6–7, 1829).

42 GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3195, l. 270.

43 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 206.

44 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 3/163b, d. 19 (November 28, 1809).

45 In the summer of 1828, field reports from Russian armies operating in the region around Edirne indicated that, together with the nature of the terrain and effective Turkish guerilla action (*la petite guerre*), Russian armies were beginning to experience difficulties in supply and provisioning—*il faux pourvoir à la subsistence des hommes et les chevaux, ce qui deviendra de plus en plus difficile*. GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3195, l. 76.

46 "Pravila koiti dolzhny rukovodstvovat'sia zhiteli goroda Odessy vo vremia sushchestvovaniia zdes zarazy." DAOO, f. 6, op. 1, d. 2482, ll. 21–22.

47 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1467, ll. 1–105, DAOO, f. 88, op. 1, d. 110, ll. 1–8, and RGIA, f. 1263, op. 1, d. 505, ll. 195–238. The quarantine stations in Skuliani, Reni, Leovo, Ismail, and Akkerman were erected in 1820.

48 According to Pavel Kiselev, in 1825, the Russian state was "engaged in a terrible war … against epidemic disease" (*My vyshli iz uzhasnoi voiny … protiv zarazy*) and had to "protect its borders from this invasion" (*imela by priamoi interes zashchishchat granitsu ot kakikh by to ni bylo vtorzhenii*). Quoted in Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev*, 235–236.

49 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 206 and Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev*, 235–237.

50 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar v Iuzhnuiu Besarabiiu 1828–1834 gg*., 105.

51 "Vospominaniia Doktora Zeidlitsa o Turetskom Pokhod 1829 Goda," 416.

52 "Rasporiazheniia po Karantinnym Predostorozhnostiam" *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 3 (1829): 495–501. For more on cholera epidemics in Russia in the 1820s and 1830s, see McGrew, *Russia and the Cholera, 1823–1832*. For more on the Russian medical establishment's understanding of the patterns and routes of this cholera epidemic in the Russian Empire, see "Proekt Vozzvaniia k Narodu po Sluchaiu Kholeri Sostavlennyi Grechem N.," GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 1097, ll. 1–2 (June 23, 1830).

53 DAOO, f. 88, op. 1, d. 110, ll. 1–8 (January–February 1830).

54 DAOO, f. 1, op. 191, d. 88.

55 Timed to coincide with the commencement of the second campaign season in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–1829, in May 1829, the Russian Committee of Ministers recommended that the quarantine detention period along the secondary Dniester line be increased to fourteen days. Additionally, the Russian Committee of Ministers advised Ministry of the Interior officials to "rigorously" (*neukosnitel'no*) enforce previously enacted quarantine measures along the Dniester quarantine line. RGIA, f. 1263, op. 1, d. 602, ll. 60 and 62.

56 "Izmail'skii Tsentral'nyi Karantin" *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 6 (June 1844): 357–376.

57 According to a report issued by the Russian Committee of Ministers in the late 1820s, during periods deemed "favorable" for commercial traffic in the Black Sea region an estimated 400 ships per year docked in the port of Ismail. RGIA, f. 1263, op. 1, d. 505, l. 214.

58 "Agenturnye Doneseniia i Zapiski o Volneniiakh i Sobitiiakh v Sviazi s Kholeri." GARF, f. 109, Op. 3a, d. 1100, ll. 27–29.

59 GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 1094, l. 9.

60 DAOO, f. 6, op. 1, d. 2482, ll. 1–32 (June–September, 1829).

61 GARF, f. 109, op. 1, d. 36, l. 26.

62 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 6, l. 106 (January 30, 1808).

63 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1467, ll. 93–95.

64 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1326.

65 DAOO, f. 1, op. 190, d. 48. ll. 2–3.

66 "Doklad na Logofeta Sht. Vladesku do Izpulnitelniia Divan vuv Vruzka s Preminavaneto i Nastaniavaneto na Bulgarski Bezhantsi," (May 23, 1830) *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali,* 27–28.

67 *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (BOA)—Hatt-ı Hümayun (HAT) 1225/47874-B (December 4, 1812) and BOA—HAT 1225/47874-F (November 14, 1812).

68 "Ispravliaiushchii dolzhnost namestnika Bessarabskoi Oblasti I. N. Inzov stats-sekretariu I.A. Kapodistrii" (February 26, 1821), *Vneshnaia Politika Rossii XIX i*

Nachala XX Veka: Dokumenty Rossiiskogo Ministerstva Inostrannykh Del (VPR) 12 (Moscow: Nauka, 1980): 39–40.

69 "Nachal'nik Glavnogo shtaba P.M. Volkonskii glavnokomanduiushchemu 2-i armiei P. Kh. Vitgenshteinu" (March 25, 1821), *VPR* (Volume 12), 89, "Lichnoe pis'mo Nachalnika Glavnogo shtaba P.M. Volkonskogo nachal'niku shtaba 2-i armii P.D. Kiselevu" (December 2, 1821), *VPR* (Volume 12), 386–387, and Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev*, 138–139. Ironically, even after the exposure and incarceration of leaders of the Decembrist movement the tsarist government still looked to these figures for information and advice on how to improve the Russian administration in Bessarabia. See, for example, the deposition taken from the Decembrist A. Kornilov during his imprisonment in the Petropavlovskaya Krepost in Saint Petersburg in 1832. GARF, f. 109, op. 1, d. 36, ll. 23–30.

70 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar*, 106–107 and 168.

71 Grek, "Bŭlgarskite Dobrovoltsi (Volunteri) ot 1828–1829 godina," 14.

72 GARF, f. 109, op. 2a, d. 120, ll. 28–29 (1835).

73 GARF, f. 109, op. 4a, d. 7, ll. 3–6, (May 1828), GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3196, ll. 120–123 (June 21–26, 1829), and GARF, f. 109, op. 2a, d. 30, ll. 1–16 (1836).

74 GARF, f. 109, op. 4a, d. 391, ll. 1–7. (April–May 1835).

75 GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3196, ll. 120–123, DAOO, f. 1, op. 90, d. 58, ll. 1–4 (1823), DAOO f. 1, op. 219, d. 6 (1821), and TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1467, ll. 15 and 34 (June–August 1830). In the bureaucratic language of Russian officialdom, the combined quarantine-customs installations in Kerch and Yenikale were referred to as a "Tamozhnaia Karantinnaia Zastava" ("Customs-Quarantine Post").

76 GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 1094, l. 10.

77 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1326 (February 28–September 28, 1830), TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1467, ll. 2, 46, and 52 (June–August 1830), and TsGIA—MSSR, f. 2, op. 9, d. 1326, ll. 1–120 (September 1829–June 12, 1830).

78 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 94–95.

79 "Doklad na Upravlenieto na Okr. Ilfov do Izpulnitelniia Divan na Vlashko vuv Vruzka s Nastaniavaneto na Bulgarski Preselnitsi" (July 4, 1830), *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 31.

80 Manolova-Nikolova, *Chumavite Vremena*, 34. For example, in the summer of 1828, Russian authorities in Wallachia struggled to quell localized disturbances and check population displacements sparked by rumors of the appearance of disease in Bucharest and its environs. GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 3195, l. 206.

81 "Raport ot Upravitelia na Okr. Romanats do Vornichiiata na Vŭtreshnite Raboti na Vlashko za Tainoto Preminavane na Novi Semeistva Bŭlgari prez Dunav Obratno v Tyrtsiia" (February 16, 1832) *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII–XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali*, 47–48.

82 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 5, op. 2, d. 148, ll. 15–20, TsGIA—MSSR, f. 17, op. 1, d. 17, ll. 61–69, and Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev*, 235–236.

83 DAOO, f. 59, op. 1, d. 307 (1824). In the 1820s, customs receipts from quarantine installations along the Prut and Danube rivers generated an estimated 10 percent of the Bessarabian Oblast's annual revenue. RGIA, f. 1263, op. 1, d. 505, l. 217. Financial outlays associated with the construction of new quarantine facilities and the hiring of additional quarantine staff strained provincial budgets. For example, the establishment of a temporary quarantine line around the Black Sea port of Sebastopol in 1830 necessitated the hiring of 17 additional medical professionals and over 300 day-laborers. Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar*, 127 and GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 1094, l. 10.

84 BIA, Fond 8—Panaret Rashev.

85 "Vospominaniia Doktora Zeidlitsa o Turetskom Pokhod 1829 Goda," 423 and 426. Dr. Zeidlits noted a backlog of over 500 carts at the Yenipazar quarantine station. He surmised that this backup was due to the fact that the owners of these carts were unable or unwilling to pay off quarantine staff to expedite their move through the quarantine. He estimated that these migrants had been idling in Yenipazar for more than a week.

86 von Moltke, *Unter dem Halbmond: Erlebnisse in der alten Türkei, 1835–1839,* 54. As a military advisor to Sultan Mahmud II from 1835 to 1839, von Moltke traveled extensively throughout the Ottoman Empire and the Danubian Principalities.

87 GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 2336a, l. 42.

88 Grek, "Bŭlgarskite Dobrovoltsi," 9.

89 "Unikalen Vŭzrozhdenski Rŭkopis: Konstantin D. Moravenov. Pametnik za Plovdivskoto Khristiiansko Naselenie v Grada i za Obshtite Zavedeniia po Proiznosno Predanie, Podaren na Bŭlgarskoto Chitalishte v Tsarigrad—do 1869" *Izvestia na Narodnata Biblioteka Kiril i Metodii* XIV (1976): 543, 555, and 587.

90 "Doklad na Logofeta Sht. Vladesku do Izpulnitelniia Divan vuv Vruzka s Preminavaneto i Nastaniavaneto na Bulgarski Bezhantsi" (May 23, 1830), *Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII-XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali,* 27–28.

91 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 108.

92 RGVIA, f. 14057, op. 16/183, d. 49, ll. 2–3 (November 1829).

93 GARF, f. 109, op. 3a, d. 1094, l. 11. Along these same lines, in September 1831, Charles Chatrind, the son of a prominent American merchant in the Ottoman Empire, sailed from Istanbul to Odessa to begin a planned holiday excursion in the Russian Empire. Despite presenting his American passport (issued by the U.S. State Department in Washington, DC) to Russian quarantine staff in Odessa, he was placed into custody in the Odessa quarantine pending his ability to produce additional travel and identity documentation. Following an extended period of

negotiations between the Russian ambassdor in Istanbul (A.P. Butenev) and the American chargé d'affaires in Istanbul (naval officer David Porter), documents were produced authorizing Chatrind's release from detention in the Odessa quarantine and a passport provided to Chatrind for ongoing travel in the Russian interior. *Arkhiv Vneshnei Politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii* (AVPRI), f. 180 (Posol'stvo v Konstantinopole), op. 517/1, d. 2169, ll. 3–7.

