RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE OTTOMAN BALKANS (1856-1875): N. P. IGNATIEV AND THE SLAVIC BENEVOLENT COMMITTEE

A Ph.D. Dissertation

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Ankara
July 2017

To My Family

RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE OTTOMAN BALKANS (1856-1875): N. P. IGNATIEV AND THE SLAVIC BENEVOLENT COMMITTEE

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
Of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

By

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

July 2017

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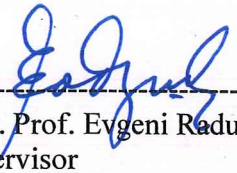

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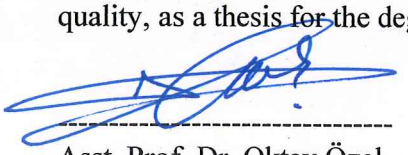

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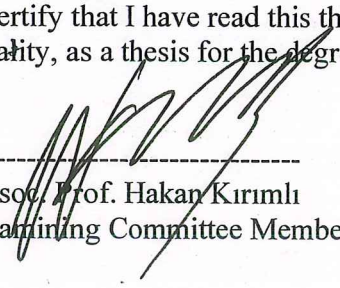

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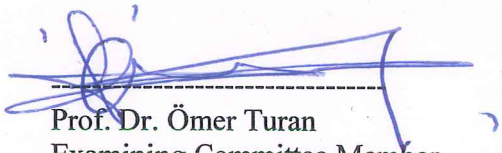

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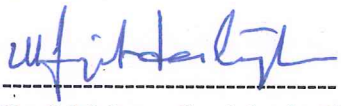

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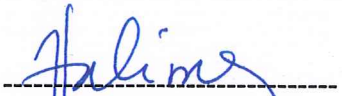

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ABSTRACT

RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE OTTOMAN BALKANS (1856-1875):

N. P. IGNATIEV AND THE SLAVIC BENEVOLENT COMMITTEE

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July 2017

Russia's failure in the Crimean War opened a new era for Tsarist foreign policy in the second half of the nineteenth century, diminishing Russia's prestige among the Western powers. In order to restore its prestige, Russia started to follow a revisionist foreign policy after the Paris Peace Agreement of 1856. This thesis analyzes the Russian ambassador N. P. Ignatiev's pan-Slavist diplomacy methods and his role in shaping Russia's foreign policy towards the Ottoman Balkans. Another aim of this study is to describe the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee (*Moskovskii Slavianskii Blagotvaritelnii Komitet*), which became an important instrument for Russian cultural and political propaganda in the South Eastern Europe. This study will provide insight to both Russia's pan-Slavist foreign policy towards the Ottoman Balkans, and the Ottoman administration's endeavors to struggle with Russian diplomatic actions.

Key Words: N. P. Ignatiev, Russia, Slavic Benevolent Committee.

ÖZET

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July 2017

On dokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısında, Batılı Devletler karşısında Rusya'nın prestijini düşüren Kırım Harbi yenilgisi, Çarlık dış politikası için yeni bir dönemin başlangıcı oldu. Eski prestijini yeniden kazanmak isteyen Rusya, 1856 Paris Barış Anlaşmasını müteakip revizyonist bir dış politika izlemeye koyuldu. Bu tez Rus büyükelçi N. P. Ignatiev'in pan-Slavist diplomasi yöntemleri ve Osmanlı Balkanlarına yönelik Rus dış politikasını şekillendirmedeki rolünü inceliyor. Bu çalışmanın bir diğer amacı ise güney doğu Avrupa'da Rusya'nın mühim bir kültürel ve siyasal propaganda aracı haline gelen Moskova Slav Yardımlaşma Komitesini (*Moskovskii Slavianskii Blagotvaritelnii Komitet*) tanıtmaktır. Bu çalışmanın amacı hem Rusya'nın Osmanlı Balkanlarındaki pan-Slavist dış politikasına ilişkin hem de Osmanlı yönetiminin Rus diplomatik faaliyetleri karşısında gösterdiği çabalara ilişkin bilgi vermektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: N. P. Ignatiev, Slav Yardımlaşma Komitesi, Rusya.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I would like to thank my co-supervisor Prof. Dr. Halil İnalcık, who sadly passed away on 15 July 2016, for his helpful comments on my dissertation and his evaluation of my archival research. I owe a lot to Prof. Dr. Evegni Radushev for his valuable guidance during my PhD study. I am thankful for his time and patience.

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Doç Dr. Hakan Kırımlı and Oktay Özel their guidance throughout my thesis writing process and for everything I learned from them. I am also grateful to my professors, Özer Ergenç, Nur Bilge Criss, Mehmet Kalpaklı, Berrak Burçak, Paul Latimer, Akif Kireçci and Mustafa Türkeş for their encouraging help. Many thanks to Prof. Ömer Turan and Prof. Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu for their support in my thesis. I would like to express my sincere thanks to the Higher School of Economics (HSE-Moscow) and to Prof. Mikhail Iyin for supporting and supervising my archival research in Moscow. I am grateful to Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu (TÜBİTAK) for its financial support for my archival research in Moscow.

I am also grateful to my friends for their invaluable support and friendship throughout my PhD study. My special thanks go to Sarper Yılmaz, Polat Safi, Harun Yeni, Seda Yeni, Sena H. Dinçyürek, Agata Anna Chimel, Abdurrahim Özer, Pnar Üre, Ayşegül Çolak, Melike T. Ünal, Arda Akıncı, Ahmet İlker Baş, Sinan Çetin, Elvin Otman, Yalçın Murgul, Müzeyyen Karabağ, Fahri Dikkaya, Nergiz Nazlar and Nilüfer Yeşil.

Last but not least, I owe a lot to my family, without the patience and support of which this thesis couldn't have been written. My warmest thanks go my husband Yahya Gülseven, for his both academic and emotional support, and for encouraging me with great sacrifices all throughout my work. My special thanks go to my parents and siblings, who supported me throughout my life.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Subject and Research Question

During the nineteenth century, an era fraught with war, economic upheaval and ideological change, the period between the Crimean War of 1853-65 and the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 was one of the most important of the time. Furthermore, this period significantly shaped international developments across Eastern Europe, Russia and the Ottoman Empire at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. During the Crimean War, Russia broke the European balance set by the Vienna Congress in 1815. After the Paris Peace Conference in 1856, it started to follow a revisionist foreign policy. In this period, the dominant feature of Russian foreign affairs and policy towards the Ottoman Balkans was its pan-Slavic inclinations. However, Russian official policy during this period, remained distant from the pan-Slavic movement, despite pro-Pan-Slavic actions and policies implemented by its agents on the ground. The principal reason for this discrepancy was due to the discord between the official policy and those pursued by the Russian Ambassador to Constantinople, Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev along with the Slavic Benevolent Committee, who both pursued pan-Slavic policies and ultimately shaped Russia's Balkan policy. Thus, these two actors deserve

particular attention in analyzing Russia's foreign policy towards the Ottoman Balkans, in the second half of the nineteenth century.

During the past 20 years, scholars from various parts of the world have studied Russian foreign policy in the Balkans in the period between the Crimean War and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. This scholarship has highlighted the general features of Russian policies concerning the Slavic people, Russo-Ottoman relations and the nationalist tendencies of the Ottoman subjects in the Balkans. These works focused either on international relations in a broader perspective, or on the specific political and ideological events of the period. After the Vienna Congress, there occurred many parallel developments concerning relations between the Ottoman Empire and other European powers such as the British, French and Austro-Hungarian Empires, or the relations of these European powers between themselves. All these developments are significant in the context of nineteenth century diplomatic relations. My study, however, focuses on Russo-Ottoman relations and in particular, Russian policies concerning the Ottoman Balkans. In the period between the Vienna Congress and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, Constantinople became an important center of European diplomacy. The complexities of these diplomatic relations are beyond the scope of one study and therefore, this dissertation will primarily focus on the active diplomatic policies of the Russian administration in the Ottoman Balkans.

In my research, I will focus on three main questions: to what extent did N. P. Ignatiev and the Slavic Benevolent Committee affected Russian foreign policy - making in the Ottoman Balkans, how pan-Slavic ideology found its way into Russian diplomatic policy and actions, and finally, what was the Ottoman reaction towards N. P. Ignatiev's actions. These questions have received far less attention in

the existing historical debate. Therefore, in this dissertation I will examine these questions in separate chapters, generally following a chronological format, in order to contribute to a topic that is significantly understudied in the current literature.

The historical framework for this study, which is focused on the years 1856 and 1875, marks an era, when important events took place in Southeastern Europe under Ottoman rule. Any scholar who intends to deal with the Russo-Turkish relations in the nineteenth century Ottoman Balkans must include this period, which begins with the Crimean War and ends with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. For the purpose of this study, extensively analyzing and grasping every aspect in the time between these two wars is beyond the scope of this work. Furthermore, individually, both the Crimean War and the Russo-Turkish War, have significant importance for the shaping of foreign affairs during the nineteenth century, and thus these wars deserve separate studies. Numerous and detailed works have been produced by specialized scholars who deal with many of the specifics of these wars and therefore, this study will focus on specific event between the wars which pertain to Russian foreign policy in the Ottoman Balkans.[1] The period between 1875-1877 is

[1] See Fikret Turan, *The Crimean War Bibliography* (Istanbul, 1999); V. E. Bagdasarian and S. G. Tolstoy, *Russkaya voina: stolietnii istoriograficheskii opyt osmysleniya Krymskoi kampanii* (Moscow, 2002); Brison D. Gooch, "A Century of Historiography on the Origins of the Crimean War", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (1956); James J. Reid, *Crisis of the Ottoman Empire: Prelude to Collapse 1839-1878* (Stuttgart, 2000); Norman Rich, *Why the Crimean War: A Cautionary Tale* (1991); David Goldfrank, *The Origins of the Crimean War* (London, 1994); Winfried Baumgart, *The Crimean War 1853-1856* (London,1999); Candan Badem, *Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)* (Leiden, 2010); Karl Marx, *The Eastern Question: A Reprint of Letters Written 1853-1856 Dealing with the Events of the Crimean War*, edited by Eleanor Marx Aveling and Edward Aveling (London, 1897); Ann Pottinger Saab, *The Origins of the Crimean Alliance* (Charlottesville, 1977); Paul W. Schroeder, *Austria, Great Britain and the Crimean War. The Destruction of the European Concert* (Ithaca, 1972); Gavin B. Henderson, *Crimean War Diplomacy and Other Historical Essays* (Glasgow, 1947); Brison D. Gooch, *The New Bonapartist Generals in the Crimean War* (The Hague, 1959); Maj. E. Bruce Hamley, *The Story of the Campaign: A Complete Narrative of the War in Southern Russia. Written in a Tent in the Crimea* (Boston, 1855); Lieut.-Col. E. Bruce Hamley, *The Story of the Campaign of Sebastopol Written in the Camp* (Edinburgh and London, 1855); David Goldfrank, *The Origins of the Crimean War* (London, 1994); Andrew Lambert, The *Crimean War: British Grand Strategy against Russia 1853-56*, 2nd edition (Farnham, Surrey, 2011); James J. Reid, *Crisis of the Ottoman Empire: Prelude to Collapse 1839-1878* (Stuttgart, 2000); Orlando Figes, *Crimea: The Last Crusade* (London and New York, 2010); Alain Gouttman, La guerre de Crimée (Paris, 1995); W.E. Mosse, "The End of the Crimean System. England, Russia and the Neutrality of the Black Sea, 1870-1," *The Historical Journal* 4, no. 2, (1961): 164-190; Leonid E. Gorizontov, "The Crimean War as a Test of Russia's Imperial Durability," *Russian Studies in History* 51, no. 1 (2012): 65–94; Hakan Kırımlı,

remarkable due to several uprisings in the Ottoman Balkans, which continued until the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877. Thus, the 1875 Herzegovinian uprising, the 1876 April Uprising, and the conflicts in Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro between 1876-1878 are considered precursor events leading to the Russo-Turkish War, which itself comprises separate research sphere of study. Thus, I limit the timeline of my dissertation to the years between 1856-1875. I will briefly address the follow period, which occurred between 1875-1878.

My narrative begins with the Paris Agreement of 1856 and ends in 1875, with the decrease of the consolidated stock shares (*Tenzil-i Faiz*). However, rather than focusing on the totality of the event that occurred during these years, I will examine specific episodes, people and institutions that I consider as having the greatest impact on Russia's foreign policy in the region. These specific topics have not previously received sufficient scholarly attention, or certain events, were studied in isolation, rather than as part of a larger development of foreign affairs. I believe an examination of specific events, and in particular the individual players and their agendas, which occurred and acted during this period, in regards to Russia's interests in the Ottoman Balkans, is needed in order to both provide a significant contribution and a complete understanding of Russian policies in Southeastern Europe between 1856 and 1878.

"Emigrations from the Crimea to the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 5 (2008); Hakan Kırımlı, "A Scion of the Crimean Khans in the Crimean War: The Allied Powers and the Question of the Future of the Crimea", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (2013); Yavuz, Hakan and Peter Sluglett edit. War and Diplomacy. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 and the Treaty of Berlin. (Salt Lake City: Utah University Press, 2011); M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question*, 1774–1923: A Study in International Relations (NewYork: St Martin's, 1966); Mark Bassin, *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840–1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Robert Fred Baumann, 'The Debates over Universal Military Service in Russia, 1870–1874', unpublished PhD dissertation, Yale University (1982); I. I. Rostunov, *Russko-turetskaia voina 1877–1878* (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1977).

1. 2. The Structure and Organization of the Chapters

The first chapter "Re-Evaluating Russian Pan-Slavism," will explore pan-Slavism and the different ways it was understood by both the Western and Southern Slavs. This chapter describes the roots of Russian pan-Slavism, and its link to the Slavophile ideology. Furthermore, it examines how Russian pan-Slavism shifted from the cultural sphere to the political one, and to what extent it served the imperialistic projects of the Russian Government. In this chapter, I argue that while the focus of Western pan-Slavism was on the national awakening and cultural unity of the Balkan Slavs, Russian politicized pan-Slav ideology aimed at taking advantage of the possible collapse of the Ottoman Empire, in order to expand its area of influence in the Balkan Peninsula.

The next Chapter, "The Asiatic Department and N. P. Ignatiev," will also examine the process of establishment, the functions and activities of the Asiatic Department. It details Ignatiev's family and professional background. In this part of the chapter, I will explore Ignatiev's diplomatic method and his relationship with the Russian Foreign Ministry. Moreover, I will examine Ignatiev's Balkan policy during his Asiatic Department directorship and the ambitious political projects he tried to enact during his time as Ambassador in Constantinople . As both director of the Asiatic Department and Ambassador, Ignatiev's primary objective was to keep Russian influence in Rumelia at its highest level, eventually developing Russia into the only ruler of the Balkan region and the Black Sea.

In Chapter Four, "N. P. Ignatiev in the Balkans", I will examine Ignatiev's diplomatic actions during the Danubian Principalities Crises and the Bulgarian Church dispute. As ambassador in Constantinople, Ignatiev conducted diplomatic

affairs concerning several Balkan regions, including the Danubian Principalities, Bulgaria, Crete, Greece, Montenegro and Serbia. This chapter will explore two of most important regions directly concerning Russian interests, which form the context for Ignatiev's diplomatic initiatives in the Ottoman Balkans. Other regions require separate research studies. The Danubian Principalities and Bulgaria were two of the most geo-strategically important places for Russia in the region. In order to have a significant influence on the region, St. Petersburg had to solidify its political existence and these two regions were the key in pursing this strategy. In regards to the Danubian Principalities, Ignatiev tried to block the reform program of Cuza, saving the Orthodox Church properties. In the case of the Bulgarian Church question, Ignatiev tried to find a Russian-centered solution to end the conflict. Furthermore, although this may have been his primary goal, he attempted to implement it without offending either the Greek patriarchate nor the Bulgarian clergy and nationalists. His aim was to prevent the excommunication of the Bulgarian Church by the Patriarch of Constantinople . However, ultimately his mediation failed to produce any satisfactory results for both Russians and the Bulgarians, and the Bulgarian Church was excommunicated.

Chapter five, "The Slavic Benevolent Committee and Russian Diplomacy in the Balkans", will examine the activities of the Committee and its influence, and connection to general Russian diplomatic affairs in the Balkans. In this chapter, I will examine N. H. Gerov's efforts in the formation of the Slavic Benevolent Committee. The chapter explores the process of establishing the Slavic Committee, its branches, and its relations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Asiatic Department. Moreover, it will analyze the member profile of the Committee and its income policy. Finally, I will also focus on the activities of the Committee in the

Ottoman Balkans. The Slavic Benevolent Committee, and its educational activities, was seen as a tool to fight Catholic and Protestant propaganda in the Balkans. Though the Slavic Benevolent Committee began as a cultural association it developed into an organization, which propagated Russian pan-Slavic ideology in the Peninsula.

The final chapter of my work, "The Ottoman Reaction Towards Russia's Balkan Policy", will explore the opposition to N. P. Ignatiev's policies, by Ottoman high officials and bureaucrats. Âli Paşa and Fuad Paşa actively opposed the Russian Ambassador, until their deaths, Fuad Paşa in 1869 and Ali Paşa in 1871. Another opponent of Ignatiev was Midhat Paşa, the governor of the *Tuna Vilayet*. The reforms implemented by Midhat Paşa in the *Tuna Vilayet* weakened Ignatiev's efforts in the region. Midhat Paşa executed every and any effort to block pan-Slavic influence in the region. After the appointment of Mahmud Nedim Paşa as the grand-vizier, Ignatiev accelerated his active policy during the period between 1871-1875.

The chapters of the dissertation, rather than following a purely chronological model, are constructed to reflect specific problems that occurred during the period under study. Within each chapter, however, a chronological model proved useful in detailing and analyzing the policies and actions of the various actors regarding Russian interest and actions towards the Ottoman Slavs in the Balkans. The time frame I concentrated in this work comprises many parallel events concerning numerous states and nations. By structuring the thesis thematically, rather than chronologically, I am able to approach the issue of Russia and its place in the Ottoman Balkans properly within the context of the actors and issues that arose at the time and show how each of these players specifically influenced Russian foreign policy. A chronological view would not provide an analysis of each aspect, which

influenced Russian policy in the Balkans, and how they related to each as a whole. A non-chronological approach will allow me to explore in great detail the various actors and actions on the ground, as they influenced Russian policy, through published and unpublished archival documents and memoirs.

1.3. The Literature Review

From the early twentieth century onwards, a number of scholarly studies have addressed the subject of Russia's foreign policies in the nineteenth century. For the most part, these studies have either described the general political situation in Europe and the Balkans[2] or focused on specific national, cultural[3] or event-based themes. In Russia, most of the archives were opened for scholarly research, at beginning of the 1990s. Prior to that most studies on pan-Slavism did not incorporate Russian archival

[2] For example see, Van Der Oye, "Russian Foreign Policy: 1815-1917", in *Cambridge History of Russia*, Vol.2, ed. Dominic Lieven, (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni. Press, 2006); Dominic Lieven, *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Dominic Lieven, "The Russian Empire and the Soviet Union as Imperial Polities," *Journal of Contemporary History* 30, no. 4, (1995): 607-636; R. W Seton-Watson, "Presidential Address: Main Currents in Russian Foreign Policy," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fourth Serie*s 29 (1947): 167-186; H. Seton-Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia, 1855–1914* (London: Methuen, 1952); R.W Seton-Watson, *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans,* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1918); Dietrich Geyer, *Russian Imperialism: The Interaction of Domestic and Foreign Policy 1860–1914*, New York: Berg, 1987; Ivo J Lederer, *Russian Foreign Policy.* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1962); B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937); Wesson, Robert G. *The Russian Dilemma*. *A Political and Geopolitical View.* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1974); Kohn, Hans. "The Permanent Mission: An Essay on Russia," The Review of Politics 10, no. 3, (1948): 267-289; Kristof, Ladis K. D. "The Geopolitical Image of the Fatherland: The Case of Russia," *The Western Political Quarterly* 20, no. 4, (1967): 941-954; Mosse, W. E. "The Russians at Villafranca," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 30, no. 75 (1952): 425-443; Mosse, W.E. "The End of the Crimean System. England, Russia and the Neutrality of the Black Sea, 1870-1," *The Historical Journal* 4, no. 2, (1961): 164-190; Rogger, Hans. "Nationalism and the State.A Russian Dilemma," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4, no. 3 (1962): 253-264; Stavrianos, L. S. "Antecedents to the Balkan Revolutions of the Nineteenth Century." *The Journal of Modern History* 29, no. 4, (1957): 130-141; Temperley, Harold. "The Treaty of Paris of 1856 and Its Execution," *The Journal of Modern History* 4, no. 4, (1932): 523-543.

[3] See, Seton-Watson, R.W. *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans,* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1918); Milojkovic-Djuric, Jelena. *Panslavism and national identity in Russia and the Balkans, 1830-1880.* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1994); Likhacheva, L.B. "Vzaimootnosheniya Rossiyskikh Voyennikh i Bolgarskogo Naseleniya v Hode Russko-Turetskoi Voini 1877-1878. Po Svidetel'stvam Sovremennikov," *Istorichni i Politologichni Doslidjeniya*, no.2 (52) (2013): 98-104; Lisovoy, N.N. "Uchastie russkikh diplomatov v tserkovno-politicheskoy zhizni vostochnikh patriarhatov v seredine XIX veka," (Rossiyskaya Istoriya, no.1, 1009): 5-25; MacKenzie , David. "Panslavism in Practice: Cherniaev in Serbia (1876)," *The Journal of Modern History* 36, no. 3 (1964): 279-297.

sources, and could only benefit from the archives of other states.[4] These early studies focused on Russian expansionist policies and the pan-Slavist views of Russian philosophers and writers such as Nikolai Yakovlevich Danilevskii, Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevskii, Ivan Sergeevich Aksakov and Rostislav Andreevich Fadeev.[5]

Concerning N. P. Ignatiev's military and diplomatic careers, some monographs and articles were published. Two of the most known words are by Soviet historians Viktoriia Khevrolina and David MacKenzie.[6] On specific issues related to Ignatiev's pan-Slavist activities and his role in the Bulgarian Church question Leonid Strakhovsky [7] and Thomas Meininger's [8] works are worth considering. Recent studies, however, have examined Russian foreign policy more specifically by examining various individual actors and their influence, in particular those of N. P Ignatiev. Ozhan Kapici's[9] dissertation has a biographical character, structurally similar to MacKenzie's and Khevrolina's works. The dissertation of E. Iu. Bludova examines to what extent Ignatiev's memoires can be considered a historical source. While exploring the memoires, she focuses on the biography of the Ambassador, looking at his education, career and thoughts. The common point of these works is the evaluation of Ignatiev's career as a high government official.

[4] For example: H. Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1960); H. Kohn, 'The Impact of Pan-Slavism on Central Europe', *The Review of Politics*, Vol.23 (1961); L. Levine, 'Pan-Slavism and European Politics', *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol.29 (1914), pp.664-86; M.B Petrovich, *The Emergence of Russian Panslavism, 1856–1870* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956); G.C. Guins, 'The Degeneration of Pan-Slavism', *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol.8 (1948), pp.50-9; G.C. Guins, 'The Politics of Pan-Slavism', *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol.8 (1949), 125-32.

[5] B.H. Sumner, 'Russia and Panslavism in the Eighteen-Seventies', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fourth Series* Vol.18 (1935); Kohn, *Panslavism*; Kohn, 'The Impact of Pan-Slavism'.

[6] V.M. Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev, Rossiiskii Diplomat* (Moscow: Kvadriga, 2009); D. MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignat'ev: The Father of Lies?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

[7] Leonid Strakhovsky., "Ignatiev and the Pan-Slav Movement," *Journal of Central European Affairs,* vol. 17, no. 3, (1957).

[8] Thomas A. Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1864- 1872)* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Presss, 1970).

[9] Ö. Kapıcı, 'Osmanlı-Rus İlişkilerinde N.P. İgnatyev Dönemi ve Rusya'nın Osmanlı Siyaseti (1864–1877)' (PhD thesis, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2013);

However, they do not consider Russia's pan-Slavic policies in the Balkans, and the role that Ignatiev played in shaping and enacting them during his tenure as a diplomat. Furthermore, another recent dissertation in the field is written by Ayten Kılıç.[10] She explores the reasons behind the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 examining the periods of peace between the wars as a whole: beginning with the Crimean War and the events leading up to the Hersek Uprising of 1875, followed by the examination of events from the 1876 April Uprising until the 1876 Conference of Constantinople, and finally completing her analysis with the 1877-78 war. The author descriptively draws upon the uprisings, conferences and diplomatic intercourse. Kilic's study is methodologically similar to Sumner's monograph.[11] In particular, Sumner's monograph "Russia and the Balkans, 1870-80"[12] provides researchers with a chronological guide of Russia's Balkan policy in the nineteenth century.

As to the subject of the rise of Balkan national movements, identity and nationalism, there are numerous works, which consist of either general regional overviews[13] or national-ethnical studies on specific areas in the Balkans.[14] In a

[10] Ayten Kılıç. "Paved with Good Intentions: The Road to the 1877-78 Russo-Ottoman War, Diplomacy and Great Power Ideology," (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2012).
[11] Benedict H. Sumner. *Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1780* (London: Oxford University Press), 1937.; "Russia and Pan-Slavism in the Eighteen-Seventies," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 18 (1935): 25-52.; "Ignatiev at Constantinople," *Slavonic and East European Review* Vol. 11 (1933): 341-353. ; Benedict H. Sumner. "Ignatyev at Constantinople: II" *The Slavonic and East European Review,* Vol. 11 (1933): 556-571.
[12] B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937).
[13] For regional studies on the Eastern and Central Europe see Armour, Ian D. *A History of Eastern Europe, 1740-1918: Empires, Nations and Modernisation*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2012; Gerasimos Augustinos, ed. *The National Idea in Eastern Europe*, Wadsworth Publ., 1995; Barkey, Karen and Mark Von Hagen, eds. *After Empire: Multiethnic societies and nation-building* Westview, 1997; Bartov. Omer and Eric Weitz, eds. Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands, Indiana University Press, 2013; Bracewell, Wendy and Alex Drace-Francis, eds. *Under Eastern Eyes: A Comparative Introduction to East European Travel Writing on Europe,* Budapest, NY: CEU Press, 2008; Brown, L.Carl, ed. *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*, Columbia University Press, 1996; Ingrao, Charles. The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815 (New Approaches to European History), Cambridge University Press, 2000; Johnson, Lonnie. *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010; Kann, Robert. *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1528-1918*, University of California Press, 1980; Kenney, Padraic. *Carnival of Revolution: Central Europe* 1989 (Princeton, 2002); Lampe, John. *Balkans into Southeastern Europe*, Palgrave, 2006; Lampe, John and Mark Mazower, eds. *Ideologies and National Identities: the case of twentieth-century Southeastern Europe,* Budapest: Central

broader perspective there are numerous worthy monographs on the formation of the national identity until the First World War, which contribute significantly to Balkan studies. These works stretch over a large geographic areas, throughout Eastern Europe, at times including developments within Western Europe. Some studies specifically focus on Habsburg Europe, while others concentrate on specific local, national context in Bulgarian, Greek, Serbian and Macedonian history. More specifically, there are several works concerning the development of nationalism among such groups such as the Bosnian-Herzegovinians, Hungarians, Albanians, Czechs and Poles.[15] A recent contribution, which provides an overview of the

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European University Press, 2004; Mazower, Mark. *The Balkans: A Short History*. New York: The Modern Library, 2000; Pavlowitch, Stevan. *A History of the Balkans*, 1804-1945. Longman, 1999; Sked, Alan. *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 1815-1918* (Longman, 2001); Stavrianos, L.S. *The Balkans since 1453*. Hinsdale, Illinois: Dryden Press, 1964; Stoianovich, Traian. *Balkan Worlds; The First and Last Europe*. Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997; Todorova, Maria, ed. *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*. Hurst, London & New York University Press, 2004; Wachtel, Andrew. *The Balkans in World History,* Oxford University Press, 2008.

[14] Clogg, Richard. *A Concise History of Greece*. Cambridge University Press, 1992; Crampton, Richard. *A Concise History of Bulgaria*. Cambridge University Press, 1997/2006; Davison, Roderic. *Turkey. A Short History*. The Eothen Press, 1988; Donia, Robert and John Fine, Jr. *Bosnia and Hervegovina. A Tradition Betrayed*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994; Findley, Carter, *The Turks in World History*, Oxford University Press, 2005. PUT ON EURASIA; Georgescu, Vlad, *The Romanians: A History*, London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 1991; Hitchins, Keith. *The Romanians, 1774-1866*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996; Lampe, John. *Yugoslavia as History*. Cambridge University Press, 1996; Lukowski, Jerzy and Hubert Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland*, Cambridge University Press, 2001/2006; Malcolm, Noel. *Bosnia: A Short History*. New York University Press, 1994; Malcolm, Noel. *Kosovo: A Short History*. New York: New York University Press, 1998; Mazower, Mark, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims, and Jews, 1430-1950*, New York: A. Knopf, 2005; Molnar, Miklos, *A Concise History of Hungary*, Cambridge University Press, 2001/2007; Petrovich, Michael. *A History of Modern Serbia, 1804-1918*. 2 vols. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976; Pinson, Mark, ed. *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993; Pollo, Stefanak and Avren Puto, *The History of Albania*, London, Boston: Routledge, 1981; Poulton, Hugh and Suha Taji-Farouki, eds. *Muslim Identity and the Balkan State*. New York University Press, 1997; Sayer, Derek. *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History*. Princeton University Press, 1998; Vickers, Miranda. *The Albanians : a Modern History*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1995; Wandycz, Piotr, *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present,* Routledge, 1992; Winnifrith, Tom. *The Vlachs: the history of a Balkan* people. London: Duckworth, 1987; Zürcher, Erik. *Turkey. A Modern History*. London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 1998.

[15] Stavrianos, L.S., *Balkan Federation*, Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1964; Sugar, Peter and Ivo J. Lederer, eds. *Nationalism in Eastern Europe*. University of Washington Press, 1971; Jelavich, Charles and Barbara. *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977; Augustinos, Gerasimos, ed. *The National Idea in Eastern Europe.* D.C.Heath, 1996; Jelavich, Barbara. *Russia's Balkan Entanglements 1806-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. Glenny, Misha. *The Balkans 1804-1999: Nationalism, War, and the Great Powers*.London: Granta, 1999; Djordjevic, Dimitrije and Stephen Fischer-Galati. *The Balkan Revolutionary Tradition*. NY: Columbia UP, 1981; Hawkesworth, Muriel Heppel and Harry Norris, eds. *Religious Quest and National Identity in the Balkans*, SSEES Studies in Russia and East Europe. Basigstoke: Palgrave, 2001; Barkey, Karen and Mark Von Hagen, *After Empire. Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building. The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997; Despalatovic, E. Murray. *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement*. Boulder, CO:

national awakening in the Balkans and the Russian influence on this process, is that of Denis V. Vovchenko, who discusses the national identity of the Balkan Slavic people in the context of pan-Slavism and Russian Orthodoxy.[16] In his work[17] Vovchenko focuses on the Russian relationship with the Orthodox Christian community in the Ottoman Empire during the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The dissertation focuses on the debate around the Bulgarian Church Question in Russia and Greek lands. As a theoretical approach, he uses the concepts of 'irredentism', 'Orientalism', and 'multiple modernity'. He analyzes the Orientalist production of knowledge, especially with regard to Bulgarian Church Question.

Although there are many studies regarding the Romanian and Bulgarian questions, I have found a lack of archival material and used in them. Therefore my dissertation will focus extensively on Ignatiev's notes and the Russian archival material, sources that have been undervalued or underutilized by previous scholars.

East European Monographs, 1975; Reill, Dominique, *Nationalists who Feared the Nation: Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice*, Stanford University Press, 2012; Judson, Pieter. *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006; *Bucur, Maria & Nancy Wingfiled, eds.,* Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, Purdue University Press, 2001;* Donia, Robert J. *Islam under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914*. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1981; Hitchins, Keith. *Orthodoxy and Nationality. Andrei Şaguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846-1873*. Harvard University Press, 1977; Hitchins, Keith. *A nation discovered: Romanian intellectuals in Transylvania and the idea of nation, 1700-1848*. Bucharest: The Encyclopaedic publishing house, 1999. Georgescu, Vlad. *Political Ideas and Enlightenment in the Romanian Principalities 1750-1831*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971; Dakin, Douglas. *The Unification of Greece 1770-1923*. London: Ernest Benn, 1972; Glassheim, E. 2005. *Noble Nationalists. The Transformation of the Bohemian Aristocracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; King, Jeremy, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans*, Princeton UP, 2005; Porter, Brian, *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*, Oxford University Press, 2000; Perry, Duncan. The Politics of Terror: The Macedonian Revolutionary Movements, 1893-1903. Durham: Duke UP, 1988; *Brown, Keith.* Loyal Unto Death: Trust and Terror in Revolutionary Macedonia*, Indiana University Press, 2013;* Perry, Duncan. Stefan Stambolov and the Emergence of Modern Bulgaria, 1870-1895. Durham: Duke UP, 1993; Freifeld, Alice, *Nationalism and the Crowd in Liberal Hungary 1848-1914*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000; Skendi, Stavro. *The Albanian National Awakening, 1878-1912*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967.

[16] D. Vovchenko, 'Modernizing Orthodoxy: Russia and the Christian East (1856–1914)', *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol.73 (2012), pp.295-317; D. Vovchenko, 'Containing Balkan Nationalism Imperial Russia and Ottoman Christians, 1856–1912' (PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, 2008); In addition to Vovchenko see J. Milojkovic-Djuric, *Panslavism and National Identity in Russia and the Balkans, 1830–1880* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1994).

[17] Denis V. Vovchenko. "Containing Balkan Nationalism: Imperial Russia And Ottoman Christians (1856-1912)." (PhD.diss. University of Minnesota: 2008)

As the primary focus of my dissertation concerns an analysis of the activities and diplomacy of N. P. Ignatiev in particular, work produced by him is central to an analysis and understanding of both Russian diplomatic activities and the Pan-Slavic movement in the Ottoman Balkans. The reason is that, as the scope of my work is the activities and diplomacy of N. P. Ignatiev I preferred to provide his direct views on these questions and his interferences in the ongoing disputes.

Unlike previous studies of pan-Slavism and nationalism in the Balkan Slavs, scholars have show little interest in the Slavic Benevolent Committee, mentioning it only in passing. The topic has been addressed in a minority of studies , such as those by Sergei Nikitin, Zdenko Zlatar, Aleksei Popovkin and Andrei Andreev.[18] While they described the administrative and institutional establishment of the Committee, they focus on matters concerning the Committee as one entity, and its role in foreign policy adjustments. For instance, Nikitin, a Soviet historian, argued against the idea that the Committee played a crucial as a political actor in the Balkans and has criticized Western historiography for exaggerating the relationship between the Slavic Committee and the Russian government. Recently, the Bulgarian scholar Andrei Andreev published a study on the Slavic Benevolent Committee. In his work, he concentrates on the cultural activities of the Committee, especially its support for the Bulgarian education and national independence movement in Bulgaria. In invaluable contribution of Andreev's, and of particular interests to this

[18] S. A. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh* (Moscow: Izdatelstva Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1960); A. A. Popovkin, "Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)" (PhD thesis, Voronezhskii Gosudarstvennii Universitet, 2013); Z. Zlatar, "For the Sake of Slavdom. II. M.P. Pogodin and The Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee: A Collective Portrait of 1870," *East European Quarterly*, vol. 40 (2006), 255-91; A. Andreev, *Ruskite Slavianski Komiteti i Blgarskoto Vzrozhdensko Obshestvo (1857-1878)*, (Veliko Trnovo: Abagar, 2014).

study, includes a list of Bulgarian students who had received their education in Russia in the 19th century.[19]

Another recent contribution to the history of the Committee was the work of A. A. Popovkin. Initially, Popovkin focuses on the structure and relations of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee, only later turning to and examining the activities of the Committee during the Eastern Crisis of 1875-1876 and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. He concludes his work by exploring the activities of the St. Petersburg Slavic Benevolent Committee between the years 1878-1921.[20]

So far the most detailed study belongs to Soviet historian Sergei Nikitin. He asserts that Western publications were interested in the activities of the Slavic Committees since the 1870s and they considered these Committees to be a political tool in the hands of the Russian government. He argues that, in particular, American and British publications had special interest a in the link between the committees and the Russians in the context of the Eastern Question. Nikitin mentioned A. Fischel's work[21], who considered Pan-Slavism a political factor of nineteenth and twentieth centuries European history. However, Nikitin argues that Fischel somehow over-exaggerates the role of these committees in Russian Foreign Policy, particularly in regards to the goals of the Russian pan-Slavists in the 1860s and 1870s. Fischel claims these committees were useful tools in the hands of Russian diplomacy, whereas Nikitin argues that the relationship between these committees and the Russian government was exaggerated.

[19] A. Adreev, *Russkite Slavianski Komiteti i Blgarskoto Vzrozhdensko Obshestvo (1857–1878)*, (Veliko Trnovo: Abagar, 2014); Aslı Yiğit Gülseven, "Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans: N.P. Ignatiev and the Slavic Benevolent Committee (1856–77)," *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol.53, no.3 (2017).
[20] For more information see A. A. Popovkin, "Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)" (PhD thesis, Voronezhskii Gosudarstvennii Universitet, 2013).
[21] A. Fischel, *Der Panslavismus Bis Zum Weltkrieg*. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1919).

The above-mentioned works on the Slavic Benevolent Committee concentrate primarily on the cultural sphere or the subject of national awareness. In this dissertation, I will examine the issue from a broader perspective, which will include both the cultural and political spheres. My work will focus, primarily on the involvement of the Committee in the political affairs of the Balkan region and will address to what extent the Committee was related to the affairs of the Asiatic Department, which was a body that directly answered to the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Foreign interest in the subject began to increase from the interwar period and beyond. However, the Soviet response to Western historiography on the Slavic Benevolent Committees was naturally contradictory. Michael Boro Petrovitch's work[22] exemplifies Western historiography on the early development of pan-Slavism in Russia. The Soviet historian Nikitin, criticized Petrovitch's work for over-exaggerating the link between the Committees and the Russian authorities. Furthermore, he claims that Petrovich misrepresented the Russian government's role as a generous financial contributor to the Committees, and instead he denies the financial connection between St. Petersburg and these Committees.[23]

Therefore, the establishment and activities of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee and its branches can only be objectively studied through the use of archival materials[24] and the above-mentioned published works. However, the archival materials of the Committees are limited, as other than the Moscow Committee, there are an insufficient number of them and there exist technical

[22] M.B Petrovich, *The Emergence of Russian Panslavism, 1856–1870* (NewYork: Columbia University Press, 1956).
[23] S.A. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 3-8. Gulseven, Rethinking Russian Pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans.
[24] The reports and letters concerning the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee are located at GARF, f.1750, first expedition.

difficulties in obtaining access to these materials. For example, there are no saved documents or materials concerning the Kiev Committee. Moreover, the Fond of the Odessa Committee was very poorly kept and is in bad condition.

Several scholars have explored the Ottoman official reaction to Russia's demarches in the Balkans. Therefore, many of these academicians focused on the *Tanzimat* period, which has always been interesting to work on, in the context of Ottoman reforms. For instance, eminent historians such as ,Halil İnalcık and Roderic H. Davison, studied Ottoman reforms and diplomacy during the *Tanzimat* period and have placed enough attention in regards to the Russian context. Davison was particularly interested in the rights of Ottoman Christian subjects and Russian interest in the Orthodox Slav *reaya*.[25] In parallel with the *Tanzimat* topic, there are some contributions concerned with reforms in Ottoman Rumelia, specifically the reforms in the Danubian Provinces under the governorship of Midhat Paşa.[26]

[25] Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, ed. Halil İnalcık ve Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu. (Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları: İstanbul, 2008); Halil İnalcık, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi*, (İstanbul: Eren, 1992) (first printing: Ankara, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, 1943); Halil İnalcık, "Tanzimat'ın Uygulanması ve Sosyal Tepkiler," Belleten, vol. 28., no. 112., Ekim 1964 **;** Halil İnalcık, *From Empire to Republic: Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History*. (İstanbul: ISIS, 1995); Halil İnalcık, *An Economic And Social History of the Ottoman Empire.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Roderic H. Davison, "Turkish Attitudes Concerning Christian-Muslim Equality in the Nineteenth Century," *The American Historical Review* 59, no.4 (1954); Roderic H. Davison, "Russian Skill and Turkish Imbecility: The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji Reconsidered," *Slavic Review* 35, no. 3 (1976); Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); Roderic H. Davison, *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Diplomacy and Reforms.* (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 1999); Roderic H. Davison, Midhat Paşa and Ottoman Foreign Relations, The Journal of Ottoman Studies V, İstanbul, 1986; Riedler, Florian. "Opposition to the Tanzimat State Conspiracy and Legitimacy in the Ottoman Empire, 1859-1878" (PhD Thesis, SOAS, 2003); Akyıldız, Ali. *Tanzimat Döneminde Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatında Reform (1836-1856).* (İstanbul: Eren, 1993).

[26] Fadeeva, I.E. *Midhat-Pasha, Zhizn' i deyatel'nost'* (Moskva: Nauka, 1977); Bekir Koç, "Midhat Paşa (1822-1884)," (PhD. Dissertation, Department of History, Ankara University, 2002); Çelik, Mehmet. "Tanzimat in Balkans: Midhat Pasha's Governership in the Danube Province (Tuna Vilayeti), 1864-1868" (MA Thesis, Bilkent University, 2007); İlber Ortaylı, "Midhat Paşa'nın Vilayet Yönetimindeki Kadroları ve Politikası," in *Uluslararası Midhat Paşa Semineri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1986); Ali Haydar Midhat, *The Life of Midhat Pasha*, (London: John Murray, 1903); Gözde Yazıcı, "Midhat Paşa (1822-1884)'s Policies vs. N.P. Ignatiev (1832-1908)'s Pan-Slav Mission" (MA Thesis, Central European University, 2009); Y. Murgul, "Re-Contextualizing the Tanzimat Reforms in the Ottoman Empire" (1856-1868), (PhD. Dissertation, Department of History, Bilkent University, 2013).

1.4. The Primary Sources

Although all of the above studies have made valuable contributions to the general literature, most of them lack foreign-language sources that might illuminate the unknown parts of the period. Russian archival sources focus narrowly on issues such as administrative policy, and therefore neglect the impact of pan-Slavism and the form it took in the Ottoman Balkans between 1856 and 1877. Additionally, they limit themselves to evaluating Russia's policy towards the Ottoman Empire from the perspective of Russian official foreign policy, and Russia's relation with European states in the second half of the nineteenth century. My work therefore makes use of previously unexplored archival sources. Such documents include those found in the Governmental Archive of Russian Federation (*GARF - Gosudarstvenniy Arhiv Rossiyskoi Federatsii*).[27] Most importantly, correspondences found in the special fond of N. P. Ignatiev no.730, fond of the Slavic Benevolent Committee no.1750 and fond of A. M. Gorchakov no.828, found alternately in Russian and French.

Unfortunately, handwritten notes by N. P. Ignatiev in Russian, found in plenty of documents were impossible to read, leading even such scholars as Soviet historian V. M. Khevrolina, to neglect some reports due to this difficulty. In addition, I've included the files no.1750, of which most of the reports were addressed to the Moscow Slavic Committee and were written by Slavic people of various Balkan regions. These Slavs were, however, only writing in Russian, as it was the rule by the Committee, though they contained numerous grammatical mistakes. The spelling

[27] GARF was established in 1992. It consists of about three thousand fonds, which include more than five million file units. The preiod it comvers is between 1800 and 1993. GARF files belong to both Russian Empire and Soviet Union history. It comprises political, judical and personal files. The documents were collected from all over Russia, as well as from collections, which were brought to Moscow after the Second World War.

and grammar in these reports were, furthermore, checked and corrected by other Slavs who knew Russian language better.[28]

Further important material includes the memoires and letters of the Russian diplomat N.P. Ignatiev. The official correspondences of Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev's notes on his foreign policy evaluations can be found in *GARF*, f.730, first expedition, op.1, d.543, which consists of a collection of 5 microfilms, and *GARF*, f.730, first expedition, op.1, d.544, which consists of 4 microfilms. These notes were published in a documentary series named "Archives Speak" (*Arhivite Govariat*) by the Bulgarian State Archives Agency (*Derzhavnaia Agentsiia Arkhivi - DAA*), that presents sources of Bulgarian history in local and international repositories. As all of extant archival materials were published by the *DAA*, the notes of N. P. Ignatiev were published, for the first time as a collection. For my study, I benefited from the 54th and 48th volumes of the mentioned publication.[29] The notes of N. P. Ignatiev, located at *GARF*. f.730, are copies of the *DAA* publication[30], except that the Sofia publication includes an additional section of diplomatic dispatches (*Donesenie*), which comprises correspondences from the Russian State Historical Archive (*RGIA – Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv*) and the Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire (*AVPRI – Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii)*. Furthermore, another group of documents particularly important to my work are N. P. Ignatiev's notes, which were initially published, in part, in the journal of the

[28] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1.
[29] Graf. N. P. Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54&48 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874) & Doneseniia (1865–1876)*, Iliia Todev (ed.) (Sophia: Derzhavnaia Agentsiia Arkhivi, 2009).
[30] During my archival research in Moscow, I had chance to compare the notes of Ignatiev published by *DAA* and the original documents in GARF, f.730. The notes are identical up to the punctuations, therefore I preferred to use the published version.

Russian Foreign Office (*Izvestiia Ministerstva Inostrannykh Del)* during 1914 and 1915. These notes were collected and published again, in Bulgarian, in Sofia.[31]

Concerning the publications of the nineteenth century we cannot find published materials on the Slavic Committees in Russia, except for two brochures of the Committee secretary N. A. Popov "*Iz istorii Slavianskogo blagotvaritelnogo komiteta v Moskve*" (From the History of Slavic Benevolent Committee in Moscow), the first of which was published 1871, and the second in Moscow in 1872. This work was limited to chronological information on the managerial activities of the Committee. Western publications of materials produced during 1860-70's, display the Slavic Committee as a secret organization of the Russian government. These works mostly comprise studies on the Moscow Committee. However, , there are no publications of materials produced by the Petersburg, Kiev and Odessa branches that are similar to Popov's publication.[32] Nil Popov's work "Short Report on the Ten Years (1858-1868) Activities of the Slavic Benevolent Committee in Moscow" (*Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnogo Komiteta v Moskve*)[33], which was published in 1868 by the Committee, provides details concerning the first ten years of the Committee, dating from its establishment. The Report included the following information: list of constituent members of the Moscow Committee, its donors, and list of beneficiaries from Slavic territories, information about Catholic and Protestant propaganda and information about the idea to increase Russian support to Slav people. Included are also detailed accounts of the yearly budgets: accounts of donations, from whom or to which institution, the living conditions of Bulgarians in Moscow, the Bulgarian-

[31] See N.P. Ignatiev, Zapiski (1875–1878), V. Dmitrova (trans.) (stav. Ivan Ilchev) (Sofia: Otechestvennaia Front, 1986).
[32] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 9-10.
[33] Nil Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve, sostavlennyi sekretarem ego N.A. Popovym*, (Moskva: Uniersitetskia Tipographiia, 1868).

Greek religious supremacy conflict, the attempts of the Committees to help Bulgarians and the literary works of the graduated beneficiary students.

Another group of the primary sources I examined is N. H. Gerov's private correspondences.[34] This collection of published materials comprises of letters and reports concerning the national awakening of the Bulgarian people. This collection was published by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences[35] in 1911. It includes letters and reports between Naiden Gerov and Russian diplomatic figures, as well as Bulgarian religious and cultural intellectuals. This source was crucial in allowing me to analyze Gerov's role in shaping Russian foreign affairs, particularly concerning the Bulgarian issue.

In addition to the Russian Archives, I made use of the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri - BOA*), where the collection of *Hariciye Siyasi Evrakı - HR.SYS* and *İrade-i Mumtaza Kalemi Evrakı İ.MTZ* are housed. Moreover, I came across a number of diplomatic documents and newspaper attachments, in French and in German, also archived in the *BOA*, which further contributed to my work.

The testimonies (*Les Testaments Politiques*) of Ali Paşa and Fuad Paşa[36] and the memoires of Midhat Paşa[37] contributed to my understanding of the Ottoman bureaucracy's viewpoint regarding Russian strategies in the Ottoman Balkans. I benefited from these memoires and testimonies particularly, when analyzing the Âli and Fuad Paşa's thoughts on Russian foreign policy in the Rumelia and European

[34] *Iz Arkhivata na Naiden Gerov*, Vol.2, ed. Toder Panchev, Sofia: Blgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1911

[35] *Blgarskata Akademiia na Naukite*

[36] Engin Deniz Akarlı. Belgelerle Tanzimat (Osmanlı Sadrazamları Ali ve Fuad Paşaların Siyasi Vasiyetnameleri). (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayını, 1978); Fuad Andıç, Süphan Andıç. *Sadrazam Ali Paşa Hayatı, Zamanı ve Siyasi Vasiyetnamesi*. (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 2000) Fuat Andıç. *Kırım Savaşı ve Paris Antlaşması*. (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 2002)

[37] Midhat Paşa. *Midhat Paşa'nın Hatıraları:1 [Tabsıra-i İbret]* (Haz. Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu), (İstanbul: Temel, 1997); Midhat Paşa. *Midhat Paşa'nın Hatıraları:2 [Mirat-ı Hayret]* (Haz. Osman Selim Kocahanogğlu), (İstanbul: Temel, 1997).

powers' relations with Porte, as will be discussed in the sixth chapter, "The Ottoman Reaction to Russian Policies in the Balkans." Also, the memoires of the owner and chief writer of the *Basiret* Newspaper (who was also called as *Basiretçi Ali*) entitled "*İstanbul'da Yarım Asırlık Veka-i Mühimme. Basiretçi Ali Efendi*",[38] contain important notes relating to the political and diplomatic developments of the period. Narratives of Ottoman historians writing during the nineteenth century also among some of the most beneficial sources, in order to determine not only the Ottoman administrative and diplomatic position about Balkan politics, but also to understand Ottoman official thoughts and concerns in terms of Russian foreign policy. The narratives of Ali Fuat Türkgeldi (Mesail-i Mühimme-i Siyasiyye)[39], Ahmed Saib "*Son Osmanlı Muharebesi,*"[40] Ahmet Lütfi Efendi "*Vak'anüvis Ahmet Lütfi Efendi Tarihi*"[41], Ahmet Midhat Efendi "*Üss-ü İnkılap*"[42], Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi "*Tarih Musahabeleri*"[43] are examples of sources instrumental in my dissertation.

Midhat Paşa's memoires, particularly the first volume "*Tabsıra-i İbret*"[44], to a large extent, contributed to my study. His memoires allowed for a first-hand view of his personal life, his Danubian Province governorship and his endeavors for realizing the reform projects, which extensively contributed to my analysis. . In addition, he gave wide coverage to the intrigues and activities of N. P. Ignatiev, whom he credits with trying to undermine the reform process. Analyzing the memoires of Ignatiev and Midhat Paşa synonymously contributed greatly towards an

[38] *İstanbul'da Yarım Asırlık Veka-i Mühimme. Basiretçi Ali Efendi*. Haz. Nuri Sağlam. (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1997).
[39] Ali Fuat Türkgeldi. *Mesâil-i Mühimme-i Siyâsiyye* (Haz. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal), cilt. 1-2, (Ankara: TTK, 1987)
[40] Ahmet Saib. *Son Osmanlı-Rus Muharebesi*, (İstanbul: Hilal Matbaası, 1325).
[41] Ahmet Lütfi Efendi. *Vak'anüvis Ahmet Lütfi Efendi Tarihi* (Haz. Münir Aktepe), (Ankara: TTK, 1988)
[42] Ahmet Midhat Efendi. *Üss-ü İnkılap*, cilt. 1, (İstanbul: Takvimhane-i Amire, 1294)
[43] Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi. *Tarih Musahabeleri*. (Haz. Übeydullah Kısacık), (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2012)
[44] Midhat Paşa. *Midhat Paşa'nın Hatıraları:1 [Tabsıra-i İbret]* (Haz. Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu), (İstanbul: Temel, 1997); Midhat Paşa. *Midhat Paşa'nın Hatıraları:2 [Mirat-ı Hayret]* (Haz. Osman Selim Kocahanogğlu), (İstanbul: Temel, 1997).

understanding of the various actions and opinions concerning the Danubian Province reforms.

The newspaper of the Danube Province '*Dunav* - *Tuna*', which was published by the initiative of Midhat Paşa, further aided in defining the reform process in the region and in understanding the Ottoman attitude towards Russian policies in the Balkans. *Tuna* Newspaper, which was published in both Bulgarian and Turkish, provided the means to inform the inhabitants of the province about updates in regards to the continuing reforms as well as providing news from all over the world. The newspaper was published between the dates March 8, 1865 - June 1, 1877. As it would take a significantly long time to scan the entirety of the issues published, I focused only on a select number of publications, which served the purpose of my research. In my future research projects, I am planning to read the rest of the collection.