94 Gülsoy, *1828–1829 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşında Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya*, 77.

95 Odesskii Istoriko-Kraevedchsekii Muzei (Odessa Regional History Museum).

96 This and the fact that Cossacks were generally employed to track and detain individuals traveling without passports and proper travel documents. GARF, op. 3a, d. 3195, l. 114.

97 TsGIA—MSSR, f. 38, op. 1, d. 114, ll. 7–48.

98 "Pokazaniia Vozvrativshegosia iz-za Granitsy Zadunaiskogo Pereselentsa Zhelu Kramovicha" (July 29, 1816) TsGIA—MSSR, f. 17, op. 1, d. 17, ll. 91–92.

99 *VPR* (Volume 12), 630.

100 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar,* 93.

101 Ibid., 104–109.

102 Ibid., 108–109 and 121.

Chapter 7

1 King, "Is the Black Sea a Region?" 13–26.

2 Russian officials in Crimea and Istanbul closely monitored the annual pilgrimage (*hajj*) of Crimean Tatars to the holy lands of Mecca and Medina as there were some concerns that Ottoman agents used the pilgrimage as a cover to travel between the Ottoman and Russian empires. "Report from Colonel Repnin to Prince Prozorovski" (October 13, 1776) in Dubrovin, *Prisoedinenie Kryma k Rossii* (Volume 1), 110.

3 Dubrovin, *Prisoedinenie Kryma k Rossii* (Volume 1), "Report from Prince Prozorovski to Graf Rumianstev" (December 1777), 848 and "Letter from State Councilor Stakhiev to Prince Prozorovski" (May 31, 1777), 723 and 733. In one case, Colonel Repnin reported that fifteen Ottoman ships had been dispatched to remove Crimean Tatars from Kinburun to Ottoman lands in Bessarabia. Ibid., "Report of Colonel Repnin to Lieutenant-General Tekelli" (May 1776), 66. On reports filed by Russian agents in Ottoman Rumelia, see *Rossiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnykh Aktov* (RGADA), f. 15, d. 707, ll. 1–13.

4 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA)—Hatt-ı Hümayun (HAT) 610/29972 (April 9, 1830).

5 BOA—HAT 1038/43008 (October 20, 1830) and BOA—HAT 922/40086-C (1831–1832).

6 Dubrovin, *Prisoedinenie Kryma k Rossii* (Volume 1), "Letter from the Pasha of Ochakov to Colonel Repnin" (April 1777), 528–529.

7 Bostan, "Izn-i Sefine Defterleri ve Karadenize Rusya ile Ticaret Yapan Devlet-i Aliyye Tüccarlari, 1780–1846," 22. See also article 36 of an Ottoman-Russian commercial agreement signed in 1783. Gabriel Noradounghian, *Recueil des traites de l'empire Ottoman, 1300–1789* (Paris: F. Pichon, 1897), 364.

8 *Osmanlılarda Sağlık* (Volume II), 355 and BOA—HAT 1282/49692-A (December 17, 1817).

9 BOA—HAT 1096/44411-C (April 26, 1812) and BOA—HAT 1096/44411-E (October 18, 1812).

10 BOA—HAT 952/40872 (1823).

11 *Mubadele*, 80–82.

12 BOA—HAT 1102/44555 (1817–1818).

13 BOA—HAT 843/37892-H (September 18, 1823).

14 Grachev, "Kŭm Vŭprosa za Preselvaneto na Bŭlgari v Rusiia v Nachaloto na XIX v., 1800–1806 g.," 276–277.

15 The Treaty of Hünkar Iskelesi was a mutual defense treaty signed by the Ottoman and Russian empires in July 1833. For more on the Treaty of Hünkar Iskelesi, see my article in the *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (eds. Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters) (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2009), 258–259.

16 Grek and NikolaiChervenkov, *Bŭlgarite ot Ukraina i Moldova*, 16.

17 RGADA, f. 15, d. 707, ll. 1–13.

18 The terms of this article continued to be in force (and debated) well into the nineteenth century. Referencing previous Ottoman-Russian agreements to deport non-Muslim criminals from the Ottoman Empire and to deport non-Christian criminals from the Russian Empire, in June 1818, the Ottoman commander (*Muhafız*) in Isakçı reported to Istanbul that he had detained and imprisoned three Russian criminals found in the hold of a Russian ship. This incident prompted a series of communications between the Russian ambassador in Istanbul and his interlocutors in the Ottoman government on what to do with these stowaways. BOA—Cevdet Hariciye (C. HR.) 2/61 (June 4, 1818).

19 The French text of these treaties can be found in Gabriel Noradounghian's *Recueil des traites de l'empire Ottoman, 1300–1789* (Paris, 1897) and *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'empire Ottoman. 1789–1856* (Paris, 1900). A Russian version of the treaties can be found in *Dogovori Rossii s Vostokom*. A Bulgarian translation of the treaties can be found in Ghenov, *Actes et traités internationaux concernant la Bulgarie*.

20 BOA—C. HR. 21/1013 (1774).

21 "Alexander I to Ambassador V.S. Tomara" (July 14, 1802), "Ambassador V.S. Tomara to Alexander I" (July 16, 1802), and "Russian Ambassador in Istanbul V.S. Tomara to Alexander I" (September 16, 1802) in *Vneshniaia Politika Rossii XIX i Nachala XX Veka: Dokumenty Rossiiskogo Ministerstva Inostrannykh Del* (*VPR*) (Volume 1) (Moscow**:** Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo**,** 1960**),** 245–246 and 301–302.

22 Dubrovin, *Prisoedinenie Kryma k Rossii* (Volume 1), "Journal of Prince Prozorovski" (April 1777), 511–512.

23 Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie Bolgar v Iuzhnuiu Besarabiiu 1828–1834 gg.*, 97.

24 V.P. Grachev, "Kŭm Vŭprosa za Preselvaneto", 268–269.

25 *VPR* (Volume 12) (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo, 1980), 150 and Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev i ego Vremia*, 139

26 *VPR* (Volume 12), 637, 640, and 647–648.

27 "Dispatch from C.L. Lashkarev to A. Budberg on the Ratification of a Truce with the Turks" (August 31, 1807) in *Pervoe Serbskoe Vosstanie 1804–1813 i Rossia* (Volume 1) (Moscow: Izdatelstvo Nauka, 1980), 419.

28 *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (RGVIA), f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 6, l. 23 (November 2, 1807). A year later, General Miloradovich and Çelebi Mustafa Paşa agreed—as part of a broader effort to sever connections between Ottoman subjects in northern Rumelia and southern Wallachia—to impose a ban on all trans-Danubian trading activity. RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 2/163a, d. 6, ll. 81–82 (March 24, 1808).

29 BOA—HAT 1082/44103, BOA—HAT 1082/44103-A, BOA—HAT 1082/44103-B, and Ufuk Gülsoy, "1828 Yılında Istanbul'a Getirilen Varnalı Muhacirler" *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 7 (1992): 251–252.

30 BOA—HAT 1076/43944-N (January 23, 1830), RGVIA, f. 14057, op. 16/183, d. 50, l. 212, RGADA, f. 15, d. 707, ll. 1–13, and Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev*, 319.

31 BOA—HAT 1027/42792 (February 16, 1830), BOA—HAT 1077/43950-B (April 10, 1830), BOA—HAT 1085/44179 (May 3, 1830), BOA—HAT 1044/43169 (June 28, 1830), and BOA—HAT 1016/42515 (1831).

32 Dubrovin, *Prisoedinenie Kryma k Rossii* (Volume 1), "Order from Graf Rumianstev to Prince Prozorovski" (May 13, 1775), "Order from Graf Rumianstev to Prince Prozorovski" (October 2, 1775), and "Report from Colonel Repnin to Lieutenant-General Tekelli" (May 11, 1776), 29–30, 42, and 64. The migration of Tatars across the northern Black Sea steppe continued throughout the period in question and remained a focus of attention for Russian officials. En route to Istanbul in 1793 to take up the Russian ambassadorship in the Ottoman Empire, M.I. Kutuzov noted that large numbers of Crimean Tatars from Bessarabia were crossing the Danube to be resettled in Rumelia. *M.I. Kutuzov: Dokumenty* (ed. L.G. Beskorovno) (Volume 1) (Moscow: Voennoe Izdatelstvo Ministerstva Voruzhenie Sil, 1950), 220.

33 Bostan, "Izn-i Sefine Defterleri", 37.

34 BOA—C. HR. 13/615 (1805).

35 *Sentralnyi Gosudarstvennyi Isoricheskii Arkhiv—Moldavskaia Sovetskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika* (TsGIA—MSSR), f. 1, op. 1, d. 4010, ll. 1–9 (August 6–September 18, 1812).

36 *Ustroistvo Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev v Bessarabii i Deiatel'nost A.P. Iushnevskogo: Sbornik Dokumentov*, 73–74.

37 BOA—Divan-ı Hümayun Düvel-ı Ecnebiye Kalemi (A. DVN. DVE), 1/22.

38 *Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (GARF), f. 109 ("III Otdelenie Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva Kantseliarii, 1828–1837"), op. 4a, d. 391, ll. 1–7 (April 12–May 28, 1835).

39 Ivan Grek, "Bulgarskite Dobrovoltsi (Volunteri) ot 1828–1829 Godina" *Vekove* (1975), 16–19. Along these same lines, in late 1832 and early 1833, Pavel Kiselev (the recently appointed Russian governor-general of the Danubian Principalities) dispatched trusted agents into northern Rumelia to act as his intermediaries with Ottoman provincial administrators. Fearing the potential collapse of Ottoman central authority (and the subsequent increase in the activities of "bands of undisciplined Bulgarians"), Kiselev directed his agents to prepare—in consultation with their Ottoman counterparts—plans to ensure governmental continuity in Ottoman lands bordering the Danubian Principalities. At the same time, Kiselev moved to strengthen the Russian observation corps along the northern shore of the Danube River. Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev*, 403.

40 Similar circumstances prevailed in the Pyrenees in the middle part of the eighteenth century. According to Peter Sahlins, here "the French and Spanish governments cooperated and competed over the administration of justice, ecclesiastical affairs, taxation, and contraband trade in the borderland, in the process defining their separate territories." As was the case in the Ottoman-Russian Black Sea region in the first part of the nineteenth century, in the Pyrenees the "repression of territorial violations" contributed to the "politicization of national boundaries." Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 274–275.

41 RGVIA, f. 14209, op. 1a, d. 66, ll. 1–7 (April 8, 1829–June 28, 1829).

42 BOA—HAT 1063/43650 (1837–1838).

43 BOA—HAT 524/25570-H (1838).

44 Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P.D. Kiselev,* 360–363.

45 BOA—HAT (August 14, 1835) and BOA—Cevdet Sıhhiye (C. SH.) (1837–1838).

46 If an article by Jennifer Pitts published in the *American Historical Review* is any indication, European historians are beginning to understand that it is more productive to approach the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historical trajectory of the Ottoman and Russian empires on its own terms rather than as a reflection and object of post-Napoleonic western European–inspired modernity. See Jennifer

Pitts, “Empire and Legal Universalisms in the Eighteenth Century,” *American Historical Review* 117, no. 1 (February 2012): 92–121.

47 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, no.1 (February 2007): 24.

48 Meyer, 28.

49 King, *The Black Sea: A History*, 191.

50 Williams, *The Crimean Tatars*, 182.

51 Here, I will draw upon Sam White’s work on migration and resource mobilization in Ottoman Anatolia. White defines “imperial ecology” as the imperial management of resources and population. White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 49–51.

Bibliography

Archives

Bulgaria

Bulgarski Istoricheski Arkhiv (BIA) (Bulgarian Historical Archive)
  Fond 7—Evlogi and Christo Georgiev
  Fond 14—Grigor Nachovich
  Fond 27—Bratia Robevi
  Fond 40—Dimitraki Hadjitoshev Tsenovich
  Fond 165—Tsviatko Radoslavov Kanev
  Fond 255—Professor Stefan Savov Bobchev
Tsentralen Durzhaven Arkhiv—Bulgaria (TsDA) (Central State Archive—Bulgaria)
Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennyi Isoricheskii Arkhiv—Moldavskaia Sovetskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika (TsGIA—MSSR) (Central State Archive of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic)
  Fonds 2, 5, and 17

Russian Federation

Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv (RGVIA) (Russian State Military History Archive)
  Fonds 14057 and 14209
Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GARF) (State Archive of the Russian Federation)
  Fond 109
Rossiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnykh Aktov (RGADA) (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts)
  Fonds 15 and 248

Turkey

Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) (Prime Ministerial Archives)
  Collections:
  Ali Emiri-II Mustafa (AE.SMST.II)

Cevdet Askeriye (C. AS.)
Cevdet Dahiliye (C. DH.)
Cevdet Eyalet-i Mümtaze (C. MTZ.)
Cevdet Hariciye (C. HR.)
Cevdet Maliye (C. ML.)
Cevdet Nafia (C. NF.)
Cevdet Sıhhiye (C. SH.)
Cevdet Zabtiye (C. ZB.)
Hatt-ı Hümayun (HAT)
Ibnülemin Askeriye (IEAS.)
Ibnülemin Sıhhiye (IESH.)
Irade Dahiliye (I. DH.)
Maliye'den Müdevver Defter (MAD.d)

Ukraine

Derzhavnii Arkhiv Odeskoi Oblasti (DAOO) (Odessa State Archive)
Fond 6

Books and articles

Abou El-Haj, Rifa'at Ali. "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699–1703" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89, no. 1 (July–September, 1969): 467–475.

Abou El-Haj, Rifa'at Ali. "Ottoman Attitudes towards Peace-Making: The Karlowitz Case" *Der Islam* 51 (1974): 131–137.

Abou El-Haj, Rifa'at Ali. "Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87, no. 4 (October–December 1967): 498–512.

Abu-Manneh, Butrus. "The Islamic Roots of the Gülhane Rescript" *Die Welt des Islams* 34, no. 2 (1994): 173–203.

Ağanoğlu, H. Yıldırım. *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanlar'ın Makus Talihi Göç*. Istanbul: Kum Saatı, 2001.

Agoston, Gabor. "A Flexible Empire: Authority and Its Limits on the Ottoman Frontiers" *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9, nos. 1–2 (Summer 2003): 15–31.

Agoston, Gabor. *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Agoston, Gabor. "Information, Ideology, and Limits of Imperial Policy: Ottoman Grand Strategy in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry" in *The Early Modern*

Ottomans: Remapping the Empire edited by Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman, 75–103. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Akbal, Fazıla. "1831 Tarihinde Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda Idari Taksimat ve Nufus" *Belleten* 15, no. 60 (October 1951): 617–628.

Akpinar, Tahsin. *Osmanlı Devlet'inde Karantina Usulünün Başlaması*. Yüksek Lisans Tezi: T.C. Marmara Üniversitesi, 1986.

Aksan, Virginia. "Manning a Black Sea Garrison in the Eighteenth Century: Ochakov and Concepts of Mutiny and Rebellion in the Ottoman Context" *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 8, nos. 1–2 (Spring 2002): 63–72.

Aksan, Virginia. *Ottoman Wars 1700–1870: An Empire Besieged*. London: Pearson Longman, 2007.

Aksan, Virginia. "Whose Territory and Whose Peasants? Ottoman Boundaries on the Danube in the 1760s" in *The Ottoman Balkans, 1750–1830* edited by Frederick F. Anscombe, 61–86. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2006.

Aktepe, M. Munir. "XVIII Asrın Ilk Yarısında Istanbul'un Nüfus Mes'elesine Dair Bazı Vesikalar" *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 9, no. 13 (September 1958): 1–30.

Alexander, John T. *Bubonic Plague in Early Modern Russia*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

Anastasova, Ekaterina. *Staroobredtsite v Bŭlgariia: Mit, Istoriia, Identichnost*. Sofia: Izdatelstvo "Prof. Marin Drinov," 1998.

Angliski Pŭtepisi za Balkanite, XVI–XIX v. Sofia: Izdatelstvo "Nauka i Izkustvo," 1987.

Antonov, Stoyan. *Tatarite v Bŭlgariia*. Navrez: Dobrich, 2004.

Arakan, Zeki. "Tanzimat Döneminde Egin ve Çevresinden Istanbul'a Yönelik Göçler" in *Tanzimat'ın 150. Yildönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu* (October 31–November 3, 1989). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1994, 467–480.

Armenski Putepisi za Balkanite VXII–XIX V. Sofia: Izdatelstvo "Nauka i Izkustvo," 1984.

Arnaudov, Mikhail. *Vasil Evstatiev Aprilov*. Sofia: Izdatelstvo "Nauka i Izkustvo," 1971.

Arnold, David. *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-century India*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Arslan, Hüseyin. 16yy. *Osmanlı Toplumunda Yönetim, Nüfus, Iskan, Göç, ve Sürgün*. Istanbul: Kaknus Yaynları, 2001.

Ayalon, Yaron. *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire: Plague, Famine, and Other Misfortune*. London: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

Bachinska, Elena. "Bulgarskite Volontiri v Dunavskata Kazashka Voiska (1828–1869)" in *Bulgarite v Severnoto Prichernomorie* 4: 181–186. Veliko Turnovo: Izdatelska Kushta Acta, 1994.

Barkan, Ömer Lütfü. "Bir Iskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler" *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuasından Ayrı Basım* 13, nos. 1–4 (1954): 56–78.

Baron de Reuilly, John. *Travels in the Crimea and Along the Shores of the Black Sea Performed during the Year 1803*. London: Richard Phillips, 1807.

Barrett, Thomas. “Lines of Uncertainty: The Frontiers of the North Caucasus” *Slavic Review* 54, no. 3 (Autumn 1995): 578–601.

Bartlett, Roger P. *Human Capital: The Settlement of Foreigners in Russia: 1762–1804*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Bayat, Ali Haydar. *Tıp Tarihi*. İzmir: Sade Press, 2003.

Blumi, Isa. *Foundations of Modernity: Human Agency and the Imperial State*. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Blumi, Isa. *Re-instating the Ottomans: Alternative Balkan Modernities, 1800–1912*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Boeck, Brian J. *Imperial Boundaries: Cossack Communities and Empire-Building in the Age of Peter the Great*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Bostan, Idris. “Izn-i Sefine Defterleri ve Karadenize Rusya ile Ticaret Yapan Devlet-I Aliyye Tüccarlari, 1780–1846” *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6 (1990): 21–41.

Bozkurt, Gülnihal. *Gayrimüslim Osmanlı Vatandaşlarının Hukuki Durumu (1839 1914)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989.

Buda, Octavian. “Black Death at the Outskirts of the Ottoman, Russian and Habsburg Empires. The Epidemics in the Phanariot Bucharest” in *Medicine Within and Between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 18th–19th Centuries* edited by Teodora Daniela Sechel, 109–130. Bochum, Germany: Winkler, 2011.

Bŭlgarite v Rumŭnia, XVII–XX v.: Dokumenti i Materiali compiled and edited by Maxim Mladenov, Nikolai Zhechev, and Blagovest Niagulov. Sofia: Akademichno Izdatelstvo “Marin Drinov,” 1994.

Bulgarskata Emigratsiia vuv Vlakhiia sled Rusko Turskata Voina, 1828–1829: Sbornik ot Dokumenti edited by Konstantin Veliki and Veselin Traikov. Sofia: Akademichno Izdatelstvo, 1980.

Bulmuş, Birsen. *Plague, Quarantines, and Geo-Politics in the Ottoman Empire*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2012.

Çadırcı, Musa. “Tanzimat’ın Ilanı Sırasında Anadolu’da Iç Güvenlik” *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 13, no. 24 (1979–1980): 45–58.

Chervenkov, Nikolai. “Sŭzdavane na Cherkvite v Bŭlgarskite Kolonii v Bessarabiia prez Pŭrvata Polovina na XIX v.” in *Bŭlgarite v Severnoto Prichernomorie* 4: 169–179. Veliko Turnovo: Izdatelska Kŭshta Acta, 1994.

Chilingirov, Stilian. *Dobrŭdzha i Nasheto Vŭzrazhdane*. Sofia: Dŭrzhavna Pechatnitsa, 1917.

Davies, Brian. *Warfare, State, and Society on the Black Sea Steppe, 1500–1700*. London; Routledge, 2007.

Demidov, Anatoli. *Travels in Southern Russia and the Crimea, through Hungary, Wallachia, and Moldavia, during the year 1837*. London: J. Mitchell, 1855.

Deringil, Selim. “II. Mahmud Dış Siyaseti ve Osmanlı Diplomasisi” in *Sultan II. Mahmud ve Reformları*. Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1990.

“Dobruzha” in *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar*’ Brockhaus and Afron, 10a: 830–831. Saint Petersburg, 1893.