CHAPTER II

RE-EVALUATING RUSSIAN PAN-SLAVISM

'Pan-Slavism' as a concept refers to a wide range of theoretical definitions in terms of political and cultural movements. Thus, for the purpose of my dissertation the scope of pan-Slavism needs to be clarified. One understanding of pan-ideology is 'to free itself from oppression for establishing a nation-state'. The term also refers to the formation of an "ethno-confessional superpower," close to the idea of "ethno-cultural integration." Pan-ideologies can also be understood from the perspective of strengthening a state's geopolitical position and to expand its boundaries in order to provide with economical and military advantage.[45] Furthermore, the first usage of the pan-ideology of pan-Slavism was not in a political but in a linguistic context, and initially mentioned by the Slovak writer Jan Herkel in 1826. It should be noted that pan-Slavism originated from the Western Slavic cultural world.[46] Therefore, while the first definition (forming a nation state) is applicable to Western and Southern Slavs, the second definition (a state expanding its power economically and militarily) instead, is suited to the Russian pan-Slavic movement.

Hugh Seton-Watson defines Russian pan-Slavism as the "application of Slavophile ideology in the field of foreign affairs"[47]. He compares pan-Slavism with

[45] A. A. Grigoreva, "Panslavizm: Ideologiia i Politika (40-e gody XIX – nachalo XX vv.)" (PhD thesis, Vostochno-Sibirskaia Gos. Akademiia Obrazovaniie, 2010) 52-53.
[46] Michael Boro Petrovich, *The Emergence of Russian Panslavism, 1856-1870*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956). 3.
[47] Hugh Seton-Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia, 1855-1914*. (London: Methuen, 1952), 90-93.

pan-Germanism and finds a parallel between the two ideologies. Seton-Watson divides the pan-German ideology into three types: Greater Germanism, Lesser Germanism and pan-German Imperialism. He then argues for similar divisions within the pan-Slavism ideology, arguing for their counterparts as Greater Slavdom, Lesser Slavdom and Russo-pan-Slav Imperialism. According to Seton-Watson "the Greater Slav idea ... appealed to all Slavs, regardless of religion or history or state... The Lesser Slav idea emphasized the role of the Orthodox religion. The Russo-pan-Slav Imperialists extended Lesser Slav ambitions to the whole Slav world, while rejecting the wish of the smaller Slav peoples, to preserve their own traditions and outlook. The Russian Tsar would liberate the Slavs, but would impose on the Russian political supremacy, Orthodoxy and autocracy."[48] Initially, this chapter will analyze the emergence of the pan-Slav idea among the Western and Southern Slav peoples. Secondly, it will examine the beginning stages of pan-Slavism on Russian soil and explore the process of its politicization. In conclusion, the chapter will argue that pan-Slavism was eventually transformed into a Russian messianic nationalism, which in particular, made use of the Slavophile ideology in foreign policy. The aim of that policy would, ostensibly, be in liberating the Slavic people from Ottoman rule, while at the same time, taking them under the wings of Russian autocracy.

2.1. Pan-Slavism in the Western and Southern Slavs

Pan-Slavic ideology is rooted in seventeenth century Western Slavic tradition. In that century, certain men from among the Western and Southern Slavs dwell on an idea of unification based on ethnicity and culture, independent from any imperial

[48] Seton-Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia,* 90-93.

power. During the nineteenth century, romantic nationalist circles in Western and Central Europe re-evaluated earlier studies on the idea of a Slavic-Union. In the meantime, Serbs, Bulgarians, Croatians, Slovaks and Slovenians began to take steps towards freeing themselves from imperial domination.[49] Their projects and works were based on nationalist and separatist ideologies, yet their aim had not included dominating one another.[50]

The first half of the nineteenth century was characterized by the revival of a national consciousness among the Slavs of Southern and Central Europe, who were under the influence of romantic and nationalist ideas which emerged during the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars and the Revolutions of 1848. While in Western Europe nationalist tendencies created politicians and shaped the socio-economic infrastructure, in Central-Eastern Europe these tendencies affected philology, history and poetry. The eminent historian Hans Kohn underlines the fact that the revival of Slav mystic and cultural unity was first initiated by Western civilization: The Croat, Czech or Slovak intellectuals were influenced by what they read in French, German and English instead of the Russian literature.[51]

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, in southern Hungary, Czechs, Croats and Serbs began to establish close relationships with each other, which triggered a discussion on the general conditions of the Slavs. In the same period, the Slovak writer Jan Kollar[52] began to express the idea that all of the Slavic peoples form one single nation.[53] In the 1830s, Kollar aspired to promote the integration of the Slavs, to the point where even protestant Slavs gave their support to his

[49] Hans Kohn, "The Impact of Pan-Slavism on Central Europe ," *The Review of Politics* 23, no. 3 (1961), 323; L. Levine, 'Pan-Slavism and European Politics', *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol.29 (1914), pp. 665–667.
[50] Gülseven, "Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans, 334; Aslı Yiğit Gülseven, Russian Pan-Slavism's Intellectual And Political Traces In The Balkans In The Second Half Of The Nineteenth Century, IBAC- Sofia, Proceedings. (Accepted to be published in 2017).
[51] Hans Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), 12-13.
[52] Jan Kollar (1793-1852) was a Slovak writer and politician. He was an eminent Slovak Pan-Slavist.
[53] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 5.

objective.[54] The Slovak poet P. J. Safarik,[55] also influenced by the romantic ideas of the century, contributed to the development of the Czech and South Slavic scientific community through his works on Slavic language and literature.[56] Kollar's collection of poems "*Slavy Dcera*"[57] idealized the past of the Slavs, and thus was accepted as "the national bible of early pan-Slavism." It argued that Slavs could become invincible only if they take lesson from their common histories. The solution that was proposed by Kollar and Safarik was one of a Slavic unity based on literary and cultural assets. Accordingly, the intellectual Slav circles should learn the four languages, Czech, Polish, Illyrian and Russian, however none of them should establish superiority over another.[58] In that perspective a unity based on national and cultural equality among the Slavs was of vital importance.

During 1848, Czech pan-Slavists focused on Austro-Slavism, turning towards the Western liberal movement.[59] However, not all Western Slavs were in favor of that tendency, such as L.V. Štur, the leader of the Slovak national revival, [60] who was against Western humanitarianism. In his work "*Das Slawenthum und die Welt der Zukunft*"[61] he saw the Slavs as more superior than any other nations.[62] He foresaw three scenarios for the future: The first was founding a Slavic federation, though he considered this option impossible as the Russian Tsar would never let a federation exist based on the equal rights of all Slavic nations. The second scenario was a union under the Austro-Slavic character. However, this option was also unrealistic due to

[54] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 14.
[55] Pavel Jozef Safarik (1795-1861) was a Slovak poet and historian. He wrote on the history and origins of Slavs. He is the coauthor of some Works together with Jan Kollar and Frantisek Palacky.
[56] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 6.
[57] Kollar's publication *Slavy Dcera,* which was published in 1824, means "The Daughter of Slavs."
[58] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 8- 11.
[59] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 17.
[60] Ludovit Velislav Stur (1815-1856) was a Slovak linguist and politican. He contributed to the Slovak literary language with his works.
[61] Štur's work *Das Slawenthum und die Welt der Zukunft* means "The Slavs and World of the Future."
[62] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 17-18.

Austria's administrative challenges. The third choice was to establish a Slavic union under Russian authority, where all nations would accept the Greek Orthodox Church and the Russian language. It is clear from the third option that Štur believed Russia was the only country that could liberate the Slavic world.[63] Yet, Štur was among the few exceptions among pan-Slavists who favored Russia as the liberator of Slavs. The overwhelming majority of Western Slavic intellectuals stood against any sovereign power dominating, as it would disturb the principle of equality among the Slavs.

The Czech historian Frantisek Palacky[64] was one of these intellectuals against outside influence administering Slavic unity. Being an admirer of J. G. Herder[65], he considered the history of the Czech people as a conflict between the peaceful and democratic Slavs with the warlike Germans. Differing from Kollar and Safarik, Palacky solely focused his work on the Czechs.[66] He argued that the Czech struggle for self-preservation was not only against the Germans but also against the Russians as he believed that Russians, as well as Germans, aimed to destroy the Czech nation. Later in 1861, Frantisek Rieger[67] supported and propagated Palacky's[68] arguments.[69]

Another Czech pan-Slavist, Karel Havlicek[70] was influenced by Kollar's ideas concerning Slavic unity. He came to Moscow to join the Moscow Slavophile circles,

[63] In addition to Stur, several Slovak intellectuals began to favor a Romantic Pan-Slavism, such as S. Hurban-Vajansky. Svetozar Miloslav Hurban or as known from his works, Svetozar Hurban-Vajansky (1847-1916) was a nationalist Slovak poet and newspaper editor. Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 19.
[64] Frantisek Palacky (1798-1876) was the leader of the Czech national revival. He was a member of a protestant family, which lived on the Moravia-Slovakia border. He was a historian and politician. He was also the president of the 1848 Prague Slav Congress.
[65] Johann Gottfired Herder (1744-1803) was a German philosopher and poet. Many Western Pan-Slavists were inspired by his romantic nationalist ideas.
[66] *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 20-21.
[67] Frantisek Ladislav Rieger (1818-1903) was a politician and a famous name of Czech nationalist revival. He was the grandson of Frantisek Palacky.
[68] For more information on Palacky's life and works see, Plaschka, Richard Georg. "The Political Significance of Frantisek Palacky." *Journal of Contemporary History* 8.3 (1973), 35-55.
[69] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 22-23.
[70] Karel Havlicek Borovsky (1821-1856) was a Czech poet and journalist. He was a Catholic, and lived in the Bohemian-Moravian border.

but spent most of his time with Professor Shevyrov[71]. There, he worked on Russia and Poland, and ended his studies with the publication "*Obrazy z Rus*"[72], a work that was not welcomed in Russophile circles among Czech pan-Slavists. He wrote that Russia was not strong enough to extend its influence abroad, and should adopt Western cultural and administrative features instead. He also admitted that the Slavs could not form one nation, and that the word 'Slav' should only be used as a geographical term. Havlicek suspected that the Russians and Poles sought to use pan-Slavism for their own purposes, by taking advantage of other Slavs. Therefore, he proposed Austro-Slavism[73] as the last option for preserving the Slavic nations, the future of which depended on the strength of the Austrian Empire.[74]

Contrary to the Czechs, the developments that took place in the first decades of the eighteen-century until 1863, had remarkable effects on the Poles.[75] These leading events, "*Konstytucja 3 maja*" (the Polish Constitution of 3 May 1791)[76], the Kosciuszko[77] uprising, and Russian commander A. V. Suvorov's complete and destructive victory over the Poles in 1794,[78] caused great sympathy for Poland throughout Europe. In the first half of the nineteenth century, compared to Czechs, the West showed more interest in the Polish cause. Most Poles supported Napoleon against Tsar Alexander I. However, after the Congress of Vienna, Poles began to experience disappointment in Napoleon, which triggered a pan-Slavic feeling among

[71] Stepan Petrovich Shevyryov was a Russian historian, known with his conservative views. He was one of the supporters of Uvarov's "Official Nationality" doctrine.
[72] Karel Havlicek's publication *Obrazy z Rus* means "Pictures from Russia."
[73] For more informaiton on Austro-Slavism see Hugo Hantsch, *Pan-Slavism, Austro - Slavism, Neo - Slavism: The All-Slav Congresses and the Nationality Problems of Austria – Hungary,* Austrian History Year Book, online publication in February 2009, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0067237800008481; actual publication in January 1965.
[74] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 23-25.
[75] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 27.
[76] The original name of the constitution was "Ustawa Rządowa z dnia 3 maja." The constitution was adopted by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 3 May 1791, and lasted until 1793. Its main purpose was to initiate a set of internal reforms to strengthen the sovereignty of Poland.
[77] Tadeusz Bonawentura Kościuszko (1746-1817) was the Polish-Lithuanian military leader who fought against Russians and Prussians in 1794.
[78] Aleksandr Vasilievich Suvorov defeated Kosciuszko's army in the Battle of Maciejowice on 10 October 1794.

them as well. Many Poles even leaned towards the idea of a Slavic confederation under Russian authority, considering Russians and Poles as the two main Slavic nations. Nevertheless, after 1825, the number of Russophobe Poles began to increase, and Russia lost its leading position over Western Slavs to Catholic Poles. Polish pan-Slavic feelings turned, by that time, towards "Polish Messianic Slavism", which was reminiscent of the mid-nineteenth century Russian Slavophilism.[79] For instance A. B. Mickiewicz[80] believed in the superiority of the Poles as a Slavic nation and he undermined the Russian role in the fate of the Slavic people, rejecting the idea that Westernization would propel the Slavs towards progress. Unlike the Czechs, he was against both Russian and Austrian authority over the Slavs.[81]

The southern Slavs' national revival movements emerged significantly in the second half of the nineteenth century. Until this moment, the Roman Catholic Slavs were under Austrian and Italian influences, while the Orthodox ones lived under Ottoman rule and were subordinate to the Constantinople Patriarchy. In the eighteenth century Austria expanded to the Ottoman Balkans and between 1718 and 1730 occupied Serbia. Almost half a century later, the Russians advanced into the Balkans, and in 1774 Russia claimed a right to protect Ottoman Orthodox Slavs.[82] Within a few decades, the Ottomans ceded Crimea and the territory between the Dnieper and Dniester rivers. This Russian expansion into the Ottoman lands encouraged the Pan-Slav hopes of the Orthodox Slavs, who lived under the authority of the Sultan.[83]

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[79] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 28-31.
[80] Adam Bernard Mickiewicz (1798-1855) was a Polish poet and political activist. For more information on Mickiewicz, see Roman Robert Koropeckyj, *Adam Mickiewicz: The Life of a Romantic,* (Ithaca: Cornell Uni. Press, 2008).
[81] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 44-45.
[82] For the discussion on the 1774 Agreement and Russian so-called protectorship right, see Roderic H. Davison, "Russian Skill and Turkish Imbecility": The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji Reconsidered, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (1976).
[83] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 55-56.

These developments planted pan-Slav feelings in the Slavic people. For instance, back in the seventeenth century, the Croatian Catholic priest Juraj Krizănic[84] had supported the emancipation of the Slavs and their unification under Russian leadership. Western pan-Slavic ideas acted mainly in the name of cultural unity of the Balkan peoples, bolstering and supporting the ethnic and national sentiments of each group. Their only objective was to develop the national consciousness of the Slavic people. For instance, the Croatian bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer maintained the idea of Slavic unification in the Balkans. Essentially, he supported 'the idea of equality' [85] for the whole Slavic world, regardless of origin and religion. Furthermore, he was disturbed by European attitudes towards the Slavic people and suggested that Europe should give up considering them as 'éléments étrangers.'[86] He believed that the solution to the 'Eastern Question' should be based on Christianity and freedom; accordingly, the essential point for him was to support the Southern Slavs.[87] Although he was a Catholic bishop, Strossmayer supported the independent Bulgarian Church movement, and thought that question could be solved only with a nation-centered approach. [88] Strossmayer worked for the Bulgarian cause by collecting and financing the publication of Bulgarian folk songs.[89]

"Prominent among the other intellectuals who contributed to the development of Bulgarian national awareness were the Miladinov brothers from Western Macedonia,

[84] Juraj Krizănic (1618-1683) was known as the earliest Pan-Slavist.
[85] G. Grbesic, 'Od ilirskoga pokreta i jugoslavenske ideje do neuralgicnih tocaka u hrvatsko-srpskim odnosima u 20. stoljeccu', *Diacovensia*, Vol.21 (2013.), 89.
[86] L. Leger, *Le Monde Slave, Etudes Politique et Literaires* (Paris: Librairie Hacette et Cie, 1897), 126.
[87] Leger, *Le Monde Slave, Etudes Politique et Literaires,* 123–8.
[88] N. Traikov, *Bratia Miladinovi – prepiska, Izdiril, komentiral i redaktiral* (Sofia: Blgarskaia Akademiia Nauka, Institut za Istorii, Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1964), 257–8. Gulseven, Rethinking Russian Pan-Slavism In The Ottoman Balkans, 340.
[89] D. Raikov. *Istoricheskata cdba na makedonskite blgari Svidetelstva za blgarskoto vzrazhdanie v Makedoniia* (Sofia: Makedonski Nauchen Institut, 1997), 256–7.

who collected Bulgarian folk songs and poems,[90] the Czech-Bulgarian archaeologists Hermengild and Karel Skorpil,[91] the Czech historian and politician Konstantin Irechek[92] and Ivan Mrkvička,[93] who contributed to national art and painting in Bulgaria."[94] In other words, while Russia aimed at increasing its political influence over the Ottoman Balkan subjects by diminishing the Porte's political power, the Western Slavs were solely concerned with developing Slavic national awareness through cultural initiatives.[95]

There were several obstacles, which prevented the adoption of pan-Slavism in the Balkans, despite the work of individuals and the affects of various events in triggering the emergence of a national consciousness. Different religions, histories, languages and even dialects prevented pan-Slavism from being implemented as a practical cultural and political project.[96] Although initially the Prague Congress in 1848 gave the Western Slavs hopes to eventually find a solution for the Slavic cause, it was not to be. The Congress failed to achieve any viable solution that would implement pan-Slavic ideology among the South Slavs, and finally Russia took over the flag of pan-Slavism with its political initiatives.

[90] The Miladinov brothers worked for the idea of an independent Bulgarian Church. However, after a Greek archbishop in Skopje complained about them, the brothers were taken captive by the Ottoman government. Strossmayer sent a letter to the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs petitioning his aid, but this proved insufficient to save them. See, V. Roudometof, *Nationalism, Globalization, and Orthodoxy*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2001), 144. Gulseven, Rethinking Russian Pan-Slavism In The Ottoman Balkans, 340.

[91] Bratia Skorpilovi, *Pametnitsi iz Blgarsko. chast 1. Trakiia* (Sofia: Pridvorna Pechatnitsa na B. Proshek, 1888), 1.

[92] K. Irechek, *Kniazhestvo Blgariia*, (Plovdiv: Khr. G. Danov, 1899).

[93] V. Dinova-Ruseva, 'Mnozhenski aspekti v zhvopista na Mrkvička', *Problemi na Izkustvoto*, Vol.3 (2009), 14-22.

[94] Gulseven, Rethinking Russian Pan-Slavism In The Ottoman Balkans, 340.

[95] Ignatiev, Zapiski (1875–1878), 39–42; Gulseven, Rethinking Russian Pan-Slavism In The Ottoman Balkans, 340.

[96] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 58.

2.2. The 1848 Prague Slav Congress and the 1867 Ethnographic Exhibition

The Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius was founded in Kiev, in the first decades of the nineteenth century.[97] Its main objective was to increase the national consciousness of Ukrainians and to promote the spirit of equality among all Slav peoples, on the basis of a Slavic federation. By 1848, many of the nationalist activists were ready to accept a "supra national federal" unification of the old Slav states under the Germans or Magyars, who had already claimed these lands as part of their national legacy. Nevertheless, as long as the Slavs of Central Europe developed a higher national consciousness, unification would lose its appeal. In fact, soon after Bismarck won the German Civil War of 1866, this federal solution lost its popularity.[98]

From the beginning of his activities, Palacky was against the idea of any kind of a federal unification. He believed that a universal monarchy, even a Slavic one, would be unfortunate and harmful for the whole Slavic world. In that respect, he specifically underlined his opposition to a "Russian universal monarchy." He attributed importance to the survival of the Austrian Empire, which would make possible the collapse of a universal Russian monarchy. For Palacky, a Slavic union, in which none of the Slav nations would dominate, was of vital importance. He supported a union based on absolute equality, where there would be no ruler and no subservient nations. Palacky stated that there were many nations of different origins at the Russian border that could not claim their independence, unless they united. He defined the Danube River as the natural boundary of these Slavic nations. Though

[97] The Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) was among the leading members of the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius.
[98] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 70, 74-75.

Palacky was an ardent supporter of a federal solution for the states of Central Europe, he was afraid of a federation under Austria, because the collapse of such unity would open the door to Russian expansion.[99]

On 2 June 1848, Palacky and his Czech friend Safarik, suggested the organization of a pan-Slav Congress in Prague. Almost all the delegates who attended the Congress were Austrian Slavs. One of the two Russian delegates was Mikhail Bakunin.[100] Most of the themes discussed in the Congress were regarding the issues that concerned the Austro-Slavs, as was proposed by Palacky. In addition, their relations with non-Slav Austrians, non-Austrian Slavs, and non-Slavs of Europe were also brought to attention. The Congress did little to encourage independent Slavic unity and Austro-Slavism maintained its popularity. The only commonly held belief of the attendants at the Congress concerned the continued mistrust of Russia.[101]

The general tendency among Western Slavs in 1848 was to tread in the ideological footsteps of Western modernity and liberalism. On the other hand, Bakunin, who was an anti-Western pan-Slav, defended a Slavic federation ruled by Russia. Accordingly, he believed that without the aide and leadership of Russia, the Slavic people would never be able to start a revolution. However, Bakunin's emphasis was on a free-libertarian Slav union, exempt from any oppression, including the Russian one. Like all Slavophiles, Bakunin considered the mission of the Slavic people as "recovering the degenerated West". For that purpose, he believed that all Slavs should be liberated, and the pioneer of that revolutionary movement should be Russia. He also asked Alexander II to liberate the Ukrainians,

[99] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 75-80.
[100] Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bakunin (1814-1876) was a Russian revolutionary anarchist, who contributed to the nineteenth century socialist movement.
[101] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 82, 87.

Poles, Lithuanians, Finns, Latvians and Caucasians. Conversely, Marx and Engels opposed Bakunin's pan-Slavism, and found the "Russian universal monarchy" dangerous, similarly to Palacky.[102]

The Prague Congress failed to produce any viable solution to aide the cause of the Slavs. On 12 June 1848, due to a student uprising, the Congress was closed. The main reason for the failure of the Prague Congress lay in the irreconcilable disagreements that emerged from Slavic peoples' linguistic and ethno-geographical differences: The Southern Slavs regarded the Magyars as their main opponent, while the Poles considered them as their allies. Furthermore, the Poles did not want the Polish historical agenda to be undermined by the needs and demands of other Slavs. In the Congress, the Croat and Serbian focus was on the Ottoman Orthodox Slav subjects (mostly Serbs and Croats), whereas the Slovenes, Slovaks and Czechs solely paid attention to the Austrian Slavs.[103]

The transition of pan-Slavist ideology from a cultural ground to a political one became more visible during the Prague Congress, in April of 1848. The ideological and revolutionary developments of nineteenth century Europe no doubt, also had a considerable influence on the evolution of pan-Slavism. This Congress left its mark on Slavic history, as it represented instance where Slavic peoples from different parts of the continent were brought together in one location to discuss their cultural, political and national futures. Contrary to Russian intellectual views, the Congress witnessed the continued support for the idea of unifying the Slavs under Austrian leadership. In addition, Russia was considered as a threat to the ultimate liberty of the Balkan Slavs. [104]

[102] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 92-101.
[103] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 84, 87.
[104] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 73-87; See, Gülseven, "Russian Pan-Slavism's Intellectual And Political Traces In The Balkans."

Another attempt at a Slavic congress took place in 1863 when the "Society of Natural Sciences" was founded in Moscow by a group of natural science supporters. The following year, this Society arranged an anthropological exhibition that was later transformed to an "Ethnographic Exhibition" and museum. N. A. Popov[105] proposed to open a 'Slavic section' at the Exhibition. This idea motivated Western Slavs to contribute, and mobilized many donors from different regions, such as Bohemia, Slovakia, Styria, Carpathian Ruthenia, Galicia, Croatia, Slovenia and Bukovina. The Croatian Roman-Catholic Bishop Strossmayer, who committed himself to the Slavic unification idea, was among the voluntaries, which came to support the Exhibition.[106] On May 17, 1867, this Ethnographic Exhibition was turned to a Pan-Slav Congress.[107] M. P. Pogodin[108] and I. S. Aksakov[109] were among the prominent figures who initiated the Congress, which resulted in the development of the idea of Slavic Unification based on religious and language integrity – in other words, "the unity of Orthodoxy and Russian language". This opened the way for Russia to propagate "the idea that the only center of Eastern Orthodoxy was Moscow". This pan-Slav Congress was a parallel failure, as it did not receive any support from the Western Slavs, a result similar to the initial pan-Slav Congress that did not receive support from Eastern Slavs of its Austro-Slavic idea. Western Slavs considered Russian engagement in the Congress as an attempt at the 'Russification' of the pan-

[105] Nil Aleksandrovich Popov was a Russian historian and Slavist, who was the secretary of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee in 1860s.
[106] Grgo Grbesic, "Od ilirskoga pokreta i jugoslavenske ideje do neuralgicnih tocaka u hrvatsko-srpskim odnosima u 20. stoljeccu", *Diacovensia*, Vol.21, (2013.), 89; Strakhovsky, " Ignatiev and the Pan-Slav Movement"), 228.
[107] The next Pan-Slav Congress was planned be organized within two years in Belgrade; but it was realized only after forty years.
[108] Mikhail Petrovich Pogodin was a Russian historian and publisher, who became the head of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee in 1861. See, Aslı Yiğit Gülseven, "Russian Pan-Slavism's Intellectual And Political Traces In The Balkans."
[109] Ivan Sergeevich Aksakov was a Russian publisher, poet, and a well-known Slavophile. He was the editor of the Pan-Slavist journal 'Den', and he wrote that Russia should bring to the fore nationalist feelings by suppressing anything (even the Orthodox religion) related to Pan-Helenic culture.(Eastern Question, Anderson, 170).