Dogovori Rossii s Vostokom. Saint Petersburg: Tipografi O.I. Baksta, 1869.

Doinov, Stefan. *Bŭlgarite v Ukraina i Moldova prez Vŭzrazhdaneto 1751–1878*. Sofia: Akademichno Izdatelstvo "Marin Drinov," 2005.

Doinov, Stefan. "Preselnicheski Dvizheniia ot Bŭlgarskite Zemi po Vreme na Rusko-Tŭrskite Voini prez Pŭrvata Polovina na XIX v." in *Bŭlgarskoto Vŭzrazhdane i Rusiia*, 290–316. Sofia: "Nauka i Izkustvo," 1981.

Duran, James A. "Catherine II, Potemkin, and Russian Colonization Policy in South Russia" *Russian Review* 28, no. 1 (1969): 23–36.

Druzhinina, Elena. *Iuzhnaia Ukraina v Period Krizisa Feodalisma: 1825–1860gg*. Moscow: Izdatelstvo Nauka, 1981.

Druzhinina, Elena. *Severnoe Prichernomor'e, 1775–1800*. Moscow: Izdatelstvo Nauka, 1959.

Dubrovin, N.F.*Prisoedinenie Kryma k Rossii: Reskripty, Pisma, Relatsii i Doneseniia*. Saint Petersburg: Tipografia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauka, 1885.

Engelhardt, Edouard. "Division ethnographique de la Turquie d'Europe" *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 3 (1872): 327–328.

Eren, Ahmet Cevat. *Türkiye'de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleri*. Istanbul: Nurgök Matbaası, 1966.

Eren, Ismail. "Bulgaristan ve Romanya'dakı Türk Sağlık Kuruluşları" in *I. Türk Tıp Tarihi Kongresi: Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, 73–86. Istanbul: Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, February 17–19, 1988.

Eton, William. *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1798.

Evtuhov, Catherine, Goldfrank, David, Hughes, Lindsey, and Stites, Richard. *A History of Russia: Peoples, Legends, Events, Forces*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004.

Eyrılmaz, Bilal. *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Teb'anın Yönetimi*. Istanbul: Risale, 1990.

Fahmy, Khaled. "Women, Medicine, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Egypt" in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* edited by Lila Abu-Lughod, 35–72. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Fakiisko Predanie. Sofia: Bulgarski Pisatel, 1985.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. "Migration into Eighteenth-Century 'Greater Istanbul' as Reflected in the Kadi Registers of Eyüp" *Turcica* 30 (1998): 163–183.

Feldmarshal Kutuzov: Sbornik Dokumentov i Materialov. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo Politicheski Literatura, 1947.

Finkel, Caroline and Ostapchuk, Victor. "Outpost of Empire: An Appraisal of Ottoman Building Registers as Sources for the Archeology and Construction of the Black Sea Fortress of Özi" *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 150–188.

Fisher, Alan. "Emigration of Muslims from the Russian Empire in the Years after the Crimean War" *Jahrbücher für Geschicte Osteuropas* 35 (1987): 336–371.

Fisher, Alan. "Muscovite-Ottoman Relations in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" *Humaniora Islamica* 1 (1973): 207–217.

Fonton, F.P. *Iumoristicheskia, Politicheskia, i Voennyia Pis'ma (iz Glavnoi Kvartiry Dunaiskoi Armii v 1828 i 1829 Godakh)*. Leipzig, 1862.

Frenski Pŭtepisi za Balkanite ot XVIII v. Sofia: Izdatelstvo "Nauka I Izkustvo", 1975.

Genç, Mehmet. "18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş" in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*. Istanbul: Ötüken, 2000.

Ghenov, G.P. *Actes et traités internationaux concernant la Bulgarie*. Sofia: Pridvorna Pechatnitsa, 1940.

Glebov, Porfirii Nikolaevich. "Vospominaniia" *Syn Otechestva* 48, no. 10 (1835): 94–114.

Golubutskii, V.A. *Zaporozhskoe Kazachestvo*. Kiev, 1957.

Gök, Nejdet. "An Introduction to the *Berat* in Ottoman Diplomatics" *Bulgarian Historical Review* 3–4 (2001): 141–150.

Görkey, Şefik. "Ingiliz Cerrah William Wittman'in 19 y.y. Başında Istanbul ve Çevresindeki Gözlemleri" *Tıp Tarihi Araştırmaları* 5 (1993): 171–181.

Grachev, V.P. "Kŭm Vŭprosa za Preselvaneto na Bŭlgari v Rusiia v Nachaloto na XIX v., 1800–1806 g." in *Bŭlgarskoto Vŭzrazhdane i Rusiia*. Sofia: "Nauka i Izkustvo," 1981.

Gradeva, Rossitsa. "The Activities of a Kadi Court in Eighteenth-Century Rumeli: The Case of Hacıoğlu Pazarcık" *Oriente Moderno* 18, no. 1 (1999): 177–190.

Gradeva, Rossitsa. "Shipping along the Lower Course of the Danube (end of the 17th century)" in *The Kapudan Pasha: His Office and His Domain* edited by Elizabeth Zachariadou, 301–324. Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 2002.

Gradeva, Rossitsa. "Villagers in International Trade: The Case of Chervena Voda, Seventeenth to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Centuries" *Oriente Moderno* 25, no. 1 (2006): 1–20.

Gradeva, Rossitsa. "War and Peace along the Danube: Vidin at the End of the Seventeenth Century" *Oriente Moderno* 20, no. 1 (2001): 149–175.

Grek, Ivan. "Bulgarskite Dobrovoltsi (Volunteri) ot 1828–1829 godina" *Vekove* 12 (1975).

Grek, Ivan. "Preselvaneto na Bulgari ot Bessarabia Chast na Moldovskoto Kniazhestvo v Priazovieto Kraia na 50-te do Nachaloto na 60-te godini na XIX v." in *Bulgarite v Severnoto Prichernomorie* 2. Veliko Turnovo: ACTA, 1993.

Grek, Ivan and Chervenkov, Nikolai. *Bŭlgarite ot Ukraina i Moldova: Minalo I Nastoiashte*. Sofia: Izdatelska Kŭshta "Khristo Botev," 1993.

Guboğlu, Mikhail. "Dva Ukaza (1801 g.) i 'Sviashchennyi Reskript' (1802 g.) Sviazannye s Turetsko-Russko-Rumynskimi Otnosheniiami" in *Vostochnye Istochniki po Istorii Narodov Iugo-Vostochnoi i Tsentral'noi Evropy* 2 edited by A.S. Tvertinova, 238–274. Moscow: Nauka, 1964.

Guboğlu, Mikhail. "Turetskii Istochnik 1740 g. O Valakhii, Moldavii, i Ukraine" in *Vostochnye Istochniki po Istorii Narodov Iugo-Vostochnoi i Tsentral'noi Evropy* 1 edited by A.S. Tvertinova, 131–161. Moscow: Nauka, 1964.

Guthrie, Maria. *A Tour, Performed in the Years 1795–1796, Through the Taurida, or Crimea, the Ancient Kingdom of Bosphorus, the Once-powerful Republic of Tauric*

Cherson, and All the Other Countries of the North Shore of the Euxine Ceded to Russia by the Peace of Kainardgi and Jassy. London: Nichols and Son, 1802.

Gülsoy, Ufuk. *1828–1829 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşında Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya*. Istanbul: Türk Kültürnü Araştırma Enstitüsü, Yayınları 132, 1993.

Gülsoy, Ufuk. "1828–1829 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşında Rumeli'de Rus Işgaline Uğrayan Yerlerin Durumu" in *Sultan II. Mahmud ve Reformları Semineri*, 21–35. Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1990.

Gülsoy, Ufuk. "1828 Yılında Istanbul'a Getirilen Varnalı Muhacirler" *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 7 (1992): 243–270.

Halaçoğlu, Yusuf. "Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nda Menzil Teşkilatı Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar" *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 2 (1981): 123–132.

Halaçoğlu, Yusuf. *XVIII. Yüzyilda Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nun Iskan Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinları, 2006.

Halenko, Aleksander. "Towards the Character of Ottoman Policy in the Northern Black Sea Region after the Treaty of Belgrade (1739)" *Oriente Moderno* 18, no. 1 (1999): 101–113.

Hamburg, Gary. "Imperial Entanglements: Two New Histories of Russia's Western and Southern Borderlands" *Kritika* 9, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 407–431.

Harrison, Mark. *Contagion: How Commerce Has Spread Disease*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012.

Hays, Jo N. "Historians and Epidemics: Simple Questions, Complex Answers" in *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541–750* edited by Lester K. Little, 33–56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Heywood, Colin. *Writing Ottoman History: Documents and Interpretations*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2002.

Hingley, Ronald. *The Russian Secret Police: Muscovite, Russian Imperial, and Soviet Political Security Operations*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971.

The History of the Negotiations for the Peace Concluded at Belgrade. London: John Murray, 1770.

Hoerder, Dirk. *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.

Holderness, Mary. *Journey from Riga to Crimea, with Some Account of the Manners and Customs of the Colonists of New Russia*. London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1827.

Hurewitz, J.C. "Ottoman Diplomacy and the European State System" *Middle East Journal* 15 (1961): 141–152.

Inalcik, Halil. "Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration" in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History* edited by Thomas Naff and Roger Owen, 27–52. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978.

Inalcik, Halil. "Istanbul" in *Encyclopedia of Islam*. 2nd edn. 4, Brill: Leiden, 1978.

Inalcik, Halil."Ottoman Methods of Conquest" *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 103–129.

Inalcik, Halil. “The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23–24 (1969–1970): 231–249.

Ipek, Nadim. *Rumeli’den Anadolu’ya Türk Göçleri*. Ankara: Türk Tari Kurumu, 1994.

“Izmail’skii Tsentral’nyi Karantin” *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 6 (June 1844): 357–376.

Jewsbury, George. *The Russian Annexation of Bessarabia, 1774–1828*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

“K Istorii Russkago Raskola” *Russkaia Starina* 1 (January 1894).

Kalionski, Alexei. *Iurutsite*. Sofia: Prosveta, 2007.

Kanitz, Felix. “Bulgarische Fragmente” *Österreichische Revue* 6 (1864).

Kappeler, Andreas. *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History*. New York: Longman, 2001.

“Karantin” in *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar’* Brockhaus and Efron, 14 (1895): 453–455.

“Karantin i Gospitali v Smirn” *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 8 (1844): 295–312.

Karlığa, Bekir and Kazancığil, Aykut. “Hekimbaşı Mustafa Behect Efendi ve Ibn Sina’nın Yeni Bir Ahlak Risalesi” *Tıp Tarihi Araştırmaları* 6 (1997): 121–142.

Karpat, Kemal. “Dobruca” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı—Islam Ansiklopedisi* 9 (1994): 482 486.

Karpat, Kemal. “Ottoman Urbanism: The Crimean Emigration to Dobruca and the Founding of Mecidiye, 1856–1878” in *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History*, 1–25. Boston, MA: Brill, 2002.

Kasaba, Reşat. *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants, and Refugees*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009.

Kasso, L.A. *Rossiia na Dunae i Obrazovanie Bessarabskoi Oblasti*. Moscow, 1913.

Kılıç, Orhan. *Genel Hatlarıyla Dünyada ve Osmanlı Devleti’nde Salgın Hastalıklar*. Elazığ: Fırat Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2004.

Kiel, Machiel. “Anatolia Transplanted? Patterns of Demographic, Religious, and Ethnic Changes in the District of Tozluk (N.E. Bulgaria), 1479–1873” *Anatolica* 17 (1991): 1–29.

Kiel, Machiel. “Hrazgrad—Hezargrad—Razgrad: The Vicissitudes of a Turkish Town in Bulgaria” *Turcica* 21–23 (1991): 495–562.

King, Charles. *The Black Sea: A History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

King, Charles. “Is the Black Sea a Region?” *The Black Sea Region: Cooperation and Security Building* edited by Pavliuk and Ivana Klympush-Tsintsadze, 13–26. London: M.E. Sharpe, 2004.

King, Charles. *The Moldovans: Romania, Russia, and the Politics of Culture*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2000.

Kiutuçkas, Yeorgios. “1878’e Kadar Istanbul’daki Bulgar Cemaati” in *19. Yüzyil Istanbul’unda Gayrimüslimler* edited by Penelope Stathis, 36–51. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997.

Kolling, Oskar. “XVIII Asirda Veba Salgını Devirlerinde Ticaret Münasebetleri” *Ülkü* 17, no. 100 (June 1941): 317–324.

Kondratovich, F. *Zadunaiski Sech* (*po Mestnym Vospominaniiam i Razskasam*). Kiev, 1883.

"Kratkiia Zamechaniia o Chum, Sostavlennyia Meditsinskim Sovetom Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del" *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 1 (1829): 159–184.

Kryzhanovskaia, K.P. and Ruseev, E.M. "K Voprosu o Deiatel'nosti Dekabrista A.P. Iushnevskogo po Ustroistvu Zadunavskikh Pereselentsev v Bessarabii" in *Moldavskii Filial AN SSSR, Institut Istorii, Iazyka i Literatury, Uchenye Zapiski* VI (1957).

Kupchan, Charles. *How Enemies Become Friends, The Sources of Stable Peace*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010.

LeDonne, John P. *Grand Strategy of the Russian Empire, 1650–1831*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

LeDonne, John P. *The Russian Empire and the World, 1700–1917: The Geopolitics of Expansion and Containment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Lehrbuch der Statistik der Europäischen Staaten für höhere Lehranstalten, zugleich als Handbuch zur Selbstbelehrung, von Dr. G. Hassel. Weimar: Verlage des Geographischen Instituts, 1822.

Levy, Avigdor. "The Contribution of Zaporozhian Cossacks to Ottoman Military Reform: Documents and Notes" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 6, no. 3 (September 1982): 372–413.

Levy, Avigdor. "Formalization of Cossack Service under Ottoman Rule" in *East Central European Cities and War in the Pre-Revolutionary Eighteenth Century* edited by Gunther E. Rothenberg, 491–505. New York: Social Science Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1982.

Low, Michael Christopher. "Empire and the Hajj: Pilgrims, Plagues, and Pan-Islam under British Surveillance, 1865–1908" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 40, no. 2 (2008): 269–290.

Maclean, Charles M.D. *Results of an Investigation Respecting Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases; Including Researches in the Levant Concerning the Plague*. London: Thomas and George Underwood, 1817.

MacMichael, William. *Journey from Moscow to Istanbul in the Years 1817, 1818*. London: John Murray, 1819.

Madzharski Pŭtepisi za Balkanite, XVI–XIX v. Sofia: Izdatelstvo "Nauka i Izkustvo," 1976.

Manolova-Nikolova, Nadia. *Chumavite Vremena (1700–1850)*. Sofia: "IF-94," 2004.

Maxim, Mihai. "On the Right to Strike Currency of the Reigning Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia during the Period of Ottoman Suzerainty" *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, 18 (1998): 69–88.

Mazower, Mark. *The Balkans: A Short History*. New York: Random House, 2000.

Mazower, Mark. *Salonica: City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims, and Jews, 1430–1950*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.

McGowan, Bruce. *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

McGrew, Roderick. *Russia and the Cholera, 1823–1832*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965.

McKiernan-Gonzalez, John. *Fevered Measures: Public Health and Race at the Texas Mexico Border, 1848–1942*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.

McNeill, William. *Europe's Steppe Frontier, 1500–1800*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

McNeill, William. *Plagues and Peoples*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1976.

Melikishvili, Alexander, "Genesis of the Anti-Plague System: The Tsarist Period," *Critical Reviews in Microbiology* 32 (2006): 19–31.

Meshcheriuk, Ivan. *Pereselenie Bolgar v Iuzhnuiu Besarabiiu 1828–1834 gg*. Kishinev, 1965.

Mikhail, Alan. *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt: An Environmental History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Mikhov, Nikola. *Naselenieto na Turtsiia i Bulgariia prez XVIII i XIX V*. Sofia, Tsarska Pridvorna Pechatnitsa, 1915.

M.I. Kutuzov: Dokumenty 1 edited by L.G. Beskorovno. Moscow: Voennoe Izdatelstvo Ministerstva Voruzhenie Sil, 1950.

Milchev, Vladimir. *Materiali kŭm Istoriiata na Bŭlgarskoto Naselenie v Ukraina prez XVIII vek*. Zaporozhie: Tandem-U, 1999.

Miller, A.F. *Mustafa Pasha Bairaktar: Ottomanskaia Imperiia v Nachale XIX Veka*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1947.

von Moltke, Helmuth. *Unter dem Halbmond: Erlebnisse in der alten Türkei, 1835 1839*. Tübingen: Erdmann, 1979.

Monas, Sidney. *The Third Section: Police and Society in Russia Under Nicholas I*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961.

Mubadele: An Ottoman-Russian Exchange of Ambassadors, annotated and translated by Norman Itzkowitz and Max Mote. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Mutafchieva, Vera. *Kŭrdzhalisko Vreme*. Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bŭlgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1993.

Naff, Thomas. "Ottoman Diplomatic Relations with Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Patterns and Trends" in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History* edited by Thomas Naff and Roger Owen, 88–107. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977.

"Nashi Pervye Karantiny" *Russkii Arkhiv* 2 (1882): 311–312.

Nazır, Bayram. *Macar ve Polonyali Mülteciler Osmanlı'ya Sığınanlar*. Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayinevi, 2006.

Noradounghian, Gabriel. *Recueil des traites de l'empire Ottoman, 1300–1789*. Paris: F. Pichon, 1897.

Noradounghian, Gabriel. *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'empire Ottoman, 1789–1856*. Paris: F. Pichon, 1900.

"O Zemletriasenii" *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 1 (1829): 652–654.

"Obshtyiia Politseiskiia Mery vo Vremia Chumu" *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 3 (1829): 613–619.

Orhonlu, Cengiz. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretlerin Iskânı*. Istanbul: Eren, 1987.

Ortaylı, Ilber. "Ottoman-Habsburg Relations, 1740–1770 and Structural Changes in the International Affairs of the Ottoman State" *Varia Turcica* 10 (1987): 287–298.

Osmanlılarda Sağlık I and II edited by Coşkun Yilmak and Necdet Yilmaz. Istanbul: Bioforma, 2006.

Ostapchuk, Victor. "The Human Landscape of the Ottoman Black Sea in the Face of the Cossack Naval Raids" *Oriente Moderno* 20, no. 1 (2001): 23–95.

Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines in an Era of Ottoman Conquest edited by Geza David and Pal Fodor. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Ovcharov, Nikolai. "Migration des ouvriers du chantier naval et des marins du littoral Bulgare de la Mer Noire au cours de la première moitié du XIXe siècle" in *Shipbuilding and Ships in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 18th and 19th Centuries* edited by Kostas A. Damianidis. Chios: Homerion Cultural Center of Chios Municipality, 1999.

Ovcharov, Nikolai. *Ships and Shipping in the Black Sea: XIV–XIX Centuries*. Sofia: St. Kliment Ohridski Press, 1993.

Özkaya, Yücel. "Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda XVIII. Yüzyılda Göç Surunu" *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 14 no. 25 (1981–1982): 171–203.

Özveren, Eyüp. "The Black Sea World as a Unit of Analysis" in *Politics of the Black Sea: Dynamics of Cooperation and Conflict* edited by Tunç Aybak, 61–84. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001.

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

Pădurariu, Neculai. "Romanian Traditional Watercraft Types" in *Shipbuilding and Ships in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 18th and 19th Centuries* edited by Kostas A. Damianidis. Chios: Homerion Cultural Center of Chios Municipality, 1999.

"Pamiat o Zaporozh i Poslednikh Dniakh Zaporozhskoi Sechi" Chteniia *Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostei Russkikh* 3 (July–December 1876): 125–193.

Panaite, Viorel. *The Ottoman Law of War and Peace*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Panaite, Viorel. "Power Relationships in the Ottoman Empire: The Sultans and the Tribute Paying Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century" *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 (2001): 26–53.

Panaite, Viorel. "The Re'ayas of the Tributary-Protected Principalities, the Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries" *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9 (2003): 79–104.

Panaite, Viorel. "Wallachia and Moldavia from the Ottoman Juridical and Political Viewpoint, 1774–1829" in *Ottoman Rule and the Balkans, 1760–1850: Conflict,* *Transformation, Adaptation*, Proceedings of an international conference held in Rethymno, Greece—Crete (December 13–14, 2003): 21–42.

Panzac, Daniel. *La peste dans l'empire Ottoman, 1700–1850*. Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1985.

Panzac, Daniel. "Politique sanitaire et fixation des frontières: l'exemple Ottoman (XVIII–XIX siècles)" *Turcica* 31 (1999): 87–103.

Panzac, Daniel. *Quarantines et lazarets: l'europe et la peste d'orient*. Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1986.