Slav ideology. However, their fears were exaggerated, as the Russian government had no desire to increase their political responsibility and fiscal burden during a period of internal administrative reform. Once the Congress ended, the Tsar Aleksander II met with a group of pan-Slavists, yet he was cautious to stay distant to their pan-Slavic program.[110]

2.3. The Russian pan-Slavism

The first decades of the nineteenth century were notable for the rising trend of nationalist movements, and their effects on international affairs. These movements were particularly prominent in Eastern Europe and triggered the Austro-Hungarian and Russian conflict due to the spread of nationalism in the Balkans.[111] By the mid-nineteenth century, pan-Slavism started its development in parallel to nationalist, political agendas.[112] Throughout that process, Russian attention towards the Slavic people shifted from an ideology based on ethnicity to one rooted in religion. The Russians developed a greater interest in the Orthodox Slavs than in the Catholic ones, a change related to an early cultural and religious connection between Russia and the Orthodox Christian Balkans. This connection evolved into an aspect part of Russian pan-Slavism in the form of Russian messianism, which referred to the Tsarist claim that Russia was the real successor of Byzantium and the only true protector of the Orthodoxy. This claim is traced back to 1472, when Ivan III married Zoë Paleologus, the niece of Constantinople's last emperor and the Grand

[110] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, New York: Vintage Books, 1960, 173-176; Strakhovsky, "Ignatiev and the Pan-Slav Movement", *Journal of Central European Affairs*, Vol.17 (1957), 228; Galen Blaine Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department during the Reign of Alexander II, 1855–1881" (PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1970), 223.
[111] Dietrich Geyer, *Russian Imperialism: The Interaction of Domestic and Foreign Policy 1860–1914*, New York: Berg, 1987, 50.
[112] M.S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), 170.

Principality of Muscovy claimed for itself the title as the 'true heir of Byzantium'. Following the end of the Mongol yoke, the Russian clergy brought forward the idea that Moscow was the 'Third Rome', suggesting that the first Rome fell due to infidelity in regards to the Constantinople Church, the second Rome was occupied and therefore the third Rome would take on the spiritual salvation of the whole humanity.[113] Shevyrev has emphasized that the decline of Europe started after Rome's alienation from the Constantinople Church. Accordingly, this decay accelerated following the Reformation movement and the French revolution in Western Europe. Therefore, F. I. Tiutchev[114] has claimed that only Russia, being the representative of the Orthodox Church could save, not only the West, but also the whole world.[115]

The eminent historian, H. Seton Watson, has well expressed that understanding Russian political pan-Slavism requires the analysis of Russian cultural, historical and political background.[116] In that regard, Russian pan-Slavism's roots should be traced back to the eighteen-century, when the Russian intellectual class began to re-evaluate their traditional culture and to bring a new percipience to it. At this point, it could be useful to point out that, in the Romantic atmosphere of the nineteenth century, Russian intellectuals showed more interest in the study of Russian folk culture, while proportionately severing their connection with the Western world. These intellectuals, later known as Slavophiles, believed themselves responsible to save Russian culture from centuries of so-called 'backwardness' and superstition. Therefore, the emergence of Slavophilism can be traced back to the early nineteenth century when the Napoleonic invasion in 1812, resulted in an increased national

[113] Michael Boro Petrovich, *The Emergence of Russian Panslavism*, 5-17.
[114] Feodor Ivanovich Tiutchev was a Russian poet, who served in Russian diplomacy for thirthy-six years.
[115] Riasanovsky, Nicholas. *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825-1855*, 5th Ed. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press: 1959), 156.
[116] H. Seton-Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia, 1855–1914* (London: Methuen, 1952), 90–93.

sentiment among the Russian public and developed an increasingly Russian nationalistic ideology. In that period, the 'United Slavs'[117], a Russian activist group, sought to form a Slavic Union. However, they could not go implement their goal any further than the Decembrists' achievements.[118] The United Slavs were therefore considered an early version of the Slavophiles, who emerged out of the nineteenth century Russian intellectual movement and thus it is commonly believed that the Slavophiles were followers of the United Slavs' philosophy.[119]

Rabow-Edling states that the Slavophilism did not emerge as a reaction to modernism, but arose from the need to counter the idea of the 'backwardness' of Russian elite and to resolve the problem of what constituted a Russian identity. The task was to make Russians more Russians, rather than promoting Western culture to make Russian more 'European', an idea implemented throughout the eighteen century. This "moral regeneration" would awaken "the dormant national spirit" of Russia for the sake of creating a national culture. Slavophiles presented the Russian "spiritual enlightenment" as an antithesis to European "material enlightenment." Their aim was to promote Russian enlightenment, while preserving Russian traditional life together with scientific development. Indeed the Slavophiles' understanding of nationalism was far from a state-supported ideology, and was based on endeavors enacted by intellectuals who acted in the name of restoring the national identity. This intellectual initiative, which rested upon an Orthodox and Slavic union, represented itself mainly in the cultural sphere, rather than the political arena.[120]

The Slavophiles defended the Slavic cultural unification, under the wings of

[117] Obshestva Soedinennykh Slavian. For details on 'United Slavs', see M.B. Nechkina, *Dekabristy* (Moscow: Nauka, 1982), 98–104.
[118] For detailed information on the Decembrist Movement see, Mazour, A. G., *The First Russian Revolution. 1825. The Decembrist Movement: Its Origins, Development, and Significance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967).
[119] L. Levine, 'Pan-Slavism and European Politics', 668-670.
[120] S. Rabow-Edling, *Slavophile Thought and the Political Cultural Nationalism* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), 135-137.

Russian leadership spirit.[121] Making Russia the natural center for all Slavic people was regarded, by Russian Slavophile A.S. Khomiakov,[122] as the sole and exclusive remedy for preventing a possible unification that would be hostile to Russia. He worried that the Slavs would be united together by enemy forces, such as Romanians, Germans, Greeks, Turks, Hungarians and Albanians, those bordering the Slavic world, thus the geographical and political guidance of Russia over the Slavs was a *sine qua non*. However, the Russian public did not support Khomiakov's pan-Slavic resolutions, and neither did St. Petersburg, preferring to stay clear of any radical imperialist ideologies.[123]

During the reign of Nicholas I, rigid policies adopted by the central administration prevented Slavophiles from structuring their program of action. Their traditional manner leaded them to exclude St. Petersburg, the Western model of center, and instead directed them to embrace Moscow as their center.[124] In that respect it is clear why both pan-Slavists and the Slavic Benevolent Committee that based their ideologies on anti-Western and anti-Catholic feelings, considered Moscow as their cultural and political center.[125] However, not all pan-Slavists considered Moscow an ideal center for the enactment of pan-Slavic ideals. For Khomiakov, who argued that Slavic Orthodox civilization was the only means to confront the Catholic West,[126] Constantinople was the perfect center for a pan-Slavic federation that should be led by the Tsarist government. Following the 1856 Paris Peace Agreement some Russian politicians and pan-Slavists set out to realize this plan against Europe, using both

[121] Levine, "Pan-Slavism and European Politics," 668-670.
[122] Russian Slavophile Aleksei Stepanovich Khomiakov
[123] Hans Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 77, 173.
[124] Sumner, B. H. "Russia and Panslavism in the Eighteen-Seventies," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fourth Series* 18, (1935), 26–7.
[125] Aslı Yiğit Gülseven, "Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans," 335.
[126] D. Vovchenko, 'Gendering irredentism? Self and other in Russian Pan-Orthodoxy and Pan-Slavism (1856–85)', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.34 (2011), 250–1.

political and cultural mechanisms.[127]

The Russian official ideology prior to the reign of Alexander II was based on the 'Official Nationality' doctrine. This doctrine, elaborated by the Minister of Education, S. S. Uvarov in 1833, came to be known as the official ideology of the Russian government until the Crimean War. Uvarov wrote,

> "Our common obligations consist in this, that the education of the people be conducted, according to the supreme intention of our August Monarch, in the joint spirit of Orthodoxy, autocracy and nationality."[128]

Uvarov believed that Russia should establish for itself a sturdy foundation, based only on the Russian character and nationality, in the middle of a European religious and social decline. The 'Official Nationality' was based on the notion that, with its unique language and personality, Russia was very different from Europe.[129]

As a follower of Uvarov's doctrine, Pogodin believed that Russia was in many ways different from Europe. Accordingly, in contrast to the West, Russia absented itself from conquest, and the Russian people were free within their own lands, while the native Europeans had became enslaved. Pogodin was indeed hostile to all foreign elements inside Russian lands. Moreover, in contrast to Catholicism, Orthodoxy represented a philosophy of tranquility, far from politics. Pogodin considered the Slavs to be the oldest elements of Europe, and underlined the similarity between Slavic and Russian linguistic and cultural features. He extoled the idea of attaching the Austrian, Turkish and European Slavs to the Russian population, and he

[127] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 51, 64; Vovchenko, 'Gendering irredentism? Self and other in Russian Pan-Orthodoxy and Pan-Slavism (1856–85)', 250–1; Kohn, "The Impact of Pan-Slavism on Central Europe," 323.
[128] Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia,* 73
[129] Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia*, 74, 134.

emphasized the invincible power that would be born from such unification.[130] Unlike, Shevyrev,[131] who criticized the lack of compatibility among the Slav, and thus saw them to be vulnerable towards foreign intervention,[132] Pogodin argued for their compatibility and supported the unification of the Slavs with the Russians, under Tsarist rule: He saw Russia as "the natural leader" of the Slavs, and propounded the Russian language and Orthodoxy as the two main components of Slavdom.[133] Yet the official standpoint differed from this intellectual approach and this split was observed between "the dynastic view" and "the national wing," which refers to the Slavophiles.[134]

However, as popular culture was inclined towards European modernism during Nicholas I's period, the intellectuals started to turn their backs on both Slavdom and Orthodoxy. When Nicholas I passed away in 1855, this inclination towards European modernism began to gradually disappear and the Slavophiles started to intensify their activities. A new period was ushered in where two ideological poles of Russian society encountered each other: the conservatives and the radicals. The conservative fraction took a stand against radicals and intended to preserve the status-quo.[135] Later on pan-Slavists began to appear as a separate entity within the Slavophiles. However, their focus was mostly on political issues, in particular the Eastern question, rather than on cultural and philosophical matters, unlike the Slavophiles. For example, the notable founders of Slavophilism, I.V. Kireevsky[136] and A. S. Khomiakov[137], designed pan-Slavism on the basis of religious and cultural values. Yet, their formula

[130] Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia*, 135-136, 146, 154.
[131] Stepan Petrovich Shevyrev (1806-1864) was a Russian historian and poet, who was known with his conservative ideas.
[132] Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia*, 147.
[133] These views of Pogodin were also shared by Tiutchev. Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia*, 148-150.
[134] Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia*, 138.
[135] Rabow-Edling, *Slavophile Thought and the Political Cultural Nationalism*, 135–137.
[136] Ivan Vasilyevich Kireevsky
[137] Aleksei Stepanovich Khomiakov

also embraced the idea of a Slavic Union, the head of which would be the Russian Tsar, in other words "*Vseslavianskii Tsar*".[138] In time, the Slavophile ideas, with their cultural orientation were gradually replaced by the politicized views of the pan-Slavists.[139]

The mid-nineteenth century was notable for the spread of pan-Slavism among the intellectual circles, mostly in cultural and religious terms. One reason for this was that Russian bureaucrats began to be involved in the politicizing of Pan-Slavism. N. P. Ignatiev was no doubt the most avid supporter of pan-Slavic ideology, and his primary aim was to cancel the Paris Peace Treaty of 1856 in order to retake Bessarabia under Russian influence.[140] However, in reality, the effect of pan-Slavism on Russian policy making was not considerable between 1856 and 1877. The Minister of Foreign Affairs A.M. Gorchakov, who received a European education, tended to maintain peace in regards to Russo-European relations, and generally considered Ignatiev's attempts as untimely and aggressive.[141] Gorchakov, in fact, did not support any nationalist movements, as they would harm Russian relations with the West.[142] Indeed, his attitude was obviously reflected in the enforcement of censorship of the pan-Slavist publications and journals.[143] Gorchakov mostly followed the policies of K. V. Nesselrode, who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1822 and 1856. Nesselrode's foreign policy objective was to preserve the

[138] 'Vseslavianskii tsar' means 'Emperor of all Slavs' was used by F.I Tiutchev in his poem 'Prorochestvo'. See F.I. Tiutchev, *Lirika*, K.V. Pigarev (ed.) (Moscow: Nauka, 1966), 120; J. Lavrin, 'The Slav Idea and Russia', *Russian Review*, Vol.21, No.1 (1962), 11.; Aslı Yiğit Gülseven, "Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans, 136.

[139] G.C. Guins, 'The Degeneration of Pan-Slavism', American Journal of Economics and Sociology, Vol.8 (1948), 51.

[140] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878),* 49–56.

[141] Gülseven, "Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans, 344.

[142] Gorchakov's concern with the disturbed relations with the European powers was also expressed by his contemporary, the Ottoman historian Ahmed Saib. Saib stated that Russia did not want to risk its relations with Europe until the general situation had turned to Russia's advantage. See Ahmed Saib, *Şark Meslesi,* Saadettin Gömeç (ed.) (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2000), 32, for the first edition of Saib's work see Ahmed Saib, *Tarih-i Meşrutiyet ve Şark Meselesi Hâzırası* (Dersaadet: 1328).

[143] These Pan-Slavic journals, such as *Den*, *Moskvich*, *Parus* and *Moskva*, were unpopular among the bureaucracy, and were frequently censured. Anderson, *The Eastern Question*, 171.

European balance of power, in parallel with the Austrian statesman Prince von Metternich.[144] Both Nesselrode and Metternich regarded radical movements as threatening the European balance of power, an ideology that was inherited from the Congress of Vienna. Thus, as a national ideology, pan-Slavism was considered unfavorable by the Russian bureaucracy between 1830s and 1840s, in concurrence with the general political attitude of Europe.[145] The need to maintain the status quo within Europe eliminated any possibility of support from the Foreign Ministry under Gorchakov's leadership and other official circles of the pan-Slavic movement. As Russian diplomacy tended to avoid possible conflict with Europe, any radical movement, including pan-Slavism, was regarded as potentially harmful.[146] For instance, when in 1867 the Tsar met with Czech intellectuals F. Palacky and F. L. Rieger[147], he avoided opening a discussion concerning political subject as he was particularly disturbed by the idea of establishing a Slavic Union under Russian leadership.[148]

That is to say, Russian bureaucracy during Alexander II's reign did not focus on pan-Slavism, but rather on administrative reforms. During that period, any kind of Slavic Union was considered as a burden to the country. Thus, the Russian government was cautious towards the pan-Slavic movements, and avoided any acts that might have escalated tensions in the Ottoman Balkans, as another conflict after the Crimean War would bring additional burden to Russia in both financial and

[144] Prince Klemens von Metternich (1773 - 1859) was the main actor of the Congress of Vienna, which was held in 1815.
[145] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 126–7.
[146] See GARF, f.828, first expedition, op.1, d.1434, 149; GARF, f.828, first expedition, op.1, d.1434, 230–2; GARF, f.828, first expedition, op.1, d.1435, 6–8.
[147] Frantisek Palacky was a Czech hisotrian and Frantisek Ladislav Rieger was a Czech publicist, who attended the 1867 Ethnographic Exhibition, which was also known as the first Pan-Slavist Congress.
[148] See G.C. Guins, 'The Politics of Pan-Slavism', American Journal of Economics and Sociology, Vol.8 (1949), 126.

military terms.[149] However, as will be shown in the following chapters, pan-Slavic ideas were kept alive by the initiatives of some statesmen and institutions.

In addition to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries intellectuals, the Soviet historiography considered Russian protectionist role towards the Orthodox Slav subjects of the Sultan as a liberation program. From this point of view, it was Russia's duty to support the establishment of a Slavic Union, which should have Russia at its center. This attitude led to the emergence of an environment, where Russian political interests came to the fore at the expense of the cultural concerns of intellectuals supporting the Slavic Unification. Many Russian philosophers and writers of the post-Crimean War period, such as F. M. Dostoevskii, A. I. Herzen, N. A. Berdiaiev, K. N. Leontev, A. N. Pypin, K. S. Aksakov, etc. discussed the Pan-Slav and Slavophile ideas, and agreed on the necessity of establishing Russian supremacy over the Slavic people. Some were even proponents of the idea that Constantinople should be the political center of a future 'Russo-Slavic Unification'. For instance, K. Leontev[150] stated that the main aim of Russia in the nineteenth century should be seizing the Ottoman Balkans rather than to liberate the Orthodox Slavs. He claimed the underlying cause of the Crimean War was not the Russian desire to free Balkan Slavs, but the Tsarist regime's eagerness to dominate the Ottoman lands. Nicholas I saw this domination as an indispensible goal of Russia, and the liberation of the Orthodox Slavs was only of second importance, and only so long as this support served in Russia's best interests.[151] Another Russian Slavophile,

[149] Guins, "The Politics of 'PanSlavism'", 126-127.
[150] Konstantin Leontev was a Russian diplomat, who served in Constantinople between 1863-1871. For more information on Leontev see Pınar Üre, *Konstantin Nikolayeviç Leontyev (1831-1891), Bizansçılık ve Şark Meselesi,* (İstanbul: Libra, 2015).
[151] Konstantin Leontev, *Sbornik statei Leonteva 'Vostok, Rossiia i Slavianstvo'*. T.1 (Moskva, 1885-86), 353-390.

N. Ia. Danilevskii's work "Rossiia i Evropa" [152] emphasized the differences between the Russian character and the European one, thus emphasizing joint destiny of Russian and the Balkan Slavs. This common future, which would bring a "Russo-Slavic union" under Tsarist rule, would go beyond a cultural partnership, and take a stand against Western decadent policies. Danilevskii foresaw "a federation under Russian leadership as the outcome of a great and long war between Europe and Russia. The compound would consist of Russia, Yugoslavia, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Constantinople and parts of the Asiatic Turkey."[153] According to Danilevskii '*Tsargrad*' was destined to be the center of that union. On the other hand, Danilevskii views differed from the Russian mission of saving the whole of humanity. He did not believe in the superiority of Russian civilization, and instead he emphasized the freeing of Orthodox Slavs from the "Western European yoke" through Russian leadership. [154]

F. M. Dostoevskii was another intellectual, who supported the Slavic cause in his articles he wrote throughout the 1870s. In his work he contributed to elaborating on the differences between Russia and the West, therefore he praised Russian civilization and he denounced European culture and manner of life. In contrast to Danilevskii, he believed that Russian culture and Orthodoxy was superior to other civilizations, and therefore it should liberate the rest of the world in order to complete its universal mission. In his collected works "Dnevnik Pisatelia" [155] Dostoevskii analyzed the Eastern Question and concluded only through a war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire would it be possible to both liberate

[152] N. Ia. Danilevskii published "Rossia i Evropa" in 1869, and soon his work became the center of attention in Europe.
[153] Hans Kohn, *The Twentieth Century: A Mid-Way Account of the Western World*. (New York: Macmillan, 1949), p. 106.
[154] For more information see Nikolai Danilevskii, *Rossia i Evropa*, (Sankt-Peterburg: Obshestvennaia Polza, 1871); See, Gülseven, Russian Pan-Slavism's Intellectual And Political Traces In The Balkans.
[155] See Fedor Dostoevskii, *Dnevnik Pisatelia*, (Moskva: Institut russkoi tsivilizatsii, 2010).

Russia's Balkan coreligionists and establish a new world order.[156] He assumed that the destinies of Russian and Slavic coreligionists had been shaped several centuries ago; while Western countries were more concerned about the Ottoman question, the Slavs were left alone to face their fate.[157] Dostoevskii argued that Russia should be at the center of a possible Slavic Union, but only as long as it continued to give priority to its own territorial interests, while at the same time in some way preserving the territorial integrity of the Balkan Slavs.[158] "Being one of the writers, who were highly respected by the members of the Slavic Benevolent Committee, Dostoevskii repeated, on every occasion, that Russia is the most superior civilization in the world and that its holy of holiest tasks was to save its Slavic coreligionists from the Ottoman yoke."[159] Dostoevskii thought that European civilization, which took its intellectual roots from rationalism and individualism, thus shaping its industrial and Catholic culture, was the enemy of Orthodoxy.[160] Therefore, he believed that Russia should seize Constantinople, and in this way, the Eastern Question would be solved in the hands of Tsarist rule.[161]

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As Seton-Watson indicates, "Russo-pan-Slav Imperialism" undermines the needs and concerns of the Balkan Slavs for the sake of establishing its own supremacy in the region. While Western and Southern Slavs' understanding of pan-Slavism was based on freeing themselves from any imperial power, their aim never

[156] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, 179- 180.
[157] Jelena Milojkovic-Djuric, *Panslavism and National Identity in Russia and the Balkans, 1830–1880*, New York: Columbia University Press, (1994), 113.
[158] Milojkovic-Djuric, *Panslavism and National Identity in Russia and the Balkans*, 4.
[159] See, Gülseven, "Russian Pan-Slavism's Intellectual And Political Traces In The Balkans"; Benedict Sumner, "Russia and Panslavism in the Eighteen-Seventies", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fourth Series* Vol.18 (1935), 31-32.
[160] Benedict Sumner, "Russia and Panslavism in the Eighteen-Seventies", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fourth Series* Vol.18 (1935), 31-32.
[161] Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, New York: Vintage Books, 1960, 181.

included dominating each other. Accordingly, pan-Slav ideology would serve the realization of a Slavic unity based on their literary and cultural characters, while at the same time providing national equality among all Slavs. Yet, some Slovak and Czech pan-Slavists contended that the Russians would never allow the formation a Slavic unity based on equal rights. Instead, they argued that Russia would use pan-Slavism in order to dominate over the other Slavs. Such groups of intellectuals favored Austro-Slavism, which they believed would preserve the heritage of the Slavic world.

Russian pan-Slavism's roots lay in the Slavophile idea, which arose from a growing awareness among intellectuals of the need to confront the emerging idea of Russian 'backwardness' in the nineteenth century. It was an intellectual initiative represented mainly in cultural spheres rather than in the political arena. While the cultural activities of Slavophiles were welcomed by the Russian public and administration, once they spread to the political sphere, St. Petersburg began to distance itself from the Slavophiles, wanting to stay clear of any radical imperialistic ideologies. However, over time, some Russian intellectuals, including eminent diplomats, defined Russian culture and Orthodoxy in opposition to Western civilization and Catholicism, supporting the unity of Slavs and Russians under Tsarist rule. These politicized intellectuals considered Russia as the natural leader of the Slavic World. Therefore, in time, the pan-Slavist ideologies with cultural inclinations were replaced by political motives. In the post-Crimean War period, Russian pan-Slavism put forward the necessity of establishing Russian supremacy over the Balkan Slavs, as a result of a possible war between Russia and the Porte.

To make clear my argument, Western pan-Slavism mainly focused on the cultural unity and national revival of Balkan Slavs, while Russian politicized pan-

Slav ideology aimed at taking advantage of the possible collapse of the Ottoman Empire, in order to expand its area of influence in Rumelia. While the Russian administration tried to keep its distance from any truly radical inclinations including pan-Slavism, some statesmen and institutions, such as N. P. Ignatiev and the Slavic Benevolent Committee brought pan-Slavic ideas to the forefront of society through various action and activities.

CHAPTER III

THE ASIATIC DEPARTMENT AND N. P. IGNATIEV

During the nineteenth century, the five problem areas regarding Russian foreign policy were the Near East, the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Far East.[162] Thus, part of the Russian diplomatic organization evolved on the basis of addressing issues in these regions. To that end, in the beginning of the eighteen-century, a College of the Secretary for the Asiatic Correspondences was formed and acted as a school of Oriental and Asiatic languages. By 1779, the Empress Catherine II founded an Asiatic Affairs section under the school of the Secret Office. This section was responsible for the translation and transmission of diplomatic correspondences, the preservation of official documents on the Asiatic affairs, and it acted as a consolidated body of Russia's Eastern policy.[163] In the first half of the nineteenth century, while Russo-Ottoman relations progressed, the Russian government was increasingly in need of stronger political and commercial networks with the Porte. On the Russian Foreign Ministry's agenda was the establishment of a specialized agency created to meet the need of developing relations with both the Ottoman Empire and the Eastern world. Therefore, in 1819, the Asiatic Department was established, and relations with the Porte became its priority interest.[164] Apart from

[162] Galen Blaine Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department during the Reign of Alexander II, 1855–1881" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1970), 4.
[163] Alexander I continued the reform of his father and brought them to implemented them in the ministerial system. Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department", 93-94.
[164] Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department," 19-20.

the Ottoman lands, Russian conduct in Persia, the Far East and Central Asia were the responsibility of the Department, from the beginning of the nineteenth century.[165]

In regards to these areas, Russia's Central Asian strategy occupied an important place. Relations with the Central Asian region quickly became an important matter due to complications arising from the inherent nature of the region, such as the diverse languages and customs of the peoples living in the steppes. However, Russian Foreign Ministry personnel were not yet experienced enough to understand the region and its role in a long-term Russian state policy. In the nineteenth century, the St. Petersburg administration instituted the Asiatic Department as the first official body to address the issue of policy and relations between Russia and Central Asia and then, in 1846, the Imperial Russian Geographical Society was implemented as a semi-official organization to evaluate and arrange Russia's dealings with the nations in Asia.[166] In the second half of the nineteenth century, a group of diplomatic personnel from the Asiatic department had already begun to discuss Russia's expansion into Central Asia.[167]

3.1. The Function and Activities of the Asiatic Department

The Asiatic Department rapidly broadened its functions during the reign of Alexander II. This period coincided with as increase in Russian control of the Central

[165] Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department," 35, 56.
[166] Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department," 65.
[167] Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department," 73. In 1860 Tsarist army started to seize the Khanate of Kokand; Russian General M. Cherniaev managed to capture Tashkent in 1865, and within three years General K. Kaufmann took Samarkand, Kokand and Bukhara. In 1873 he captured Khanate of Khiva; Khiva and Bukhara remained as protectorates. During all that period Gorchakov tried to make Europeans understand that the Central Asian policies were based on a defensive strategy, for the purpose of securing Russian borders. David Schimmelpennick Van Der Oye, "Russian Foreign Policy: 1815-1917", in *Cambridge History of Russia*, Vol. 2, ed. Dominic Lieven, (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni. Press, 2006), 562.

Asian border, which started at the beginning of the 1850s.[168] By the 1860,s the Russian Ministry of War, under the command of General Miliutin, became responsible for the nomads and khanates of Central Asia in lieu of the Asiatic Department. Accordingly, the Department extended its conduct with the Khanates of Khiva, Bukhara and Kokand.[169] In addition to Central Asia, another important region, which came to the fore in the second half of the century, was the Ottoman Balkans.