Perdue, Peter. *China Marches East: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Pervoe Serbskoe Vosstanie 1804–1813 i Rossia. Moscow: Izdatelstvo Nauka, 1980.

Pienaru, Nagy. "The Black Sea and the Ottomans: The Pontic Policy of Bayezid the Thunderbolt" *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9, nos. 1–2 (Summer 2003): 33–57.

Pinson, Mark. "Ottoman Colonization of the Circassians in Rumuli after the Crimean War" *Études Balkaniques* 3 (1972): 71–85.

Pinson, Mark. "Russian Policy and the Emigration of the Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman Empire, 1854–1862" *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Arastırmaları Dergisi*. Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basimevi, 1972.

Pistor-Hatam, Anja. "Pilger, Pest, und Cholera: Die Wallfahrt zu den Heiligen Stätten im Irak als Gesundheitspolitisches Problem im 19. Jahrhundert" *Die Welt des Islams* 31 (1991): 228–245.

Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii (Series I: 1649–1825; Series II: 1825–1881).

Potoskii, Stepan. *Inzov, Ivan Nikitich, Biograficheski Ocherk*. Bendery, 1904.

Poujade, Eugéne. *Chrétiens et turcs: scénes et souvenirs de la vie politique, militaire, et religieuse en orient*. Paris: Didier, 1859.

Promitzer, Christian. "Stimulating the Hidden Dispositions of South-Eastern Europe. The Plague in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829 and the Introduction of Quarantine on the Lower Danube" in *Medicine Within and Between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 18th–19th Centuries* edited by Teodora Daniela Sechel, 79–108. Bochum, Germany: Winkler, 2011.

Radova, Olga. "Ethnic Identification of Transdanubian Migrants and the Gagauz Settling in Budjak (The Late 18th–Early 19th Centuries)" *Eurasian Studies* 13 (Spring 1998): 54–69.

"Rasporiazheniia po Karantinnym Predostorozhnostiam" *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 3 (1829): 495–501.

Ravenstein, E.G. "Distribution of the Population in the part of Europe Overrun by Turks" *The Geographical Magazine* 3 (1876): 259–261.

Reynolds, Michael. *Shattering Empires: The Clash and Collapse of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, 1908–1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Romanski, Stoyan. *Dobrudzha v Svrŭzka s Vŭprosa za Dunava kato Etnichna Granitsa Mezhdu Bŭlgari i Romŭni*. Sofia: 1918.

Sahlins, Peter. *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

Salzmann, Ariel. "Citizens in Search of a State: The Limits of Political Participation in the Late Ottoman Empire" in *Extending Citizenship, Reconfiguring States* edited by Michael Hanagan and Charles Tilly, 37–66. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 1999.

Sarıyıldız, Gülden. "Karantina" *Islam Ansiklopedisi* 24. Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1997.

Sarıyıldız, Gülden. *Karantina Teşkilatının Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri, 1838–1876*. Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Istanbul Üniversitesi, 1986.

Saul, Norman. *Russia and the Mediterranean, 1797–1807*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

von Sax, Carl. *Geographisch-ethnographische Skizze von Bulgarien*. Vienna: Mittheilungen der kaiserlich-königlichen geographischen Gesellschaft, 1869.

von Sax, Carl. *Türkei. Bericht verfasst im Auftrage des Comité für den Orient und Ostasien*. Vienna: Druck und Verlag der k.k. Hof und Staatsdruckerei, 1873.

Scott, James. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Shaw, Stanford. *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789–1807*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Shaw, Stanford. *The Turks of Bulgaria*. London: K. Rustem and Brother, 1988.

Skalkovskii, A.A. "Bolgarski Kolonii v Bessarabii i Novorossiskom Krai" *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 1 (1848).

Skalkovskii, A.A. *Istoriia Novoi Sechi ili Posledniago Kosha Zaporozhskago*. Odessa, 1846.

Skalkovskii, A.A. "Nekrasovtsy Zhivushchie v Bessarabii" *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del* 10 (October 1844): 61–82.

Skazanie o Stranstvii i Puteshestvii po Rossii, Moldavii, Turtsii i Sviatoi Zeml by the monk Parfenii. Moscow, 1856.

Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832 by an American. New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833.

Smirnov, Petr Semenovich. *Istorii Russkago Raskola Staroobriadstva*. Saint Petersburg, 1895.

Somel, Selcuk Aksin. *Historical Dictionary of the Ottoman Empire*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2003.

Stoye, John. *Marsigli's Europe, 1680–1730*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Sulzers, Johann Georg. *Vorlesungen über die Georgraphie der vornehmsten Länder und Reiche in Europa*. Berlin: 1786.

Sunderland, Willard. *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Şahin, Ilhan, et al. "Turkish Settlements in Rumelia (Bulgaria) in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Town and Village Population" in *The Turks of Bulgaria: The History, Culture, and Political Fate of a Minority* edited by Kemal Karpat, 23–42. Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1990.

Şimşir, Bilal. *Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri*. Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1989.

Tayfur, Fatih. *Osmanlı Belgeleri Işığında 1821 Rum Isyanı ve Buna Karşı Oluşan Tepkiler*, Master's Thesis, Marmara University, 2003.

Timiriazev, V. "Gerzog Rishel'e i Odesskaia Chuma 1812 Goda" *Istoricheskii Vestnik* 5 (1897): 579–592.

Titorov, Iov. *Bulgarite v Bessarabia*. Sofia, 1903.

Tiutiundzhiev, Ivan. "Bŭlgarski Voenni Formirovania v Ukraina prez XVIII vek" in *Bŭlgarite v Severnoto Prichernomorie* 4, 131–136. Veliko Turnovo: Izdatelska Kŭshta Asta, 1994.

Todorova, Maria. "The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans" in *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East* edited by L. Carl Brown, 45–77. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

Tonev, Velko. "Natsionalnoobrazuvashti Protsesi v Severoiztochna Bŭlgaria I Dobrudzha" in *Bŭlgarskata Natsiia prez Vŭzrazhdaneto*. Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1980.

Tonev, Velko. "Ruskoto Konsulstvo vŭv Varna i Novobŭlgarskoto Obrazovanie" in *Bŭlgarskoto Vŭzrazhdane i Rusiia*. Sofia: "Nauka i Izkustvo," 1981.

Torpey, John. *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Traikov, Veselin. "Bŭlgarskata Emigratsia vŭv Vlashko sled Rusko-Tŭrskata Voina ot 1828–1829" in *Odrinskiat Mir ot 1829 g. i Balkanskite Narodi*. Sofia, 1981.

"Tri Miesiatsa za Dunavaem" *Syn Otechetsva* 1, no. 5 (1833).

Trotskii, I. *III-e Otdelenie pri Nikolae I*. Saint Petersburg: Lenizdat, 1990.

Tsoneva, Daniela. "Vasil Rasheev i Tŭrgovskite Vrŭzki na Gabrovo s Odesa prez XIX vek" *Istoricheski Pregled* 1–2 (1999): 176–179.

Turan, Ömer. *The Turkish Minority in Bulgaria*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1998.

Ubicini, A. *État present de l'empire Ottoman. Statistique, gouvernement, administration, finances, armeé, communautés non musulmanes, etc., etc., d'après le Salnamèh (Annuaire imperial pour l'année 1293 de l'hégire (1875–1876) et les documents officiels les plus récents*). Paris: Librairie militaire de J. Dumaine, 1876.

Ulianitskago, V.A. *Russkiia Konsul'stva za Granitseiu v XVIII Vek*. Moscow, 1899.

Uludağ, Osman Şevki. "Son Kapitülasyonlardan Biri Karantina" *Belleten* 2, nos. 7–8, (1938): 445–467.

"Unikalen Vŭzrozhdenski Rŭkopis: Konstantin D. Moravenov. Pametnik za Plovdivskoto Khristiiansko Naselenie v Grada i za Obshtite Zavedeniia po Proiznosno Predanie, Podaren na Bŭlgarskoto Chitalishte v Tsarigrad—do 1869" *Izvestia na Narodnata Biblioteka Kiril i Metodii* 14 (1976): 511–631.

Ünver, A. Süheyl. "Les epidémies de cholera dans les terres balkaniques aux XVIII et XIX siècles" *Etudes Balkaniques* 4 (1973): 89–97.

Ünver, A. Süheyl. "Taun Nedir? Veba Nedir?" *Dirim* 3–4 (1978): 363–366.

Urbanik, Andrew A. and Baylen, Joseph O. “Polish Exiles and the Turkish Empire, 1830–1876” *The Polish Review* 26, no. 3 (1981): 43–53.

Ustroistvo Zadunaiskikh Pereselentsev v Bessarabii i Deiatel’nost A.P. Iushnevskogo: Sbornik Dokumentov edited by K.P. Kryzhanovskaia and E.M. Ruseev. Kishinev: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo Moldavii: 1957.

Varlık, Nüxhet. *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World: The Ottoman Experience, 1347–1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Veshniakov, Ivan Ivanovich. *Putevye Zapiski vo Sviatoi Grad Ierusalim i v Okrestnosti Onogo, Kaluzhskoi Gubernii Dvorian Veshniakovykh i Miadynskogo Kuptsa Novikova, v 1804 i 1805 God*. Moscow: Universiteskoi Tipografia, 1813.

Vneshniaia Politika Rossii XIX i Nachala XX Veka: Dokumenty Rossiiskogo Ministerstva Inostrannykh Del. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo, 1960–.

“Vospominaniia Doktora Zeidlitsa o Turetskom Pokhod 1829 Goda” *Russkii Arkhiv* 1–4 (1878): 412–435.

Weindling, Paul Julian. *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe, 1890–1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

White, Sam. *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

White, Sam. “Rethinking Disease in Ottoman History” *The International Journal of Middle East History* 42, no. 3 (November 2010): 549–567.

William, Wilkinson. *An Account of the Principalities with Various Political Observations Relating to them (London: Longman, Hurst, Ress, Orme, and Brown, 1820) re-issued as An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldovia*. New York: Arno Press, 1971.

Williams, Brian. *The Crimean Tatars: The Diaspora Experience and the Forging of a Nation*. Boston, MA: Brill, 2001.

Yıldırıım, Nuran. *A History of Healthcare in Istanbul*. Istanbul: Istanbul Üniversitesi, 2010.

Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, A.P. *Graf P.D. Kiselev i ego vremia*. Saint Petersburg, 1882.

“Zapisnaia Knizhka Grafa P. Kh. Grabbe” *Russkii Arkhiv* 4 (1888): 1–46.