After the Paris Peace Agreement of 1856, Russia lost its diplomatic prestige in the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldova, and the Russian consular agents in Bucharest and Jassy were no longer of use to Russian plans. Russia needed to develop a new strategy to regain its political and economic influence in the Balkans. Nevertheless, this strategy was challenged by Western activities in the region, which included Catholic and Protestant activities of American, French, British and Austrian missionaries, who opposed Russian plans in Rumelia and raised the concerns of the Department's agents.[170] Preventing the increase of Western interests in the South Slavic lands, especially in Bulgaria, became a priority for the Asiatic Department. Beginning in 1856, it developed and ran extensive educational activities, through the supervision of student programs, which funded the education of Bulgarian students. Russian schools and universities. As well, the Department organized and supported the foundation of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee,[171] in part through the efforts of Naiden Gerov.[172]

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[168] Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department," 225-226.
[169] Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department," 229, For the rise and decrease in Russian political control in Central Asia between 1859-1873, see Seymour Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924*, (Cambridge: Harvard Uni. Press, 1968).
[170] Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department," 229-230.
[171] The details of the establishment and activities of the Slavic Benevolent Committee can be found in the "The Slavic Benevolent Committee Chapter" of this dissertation.
[172] Naiden Gerovich Gerov (1823-1900) had close relations with bureaucrats of the Russian Foreign Ministry. His network with the consul general in Adrianople, N.D. Stupin and Kovalevskii gave its fruit and firstly

The Asiatic Department was composed of experienced and well-educated personnel, who gave Russian international affairs direction. The most important decision maker was the Minister of Foreign Affairs A. M. Gorchakov, who was head of the Department. All official issues were reported to him, who, in turn presented the most important concerns to the Tsar in person. Tsar Alexander II had full trust in Gorchakov's conduct of foreign affairs. In fact, the post-Crimean War represented a critical period, where Russia had to arrange its internal and external policies on the basis of placating foreign relations. In this respect, Gorchakov was a peace-oriented bureaucrat, whose views were shaped by his European based education. The Minister of Finance, Count Reitern, can also be credited with influencing Gorchakov's views on maintaining good relations with the Western powers. Throughout his position as the Minister of Finance, Reitern was afraid of a possible war with the European powers, which would ruin the latest military and economic achievements of the Russian state. Hence he discouraged Russian expansion into Central Asia and was even in favor of renouncing Alaska to the USA for a very low price, in order to maintain good relations with the West. Reitern's approach of peaceful diplomacy impacted how Gorchakov conducted his own policy-making decisions, which aimed at maintaining peace in the international arena. For example, after the Black Sea was closed to the Russian navy as a result of the 1856 Agreement, Gorchakov intended to pursue territorial claims against Turkey, however, Reitern rejected this proposal in order to maintain favorable relations with the Ottomans. During the 1877-78 War, Reitern advised the Tsar not to enter into a war, although by that point it was already

Gorchakov, then the Tsar approved the Committee's establishment. Gerov, who received his education in Russia, later became a diplomatic agent and worked for increasing Russian political influence in Bulgaria. As a consul Gerov made every endeavor for the foundation of the Slavic Benevolent Committee, as an organization that would counteract the Western propaganda over the Balkan Orthodox Slavic people. To reach this goal, he believed, the most effective way was to strengthen Russia's political power through churches and education system. *Iz Arkhivata na Naiden Gerov*, Vol.2, ed. Toder Panchev, (Sofia: Blgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1911), 398, 473.

too late.[173] Indeed it was not Reitern but Russia's ambassador in Constantinople, N. P. Ignatiev, another important figure in the Asiatic Department, who most affected Russia's Balkan policy and the development of the 1877-1878 War.

3.2. Ignatiev's Plans concerning the Ottoman Balkans and His Role in Shaping Russia's Balkan Policy

3.2.1. Ignatiev's Family and Background

N. P. Ignatiev was probably the most influential official at the Asiatic Department in terms of shaping Russian foreign policy. His audacity to take extreme initiatives was, on the one hand, due to the support he received from Russian aristocracy from the beginning of his military and diplomatic career, and on the other hand, due to his family background. Ignatiev's[174] roots dated back to a Russian family, which had been famous in Russian aristocracy beginning from the fourteenth century[175] Fiodor Akinfovitch Biakont, who lived in Chernigov, northeast Ukraine, during the fourteenth century, was considered an ancestor to many royal Russian families, including the Ignatiev family. His son, Metropolit Aleksii, was a consultant to Muscovite Princes and the actual ruler of the Principality during the childhood of Dimitri Donskoi. Afterwards, his great-grand son took the surname Ignatiev. This aristocratic blood brought N. P. Ignatiev the title of 'Count' in 1877. Most of his family predecessors were military men. His father, P. N. Ignatiev, was appointed the

[173] Viktor Lopatnikov, *Vremia i Slujenie Kantslera Gorchakova* (Moskva: Molodaya Gvardiya, 2003), 180.
[174] For Ignatiev's biography and diplomatic career see David MacKenzie*, Count N.P. Ignat'ev: The Father of Lies?* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2002); Özhan Kapıcı, '"Osmanlı-Rus İlişkilerinde N.P. İgnatyev Dönemi ve Rusya'nın Osmanlı Siyaseti (1864-1877)" (PhD thesis, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2013); V. M. Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev, Rossiiskii Diplomat*, (Moscow: Kvadriga, 2009).
[175] Aslı Yiğit Gülseven, "Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans: N.P. Ignatiev and the Slavic Benevolent Committee (1856–77)," *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol.53, no.3 (2017), 345.

director of the *Pazhenskii* House in 1834, the most prestigious military education center of the time. In 1846, he became the General of the Armies and in 1852 a member of the State Council. After two years he was appointed Governor-general of St. Petersburg, where he served until 1861. Eventually, in 1872, he became the chairman of Committee of Ministers.[176] Another factor that brought Ignatiev the support of the Russian aristocracy and the respect of those in the higher ranks of Russian officials, was his marriage to Princess Ekaterina Golitsyna, the great-granddaughter of Marshal Mikhail Kutuzov.[177] From the very beginning of Ignatiev's appointment to the post in Constantinople, Gorchakov had a strong credence towards him. In addition to his far-sightedness, his family connections and success in missions abroad brought him respect from the highest ranks of the imperial bureaucracy. His diplomatic endeavors in Khiva, Bukhara and Beijing highly pleased Alexander II, and this paved the way for his Asiatic Department directorship.[178] Usually the Russian diplomatic tradition and Alexander II preferred to choose the director of the Asiatic Department from among successful personnel with famous aristocratic family backgrounds and with high professional potential.[179] Ignatiev possessed all of these features and was a perfect candidate for the post.

Ignatievs' initiatives, motivated by his pan-Slavic views, were somewhat independent from the center. His above-mentioned family and career background brought him respect within the Foreign Ministry and thus prevented any serious conflict with St. Petersburg, despite his pan-Slavic policies.

[176] For more information on Ignateiv's family and backround see See V. M. Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev, Rossiiskii Diplomat,* (Moscow: Kvadriga, 2009), 14; Leonid Strakhovsky, "Ignatiev and the Pan-Slav Movement," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, vol. 17, no. 3, (1957), 224.

[177] Mikhail Illarionovich Golenishchev-Kutuzov (1745-1813) was the Russian commander, who invaded the Grand Army of Napoleon I in 1812. See, David MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignat'ev: The Father of Lies?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 203.

[178] Gülseven, "Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans," 345.

[179] Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department," 299-300.

3.2.2. Ignatiev's Diplomatic Method and His Relations with the Russian Foreign Ministry

As mentioned above, following the Paris Peace Treaty, humiliating conditions were imposed upon Russia. Therefore the primary goal for the Tsar and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gorchakov, was to set out and reverse this situation. In order to realize this aim, it was necessary to advance the economic and military circumstances of Russia so that they mirrored those of Europe. A series of reform programs were enacted and the Russian administration concentrated on issues in the education, land, fiscal and military fields. In order to strengthen the country internally and in the eyes of the international arena, the Tsar and Gorchakov preferred to keep Russia in a non-aggressive environment.[180] Indeed, Ignatiev's purpose was the same as Gorchakov in terms of the abolition of the Paris Peace Treaty, however, his methods were offensive and motivated by his own initiatives, rather than the peace-oriented diplomacy of Gorchakov. Gorchakov was a passionate follower of the Concert of Europe, whereas Ignatiev was always suspicious about the intentions of Europe and the basis of his actions was formed upon the idea of standing against the European 'anti-Russian' coalition.[181]

After the Crimean defeat, the peaceful strategy of St. Petersburg in foreign affairs and its focus on modernizing its internal policy gave the impression that Russia felt offended and had isolated itself from the external world. These claims gained credence and grew among Western public opinion. Gorchakov addressed these rumors by a letter written to the Russian consular staff abroad: "Russia is accused of

[180] John Grenville, *Europe Reshaped 1848-1878,* London: Fontana Books 1986, p. 341; Gülseven, "Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans," 333.
[181] N.P. Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878),* V. Dmitrova, trans., (Sofia: Otechestvennaia Front, 1986), pp.50–6; I. J. Lederer, *Russian Foreign Policy,* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1962), p.434; Gülseven, "Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans," 333.

becoming isolated and keeping silence in front of the facts that are neither in harmony with law, nor with justice. They say that Russia is sulking; Russia is not sulking, it is concentrating."[182] Through these words Gorchakov made it clear that Russia's peaceful foreign policy was not a sign of defeat and isolation. On the contrary, it reflected a period of Russia gathering its power, in order to once again become a powerful actor in the international arena.

Unlike Gorchakov, Ignatiev was not patient enough to wait until Russia regained its pre-Crimean War prestige. He was eager to realize his political plans in the Ottoman Balkans at the risk of opposing Gorchakov. In the early days of Ignatiev's mission in Constantinople, the controversy between him and Gorchakov was not apparent. Indeed, Gorchakov had great respect and appreciation towards him. Part of that respect was rooted in Gorchakov's admiration for Ignatiev's father. This was explicit in Gorchakov's correspondences to Ignatiev, in which he conveyed his respect for Ignatiev's father.[183] Though Gorchakov always appreciated the diplomatic talent and capability of Ignatiev, their relationship deteriorated in the following years. By the mid-1860's, there were rumors in the Foreign Ministry about Ignatiev's election to the head of the Ministry. In addition, in 1865, he was considered to be appointed for the position of general-lieutenant, however, due to the objections of some of the Ministry staff, including P.N. Stremoukhov[184] and A.G.

[182] "Rossiiu uprekaiut v tom, chto ona izoliruiutsia i molchit pered litsom takikh faktov, kotorye ne garmoniruiut ni s pravom, ni so spravedlivostiu. Govariat, chto Rossiia serditsia. Rossiia ne serditsia, Rossiia ne sosreditochivaetsia." V. Lopatnikov, "Rossiya sosredotaçivaetsya. K 200-letniu so dnya rojdeniya A.M. Gorçakova," *Mejdunarodnaya jizn'*, no.10, (1998); Gülseven, "Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans," 333-334.

[183] See for example, GARF, f.828, first expedition, op1., d.1434, 295-297, 25 April 1865; 828.op.1.d.1434, 190-191, 24 Mars 1865. GARF, f.828, first expedition, op.1., d.1435, 76-77.

[184] Petr Nikolaevich Stremoukhov (1823-1885) was a Russian diplomat, who served as the director of the Asiatic Department between the years 1864-1875.

,Dzhomini[185], this plan was cancelled. In fact, a group of diplomatic officials preferred Gorchakov to Ignatiev, as the head of the Foreign Ministry, as they shared Gorchakov's doubt and they were not comfortable with Ignatiev's initiatives, suspecting that his diplomatic actions would trigger a war. However, the Tsar's opinion about Ignatiev was mostly positive due to both his father's membership at the Court of Ministers, and his talent in diplomacy.[186] Nevertheless, though the Tsar was interested in his projects, he eventually agreed with the evaluations of Gorchakov, who he considered to be more trustworthy than Ignatiev among the Russian bureaucrats. [187]

While Ignatiev was a skilled diplomat, who was successful in both military and diplomatic conducts, Gorchakov was a European-minded diplomat highly practiced in peacekeeping strategies and in balancing international relations, particularly with the West.[188] Their methodological differences formed the ground of their discord in regards to foreign policy making. Ignatiev accused Gorchakov of not paying enough attention to his personal diplomatic plans. In particular, he blamed Gorchakov of keeping Russia a passive player in the Balkans, trying to avoid any direct competition with the European powers.[189] For him, Russian missionary activities in Rumelia were the first step to solve Russia's Eastern question, whether it was realized militarily or peacefully was less important.[190]

During his stay at the Asiatic Department, Ignatiev had drawn the general framework of his mission in Constantinople and his general project was in parallel with the objectives of Gorchakov. However, while Gorchakov's policies were

[185] Aleksandr Genrikhovich Zhomini (1814-1888) was a Russian dipomat, who served as the senior counsellor in the Foreign Office during the Russo-Ottoman War o 1877-78. After the Crimean War he was appointed to Berlin, and in 1861 to Paris.
[186] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 187-188.
[187] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev,* 188.
[188] Lopatnikov, *Vremia i Slujenie Kantslera Gorchakova*, 158-159.
[189] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878),* 70-71.
[190] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878),* 58.

inclined towards traditional diplomatic methods, which meant keeping in good standing with the European powers and which referred mostly to maintaining and following international agreements, Ignatiev preferred direct contact and bilateral agreements with the Ottoman administration, bypassing France, Britain and Austria.[191] In some of his correspondences to Ignatiev, Gorchakov demanded him not to interfere in the rights of the Ottoman Christians, and to stay away from any act that could irritate the European states.[192] While Ignatiev was self-assured and always had his version of a foreign policy in mind, Gorchakov was not pleased with the diplomatic personnel who tended to act on their own initiatives.[193] Gorchakov was doubtful of what steps Ignatiev would take regarding the Empire's Central Asian strategies. Giving utmost importance to Central Asia, Ignatiev put forth a plan in 1859, to expand Russian influence in the region in order to stop British expansion into Asia.[194] However, his plans regarding Central Asia were stopped by Gorchakov, as neither Britain nor Russia wanted to enter into a new conflict. After these expansionist plans were cancelled in the summer of 1864, Ignatiev was appointed as ambassador to Constantinople. As the Soviet historian Khevrolina underlines, Gorchakov deliberately sent Ignatiev away from St. Petersburg, because he was suspicious that Ignatiev would continue to deal with Central Asian politics, on the side and of his own terms, disregarding any objection from St. Petersburg.[195] It so happened that Ignatiev also preferred to work away from St. Petersburg, away from its watchful eyes and under his own discretion. Furthermore, he, himself, was not satisfied in being the director of the Asiatic department, as he was looking forward to

[191] Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department," 317.
[192] See GARF, f.828, first expedition, op.1, d.1434, 149.
[193] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 117.
[194] For Ignatiev's plan in 1863 on attacking British interest in the Pasific Ocean, which was to come closer with Persia, Afganistan, Muslim population of India, See Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 125, 128.
[195] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 129.

take his own directives in dealing with Russia's Eastern question.[196] His goal was to carry out his own political plans, free of St. Petersburg. He aimed at increasing Russian influence in the Ottoman Palace and decreasing those of the European one over the Porte and the Orthodox subjects of the Sultan.[197] He believed that the true development of the Balkan people could only be realized by founding an independent Slavic Orthodox establishment under Russian leadership.[198] Therefore, in order to do so, Russia had to build its own authority in order to find a Russia-centered solution to the Eastern Question. Until that could be achieved, Ignatiev believed that he should strengthen his own, personal influence over the Ottoman Palace.[199]

Another disagreement between Ignatiev and Gorchakov concerned the Church of Holy Sepulchure (in Jerusalem). In the early days of his post in Constantinople, a concern of the Ambassador was the Church Question of the Holy Lands, which would set in motion a Russo-French confrontation. This question referred to restoration of the cape to the Church of Holy Sepulchure's and ultimately created tension between the two powers.[200] Ignatiev proposed Gorchakov that Russia should take any precautions necessary to protect all of the rights of the *Clergé Orthodoxe*. He claimed that the dignity of Russia in the region depended on solving the matter. In his letter to Ignatiev, on the 15th and 31th of March, 1865, Gorchakov wrote that he should not interfere with the issue, for otherwise Russo-French relations would certainly deteriorate, which would not, in fact, help the *Orthodoxe Clergé*. Moreover, Gorchakov was concerned that Ignatiev's attempts would trigger "*têtê â têtê*"

[196] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev,* 133.
[197] Gülseven, "Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans, 335.
[198] Ignatiev, *Zapiski, (1875-1878),* 60-61.
[199] Ignatiev, *Zapiski, (1875-1878),* 72.
[200] Özhan Kapıcı, "Osmanlı-Rus İlişkilerinde N.P. Ignatyev Dönemi," 361.

cooperation between Âli Pasha and the French diplomat, the Marquis de Moustier.[201] For this reason, Gorchakov and the Asiatic Department personnel were cautious about Ignatiev's intentions.

The existing studies concerning Russian foreign policy do not engage the total effect of the Pan-Slavic movement in regards to the making of Russian foreign policy. It is certain that the Ignatiev-Gorchakov disagreement was rooted in Igantiev's pan-Slavist influence on his formulation of Russian Foreign policy versus Gorchakov's European mindedness. In fact, pan-Slavic ideology did not have an official place in Russian imperial policy between 1856-1877. Gorchakov always believed that nationalist sentiments would harm Russia's relations with Europe. Having been first educated in the European model, and then progressing to the Russian Army with a German military background, he was educated to disagree with Ignatiev's belligerent methods and favored a peaceful and balanced foreign policy with the West. Being concerned with the increasing nationalist sentiments expressed throughout Eastern Europe , Gorchakov frequently censored pan-Slavic journals such as *Den*, *Moskvich*, *Parus* and *Moskva*.[202]Gorchakov's sensitiveness in regards to the European Powers was also underlined in the memoires of an Ottoman historian, and Gorchakov's contemporary, Ahmed Saib. According to Saib, the Russian foreign Ministry hoped to escape the risk of war with Europe until Russia regained its power.[203]

[201] GARF, f.828, op.1, d.1434, p.148-150; GARF, f.828, op.1, d.1434, p. 230-232. Gorchakov had also correspondences with the Russian representatives in London on the Jerusalem question. See, GARF, f.828, op.1, d.1434, p.229-230. Lionel de Moustier was a French diplomat. He was ambassador to Constantinoplebetween 1861-1866. In 1866, he was appointed as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in place of Edouard Drouyn de Lhuys.

[202] M.S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question: A Study in International Relations* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), 171.

[203] See Ahmed Saib, *Şark Meslesi,* Saadettin Gömeç (ed.) (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2000), 32, for the first edition of Saib's work see Ahmed Saib, *Tarih-i Meşrutiyet ve Şark Meselesi Hâzırası* (Dersaadet: 1328).

> "Russian and European interests on the Eastern Question were in the opposite direction. Russians understood that solving this problem through Russian interests would be hard, even impossible, while confronting all European states. That's why, they favored the on-going state of play until the general situation would turn to their advantage."[204]

In the 1830s and 1840s, Western states approached pan-Slavic ideas with prejudice and considered them as dangerous as national or liberal ideologies, as well as radical and threatening to the European balance of power. The prominent statesman behind the Congress of Vienna, Metternich, aimed at preserving the balance by standing against all nationalist and radical ideas. The Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, K. V. Nesselrode[205] followed the diplomatic path of the Vienna order and stood against the pan-Slavists. Gorchakov followed the same ideological line as his predecessor Nesselrode, and he considered Ignatiev's political methods, supportive of pan-Slavic ideology, as an unfortunate and untimely attitude.[206] Thus, throughout the rule of Tsar Alexander, Gorchakov attempted to hamper any official support of pan-Slavists,[207] thus, pan-Slavic ideas spread mostly in the cultural sphere rather than among political circles.[208] The Russian administration, and especially the Foreign Ministry, was careful to distance themselves from any radical attempts, in an attempt to avoid any conflict with the West.[209] Yet Ignatiev, was active enough, to be

[204] "...Rusya kendisi için hayati bir mesele saydığı Doğu Probleminde çıkarlar açısından Avrupa ile tamamen ters bir istikamette bulunuyor. Ruslar bütün Avrupa devletlerine taban tabana zıt giderek şimdilik bu meseleyi Rus menfaatlerine uygun olarak çözmeyi zor, hatta mümkün görmüyorlar. İşte bunun içindir ki, umumi vaziyet kendileri için müsait oluncaya kadar mevcut durumun taraftarıdırlar." Saib, Şark Meselesi, 32.
[205] Karl Vasilievich Nesselrode was in charge as the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1822-1856.
[206] Hans Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), 126–127.
[207] Lopatnikov, *Vremia i Slujenie Kantslera Gorchakova*, 70.
[208] Fort he details of the development of the Russian Cultural and Political Panslavism see the second chapter of this dissertation.
[209] At the 1867 Congress, when the tsar met with Czech historian Frantisek Palacky and publicist Frantisek Ladislav Rieger, he avoided discussing politics. See Guins, 'The Politics of "Pan-Slavism"', p.126.

able to direct Russian foreign policy in the Balkans during his ambassadorship in Constantinople, despite a discord with St. Petersburg. His son, Pavel Ignatiev, wrote in his memoires that his father struggled with the Russian Foreign Ministry as much as he did with the Western powers and the Porte.[210]

As a pan-Slavist, Ignatiev "saw in the Slavophil movement only an expression of national self-consciousness and looked on all the Slavs outside of Russia as natural allies against the increasing aggressiveness of the regenerated Teutons." [211] Ignatiev's actual goal was not to support the independence of these "natural allies", rather his priority was to guarantee Russian foreign policy interests in the region. He used pan-Slavic ideology for political purposes rather than in cultural or religious grounds.

However, this political line was not easy to follow due to several international complications, which included the power struggle of European powers (especially France and Austria-Hungary) in the Balkans and the West's influence upon the Ottoman Empire. In his memoires, Ignatiev touches upon the general political atmosphere between Russia, Europe and the Porte and admits that the only way for Russia to turn the situation to its advantage, would be through a military approach rather than a peaceful one:

> "Our old sympathy for our fellow believers and our duties towards them form the basis of our policy in the East. Unfortunately, after the war of 1854 to 1856 the Greeks had been taken away from us without inspiring Slavs with confidence. The political situation in the early days of my stay

[210] See, Strakhovsky, "Ignatiev and the Pan-Slav Movement," 231–232; Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department," 429.
[211] Strakhovsky, 'General Count N.P. Ignatiev', p.225

in Constantinople offered a major obstacle to the restoration of our relationship with them on the old manner."[212]

Ignatiev acknowledged that fact that canceling Russia's humiliation of 1856 could not be possible in the "old manner," that is to say by war, as long as St. Petersburg continued to emphasize peace. As long as this policy was implemented, it would allow for the European states to turn the situation to their advantage, beginning by their increasing impact on Greece. Indeed, Ignatiev gave a special importance to Greco-Russian relations. He was aware that the Greek administration was more inclined towards the West than to Russia. If Russia lost control in the Balkans, Greece would easily enter into the European orbit, and the Western states could immediately establish their guard over the Greeks, under the guise of protecting them from Russia. Ignatiev believed Europe would wait until Russia was at its weakest to find a European-centered solution for the Eastern Question. In doing so, Russia's connection with its Slavic co-religionists would finally be cut and a "Slavic-Hungarian-Romanian confederation" could be established under European supervision.[213]

3.2.3. Ignatiev's Balkan Policy during his Asiatic Department Directorship

Ignatiev's predecessor at the Asiatic Department was E. P. Kovalevskii, who attributed special importance to Pan-Slavic ideology in regards to Balkan affairs. He

[212] Graf N.P. Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* ed. Iliia Todev, (Sophia: Derzhavnaia Agentsiia Arkhivi 2009) p.62. "Nos antiques sympathies pour nos coreligionnaires et nos devoirs envers eux forment la base de notre politique en Orient. Malheureusement après la guerre de 1854-56 on avait réussi à éloigner de nous les Grecs sans inspirer aux Slaves de la confiance. La situation politique dans les premiers temps de mon séjour à Constantinople offrait des grands obstacles au rétablissement de nos relations avec eux sur l'ancien pied."
[213] Ignatiev, *Zapiski, (1875-1878)*, 59.

did so, in order to strengthen Russian interests in the Balkans and the Near East.[214] In April 1861, Kovalevskii's brother, who was the Minister of National Education, Evgraf Kovalevskii, resigned due to a student demonstration. Following his brother's resignation, E. P. Kovalevskii also decided to leave his directorship of the Asiatic Department. [215] Ignatiev took office from Kovalevskii, and to a large extent followed his policies.[216] From the first day of his directorship, he reported to the Tsar about the importance of reinforcing Russia's political impact in the Balkans and the need to compete with the Western influence there.[217]

Throughout his Asiatic Department post, Ignatiev acted under the influence of military authorities. This influence increased tensions between Russia and the West. Even F. F. Martens[218], a jurist and diplomat, complained about the Asiatic Department's warlike foreign policy in the East, while St. Petersburg strived towards enacting conciliatory relations.[219] These belligerent policies were mostly affected by the initiatives of Ignatiev, who planned to struggle with French, British and Austrian interests in the Balkans.