Index

Aegean Sea 93, 112, 117, 122–3, 142–3, 176
agents, information-gathering 26–9
Ahyolu 33, 39, 53, 67–8, 90–1, 102, 111, 152, 166, 175
Akkerman 26, 35, 49, 68, 89, 94, 146, 155–6, 161, 163, 165, 167
Albanians 59–60
Ali Pasha, Tepedelenli 120
Anatolia
  cordon sanitaire (*hudud-i sıhhiye*) construction 122–3
  deportation of populations 84–5
  governors and administrators in 1838 122
  merchants, trade fairs 100
  Nekrasovite groups 96
  Ottoman troops 28
  plague (1792) 112
  quarantine posts 117, 128, 177
  resettlement of deportees 86
  secondary migration from 93
  Zaporozhian Cossacks settlement 17
Ankara 29, 129
anti-disease initiatives. *See also* cholera; plague
  Bessarbia 153
  Bucharest 120
  Dobruja 149
  Istanbul 117–20
  Moldavia 120
  Odessa 147–8, 153–5
  Rumelia 149, 151–2, 164–5
  Russian Empire 139–42
  Southern Russia 146–9
  Wallachia 120, 141, 152
Aprilov, Vasil 36
Armenians 13–15, 29,59, 181
Aytos 53

Babadağ 39, 92, 95, 101, 105, 161, 176
Balçık 53, 61, 67, 92, 101
bandit groups 90, 94
Bender 14–15, 17, 110
Bessarabia
  agricultural settlers 15
  anti-disease and sanitation regulations 153
  bilet, right to resettle 21–3, 76–7, 165, 208 n.43
  black-market goods 14
  border security 73–6
  Bulgarian migrants 33, 36–44, 48–50, 52–5, 64–5, 79, 103–4
  Bulgarian migration from 1770 52–4
  Danubian Principalities 99, 170–1, 174–5
  epidemic disease 142, 150–1
  exit documents, Bulgarian migrants 80
  free residence/settlement 70, 163
  frontier perception 156
  Gagauz population 15–16
  illicit commercial and migratory traffic 14
  information-gathering network 26–7
  legal and social status 71–3
  merchants 66
  migration and settlement 62–6, 175–6
  Moldavian inhabitants 1
  movement restrictions 87
  Nekrasovites in 74
  “Old Believer” settlements 17
  Ottoman agents 165
  Ottoman raiding parties 87
  Ottoman settlers 189 n.32
  plague epidemics 153
  principal currency 30–1
  Pro-Turkish elements 99
  provincial authorities 76–7, 161–4, 174
  quarantine officials 67–8, 155, 166–7
  reconstruction in Dobruja 105
  rights of settlers 207 n.24
  Russian annexation 1812, 90, 146
  Russian *billets* 69–70
  Russian diplomatic initiatives 171–2
  Russian secret agents 149, 162

  Russian settlement policies 11
  Russian troops 170
  settlement projects after 1812 62–4
  social status 210 n.56– 7
  suppression of epidemic disease 142, 149–51
  trans-Danubian migrant settlements 64, 72, 79, 161
Bessarabian Oblast 71–3
Beştepeler 16, 92
bilets (travel documents) 21, 46, 54, 68–70, 76, 80, 98, 132, 163, 175–6
Black Sea region
  Bulgarian migration 11–28, 33
  disease 18–19
  economic and political cycles 177–8
  information-gathering 26–9
  land and people 11–14
  means of exchange 30–1
  periodization 9
  regional history 1–9, 11
  sense of identity 24–6
  situational allegiances 24–6
  territorial sovereignty 29–30
Black Sea Steppe 11–14, 29, 57, 87, 177
Boğaz 12
Bolgrad 36, 42, 48, 52, 65
Braila (Ibrail) 33, 35, 38, 44–5, 47–8, 51, 81, 120–1, 152
Bucak 36, 42, 74, 87–91, 98
Bucharest
  anti-disease measures 120
  billets 76, 176
  bribery 164
  Bulgarian settlers 45–8, 51
  construction of lazarets 152
  disease and warfare 151
  Greek uprising 97
  merchant community 35
Bug River 170, 175
Bulgarian Catholics 34
Bulgarian households 53–4
Bulgarian migration
  into Bessarabia 52–4
  movement dynamics 37–40
  overview 34–7
  from Plovdiv 50–2
  push and pull factors 41–5
  settlement in Danubian Principalities 45
Bulgarian rebels 176
Bulgarian refugees 44, 60, 68, 174
Burgas 67, 102, 111, 152, 172, 181
Bursa 29, 117, 122

Çanakkale 117, 123–4, 133
Çarşamba River 93
Catherine II 58–9, 65, 141–2
Cherna Voda 38, 112
cholera
  American ship 112
  death (1750 to 1850) 50
  early 1830 129, 139
  in southern Russia 156
  Istanbul quarantine 122
  in Odessa 1829 161
  in Moldavia 137
  in Plovdiv 52
  in Rumelia 111
  in Wallachia 137
Constanţa (Köstence) 51, 67, 161, 181
Cossacks 7, 14, 94
Crimea 148, 169, 182
Crimean Tatars 16, 24, 85–6, 88–90, 174, 180
Crimean War (1853–1856) 84, 89, 180

Danube River 34, 36, 39, 42, 46–7, 49, 55, 66–7, 69, 74, 76, 80, 86, 92, 97–8, 104, 112, 120–2, 129, 133, 135–6, 146–7, 152, 155–6, 158, 162–5, 170, 177
Danubian Principalities
  assimilation strategies 48–50
  community formation, migrants in town of Braila (Ibrail) 47–8
  migrant travel documentation 45–7
  in Ottoman and Russian empires 19–24
Dar ül-Harb (House of War) 20
Dar ül-Islam (House of Islam) 20
deserters 26
Dibich-Zabalkanski, I.I. 31, 151, 172, 175–6
Dniester River 14, 37, 77, 89, 143, 146, 156
Dobruja
  anti-disease regulations 149
  billets 76
  Bulgarian peasants 38
  Çelebi's account 88

  - Circassians 84
  - Crimean Tatars in 84, 89, 170
  - early modern migration and settlement 85–6
  - Nekrasovite-Old Believer communities 95
  - Nekrasovites 74, 92, 96, 161
  - Nogay Tatars 98
  - plague in 1846 111–12
  - prewar economy 104
  - quarantine stations 122, 165
  - resettlement and reconstruction 99–106
  - return migrants, Bulgarian 39
  - Russian occupation (1828–1829) 93
  - transnational interests 58

"dual-citizenship" 180
Dubossar 77, 143
Dunavets 16, 92, 96

Edirne 53, 60, 91, 93, 96, 99, 101–4, 117, 121
Enos 93
epidemic diseases, Ottoman Balkans. *See also* cholera; plague
  - economic consequences 111–12
  - military and security factors 111–12
  - overview 110–11
  - quarantines 120–2
  - society's response 112–16
  - state's response 116

Erzurum 129
Eupatoria 143
Europe
  - Russian relations 179
  - Turkish relations 179

Focşani 111

Gabrovo merchant settlement 35–6
Gagauz settlements 15
Galatz 33, 35, 38, 57, 60, 88, 98–9, 120–1, 121, 152, 162, 167, 174
Germans 59
Giurgiu 45, 88, 120–1, 152, 164
Greeks 15, 59–60, 79, 181
Greek uprising 37–8, 75, 87, 91, 94, 97, 174
Greek War of Independence 162
Guardianship Commissions 59

Hacıoğlu Pazarcık (Dobrich) 13, 39, 99
Hirsova 92, 96, 122, 163

Iaşi 60, 88, 110
information-gathering 26–9, 169–71
Islimiye 53, 67, 75, 89, 100–1, 103–5, 112
Ismail
  - border guards 89
  - Bulgarian migrants 63, 68, 98
  - Nekrasovite brigades 93–4
  - permanent settlements 92
  - quarantine stations 122, 155–61, 163, 167
  - Russian quarantine complex 156–60
  - secret police agents 26

Istanbul
  - anti-disease initiatives in 117–20
  - Bulgarian migrants 51
  - information gathering 169–70
  - merchant ship documentation 134
  - *mürur tezkiresi* 131
  - passport 135
  - plague-related deaths 127
  - quarantines 122–4, 170
  - refugee-laden ships 91
  - residency documents 133
  - Russian embassy 61
  - spread of cholera 112
  - Turkic-Muslim population 86, 90

Iznik, Lake 93

Jassy 60, 62, 71, 76, 88, 110, 120, 152, 175
Jews 181
Journal of the Russian Ministry of Interior 157

Kŭrdzhalisko Vreme (Bulgarian historiography) 37
Kalafat 121
Kalaraşi 81, 120–1, 162, 165
Kalofer Monastery 115
Karlovo 115
Karnobat (Karinabad) 39, 67, 89–90, 111, 115, 172
Kazanlŭk 115
Kerch 35, 74, 143, 163, 167
Kherson 67, 143, 156, 165
Khios 143
Khotin 171
Kilia 35, 49, 57, 92, 98, 122

Kinburun (Kılburun) 170
Kiselev, Pavel 27, 38, 42, 55, 80, 155
Kishinev 36, 53, 68, 162, 165
Konya 93
Korennye Zhiteli 71
Kutuzov, General M.I. 62–3, 65, 71–2, 172

law enforcement, Ottoman and Russian 175–6
Lofça (Lovech) 87, 98, 136, 176

Maçin 92, 136
Mangalia 53, 101
Mehmed Pasha, Reşid 98, 175
Mesembria (Nesebur) 39, 60–1
migrant travel and identity documentation 68–70
migrants and settlers
  Armenians 14
  Bulgarians 16
  Crimean Tatars 14
  Gagauz 15
  Greeks 15
  Moldavian 15
  Old Believers 17
  Nekrasovites 14
  Roma 15–16
  Wallachians 15
  Zaporozhian Cossacks 17
migration and border security 73–6
military servitors 25, 30, 49, 85, 151
Mirkovich, Ruscho Vulkov 33
Moldavia
  anti-disease measures 120
  Bulgarian migrants 40
    reasons for leaving Ottoman Empire 41, 45
    reasons for returning to Ottoman Empire 42
  Bulgarian settlers (1750) 36
  clandestine transportation 166–7
  epidemic diseases 110–11, 137
  Kiselev's account 38, 55
  migration and settlement policies 86
  movement facilitation 173
  Nekrasovites 94
  oak supply 100
  Ottoman servitors 87
  peasant societies 71
  quarantine station 171
  refugee relief 60
  Russian occupation (1729-1730) 152
  travel documentation 45
  undocumented subjects 136
"Mouth-of-Danube Cossacks" 17, 96
mürur tezkiresi (travel permit) 131–2, 175
Mustafa Paşa, Çelebi 175