Prior to his appointment as director of the Asiatic Department, Ignatiev first acted as a consultant to Gorchakov regarding the Eastern Question[220] and then between 1861-64, he as served as an assistant to the Minister, as an extension of his role as director. During that period, he became acquainted with the problems of the Slavs. According

[214] B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), 24-25; (Kovalevskii was the director of the Asiatic Department between 1856-1861.
[215] For more information on Kovalevskii see, Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 112-113.
[216] Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department," 317; For Kovalevskii's Balkan policy see. Egor Petrovich Kovalevskii. "Putevie Zapiski o Slavianskish Zemliakh". *Russkaia Beseda*, 1958, no.1, Otdel V: 1-53.
[217] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 114-115; Ignatiev's suspicions towards the European activities had its roots in his impressions during his visit to Vienna. His mistrust reached to such an extent that he claimed there were secret organizations in Europe, which controlled the politicians, societies and money. See GARF, f.730, first expedition, Op.1, d. 4485 in Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 110.
[218] Friedrich Fromhold von Martens (Fyodor Fyodorovich Martens) (1845 - 1909) was a jurist and diplomat, who worked under Russian administration. He edited many volumes of Russian international treaties including the years between 1874 and 1909.
[219] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 116.
[220] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878*, 49.

to him, the main obstacle to the Balkan peoples' development was that they did not have a cohesive unity among them, the primary cause of which was the religious question. Therefore, in every occasion Ignatiev noticed to Gorchakov and the Tsar that Russia should focus on strengthening its position in the Danubian Principalities and should form a unity of Balkan Slavs under Russian domination.[221] In an effort to make Slavic unity a reality, Ignatiev planned to promote the establishment of a Serbo-Bulgarian state, which he suggested would be ruled by the pro-Russian Prince Mikhail of Serbia, in which the Bulgarians could only form a "raw-material, as they lack well-educated elite."[222] In 1866, in a secret letter to Foreign Minister Gorchakov, Ignatiev wrote about the probability of a general revolt of the Ottoman Orthodox-Slavic subjects, in which he asserted that the Greeks, Serbians, Montenegrins and Albanians had become closer than ever. In this regard, he was afraid of the possible interference of the European powers in Ottoman policy-making, as their interventions would both put at risk Russia's interests in the Ottoman Balkan and harm its relations with the Porte. So, he argued that a Slavic unification without Russian supervision, should be a scenario avoided at all costs as it would be completely detrimental to Russian interests in the region.[223]

During the period Ignatiev spent as the director of Asiatic Department he concerned himself mainly with three points: The first task was to restrengthen Russia's influence in Europe and restore its dignity by abolishing the Paris Peace Agreement. This included reversing restrictions put on Russia in regards to access the Black Sea, back to their previous state.[224] To accomplish this, St. Petersburg should build armored ships in the Black Sea and then, once Russia reconsolidated its

[221] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 117.
[222] "…bălgrite predstavliavakha zasega samo surov material, bez dostatchno kadry", see Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 57. Gülseven, "Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans, 337, 346.
[223] Secret letter from Ignatiev to Gorchakov, 27 December 1866. Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878),* 56-64.
[224] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 49

strength, Russian diplomats could begin to negotiate with the Porte. Another point of contention concerning the Peace Agreement was the fate of Bessarabia, in regard to which, Ignatiev believed neither in the tolerance of Romanians nor in the consent of Europe. Accordingly, Russia should support the Romanian people's discontent with the Romanian administration and constitution, and should prepare to annex these lands, making them a part of Russia.[225]

> "My objective is to increase the Romanian people's sympathy towards Russia; to instigate a fight between the Romanians with Austria and the Ottoman Empire. Taking away Bessarabia from Romania should appear as a sign of their gratitude to Russia. [Consequently, this act would] strengthen the Russian position at the mouth of the Danube."[226]

Ignatiev accused Gorchakov and N. K. Giers[227] of not paying enough attention to the plan of annexing Bessarabia into Russia.[228] Again, even in reference to the Bessarabia matter, he mentioned the necessity of a war to re-introduce Russian domination over these lost territories in the Balkans.[229]

> "Both Alexander II and I thought that Russia should remove the stain on its reputation that we got by our removal from the territories we owned, as wished by our enemies.[230] That would

[225] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 50
[226] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 50
[227] Nikolai Karlovich Giers (1820-1895) began his career in 1838 at the Asiatic Department, and he became a dragoman in 1841 at the consulate of Jassy. In 1850 he became the first secretary in Constantinople. Between 1851-1856 he served in Moldavia and Wallachia and Egypt; and between 1863-1872 he served in Tehran, Bern and Stockholm. He became the director of the Asiatic Department in 1875. In 1882 Tsar Alexander III appointed him as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, where he stayed until his death in 1895.
[228] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 50-51.
[229] The Romanian question will be discussed in detail in the fourth Chapter of this thesis.
[230] As Ignatiev stated in the second entry of his objections there was a Russian population in Bogdan. (Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 50.

> be an intimidation that Russia would never give a single inch of Russian territory to our neighbors without fighting."[231]

Ignatiev's second objective was that Russia should seize the Straits, because the Black Sea served as a confined passage for Russia.

> "We want the Straits not because we want to provide the security of our southern line in a direct or indirect way. The real matter is political and economical. Russia is obliged to be the *gospodar* [master] of Constantinople."[232]

Ignatiev believed that if he were able to successfully influence the Sultan, he would be able to realize this goal and Russia could establish an infinite supremacy over the Straits. Therefore, Ignatiev gave utmost importance to increasing the sphere of Russia's influence on the Porte.

> "While continuing our relations with the Sultan and his ministers, we can prepare the autonomy of our coreligionists, that depend on us, we can neutralize the Ottoman Empire and gain our rights over the Straits. Let the Sultan live in Constantinople until his death; in that period we can find a radical solution to the Eastern Question and without arguing we can take the Straits under our control, by establishing our influence over Bulgarians, Greeks and Armenians."[233]

So Ignatiev thought that this problem could still be solved peacefully by establishing good relations with the Ottoman Palace as the European states had been doing for some time. A second option would be to physically invade the Straits, if either

[231] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 50-51.
[232] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 51.
[233] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 51-52.

Europe or the Porte opposed and disagreed with his plans.[234] Ignatiev wrote; "In order to find a permanent solution to the Eastern Question and to protect Russian interests the only way is for Russia to annex the Straits."[235] For him the Straits were a key element in Russia's future expansionist plans and thus he reached the conclusion that, in case of a military intervention Russia should deploy troops in three geographical points: Galicia, the Black Sea shores, and Caucasus. The troops at the Black Sea shores would enter Anatolia through the Straits, and the Caucasus troops would enter Anatolia from the opposite direction, where the European powers would not have the chance to stop Russia.[236] He proposed that, in case of an Austrian expansion to the south, and of a European (especially British) attempt to alienate the Porte from Russia, St. Petersburg had to interfere physically and dominate the exits of the Mediterranean Sea, to control the "*Tsargrad* Straits."[237]

In addition to above strategies, Ignatiev's another concern during his Asiatic Department post, was the socio-political structure of the Slavic people in the Balkans. According to him, due to the fact that each national group was working towards their own national independence they did not have close religious ties with each other. Russia had few chances to unite these people from different ethnic and cultural origins. One option was to establish a common literary language among them, while the second was to form a defensive union among them against a common enemy. This type of unity would force the Slavs to act towards a common diplomatic and economic path. Indeed, he aimed to unify all of the different Slavic peoples in order to make them act in common with Russian interests and to act as a natural ally to Russia.

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[234] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 51.
[235] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 51. In the War of 1877-78 Russia practically couldn't win the war, because it couldn't take the Straits, thus it couldn't solve the Eastern Question through Russian interests.
[236] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 69.
[237] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 51-52.

The crucial obstacles in front of Ignatiev's objectives were, however, the Polish people, Catholic fanaticism, Westernization movements and the Latin antipathy towards Orthodoxy. Ignatiev saw Austria as the biggest enemy of Russia, as it also had expansionist plans towards the Balkans, and geostrategic interests over the Hungarian and Polish people. Thus, he believed that sooner or later Russia would enter into a war against Austria. He worried about the Austrian as well as European states' secret agents, who began to emerge in Romania, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece, and who were trying to conspire against Russia by winning Slavic people over. For this reason, Ignatiev wanted to immediately start a project, which would eventually unite the Balkan Slavs in parallel with the Russian "historical mission."[238]

Since his the position as head of the Asiatic Department, Ignatiev's primary concern was focused on achieving these very specific goals. He wanted to abolish the neutralization of the Black Sea first, to bring it under Russian influence and control. Furthermore, he wanted to return Southern Bessarabia, Izmail and the mouth of the Danube to Russian territory and eliminate Western support of the Ottoman Empire. Though Gorchakov agreed with these tasks, his methods differed from Ignatiev's. While Gorchakov pursued a "European Concert" oriented foreign policy, Ignatiev did not trust the European powers, as he suspected that they were ready, at any time, to form an anti-Russia coalition. Ignatiev's secondary goal was aimed at direct Russian control of the Straits and to reach that goal he was ready to act either peacefully, by enacting an agreement with the Porte, or by force, in case of a confrontation with Europe. His third plan was to unify the Balkan Orthodox Slavs in the form of a defensive body, in order to both increase Russian influence in the region and to arrange an effective group of opposition against Austria.[239]

[238] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 52, 55.
[239] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 118.

Gorchakov, however, believed that Austria should take part in developing a solution to the Eastern Question and the fate of the Balkan peoples. In particular, Ignatiev's plans in regards to Russo-Austrian relations were especially divergent from Gorchakov, A.G. Dzhomini and some of the other Russian diplomatic staff.[240] His ambitious plans concerning the Ottoman Balkans were opposed by the most important cadres of St. Petersburg, such as the head of the Asiatic Department between 1864 and 1875, Petr Nikolaievich Stremoukhov, the Minister of War, Dimitrii Alekseevich Miliutin, Minister of Finance, Count Mikhail Khristoforovich Reitern and Aleksandr Mikhailovich Gorchakov, diplomat Nikolai Karlovich Giers, as well as many other Ministry personnel.[241] Nonetheless, Ignatiev's proposals were not declined immediately, they were taken into consideration and the high-grade officials took some precautions for avoiding any radical diplomatic act.[242] Despite the fact that Ignatiev's objectives and methods diverged too much from those of the Foreign Ministry, when he was appointed to Constantinople, this was a welcome change and considered a promotion, and also provided him with flexibility of taking his own initiatives in regards to diplomatic actions in the Balkans.[243] His political program, which was based mostly on his own initiatives, took its roots from his sympathy to pan-Slavism. However, by practicing 'back-door diplomacy' when dealing with the Porte, St. Petersburg's confidence in his diplomatic abilities slowly diminished.[244]

The Soviet historian Khevrolina's description concerning the historical mission of Russia mirrors the Ambassador's political objectives for the Balkans:

[240] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 118.
[241] Asiatic Department, p.318, 331; GARF, f.828, first expedition, op.1, d.1434, 149.
[242] Ritchie, *The Asiatic Department*, 318.
[243] Ritchie, *The Asiatic Department,* 319.
[244] Gülseven, "Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans, 342.

> "The historical mission of Russia was to collect and protect Slavs for itself, and not to give anyone a single inch of the Slavic lands…In the form of a future barrier for Russia it is essential, that the Slavic flag belonged to the Russian Tsar and that by no means not to let any state's influence to increase, especially Austro-Hungary's, in the Balkan Peninsula."[245]

Khevrolina sees the failure of Ignatiev's policies as resulting from his negligent attitude towards certain crucial factors, such as the European Powers' opposition to Russia's Eastern policy, the Balkan people's conflict among themselves and Russia's weak economic and financial situation after the Crimean defeat. Thus, according to her, Ignatiev's plans were "not more than a dream," and he could not implement what Gorchakov emphasized, that Russia had first to solve its internal problems, as only then it could strengthen its power in the Balkans.[246]

3.2.4. Ignatiev's General Plan During His Ambassadorship in Constantinople

In 1861, Ignatiev became the director of the Asiatic Department. In August of the same year his first visit to Constantinople was for the purpose of celebrating the coronation of Sultan Abdul Aziz. It was also the first time he had direct contact with Ottoman high officials. During his first years at the Asiatic Department, he established close relations with pan-Slavists such as I. S. Aksakov[247], Y. F.

[245] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 118-119
[246] Soviet historian Khevrolina argued that there were periods in Russian history when some of these plans were realized, however mainly they remained unfulfilled, Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 119.
[247] Ivan Sergeevich Aksakov (1823–86) was a Russian eminent supporter of the Russian pan-Slav idea. He was a member of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee.

Samarin[248], F. I. Tiutchev[249] and V. A. Cherkassky.[250] In the beginning of 1860's, Ignatiev became acquainted with several Slavophiles, mostly thanks to Kovalevskii, who was close to them. The activities of pan-Slavic groups were conducted through the Russian consulates, which meant that the Asiatic department was in control of these actions.[251] In St. Petersburg, Ignatiev became close to the Slavophiles and diplomat A.F. Hilferding [252] and I.S. Aksakov. The Ambassador published announcements of the Asiatic Department in Aksakov's journal *Den* until 1861, in order to inform the public about the socio-economic conditions of the Ottoman Slavs. He complained that the French and German newspapers contained subjective articles about the living conditions of Ottoman Orthodox Slavs, and that these biased newspapers were the only sources Russian public get informed on the Slav people, therefore he took matters into his own hands to rectify the situation and published his own, 'correct' information.[253]

Ignatiev laid the foundations of his Balkan policy during his post at the Asiatic Department. Within three years of his directorship, he spent most of his time planning Russian foreign policy concerning the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans. These years developed the theoretical basis of his practical attempts during his days in Constantinople. In his notes, Ignatiev divided his stay in Constantinople into four periods: the first began in 1864 and continued for two years, and was defined by influence and actions of the Western Powers. In that period, Russia sought to weaken

[248] Iurii Fyodorovich Samarin (1819–76) was a Russian philosopher and Slavophil.
[249] Fyodor Ivanovich Tiutchev (1803–73) was a Russian poet and diplomat. He was a notable pan-Slavist.
[250] Vladimir Aleksandrovich Cherkassky (1824–78) was a Russian pan-Slavist and active supporter of the Serfdom Reforms. He fought in Bulgaria during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. B. H. Sumner, "Russia and Panslavism in the Eighteen-Seventies," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fourth Series* 18, (1935), 37.
[251] For the details see the Chapter V – The Slavic Benevolent Committee and Russian Diplomacy in the Balkans.
[252] A. F. Gilferding was the Russian consul in Sarajevo between 1856-1858.
[253] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 124.

Western influence on the Porte by gaining the confidence of the Sultan and his Orthodox Slavic subjects. The second period, between 1866 and 1869, was notable due to the Cretan issue and the Declaration of 1868.[254]. While, the third, continued from 1869 until 1871 and represented a time when Russia adopted a policy of peaceful efforts in the Orthodox Balkans, and a struggle for the abolition of the Paris Peace Treaty. This period ended with the London Convention of 1871. The last period comprised the years between 1871 and 1874, and its most important feature was the development of good relations with the Porte by supporting the amelioration of the Orthodox Slavs' living conditions and providing the autonomy of tribute states, in which it was expected Russian influence would increase in the Ottoman Empire.[255]

During his first years at Constantinople, it was not easy for Ignatiev to put his plans in practice, as his arrival in 1864 coincided with 'the zenith of the three power's supremacy': Britain, France and Austria. In the meantime, the Ottoman

[254] The St. Petersburg Declaration of 1868 was a declaration renouncing the use of "Explosive Projectiles" under four hundered grammes. For further information see Henri Meyrowitz, "The principle of superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering: From the Declaration of St. Petersburg of 1868 to Additional Protocol 1 of 1977," *International Review of the Red Cross,* vol.34, no.299, vol.34, no.299, doi:10.1017/S002086040007830X.

[255] "Pour plus de clarté je diviserai ce travail en quatre parties correspondantes aux périodes caractéristiques et distinctives de notre politique locale, nommément:

1) De 1884 à la fin de 1866. C'est l'époque de la prépondérance des Puissances Occidentales, nous tâchons d'affaiblir leur influence, de disjoindre leur entente, de calmer les vieilles méfiances des Turques à notre égard et, tout en maintenant de bons rapports avec la Porte, de nous rapprocher de nos coreligionnaires, la principale question de cette époque est celle de Roumanie, qui donne le mesure de la situation et forme son point culminant elle a été close par la Conférence de Paris.

2) De 1886 à 1869. Durant cane époquela question qui occupe presque exclusivement la politique orientale est celle de Crête avec les difficultés que'elle provoquait en paraissant vouloir amener de grands changements en Orient; le trait caractéristique de cette période est l'appui moral qui nous prêtons aux Chrétiens dans l'Empire Ottoman, appui qui pouvait accélérer la réorganisation de l'Orient en favorisant le courant des aspirations nationales parmi les populations orthodoxes; cette période se termine par la déclaration de 1868.

3) De 1869 à 1871. Comprend l'époque pendant laquelle tous nos efforts sont dirigés vers l'amélioration du sort de nos coreligionnaires par de voies pacifiques et à l'abolition du Traité de Paris sans commotions violentes, elle aboutit à la Conférence de Londres et au Traité de 1871.

4) De 1871 jusqu'à ce jour. En entretenant d'excellents rapports avec la Porte tout en favorisant le développement des races chrétiennes et l'autonomie des pays tributaires, nous réussissons à acquérir une influence considérable en Turquie et nous préparons à la solution des problèmes difficiles de l'avenir." Tsargrad, 27 August 1874. See Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 4.

administration developed a "blind defiance"[256] towards Russia. Following the Paris Peace Agreement, the signatories Britain, France and Austria undertook the protectorship of the Ottoman Empire, and sought to prevent any Russian impact on the Porte. Ignatiev wrote that France presented Russia as a scarecrow to frighten the Ottomans and convince them that France, together with Britain and Austria, had saved the Empire from Russians. That led to the alienation of the Ottoman Orthodox Slavs from Russia and revealed Russia's weakness to the Ottomans. Ignatiev believed, that was why the Ottoman ministers were suspicious in regards to Russian plans concerning the Balkan Orthodox Slavs.[257] The most important diplomatic and political actor, who sought to exclude Russia from the solution of the Eastern Question, was the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Bulwer, who had close relations with Ottoman bureaucrats. Yet, for Ignatiev, it was the French Ambassador, le Marquis de Moustier, who had the most extensive impact on the Porte.[258] Indeed, Moustier was more influential then Bulwer, when it came to decisions made by Ottoman bureaucrats about issues concerning the Balkans. On the other hand, the Austrian diplomat Baron de Prokesch, who was pro-British,[259] was more cautious and focused on camouflaging his governments' plans in the Balkans. Ignatiev was aware of the discord among these three powers and he considered that the Russian threat was the ground that brought them together.[260] He wrote:

[256] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 4-7. When Russian and French interests confronted in the Church question at the Holy land, Gorchakov wrote to Ignatiev to act delicately to get along with Moustier. See, GARF, f.828, first expedition, op.1, d.1434, 230-232.
[257] The issue on Ottoman bureaucrats' attitude towards Russian foreign policy will be elaborated in more detail in the Chapter "Ottoman Reforms and Russia's policies."
[258] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 4-7. When Russian and French interests confronted in the Church question at the Holy land, Gorchakov wrote to Ignatiev to act delicately to get along with Moustier. See, GARF, f.828, first expedition, op.1, d.1434, 230-232.
[259] Prussia was acting in parallel with Britain, as Italy was acting in accordance with France. Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 8.
[260] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 8.

> "… Russia was completely isolated; it had no point of support to serve as a basis for its action, and its influence on the Turks was at that time almost entirely extinguished. Russia's setbacks in the Crimea affected his political position in the East more than the insignificant position it was enclosed after 1856… While England and Austria had assumed the role of special defenders of the Porte, France posed itself as the protector of the Christians by seeking to replace us [Russia] among them [three signatories], and all the important questions were solved by an agreement between these three Powers."[261]

Ignatiev states that since the Crimean defeat, St. Petersburg took steps towards fixing Russia's relations with both Europe and the Ottoman Empire. He wrote that as of 1860, Russia began to make political moves to ameliorate the socio-political status of Ottoman Christian subjects. First, in 1860, it acted in favor of Bulgaria in the Church dispute. During the 1861-62 Montenegrin-Ottoman War, Russia supported Montenegro as well as Serbia during Belgrade bombardment of 1862. He continues, in addition to these attempts, Russia repeatedly reported to the European states the sufferings of the Ottoman Christian subjects. However, these moves did not increase Russia's prestige in the international arena and Ignatiev was not satisfied with Russia's continued humiliation. In Ignatiev's words, instead of displaying Russia's

[261] "… la Russie seule était complètement isolée; elle n'avait aucun point d'appui pour servir de base à son action et son influence sur les Turcs s'était à cette époque presque entièrement éteinte. Ses revers en Crimée avaient moins nui à sa position politique en Orient que l'attitude effacée dans laquelle elle s'était renfermée après 1856. Le nés stance héroïque que nous avions opposée aux armées réunies des plus grandes Puissances du monde n'était pas faite pour diminuer notre prestige et notre gloire. Mais notre impuissance politique et l'effacement de notre attitude locale depuis la paix avaient produit de l'impression surtout à Constantinople. Les Allies n'avaient certainement pas espéré obtenir un résultat aussi complet de leur victoire, en nous faisant signer le Traité du 30 mars 1856… Tandis que l'Angleterre et l'Autriche s'étaient arrogé le rôle de défenseurs particuliers de la Port, la France se posait en protectrice des chrétiens en cherchant à nous supplanter parmi eux, et toutes les questions importantes étaient résolues par une entente entre ces trois Puissances." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 8,10.

goodwill towards the Balkan people, these attempts demonstrated Russia's impotence to help them.[262]

In such an environment, Ignatiev decided to take the situation into his own hands and so he set the following objectives as ambassador to Constantinople:

> "1) To regard our influence both on the Christian *reaya* of the Sultan and the tributary states of the Ottoman Empire; 2) To intimidate the Ottomans by provoking them with a sense of real difficulties to prove to them that Russia was still on course to create serious external troubles, in spite of the [actions of the] three Western powers, and consequently [it was in the interests of] the Porte to go easy with us and also to have good relations with us; 3) To disconnect the agreement among the three signatories of 15 April 1856 Treaty and to demonstrate that this agreement was based on exceptional conditions; 4) To fight against especially the preponderant influence of France since the Crimean War, diminish the confidence that was given to the Porte by Austria and especially Britain, and peacefully re-conquer the position in the East, that was our duty."[263]

[262] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 8.

[263] "1) reprendre graduellement notre influence traditionnelle tant sur les chrétiens rayas du Sultan, que sur les Etats tributaires de la Turquie; 2) intimider les Turcs en leur provoquant une série de difficultés réelles pour leur prouver que la Russie était encore en était de leur créer des embarras sérieux en dehors et malgré l'action des Puissances Occidentales et que par conséquent la Porte avait tout intérêt à nous ménager et même à s'entendre avec nous; 3) disjoindre raccord des trois Puissances signataires du Traité du 15 avril 1856 et démontrer que cet accord était factice et basé sur des circonstances exceptionnelles; et finalement 4) combattre spécialement l'influence prépondérante que la France s'était acquise depuis la guerre de Crimée, amoindrir la confiance qu'inspiraient l'Autriche et surtout l'Angleterre à la Porte et reconquérir pacifiquement la position qui nous est due en Orient." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 12.

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The Asiatic Department that was established in 1819 consisted of the best-educated and experienced staff of the Russian Foreign Ministry. After 1856, its main field of interest was the Ottoman lands. The Department's two outstanding personnel were the Minister of Foreign Affairs A. M. Gorchakov and N. P. Ignatiev, who served as the Department head between 1861-1864.

Beyond any doubt, Ignatiev was the most ardent Pan-Slavist in Russian diplomacy. Ever since his tenure at the Asiatic Department, his political agenda was oriented towards ameliorating relations with the Porte and increasing Russian influence among the Ottoman Orthodox Slavs. Between 1861 and 1864 he considered that withdrawing the Paris Peace Treaty[264] was a priority for Russia. Moreover, he believed that Russia should dominate the Ottoman Balkans and establish its supremacy over them. His primary objective was to make the Slavic people's fate depend on Russia, in order to make Russia the only ruler of the Balkan region and the Black Sea. That would turn the Balkan Slavs into a weapon in the hands of Russia, which would help to stop Austrian expansion into the region. Both Ignatiev and the pan-Slav oriented staff of the Asiatic Department gave utmost importance to increase the political control of Russia in both the Balkans and the Ottoman Palace.[265]

Although Gorchakov and the St. Petersburg bureaucracy shared the same objectives as Ignaitev, particularly on the abolishment of the 1856 Treaty, their methods differed. While Ignatiev considered direct relations with the Porte and the Balkan Slavs as the best option, Gorchakov supported European Powers' diplomacy, thus avoiding any uneasiness with the French, British and Austrian governments. In

[264] Especially cancelling the clauses about Bessarabia, the neutrality of the Black Sea and Russian naval forces.
[265] MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignatev*, 228.

addition to that, Ignatiev preferred war as the ultimate choice for finding a Russia-based solution to the Eastern Question. He was not as cautious as Gorchakov, who took the weak economic and military conditions of Russia into consideration. These disagreements continued throughout Ignatiev's Constantinople ambassadorship. However, Ignatiev's ambitious character and the reputability of his family helped him to carry on his own diplomatic plans until 1875, without facing serious opposition from the head of the Foreign Ministry and the Asiatic Department personnel.

CHAPTER IV

N. P. IGNATIEV IN THE OTTOMAN BALKANS

N. P. Ignatiev's ambassadorship years in Constantinople witnessed his diplomacy in several Balkan regions including the Danubian Principalities, Bulgaria, Crete, Greece, Montenegro and Serbia. This chapter will focus on the two most important regions, the Danubian Principalities and Bulgaria, which form the context for his diplomatic initiatives in the Balkans.[266] The Danubian Principalities and Bulgaria were the two geo-strategically important places for Russia in the Ottoman Balkans, as they were located along the north-south route of the Russian advance into the Balkans. In order to spread Russian influence in the region, St. Petersburg had to guarantee its political existence in these two regions. In terms of their geographical positions, Wallachia and Moldavia were the best places for setting up the Russian base, in case of a Russo-Turkish War. Moreover, they were a natural boundary between Russia and its coreligionists, which connected Russia directly to Bulgaria and to the Ottoman Straits. Being Orthodox, these Principalities had been under the protectorship of Russia for almost twenty years in the first half the nineteenth century.

The Russian strategy for spreading its political impact in the Danubian Principalities was to do so through Orthodoxy. As for Bulgaria, Slavdom played a crucial role in addition to Orthodoxy. To continue and strengthen its political interests in the Balkans, St. Petersburg needed an outpost area located in the Southern Balkans.

[266] Separate research studies are required to analyze the political and social developments that took place in the nineteenth century in Crete, Greece, Montenegro and Serbia.

Thus, Russian Ambassador N.P. Ignatiev's policy of establishing a Serbo-Bulgarian state was directly parallel to Russian interests in the region. Furthermore, his ambition to secure Russian interests in Bulgaria was demonstrated in his dealings with the Bulgarian Church Question. Ignatiev continuously interfered with the process of establishing an independent Bulgarian Church, in order to support his own, and Russia's, goals in the country.

4.1. Ignatiev and the Danubian Principalities Question

The Principalities question emerged as an international political concern after the Crimean War. In July 1853, the Russians occupied the Principalities. By the time of the Austro-Ottoman Convention of 1854, the Principalities were occupied by the Austrian forces. The Allies decided that the Russian occupation of the Principalities was a violation of Ottoman integrity, which created a *casus belli*. Therefore, the protectorate of Russia over the Principalities was abolished, and the protection of Moldavia and Wallachia was undertaken by the collective guarantee of Britain, Austria, France, Ottoman Empire and Russia.[267] After the total withdrawal of Russian forces from the Principalities in 1854, the Moldavian and Wallachian administrations began to show a tendency to unify.[268] Indeed, in this unification there were also signs of French intervention, as the French had in mind that if the principalities unified, they could create a natural blockade against Russian domination in the region.[269] Since the Paris Peace Agreement of 1856, neither the European Powers, Russia nor the Ottoman Empire was able to develop a concrete

[267] W.G. East, *The Union of Moldavia and Wallachia, 1859: An Episode in Diplomatic History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni. Press, 1929) 26-27.
[268] Anderson, *The Eastern Question*,150.
[269] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 14.

solution in regards to the Principalities question. In 1858, the signatories of the Paris Peace Agreement met in order to develop a constitution for the Principalities and to discuss the administrative body. The discussions went on until January of 1859, when Alexander Cuza was elected as the *Hospodar* of Moldavia. Within a month, he became the *Hospodar* of Wallachia too. Despite Ottoman and Austrian disapprovals, Cuza continued to stay in power, in large part due to French and British support. In May 1859, the Porte finally recognized Cuza as the ruler of the Danubian Principalities.[270]

Long before Cuza became *Hospodar*, the system of land feudalism had emerged and developed in the Danubian Principalities. When the Russians occupied the region between 1828 and 1834, they gave further economic privileges to the Romanian landlords. When Cuza became the ruler of the Principalities, he attempted to constitute a reform program that mainly concerned the agricultural and educational systems. He dismissed the conservative statesmen, who wanted the feudal system to remain unchanged. Instead, Cuza planned to bring free education into force and to provide peasants with land-owning rights. This new land act also included an article about the revision on the Orthodox monastery lands, which irritated the Russian administration.[271]

For Ignatiev, the most important issue during his first years in Constantinople was the Romanian question.[272] Moldova and Wallachia were geo-strategically important for St. Petersburg, as they connected Russia to the Southern Balkans, where most of the Orthodox Slav subjects were settled. These Principalities were located at the crossroads of Bulgarian, Serbian, Hungarian and Polish territories, and

[270] Anderson, *The Eastern Question*,150-153.
[271] M. M. Knight, "Peasant Cooperation and Agrarian Reform in Rumania," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1920), 2-3.
[272] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 46.

therefore they remained vulnerable to the revolutionary organizations that evolved from the liberal and national feelings of the era. Russia entertained a real concern in regards to a possible threat emanating from these revolutionary movements along the Russian border, and the spread of similar revolutionary plots in Russia against the imperial regime.[273] Therefore, when Ignatiev was appointed to Constantinople, the Romanian question was primary on the agenda and continued to be the most important issues that he dealt with, concerning the Balkans, until 1866. In his notes, Ignatiev wrote in regards to the importance of the Romanian question:

> "I devoted my principal attention to that place [Romania], I am convinced that it [the Romanian question] will offer, on the one hand a favorable occasion to prove the inanity of Western Powers' efforts to destroy the link that connects Russia and its Eastern coreligionists, and on the other hand it [the Romanian question] could serve to disrupt the relations between the Vienna and Paris Counsels of Ministers, and that way disturbing the three-party agreement of 15 April [1856]."[274]

The Ambassador believed that if he could find a Russia-oriented solution to the Romanian question, he would have succeeded in estranging French, British and Austrian impact in the region. In this manner, he could hamper cooperative relations between the Austrian and French governments, which would allow Russia to continue exercising its hegemony in the region.

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[273] Barbara Jelavich, *Russia's Balkan Entanglements, 1806-1914*. (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 124, 126.

[274] "J'y ai voué mes principaux soins, convaincu qu'elles offraient, d'un côté, une occasion favorable pour prouver l'inanité des efforts des Puissances Occidentales de rompre les liens qui unissent à la Russie ses coreligionnaires d'Orient et que, de l'autre, elles pouvaient servir à mettre du froid entre les Cabinets de Vienne et de Paris et à troubler ainsi raccord à trois basé sur le Traité du 15 avril [1856]." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 12.

During his visit to Constantinople in 1864, Cuza asked the Porte and the European powers to accept certain modifications that he wanted to introduce into the Constitution of the Principalities. On the other hand, Cuza avoided contacting the Russian Embassy in regards to modifying the constitution, an act which, Ignatiev deemed unsuitable and in violation of the Paris Convention. In fact, the Ambassador wanted the Porte to take initiative and punish Cuza, however Cuza's alliance with France would hardly make that possible. Furthermore, at that point, Britain finally found itself in accord with France,[275] and thus the Ottoman administration's only option was to support Cuza, in parallel with France and Britain.

Ignatiev was aware of the fact that Cuza's reform attempt would have positive social and economic outcomes for the inhabitants of Romania and that as a result of this, the reform would put at risk Russian interests and influence in the region. By stating, "…in defiance of existing treaties, a democratic and revolutionary reform, whose consequences could affect the interests of neighboring conservative states,"[276] Ignatiev referred to the endangered interest of Russia, which, as a conservative state, preferred for the status-quo to remain in the region. Though Russia tried to protect its interests and protested the modifications in Cuza's terms, the ambassadors Sir H. Bulwer[277], le Marquis de Moustier[278] and le Baron de Prokesch[279] came to an agreement to keep Russia out of the matter. Later, in June 1864, these three European powers' representatives met with the Ottoman Grand Vizier Âli Pasha to sign an additional act to the 1858 Convention, which proposed a change in the electoral

[275] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 14.
[276] "au mépris des traités existants une réforme démocratique et révolutionnaire dont les conséquences pouvaient affecter les intérêts des Etats conservateurs voisins." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No.48*, 14.
[277] Sir Henry (Lytton) Bulwer was the British ambassador at Constantinople between 1858-1865.
[278] Le marquis Léonel de Moustier was the French ambassador at Constantinople between 1861-1866.
[279] Le Baron de Prokesch (Anton von Prokesch-Osten) was the Austrian ambassador at Constantinople between 1855-1871.

system of the Principalities.[280] Ignatiev thought, "Cuza's government should be subjected to Russia's mercy,"[281] however, the results of this new act were contrary to Ignatiev's expectations. France, Britain and Austria's endeavors succeeded in influencing the Ottoman administration. In terms of Russia's political interest in the region this situation was a disadvantage.[282] Ignatiev warned the Ottoman authorities about "the revolutionary conduct of the Hospodar," and he tried to convince the Sultan's *reaya* that their welfare and salvation would only be realized under the protection of Russia.

> "… I let the Moldo-Vlachs understand that they had to weigh the advantages of the distant Powers' support upon which the Prince [Cuza] had based his radical system, by alienating the sympathy towards Russia, whose secular solicitude for the Danubian Principalities was for them the more serious pledge of well-being and security."[283]

Ignatiev believed that Prince Cuza had become an "*instrument servile*"[284] of France, and that he systematically opposed to both Russia and Orthodoxy in order to get more support from the West. Cuza's leadership would prevent Russia from pursuing good relations with the Principalities, however, the replacement of Cuza was another problem that was apparently disadvantageous for Russia. Therefore, Ignatiev

[280] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 16.
[281] "Un tel résultat certainement pas fait pour engager le Prince Couza et son Gouvernement a mérité bonnes grâces de la Russie, qui avait été précédemment l'arbitre des destinées des Principautés." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 16.
[282] "Jamais l'audace de nos adversaires ne s'était affirmée d'une manière aussi flagrante â Constantinople et jamais ces derniers n'avaient obtenu un succès aussi complet sens coup férir et tout en nous assurant de leurs bonnes dispositions. La gravité de nette situation sans précédente n'avait pas échappé a l'attention tant des Turcs que de nos coreligionnaires, et les uns comme les autres étaient nécessairement amenés a des réflexions qui certainement ne pouvaient pas nous être favorables." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 18.
[283] "…je laissais comprendre aux Moldo-Valaques qu'ils devaient peser mûrement les avantages que pouvaient leur offrir l'appui des Puissances éloignées sur lequel le Prince avait basé son système radical, en s'aliénant les sympathies de la Russie - dont la sollicitude séculaire pour les Principauté s Danubiennes était pour celles-ci le gage plus sérieux de bien-être et de sécurité." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 20.
[284] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 18.

preferred to accept Cuza remaining in power until the general situation changed to a point where, Russian interests would be served.[285]

Russia's most important asset for maintaining its influence on the Wallachian and Moldavian lands was the Orthodox monastery, since 1859 these monasteries had been one of the main concerns of St. Petersburg.[286] However, Cuza's reform program risked the abolishment of these monasteries, an act Russia feared most, as the resulting scenario would alienate the Romanian Orthodox people from Russia.

4.1.1. Organization of the Romanian Church

The Orthodox Church in Wallachia and Moldova was under the administration of the Constantinople Patriarchate. The monasteries in the Principalities owned and therefore controlled large tracts of land. So, they had a certain impact on the social and political life of the everyday person. The dedicated monasteries, however, were in a different category and their situation was more sensitive. These monasteries were not incorporated into the Church hierarchy of the Principalities. Their origins went back to the seventeenth century, when they emerged with a Greek nature. By the eighteenth century they developed close ties with Russia and even served Russian political interests during Russo-Ottoman wars. After the Crimean War, the relationship of the monasteries and the Romanian Church with the Patriarchate came to be questioned, and therefore, as assumed protector of Orthodoxy, Russia intended to mediate the issue. However, though it may have

[285] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 18.
[286] Jelavich, *Russia's Balkan Entanglements*, 122.

assumed a role as protector of Orthodoxy, it was not the only protector of the Principalities.[287]

On May 1864, Cuza enacted a law concerning the appointment of bishops. The *Hospodar* wanted to separate the Church from the Ecumenical See and loosen its relations with the Constantinople Patriarchate. By doing so, the power of the Orthodox Church would be considerably diminished, as now the Church would come under direct control of the state. For Russia, this could only result in an elimination of its rational and reasons for continuing to influence the region, as the Orthodox population would cease to be under its protection and influence. Ignatiev supported the continuation of the link between the Patriarchate and Orthodox institutions, as the conservative element in Romania; Furthermore, he blamed Cuza's reform movements for being too radical and for triggering the alienation of the Romanian Orthodox Slavs from Russia. Ignatiev wrote:

> "By this means [by means of separating the Church from the Ecumenical See] he [Prince Cuza] wished to annihilate the principal conservative element in the country against which his innovations had more than once come into conflict; He also believed that by weakening the bonds of religion which united Romania with the other Orthodox States, he could get rid of the interferences created by the obligatory relations with the Patriarchs of the East and the Holy Synods of Russia and Athens."[288]

[287] Jelavich, *Russia's Balkan Entanglements*, 130-134.

[288] "Par ce moyen il voulait anéantir le principal élément conservateur dans le pays contre lequel ses innovations étaient venues plus d'une fois se heurter; il croyait, en outre, qu'en affaiblissant les liens de religion qui unissent la Roumanie aux autres Etats orthodoxes il pourrait se débarrasser des entraves que lui créaient les relations obligatoires avec les Patriarches d'Orient et les Saints Synodes de Russie et d'Athènes." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 20.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate resisted Cuza's demands. Several native clerics opposed him after Russia made known its disapproval of the reform acts. Thus, Cuza could not reach a solution that was also supported by the local clergy, concerning the status of the Orthodox Church in Romania.[289] The question of limiting the independence of monastery properties and making them come under the direct control of the state, remained unsolved for several years. In 1863, Britain, France and Austria's delegates formed a commission and had met in Constantinople to discuss the status of the monasteries, purposefully refraining from inviting Russia to the table. France was explicitly protecting Prince Cuza, whereas England and Austria, on the other hand, pretended to defend the Orthodox clergy, displacing Russia's role and thus eliminating any reason for Russia to join the talks. Therefore, it is clear that there was no intention, particularly by the Ambassador of France, to allow Russia any chance to maintain its power and influence over the region.[290]

Ignatiev thought that Russia had a "legitimate influence" in the Ottoman administration's decision making process concerning all the subjects of the Eastern Question, including the monasteries question. However, France's current ascendancy over the Porte in Constantinople tied the hands of St. Petersburg and therefore opened the door for Cuza to conduct his reform plans. Ignatiev believed, Cuza's main focus of the reforms was the "spoliation of the clergy," and he accused Marquis de Moustier of supporting Cuza in this matter.[291]

> "His [Cuza's] conduct in the last phase of the question of conventual [monasterial] property proves this. Seeing that it was not as easy as he had originally supposed to settle the affair

[289] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 22.
[290] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 22-24.
[291] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 24-28.

> according to his views and to have the spoliation of the clergy accepted, the Ambassador of France instead of accelerating the progress of the negotiation, as he had done at the beginning, obstructed it with pleasure by constant contestation and a lawyer's subtleties."[292]

The question of the monasteries did not seem to be solved in the near future, therefore Russia focused on defending its rights in regards to the Orthodox Church.[293]

4.1.2. N. P. Ignatiev and the fall of Prince Cuza

By 1860, Cuza's popularity began to fall due to his attempt to abolish Capitulations and to apply high taxes to foreigners. Within five years, these developments drew a wedge between Cuza and the European powers, to the point that in February 1866, Cuza was overthrown.[294] After he was dethroned, Ignatiev made it clear in his notes that Russia would never give up its influence on neither Romania nor other coreligionists in the Ottoman Balkans. Ignatiev underlined Russia's diplomatic principles as follows:

> "Our attitude was clearly marked by the ministerial instructions of February 23, 1867. It stated: Certainly the hostile conduct of the Romanian Government towards us and towards the Church of the East would give us the right to withdraw the benevolent

[292] "Voyant qu'il n'était pas aussi facile qu'il l'avait supposé primitivement de régler l'affaire selon ses vues et de faire accepter la spoliation du clergé, l'Ambassadeur de France au lieu d'accélérer la marche de la négociation, comme il l'avait fait à ses débuts, l'entrava à plaisir par des contestations continuelles et des subtilités d'avocat." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 26.
[293] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 26.
[294] See Anderson, *The Eastern Question*, 150-154.

> protection, with which we provided him [the Governor of the Principalities] all-time. Nevertheless the [Ottoman] Emperor does not consider the populations of Moldavia and Wallachia responsible for the deviations of the Government, which they have just overthrown. Moreover, we can not forget that this is a principle which embraces all the Christian populations of the East to which our traditions have always made us sympathetic."[295]

Ignatiev asserted that European powers were not truly concerned about the reform program of Romania. While being tolerant of Prince Cuza, the West had no intention of fulfilling their promises to Romania, but rather, he argued, to break Romanian ties with Russia, and turn the principalities into enemies of the Ottoman government in the future. He believed that the Romanian people would eventually understand the game of the Western powers and turn their faces to Russia.[296] The Ambassador always kept in his mind his objective of alienating the Balkan people from the European states. In this respect, the Orthodox people of the Principalities were at the center of Ignatiev's plans until 1866.

Ignatiev aimed at, again, making Russia the dominant power in the region by impeding Cuza's reforms. Therefore, in order to realize his goal, he planned on

[295] Notre attitude était d'ailleurs nettement tracée par les instructions ministérielles du 23 février 1867. Il y était dit: "Certes, la conduite hostile du Gouvernement Roumain envers nous et envers l'Eglise d'Orient nous donnerait le droit de lui retirer la bienveillante protection que nous lui avons témoignée de tout temps. Néanmoins l'Empereur ne rend pas les populations de la Moldavie et de la Valachie responsables des écarts du Gouvernement qu'elles viennent de renverser. En outre nous ne pouvons pas oublier qu'il s'agit ici d'un principe qui embrasse tout l'ensemble des populations chrétiennes de l'Orient auxquelles nos traditions nous ont toujours rendus sympathiques". Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 43-44.

[296] Les Roumains commençaient d'ailleurs à comprendre eux-mêmes qu'en usant envers le Prince Couza d'une tolérance voisine de la faiblesse, les Puissances Occidentales n'avaient nullement en vue la réalisation de toutes leurs aspirations, mais qu'elles tenaient uniquement à rompre les liens naturels de sympathie et de protection séculaire qui rattachaient les Principautés à la Russie - pour les river plus étroitement dans l'avenir à la Turquie. Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 46.

finding a Russia-centered solution to the monastery question. One way of doing so was to provoke an uprising on the Lower Danube, which would lead to Ottoman occupation. The Porte itself, attributed utmost importance to the Lower Danube region for regaining order and tranquility in the Principalities.[297] Ignatiev knew this fact well and he wanted to turn a possible Ottoman occupation, to Russia's advantage, as such war could cancel the reforms. On the other hand, Ignatiev was also aware, that was France playing a political game against Russia, convincing the Porte to support Cuza's reforms. According to the French plan, Romania would be a buffer state in the Lower Danube, which would protect the Porte against a possible Russian invasion. Ignatiev wrote,

> "When the Emperor Napoleon had assured the accomplishment of his plan in Italy by means of which the events of 1866 gave the key, he wished to use Romania for another purpose. Disappointed in his hopes of resurrecting Poland, he seems to have sought to realize … the same thought of hostility towards us on the banks of the Danube by creating there a state, which would gravitate towards the orbit of France. Romania was to serve it willingly, either as a lever of its policy against Austria or Russia, or as a point of support in the possible complications which might arise in the East….. a strongly organized state on the lower course of the Danube was the only guarantee for

[297] "Dans ces conditions nous crûmes possible de provoquer un revirement en notre faveur sur le Bas Danube, en laissant s'accomplir l'occupation que les Turcs considéraient comme indispensable pour ramener l'ordre et la tranquillité dans les Principautés." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 34.

> Turkey against the invasions of Russia and would offer her a solid butcher against this Power."[298]

This French plan was the scenario Ignatiev was most concerned with. Ignatiev argued that France, with "its puppet" Cuza, planned to make Romania its satellite state on the Ottoman Empire border. If Cuza was successful in realizing his reform program, then Romanian institutions and educational system would come under the influence of the Latin Catholic World and Russia would lose a very important strategic region forever. Moreover, in that case, Russian influence in the Porte would be threatened by French power, more than ever before.[299] Thus, the Ambassador tried to convince the Porte that, having a powerful Russia on its own side ,was a wiser option then having a weaker Romania as a buffer state against Russia:

> "The Turks ought to have understood … that a country of some millions of inhabitants, such as Romania … would cause an unimportant trouble to a power of 80 million [Russia]; and the best defense for Turkey is to have good relations with its powerful neighbor [Russia]."[300]

However, Ignatiev's concerns about French support of Cuza grew day by day. He was worried about the potential of long-term French influence in Romania, particularly if

[298] Lorsque l'Empereur Napoléon eut assuré l'accomplissement de son plan en Italie par des moyens dont les événements de 1866 donnent la clef, - il voulut se servir de la Roumanie dans un autre but. Déçu dans son espoir de ressusciter la Pologne, il parait avoir cherché à réaliser en petit la même pensée d'hostilité à notre égard sur les bords du Danube en y créant un Etat, qui graviterait vers l'orbite de la France. La Roumanie devait lui servir à volonté soit comme levier de sa politique contre l'Autriche ou la Russie, soit comme point d'appui dans les complications éventuelles qui pourraient surgir en Orient. La France faisait miroiter aux yeux des Roumains la chimère "d'un foyer de lumière, de liberté et d'attraction qu'elle voulait ériger parmi eux pour la plus grande édification de leurs confrères étrangers et des différents peuples de l'Orient qui autrement tourneraient leurs regards vers la Russie". Pour vaincre la résistance de la Porte, elle lui faisait entendre "qu'un état fortement organisé sur le cours inférieur du Danube était la seule garantie pour la Turquie contre les envahissements de la Russie et lui offrirait un boucher solide contre cette Puissance". Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 48-50.

[299] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 50.

[300] "Les Turcs auraient dû comprendre … qu'un pays de quelques millions d'habitants, tel que la Roumanie… n'offrirait qu'un faible obstacle à une Puissance qui en compte 80 millions et que le meilleur bouclier pour la Turquie - c'était de bons rapports avec sa puissante voisine." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*,Ignatiev, 50.

the Cuza regime was successful. He thought that the alienation of the Romanians from Russia, could in time lead to Catholic sympathy. Thus, the Ambassador was satisfied by the fall of Cuza. He wrote:

> "As for the Rumanians, the regime which had been established in their country under the French guidance could edify them on account of the advantages which they had to expect from the promises of that Power. The ruin of the class of landowners, the disorganization of the Church and the confiscation of its property, the inconsiderate introduction of French laws and institutions, the establishment of Catholic schools, etc., undertaken with the view of destroying all the conservative elements sympathetic to Russia and to multiply the sympathies towards the Latin world were the first instance of the French influence."[301]

Ignatiev believed that if Cuza were to remain in power, he would begin a process of conversion to Catholicism among the Romanians. He underlined his concern about the possible destruction of Romanian cultural values if the Latin influence continued.[302] Conversely, he struggled for the continuation of the Orthodox monasteries in Romania so that Russia could further expand its own influence.

[301] "Quant aux Roumains le régime qui s'était établi dans leur pays sous l'égide de la France pouvait les édifier sur le compte des avantages qu'ils avaient à attendre des promesses de cette Puissance. La ruine de la classe des propriétaires fonciers, la désorganisation de l'Eglise et la confiscation de ses biens, l'Introduction inconsidérée de lois et d'institutions françaises, la création d'écoles catholiques, etc., entreprises évidemment en vue de détruire tous les éléments conservateurs sympathiques à la Russie et de multiplier les affinités avec le monde latin étaient la première suite de l'influence française. La promesse donnée par le Prince Couza à l'Impératrice Eugénie d'amener la conversion des Roumains au Catholicisme donne une idée de ce que l'avenir réservait à ce pays, s'il avait été abandonné aux influences Napoléoniennes. Les événements se sont d'ailleurs chargés de faire droit des prétentions excessives de la France. Nous montrerons dans la suite de ce travail la décroissance graduelle de son influence qui avait déjà perdu du terrain en Roumanie après la chute du Prince Couza - sa créature et son agent dévoué." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*,Ignatiev, 50.

[302] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*,Ignatiev, 50.

However, finally, the fall of Cuza coincided with the escalation of the Greek-Bulgarian Church dispute, which led Ignatiev to turn his attention to Bulgaria.

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During his ambassadorship in Constantinople, the first and foremost issue that Ignatiev dealt with was the Principalities question. Connecting Russia to the Eastern Orthodox Slavs in this region represented a vital base for Russian interests. After Alexander Cuza became the *Hospodar* of the Principalities, he planned to implement a set of administrative reforms that would lead to diminished Russian presence, which annoyed Ignatiev. However, European support of Cuza's reforms managed to keep Russia totally out of the reform process. Particularly, the French influence in Romania supported policies, which prompted the alienation of the Orthodox people from Russia. Beginning in 1859, the Orthodox monasteries' properties question became the center of Ignatiev's diplomacy. As France sought to break Russian influence in the Principalities, they began with the abolishment of the properties belonging to the Orthodox monasteries. Being a traditional government, Russia attached great importance to the power of Orthodox Church. The ambassador opposed Cuza's reform movements in Romania, as he intended to secure the Orthodox monasteries, for the purpose of continuing Russian propaganda. The European states, especially France, preferred to maintain their propaganda via educational missionary. Unlike Russian direct political propaganda, the French government opened Catholic schools in Romania. As these missionary initiatives required a considerable amount of money, workforce and a commitment of several years, Russia avoided this option. Rather, it applied direct influence in the region by means of short-term propaganda activities and political intrigues, which was much

easier and cost-effective. Indeed, Ignatiev used this strategy throughout his diplomatic mission in Constantinople.

In the Romanian case, Ignatiev's diplomatic strategy did not, initially, seem to work. However, despite all the adverse developments, Ignatiev was hopeful that he would succeed to maintain the sympathy of the Romanian people. He was aware that Cuza's success would mean the loss of Russian influence in the region forever. In reality, Cuza intended to conduct a democratic reform program, which focused on abolishing the landowning class and the Church properties. However, the only means that could help Russia to stay politically active in the region was Orthodoxy and abolishing the monastery properties would therefore take away Russia's only platform. Ignatiev was decisive not to lose Russia's authority in the Danubian region, which symbolized for Russia the opportunity of free passage, first to Bulgaria, then to the Ottoman Straits.

4.2. N. P. Ignatiev the Greco-Bulgarian Dispute

Both Greeks and Bulgarians lived under Ottoman authority for nearly five centuries. While the national movements were on the rise in nineteenth century Europe, the Balkan peoples began to explore their historical ties, and through the elites, began to introduce a national consciousness. Nonetheless, by the mid nineteenth century, that development resulted in a Greco-Bulgarian conflict. Though the Greeks were the first Balkan people who gained their independence in 1830, they based their national awakening on *enosis* and aimed at developing the Greek community for the rest of the nineteenth century.[303] The Orthodox Greek Church

[303] Thomas A. Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1864- 1872)* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Presss, 1970), 14.

leadership took its roots from the *Megali Idea*, which assumed that Greek-Byzantine culture dominated the Balkan political, historical and cultural sphere.[304] The Ottoman *millet* system contributed to Greek implementation of enosis. The Ottoman Orthodox Christian subjects formed the 'Rum *millet*', which lived under the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch and Synod until the early nineteenth century. In the beginning of the century, the Greek Orthodox Church became the new authority over these millets.[305] It had control over local administration and schools, through which Greeks had superiority over many Balkan Slavs.[306]

The supremacy of the Greeks in administering the Orthodox millet of the Ottoman Empire goes back to the conquest of Constantinople. Following its fall of, in 1454, Sultan Mehmet II formed the Orthodox Christian *millet* system and appointed Gennadius II as the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. From that day forward, Gennadius II was not only the head of the Greek Orthodox Church, but his position also included the administration of all Orthodox communities, including, in particular, the Slavic Orthodox Churches. That initiative gave a "supranational" character to the Orthodox Church, as well as political privileges. While before 1454, the majority of the non-Greek Balkan churches used Church Slavonic as the language of service, following the appointment of Gennadius II they were obliged to employ the classical Greek.[307] So, the use of Greek as the universal Church language created an environment where their previous use of Slavonic and the cultural implication of that, were replaced by the Greek language and in extension, culture. Also, as the Greeks controlled the Orthodox Church throughout all the Ottoman

[304] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 191-192.
[305] Petăr Nikov, *Văzrazhdanie na Bălgarskiia Narod* (Sofia: Strashimir Slavchev, 1929), 10-40.
[306] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate*, 15.
[307] Vassiliki Georgiadou, "Greek Orthodoxy and the Politics of Nationalism," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society,* Vol. 9, No. 2, 1995, 301; Kemal Karpat, Balkanlarda Osmanlı Mirası ve Ulusçuluk, (çev. R. Boztemur) (Ankara: İmge, 2004), 15-16.

lands, they collected tribute from the Orthodox subjects of the Sultan. Under Greek Orthodox religious authority the Bulgarians, like other Orthodox Churches, felt themselves under a cultural, ethnic and economical assimilation.[308] Having suffered under the Greek Church rules, the Bulgarians preferred to live under Ottoman authority rather than the Greek one. Therefore, throughout 1820s and 1830s they began their struggle to establish their own national Bulgarian Church, independent from the Greek Patriarchy.[309] Eventually, in the mid nineteenth century Bulgarians decided to form their own national Church, as a stage of their national awareness process. For Greeks, this attempt was interpreted as a challenge to their Greekifying plans. When Bulgarian nationalism and nationalist movements began to rise, the influence and authority of the Greek Orthodox Church and the Greekifying of Orthodoxy started to decrease. [310]

The Greek Patriarchy was not the only challenge from a religious perspective that the Bulgarians had to face. Following the Crimean War, Roman Catholic and Protestant Propaganda activities accelerated in Bulgaria and turned to an international affair for the Russian Empire.[311] In the meantime, the Catholic Uniate movement became the last straw for Russia,[312] as the decrease of Russian influence in the Balkans would open the way towards the transformation of the Bulgarian Church into a Uniate Church. Furthermore, the increase of a Roman Catholic Church presence in the Balkans, would also contribute to the rise of French and Austrian power in the region. In fact, in 1860, some Bulgarian Uniate Church representatives petitioned for the political support of the French government. For the

[308] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate,* 15-17.
[309] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 191-192.
[310] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate*, 16-18.
[311] GARF, fond.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.352, 1-2.
[312] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate,* 22; Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 193.