Nikolaev 156
Nekrasovites 16, 18, 74, 85
  in Bessarabia 74
  in Ottoman Empire settlement 91–6
  in Russian Empire 161
Nekrasy, Ataman Ignata 91–2
Nogay Tatars 36, 44, 83–5, 88–9, 98, 106
nomads 29, 58, 84–5
non-Muslim subject 20, 83, 85, 87, 93, 95–6, 100, 102–4, 107, 125, 130–4, 136

Ochakov 11, 25–6, 96, 143, 156, 163, 170
Odessa
  anti-disease regulations 1829 147–8, 153–5
  Bulgarian community 36, 51, 67, 69
  cholera epidemic 161
  Greek migrants 75, 79
  police agents 26
  Popechitelstvo Commission 60
  quarantine system 1–2, 143, 163, 167, 177
  secret police agents 26
"Old Believer" settlements 7, 14, 16–18, 85, 91–2, 94–6
Orthodox Christians 1, 15, 35, 65, 90, 97, 104, 173
Ottoman Empire
  border control 175–6
  Bulgarian out-migration 97–9
  Crimean settlement 88–91
  migration and settlement
    in Dobruja 85–8
    in Rumelia 85–8
  Nekrasovites 91–7
  Nogay Tatars settlement 88–91
  "Old Believers" 91–7
  quarantines
    border control strategies 128–30
    migration management 128–30
    Smyrna quarantine complex 124–7

    Russian refugee relief 60–2
    -Russian cooperation
        migration management 171–5
        on quarantine construction 176–7
    tahaffuzhane 117
    travel documentation
        commerce and 133–5
        identity requirements 130–3
        passports 135
    western Europe's influence 178–9
    Zaporozhian Cossacks 91–7
Ovidiopol 67, 155–6, 163, 167

Pasha, Abdülkerim 28, 171
Perekop Isthmus 11
Peter I 35, 92, 140
Pioa Pietri 81, 121, 163
plague
    in Anatolia 112
    in Balkans 110, 113
    bubonic 75, 137
    community policing measures 114–15
    in Danubian Principalities 156
    death (1750–1850) 50
    Dniester quarantine 146
    in early 1830 37, 42, 139
    in 1837 115
    "Goddess of Plague" 114
    Goliamata Moria 111
    Hungarian commander's account 112
    Ismail quarantine 160
    in Moscow (1656) 140
    in Moscow (1770–1772) 141
    in Odessa 147–8, 153–4
    in Southern Russia 150–2
    Moldavia 111
    "Plague Day" 114
    Plovdiv 52
    ritualistic defenses 113–14
    Smyrna 126–7
Popechitelstvo Commissions 59–60
Pravadi 101
prisoners of war 26
Prut River 14, 36, 38, 40, 62–3, 65, 71, 75–7, 87, 146, 151, 156, 164, 166–8, 170–1, 173–4

quarantine stations
    Ahyolu (Ankhialo, Pomorie) 152
    Akkerman 68, 155, 163, 165, 167
    Anatolia 177
    Braila 120–1
    Bursa 117
    Çanakkale 117
    Danube rivers 67, 76, 80, 121, 129, 146–7, 152, 155, 158, 162, 164–5, 177
    Dniester River 143, 146–7, 156, 161, 164
    Dobruja 165
    Dubossar 143
    Edirne 121
    Erzurum 129
    Eupatoria 143
    Formoasa 167
    Galatz 120–1, 162
    Giurgiu 120–1
    Ismail 155–60, 163, 167
    Istanbul 122–4, 170
    Kalafat 121
    Kalaraşi 81, 120–1, 162, 165
    Kerch 143, 167
    Kherson 143, 156
    Khotin 171
    Leovo 155
    Midilli (Mitilini or Lesbos) 117
    Nikolaev 156
    Ochakov 143, 163
    Odessa 143, 163, 167, 177
    Ovidiopol 155–6, 163
    Pioa Pietri 121, 163
    Prut Giver 38, 67, 75–6, 146, 151, 155, 164, 170
    Reni 155, 162, 174
    Rumelia 122, 128–9, 177
    Satunov 30, 53, 67–8, 155–6, 162–3, 165, 167
    Seskar Island 142–5
    Sebastopol 166
    Sevastopol 143, 163
    Severin 121
    Silistre 75,120
    Siros 117
    Skuliani 155, 162
    Smyrna (İzmir) 117, 124–8
    Taganrog 143
    Theodosia (Kaffa) 143, 167
    Trabzon 117, 125
    Tulça 162–3
    Turnu Mugurele 121
    Vasilkov 143
    Vidin 162

  Yalta 143
  Yenikale 143
  Zimnich 120–1

Rasheev, Vasil 36
Reni 36, 68, 155, 161–2, 167, 174
Richelieu, Duc de 57, 74, 147–8, 153
Rumelia
  anti-disease regulations 149, 151–2, 164–5
  bandit groups 94
  border guards 89
  Bulgarian migrants 34–40, 47, 50, 53–4
    reasons for leaving 41, 45
    reasons for returning 42–4, 51, 75–6
  early modern migration and settlement 85–8
  forced resettlement 84, 97–106
  merchant activity 66
  military hospital 120
  multiconfessional rituals 114
  non-Muslim elites 132
  Ottoman-Russian diplomacy 171–5
  peasant population 55
  plague epidemic 110–12, 115
  political situations 163
  quarantine stations 122–3, 128–9, 157, 162, 166–7, 177
  reaya populations 96, 113, 130, 132
  rebel activity 176
  refugees 46
  removal operations 60–2
  residency status 133
  resettlement and reconstruction 99–106
  Russian *billets* 69–70
  Russian imperial expansion 58
  Russian official's report 169–70
  secondary migration to Anatolia 93
  statistical information, migrants 64
  travel documents, limitation 135–6
Rusçuk (Ruse) 17, 27–8, 86, 88–9, 98, 110, 122, 173–4
Russian army 24, 27–8, 33, 35, 40–1, 43–4, 48–9,67,69, 75, 90, 93, 99, 101, 121, 136, 140, 142, 151–2, 170, 175–6
Russian Empire. *See also* Treaty of Adrianople (1829)
  anti-disease initiatives (seventeenth and eighteenth century) 139–42
  border control instruments 160–3, 175–6
  historical analysis 178
  migration and settlement 66–8, 160–3
  quarantine regulations, limitations 163–8
  Quarantine Statute of 1800 142–5
  Seskar Island quarantine 142–5
  southwestern border with the Ottoman Empire. 76–80
Russo-Ottoman War
  of 1786–1792 25, 28, 68, 92, 96
  of 1806–1812 15, 17, 24, 28, 36, 38, 41–4, 46, 48, 61–2, 64, 71, 87, 90–1. 94, 98, 171–3, 175–6
  of 1828–1829 13, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28–9, 39–40, 49, 55, 66, 69–70, 75, 80, 84, 90, 93–4, 99–107, 121, 132, 149, 151, 156, 161, 165–6, 175, 177

Satunov 30, 53, 67–8, 155–6, 161–3, 165, 167
Sea of Azov 140
Sea of Marmara 39, 119
Seskar Island 142–5
Sebastopol 156, 163, 166–7
Seriköy 16, 74,92, 161
Sevastopol 67, 143
Severin 121
Silistre 40, 55, 75, 86, 89, 92, 96, 99, 104, 115, 120, 122, 162, 176
Simferopol 35
Siros 117
Sizebolu (Sozopol) 67, 100, 102, 111
Skuliani 155, 162, 167
Slavic population 182
Sliven 67, 75, 111
southern Russia
  anti-disease initiatives 146–51
  migration management, late eighteenth century 58–60
  quarantine construction 146–9, 155–6
Sozopol 61, 67, 111
spies 26
Stara Zagora 110–11, 115
Starye Poselentsy 71
Smyrna (İzmir) 101, 117, 124–8, 143
Sultan Selim III 116

Taganrog 15, 143
territorial sovereignty 3–4, 6, 24, 29, 54, 105–6, 133, 179–80
Theodosia (Kaffa) 67, 143, 167
Thrace 42, 61, 132
Tomara, Vasil 61, 173
Trabzon 93, 101, 117, 125, 181
travel documentation, Ottoman and Russian 175–6
Treaty of Adrianople (1829) 21–2, 66–9, 80, 99, 104–5, 173
  Article 13 22, 66–7, 69, 154, 173
Treaty of Bucharest 38, 64, 172–3
Treaty of Hünkar Iskelesi 9, 172
Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca 173
Tsar Alexander I 27, 38, 48, 55, 155
Tsar Nicholas I 162, 172
Tsar Paul I 171
Tulça 92, 97, 105, 162–3, 167
Turnovo 26, 39, 110, 114, 122, 164, 184
Turnu Mugurele 121
Tutrakan 86, 101

Varna
  Bucak-Tatar settlers 88, 90
  cholera and plague epidemics 111
  expulsion of the inhabitants 28
  makeshift settlements 67
  Muslim refugees to Ahyolu 175
  Nekrasovites settlement 90, 92
  peasant refugees 87
  Polish exiles and refugees 88
  Russian siege in 1828 26, 99, 151
Vashchenko, Gerasim 67, 172
Vasilkov 143
Vidin 120, 162
Vorontsov, Mikhail 70, 80, 153–4, 162
Vorontsov's regulations 153–4
Vrachanski, Sofronii 48

Wallachia
  anti-disease measures 120, 141, 152
  Bulgarian migrants
    reasons for leaving the Ottoman Empire 41–2
    reasons for returning to the Ottoman Empire 42–4
  commercial activities 175
  counterfeit (*sahte*) travel documents 136
  epidemic diseases 110, 137
  Kiselev's account 55
  migrants from Plovdiv 50–1
  Nekrasovites 94
  Ottoman state servitors 86
  quarantine station 80–1, 121–2, 162–5, 170
  reaya populations 97–8
  rebel activities 176
  residence permit 133
  seasonal migration 39
  settlement initiatives 84
  travel documentation 45–7
  undocumented migrants 87
  Voyvodas 135

Yalta 143, 163
Yanbolu 39, 49, 53, 89, 103–5
Yenikale 35, 143, 163
Yergöğü (Giurgiu) 88, 121, 164, 173
Yeşilırmak delta 93
yürük settlements 85

Zağra-ı Atik (Stara Zagora) 110, 111, 115
Zaporozhian Cossack settlement 14, 17–18, 24–5, 85, 91, 96
Zimnich 120–1
Ziyaüddin Pasha, Kör Yusuf 61