Russian administration, an increase in the political and religious presence of Europe, fueled by the work of the Catholic Church, was the worst outcome imaginable. This was actually the worst scenario that Russian administration could ever risk.[313]

The Catholic movement was not the only non-Orthodox organization posing a severe threat for Russia's imagined strategy in the Ottoman Balkans. The increased presence and work of various Protestant groups also posed a threat to Slavic Orthodox domination. Therefore, the Russian Ambassador N. P. Ignatiev, worried about the missionary activities of the Western powers, set his mind on eliminating these activities and their influence, and followed a wide range of strategies, which included diplomatic negotiations and educational activities. After he became Ambassador in Constantinople, he had close contacts with the Odessa Bulgarian Trusteeship.[314] Throughout the duration of his post, Ignatiev played the role of mediator for the education of some Bulgarian students in Russian schools.[315] This formed part of his strategy to prevent any success by Catholic and Protestant propaganda amongst the Bulgarians.[316]

4.2.1. Ignatiev's Objective on the Church Question

In order to eliminate both the Uniate and Protestant movements, Ignatiev decided to solve the Greco-Bulgarian dispute to the benefit of Russian interests in the Balkans.[317] Thus he was ready to take any diplomatic action to change the fate of the dispute. However, Ignatiev's views and efforts were far from reflecting official

[313] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate,* 23; Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 193.
[314] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 57.
[315] See for example GARF.fond.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.70, pp.46-47; GARF.fond.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.227, p.12.
[316] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, f.352.
[317] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate*, 25.

Russian policy. After the Paris agreement, St. Petersburg followed a non-interference policy in regards to the Bulgarian Church question. Accordingly, the Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow[318] advised the administration to support the integrity of the Patriarchate and not to interfere in the Greco-Bulgarian Church dispute. The dispute concerned subject such as the demands of the Bulgarians to use the Bulgarian languages during church services, having Bulgarians among the Church hierarchy and sharing the Church revenue distribution. These demands were completely intolerable for the Patriarchate, therefore it remained uncompromising in its stance, while, similarly, the Bulgarians were also unwilling to conciliate or compromise . Consequently, the issue remained unsolved until Ignatiev's appointment to the Embassy in Constantinople.[319]

Ignatiev's principal concern was not the independence of the Bulgarian Church. He was primarily worried about the Protestant and Catholic influences in Bulgaria, which would Russia's impact area in Rumelia.[320] However, the formation of a national Bulgarian Church would help Ignatiev's plans to fight against these Western influences, as long as a condition of its formation was that it came under and remained in Russian control. However, this proposal was considered too radical in the Orthodox World, causing a rift in its unity, which made Ignatiev's plan impossible. Thus, it was critical for Ignatiev not to break with the Constantinople Patriarchy, and rather work with the Greek in order to realise his plan.

[318] Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow (Vasilii Mikhaylovich Drozdov) (1782-1867) served to Russian Orthodox Church from 1821 to 1867.
[319] During their tenures in Constantinople, Ignatiev's predecessors A.P. Butenev and Lobanov-Rastovskii couldn't succeed to find an effective solution to the Greco-Bulgarian Church question. Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate,* 26.
[320] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate*, 28.

At the very beginning of his Asiatic Department directorship, Ignatiev visited the Sultan to congratulate him in the name of Alexander II.[321] During his visit he had a chance to discuss the Bulgarian Church question and its possible outcomes with various Ottoman politicians.[322] The Greco-Bulgarian question had already taken an unsolvable character, even before Ignatiev was appointed Ambassador.[323] He observed that the Uniate Church and Ottoman interference in the dispute were two serious factors impeding Russia's political interests in the Ottoman Balkans. To eliminate these threats, he took the task of solving the Greco-Bulgarian question upon himself. In the meantime, he cunningly calculated that taking sides in the matter would either offend the Greek party or the Bulgarian one.[324] The justification for Russian involvement was the Orthodox Church, directed by the Greek patriarchate in Constantinople. Therefore, the Russian Empire was obligated to remain respectful to the Patriarchate in order not to lose influence in the Ottoman Balkans. However, a group of Bulgarians were also counting on Russian support to gain their independence, against the wishes of the Patriarchate. Thus, since the beginning of his post, Ignatiev was ready to mediate between the two parties in order to secure Russia's interests in Rumelia. His first step was to negotiate special status for the Bulgarian Church within the Greek patriarchate hierarchy. To that end, from 1864, the Russian Ambassador dealt with this issue actively.[325]

The turning point in Bulgarian Church question occurred when the Bulgarian Bishop Ilarion Makariopolski,[326] replaced the name of the Patriarch[327] with the name

[321] At that visit the Sultan Abdulaziz was very honored with the Tsar's message that he awarded Ignatiev the "order of mecidiye " in the first degree. Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 109-111.
[322] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 111-112.
[323] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 66.
[324] See GARF 730, op.1, first expedition, d.529, 1-6.
[325] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 195-196.
[326] Ilarion Makariopolski (Stoyan Stoyanov Mihaylovski) (1812–1875) was a Bulgarian cleric, who defended the autonomous Bulgarian church.
[327] Joachim II served as the Constantinople Patriarch, in his first term, between 1860 and 1863.

of the Sultan during the 'Easter Sunday Ceremony' in 1860.[328] By doing so, the Church was clearly enacting a declaration of independence and it signified that the Greek Patriarch was no longer accepted as the religious leader of the Bulgarians. Following that act, the Patriarch immediately excommunicated the Bishop Ilarion, together with the bishops of Plovdiv and Veles. This event caused tension both in Constantinople as well as the other provinces of the Empire.[329] In 1863 the new Patriarch, Sophronius III,[330] and the Russian envoy in Constantinople, E. P. Novikov,[331] started negotiations to ease tensions between the two Churches, yet this effort did not yield any meaningful result. Therefore, assuming that the Ottomans could exert authority would contribute to the solution, Novikov tried to convince the Grand Vizier Âli Pasha[332] to exert pressure on both the Greeks and Bulgarians. After the meeting on May 1864, the Council remained without any solution due to the absence of the Bulgarian representatives and neither Russia's endeavors nor Porte's use of authority produced any results.[333]

When Ignatiev was appointed to the Porte as Ambassador, the Church dispute worsened within one year. In addition, the Ambassador also had to cope with the Bulgarian extremist groups and their demands concerning the national Church question, which firmly conflicted with Ignatiev's own interests.[334] These Bulgarians were composed of conservative and radical people such as S. Chomakov[335] and P.R.

[328] Petăr Nikov, *Văzrazhdanie na Bălgarskiia Narod*, 8.
[329] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate,* 20-21; Petăr Nikov, *Văzrazhdanie na Bălgarskiia Narod,* 188-189.
[330] Sophronius III (1798 –1899) replaced Joachim II as the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople in 1863 and served until 1866.
[331] Evgenii Petrovich Novikov, a nineteenth century Slavophil, served as Russian envoy in Constantinople from 1862 to 1864.
[332] Mehmet Emin Ali Pasha served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1861-1867. For detailed information on Ali Pasha see Fuat Andıç, Süphan Andıç, *Sadrazam Ali Paşa, Hayatı, Zamanı ve Siyasi Vasiyetnamesi* (İstanbul: Eren, 2000).
[333] MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignatev,* 278-279.
[334] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48,* 66.
[335] Stoian Chomakov (1819-1893) was a revolutionary of the Bulgarian national independence movement, he was al

Slaveikov[336], who favored the independence of the Church, as a manifestation of the Bulgarian national will. Therefore the Church schism was a favorable option for them. According to Stoian Chomakov, who was politically powerful in the region, the manifestation of Bulgarian National Church was symbolically the most important step towards attaining and justifying an independent Bulgaria. Ignatiev did not agree with Chomakov, despite the fact that his agent in Bulgaria, Gerov, saw Chomakov as a hero.[337] Ignatiev, however, favored a Bulgarian Church under the continued authority of the Constantinople Patriarchate, but with a special status. The Bulgarian Russophobes, who also had followers among the Bulgarian community in Constantinople, rejected Ignatiev's proposal and therefore any Russian interference in Bulgarian affairs. This group, led by Chomakov, wanted Bulgarians to be the representative of the South Orthodox Slavs, instead of the Russian Orthodox Church, a concept which led them to also champion and justify their goal of including Macedonia into an independent Bulgarian nation.[338]

Stoian Chomakov was, therefore, the greatest opponent of Ignatiev in regards to Greco-Bulgarian affairs. After finishing his education in Italy, he returned to Bulgaria and soon became the local representative of Plovdiv. In 1864, he began to represent the Bulgarian community in Constantinople and developed good relations with the Ottoman bureaucrats. In his notes, Ignatiev accused the Ottoman administration of taking decisions influenced by Chomakov. Ignatiev saw Chomakov as a deal breaker in terms of furthering Russian interests in the Balkans, encouraging distrust of Russia among the Bulgarian people. [339] Ignatiev despised him and his

[336] Petko Rachov Slaveikov (1827-1895) was a Bulgarian revolutionary of the Bulgarian national independence movement.
[337] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 195-196.
[338] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate,* 46-47; Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 66-67.
[339] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate*, 47-49.

fellows for being "bad at conducting politics and having no personal capacity"[340] and he claimed that their only aim was to separate the Bulgarian Church from the Constantinople Patriarchate.[341] Therefore, in every occasion he advised Gerov to discredit Chomakov and his authority in Plovdiv and among the Bulgarians in Constantinople. However, as Gerov disagreed with Ignatiev, he defended Chomakov's good will towards the Bulgarian national cause.[342]

4.2.2. The Ottoman Attitude Towards the Church Question

The year 1865 did not bring any satisfaction in resolving the Church affair. Ignatiev contacted Patriarch Sophranius III to discuss the structure of the Synod and the plan of existence of the two elements together, as he believed that he could affect the Patriarch's decision.[343] However, the issue that most worried Ignatiev was the attitude of the Mixed Council (which was formed by Greeks and Bulgarians to arrange a solution for the dispute) and Sophronius' reaction to it. He emphasized the following points:

> 1) Each eparchy will choose its own bishop, 2) Bulgarians will have the relative right of election in Ecumenical Patriarchy. 3) The dioceses will be shared between 24 eparchies of the Greeks and 24 of the Slavs, who will send each year 3 bishops to the Synod. 4) The mixed council will be composed of half Greeks

[340] "Les hommes de ce parti avouent n'avoier pour le moment ni lien politique, ni lumières nécessaires, ni individualités capables, mails ils espèrent tour cela de l'avenir." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48,* 252.
[341] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 245.
[342] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate,* 48-49.
[343] D. MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignat'ev,* 286.

and half Bulgarians. 5) One of the Bulgarian synodic bishops will have presidency of the Bulgarian Church in Constantinople.[344]

After all, this project was still born due to the resistance of the both parties to make concessions. Bulgarians rejected all arrangements that would divide the Slavic lands with a fictive line. For Greeks, the issue was a matter of Greekism versus Slavism, thus they intended to limit Bulgarians at the north of the Balkans.[345] As Ignatiev foresaw, both the Greek and Bulgarian parties failed to make a convincing adjustment, so the dispute remained insoluble.[346]

Ignatiev accused the Ottoman administration of profiting from the conflict between Greeks and Bulgarians, making the situation more difficult.[347] For the Porte "*diviser a toujours été synonyme de régner dans des rapports avec les populations chrétiennes*,"[348] which means, regarding the Christian populations the Porte followed the logic of 'dividing is equal to ruling.' However, the ambassador considered this type of logic as worsening the dispute, and he complained about the manners of Âli Pasha, who believed that an independent Bulgarian Church and state was a project of the "*idée russe.*"[349] Ignatiev also thought that the Porte was leading the Bulgarians to believe that it, itself, could deal with the Patriarchate's demands on behalf of the Bulgarians. Such an act would further remove the need for Russian protection or interference and thus Ignatiev believed that the Porte was provoking the Bulgarians to act against Russian support in the region, which many assumed would ultimately

[344] For this plan Ignatiev gave reference to his correspondence No.296 dated to 1865. Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 442.
[345] "De leur côté les Grecs se montraient encore moins traitables, en s'appuyant tantôt sur des souvenirs du passé, tantôt sur des aspirations à de nouvelles destinées ils faisaient intervenir l'histoire d'Alexandre le Grand et de Philippe de Macédoine pour circonscrire les Bulgares au nord des Balkans, comme ils croyaient d'autre part que le moment était décisif dans l'histoire du développement de la Grèce moderne, que la question était posée entre le slavisme et hellénisme et qu'il était urgent de ne pas faiblir.", Graf N.P. Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* p.442.
[346] MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignat'ev,* 286.
[347] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 438.
[348] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 440.
[349] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 440.

be to their advantage.[350] Ignatiev asserted that the Ottoman Palace's real intention was to alienate the Balkan Christians from Russia:

> "… they [the Sultan's ministers] speculated particularly on the Greco-Bulgarian rivalry… and said that the concessions made to the latter [Bulgarians] would make them grateful to the Porte and detach them from Russia, while breaking the bundle of Christian nationalities of Turkey and at least alienating one of them to Russia."[351]

In fact, Ignatiev was not totally wrong in his assumptions. The Ottoman administration indeed intended to alienate Balkan Orthodox Slavs from Russia. The talented diplomat and statesman, Âli Pasha, had always been suspicious about Russian plans in the Balkans, and thus throughout the Church crisis he acted cautiously in regards to Ignatiev's actions.[352] However, while writing his notes, Ignatiev tried to portray Ottoman policy as deliberately creating conflicts and disturbance among its own subjects, in the Empire's own territory. So, Ignatiev's 'divide and rule' assertions concerning the Porte's policy and action should be carefully assessed.[353]

By November 1866, the continued deadlock in terms of a solution to the Church situation led to the change of the Patriarch. Both Ignatiev and the Council

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[350] "D'autre part Aali Pacha encourageait les Bulgares; il leur faisait entendre que les avances du Patriarche étaient dues uniquement à la pression de la Porte, mais qu'elles étaient insuffisantes et que le Gouvernement Ottoman était disposé à doter les Bulgares d'avantages bien plus considérables." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 440.

[351] "… ils [les ministres du Sultan] spéculèrent uniquement sur la rivalité que la lutte … entre les Grecs et les Bulgares, et se dirent que les concessions faites à ces derniers vaudraient à la Porte leur reconnaissance et les détacheraient de la Russie, tout en brisant le faisceau des nationalités chrétiennes de la Turquie et en aliénant du moins l'une d'elles à la Russie." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 440.

[352] Fuat Andıç, Süphan Andıç, *Sadrazam Ali Paşa, Hayatı, Zamanı ve Siyasi Vasiyetnamesi*, pp.28-35.

[353] Some studies on Ignatiev's post in Constantinople may tend to evaluate the Ottoman policy in the Balkans regarding the Greco-Bulgarian dispute, using Ignatiev's word "divide and rule," as if confirming the ambassador's claims. As his claims were based on his subjective justifications and exculpations on his previous actions, one might err on the side of caution while assessing Ignatiev's notes.

were disturbed by the antagonism between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Bulgarian Synod, and therefore they asked the Grand Vizier, Âli Pasha, to intervene in resolving the conflict. Despite Sophronius' trusting relations with Ignatiev and the rest of Russian administration, his attitude toward the dispute was not considered brave and challenging enough to contribute to the solution in a manner beneficial to Russian interests. . Eventually, in December 1866, his time as Patriarchate ended and he was replaced by Grigorii VI. Once again Ignatiev used all his energy to support Grigorii's election.[354] He hoped that the new Patriarch would aid in the finding of a Russian-oriented solution to the dispute. Though Ignatiev intended to take control of solving the Church question, the interference of the Ottoman administration, in addition to Chomakov's activities, prevented Ignatiev from enacting his plan. . Ignatiev always suspected that Chomakov had a considerable political influence on the Porte, therefore, he was determined to leave Chomakov out of the dispute. However, Ignatiev's hatred towards Chomakov and his rapprochement attempts with the Greek Church prejudiced the Bulgarians against Russia's objectives. Ignatiev regarded Chomakov's intentions as originating from pursuing aims with his own personal benefits in mind, which were dedicated to separating the Bulgarian church from the Constantinople Patriarchate: [355]

> "Praising their absolute obedience to the Turkish Government, that party [Chomakov and his fellows] preferred to concentrate its efforts on settling the religious dispute by obtaining, from the Porte, the concessions rejected by the Patriarchate and even going as far as to the separation with the mother Church [Constantinople Patriarchy] in order to form an independent

[354] D. MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignat'ev: The Father of Lies?*, p.288.
[355] Graf N.P. Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* p.252.

> religious body, which could serve as a center of unity for the nation and a basis for the future reconstruction of Bulgaria. However, throughout the Cretan insurrection, the Greeks avoided breaking the negotiation that the Patriarchate maintained [their relations] with the Bulgarians under the patronages of the Imperial Embassy [Russia's Constantinople Embassy]. The Bishop Gregory, who had replaced Patriarch Sophronius[356] and who had close contact with the Imperial Embassy, had even proposed a project for settlement of the question, which seemed fairly reasonable. But whenever a satisfactory outcome presented itself to this deplorable dispute, it immediately closed again as a result of a new difficulty aroused either by one party or the other."[357]

As Ignatiev was aware of Chomakov's aim to create an independent Bulgaria on the basis of national unity, he was categorically opposed to his initiative. Furthermore, frustrating Ignatiev was the fact that Chomakov was also aware of his plans regarding Bulgaria. So, from the beginning, he stood against the Russian contribution to the Bulgarian national project. For Ignatiev, an independent Bulgaria would exclude Russia from its internal affairs, and therefore could not be tolerated. The Ambassador's efforts for solving the Church question attempted to put Russian

[356] Sophronios III served as the Eucumenical Patriarch of Constantinople between 1863-1866.

[357] "Prônant la soumission absolue au Gouvernement Turc, ce parti préférait concentrer tous ses efforts à régler le litige religieux en obtenant de la Porte les concessions refusées par le Patriarcat et en allant même jusqu'à la séparation avec l'Eglise-mère pour former un corps religieux indépendant, pouvant servir de centre d'unité à la nation et de base à la reconstitution future de la Bulgarie. Durant toute l'époque de l'insurrection Crétoise les Grecs ont cependant évité de rompre la négociation que le Patriarcat entretenait avec les Bulgares sous les auspices de l'Ambassade Impériale. Mgr Grégoire qui avait remplacé le Patriarche Sophronios et qui était dans les rapports d'intimité avec Ambassade Impériale, avait même proposé un projet de règlement de la question qui paraissait assez équitable. Mais chaque fois qu'une issue satisfaisante se présentait à ce déplorable différend, elle se refermait aussitôt par suite d'une difficulté nouvelle soulevée soit d'une part soit de l'autre." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski*, 254.

control at the very center. This strategy actually verifies the Soviet historian, V. M. Khevrolina's "Pragmatic Ignatiev" description, which she used to describe his plans of increasing Russian cultural and religious influence in the east.[358]

In 1866, Turkey and Greece found themselves in a tense situation, one that could even lead to a war, due to the Cretan rebellion. The Ottoman Empire took an anti-Greek stance, while the "pragmatic" Ambassador wanted to make use of this new conflict. He tried to terrify Âli Pasha by bringing to the table the possibility of a large-scale Bulgarian revolt if the Porte did not follow Ignatiev's political project. Nevertheless, the problem was not yet solvable. Though he supported the unity of the Orthodox Church, in time, he began to support the Bulgarian solution. He put emphasis on creating an independent Bulgarian Church, but only under the directorship of the Constantinople Patriarchate.[359] Once again Ignatiev was attentive not to offend the Greek side and therefore, keep Bulgarians under the Patriarch's authority.

The spring of 1867 was difficult for the Ottoman Empire due to both the Cretan insurrection and Serbian pressures to remove Ottoman forces from its territory.[360] In the meantime, a group of Bulgarians aimed at organizing a rebellion, motivated by the idea of establishing an independent state. During the summer of 1867, several Bulgarian bandits emerged in the Balkans, but were easily suppressed by Ottoman forces. However, in July of the following year they reappeared, increased in size. At the same time, a different group of bandits emerged in Romania, and began to cross the Danube River. The internal situation in Bulgaria, therefore, did not remain stable. However, the Porte successfully suppressed the revolts of these bandits, in large part due to the actions of the governor of the Danubian

[358] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 216.
[359] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 200.
[360] MacKenzie, *Ignatev: The Father of Lies?*, 289.

Province, Midhat Pasha. Ignatiev was uncomfortable with Western accusations, which blamed Russia for the insurrections. Ignatiev refuted the claims that the Bulgarian bandits were supported by Russian agents and he complained that the Western powers wished to used the incident in order to further try to remove Russian influence from the Balkans. Indeed, Ignatiev claimed that these movements were organized by Polish emigrants, for ruining the image of Russia in the European public opinion.[361]

> "The Westerners sought to use the Bulgarian incident against us. They exaggerated the dangers foreseen by the Porte, in order to make it [the Porte] feel grateful for their support, and to prove Russia's disloyalty to it [the Porte]. They attributed the appearance of the bands to the efforts of the so-called Pan-Slav committees; and [the Westerners] pretended to make believe that the Bulgarian volunteers [bandits] were organized by our agents, funded by us and even commanded by Russian officers."[362]

In the meantime, Chomakov demanded that the Porte allow the arrangement and formation of an independent Bulgarian Church and in return he promised to stay loyal to Ottoman authority.[363] Ignatiev asserted that during all these banditry movements, Chomakov was supporting the Porte, profiting from the "loose and passive character"[364] of Bulgarian people in order to prevent a possible Greek-

[361] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 248-250.
[362] "Les occidentaux cherchèrent à exploiter contre nous l'incident bulgare. Ils exagéraient les dangers prévus par la Porte pour lui faire sentir le prix de leur appui et lui démontrer la perfidie de la Russie; ils attribuaient l'apparition des bandes au travail des prétendus comités panslavistes et feignaient de croire que les volontaires bulgares étaient organisés par nos agents, payés par nous et commandés même par des officiers russes." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 250.
[363] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate,* 90.
[364] "…caractère mou et passif de la population de la plaine", Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 252.

Bulgarian rapprochement by creating obstacles to block the path towards a solution. He asserted, therefore, throughout this problem that the Palace bureaucracy followed the policy of 'divide and rule':

> "The attempts of rapprochement between the opposing parties did not escape the notice of the Porte, who, in its relations with the Christian nationalities, had adopted the axiom: to separate is to reign."[365]

The events during 1866 and 1867 proved the failure of Ignatiev's expediency to solve the Greco-Bulgarian dispute and thus Russia's Eastern question. Although St. Petersburg advocated a neutral position for Russia regarding this dispute[366], Ignatiev was decisive about not leaving the solution to the Ottoman Empire. He was insistent on offsetting all the obstacles to find a Russia-centered solution to the problem. At the same time, when his efforts did not yield any results, he was ready to put the blame on the Ottoman administration under the pretext of 'divide and rule' policy.

4.2.3 Ignatiev's Intrigues and the Church Dispute's Deadlock

In 1867 a new adjustment in the Patriarchate came to the fore. The Patriarch was unseated and Gregorii VI, who had good relations with Russia, was elected as the new Ecumenical Patriarch. In 1868, Ignatiev convinced the Patriarch Gregorii[367]

[365] "Les tentatives de rapprochement entre les parties adverses n'échappaient pas à l'œil vigilant de la Porte qui, dans ses rapports avec les nationalités chrétiennes, avait adopté l'axiome: séparer c'est régner. Elle usait de tous les moyens pour réagir contre une entente qu'elle croyait ne pas répondre à ses intérêts et afin de parvenir plus facilement à ses fins, elle excitait les jalousies nationales, tant des Grecs que des Bulgares dans les provinces mixtes, en représentant aux uns les concessions négociées comme excessives, aux autres comme illusoires ou insuffisantes." Graf N.P. Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* p.254.
[366] GARF, fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999; Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate,* 26.
[367] Gregory VI served his second term as the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople between 1867-1871.

to take the initiative in the arrangement for the creation of an autonomous Bulgarian Exarchate. One challenge to be faced was how to deal with areas of mixed populations of Bulgarians and Greeks. The ecclesiastic region was limited to the areas that were populated by Bulgarians and the condition of the mixed eparchies was not satisfyingly regulated. This adjustment was the most favorable one for the Bulgarian side. For Russia, this project was the best option to protect the Bulgarians from Catholic influence and the Greeks from Protestant influence.[368] However, even this idea did not meet with success, as it failed to address the discord concerning the areas of mixed populations. Ignatiev believed that the failure to reach an agreement was due to the position of the Ottomans, who appeared to be guided by the suggestions of the European Powers.[369]

Ignatiev continued discussions with Gregorii VI, who was working on a project of accord. However, the dispute was far from reaching a solution, as both the Greeks and the Bulgarians continued to produce new obstacles during the process.[370] For instance, the new Patriarch and Ignatiev worked on a project contemplating a semi-independent Church based not on an ethnic but a territorial adjustment. According to this plan the question of mixed places would be bound to the Patriarchate. However, the Bulgarians in the Council were opposed to the mixed dioceses article of the plan.[371] Due to Gregorii's plan, the Church's boundaries would be restricted from by the Danube River in the North, the Balkan Mountains in the South and the Black Sea in the east and Serbia in the West. This mean that the mixed population areas in Macedonia and Thrace would be under the authority of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. Ignatiev demanded that the Bulgarian party act in consent with

[368] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 442-444.
[369] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 444.
[370] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 254.
[371] MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignatev: The Father of Lies?*, 289.

Patriarch's offer and warned them that if they resisted this solution, the issue would end in a schism and the Tsar would never forgive them. However the extremist Bulgarians and the Greek clergy once again paralyzed any efforts towards a solution.[372]

Furthermore, Ignatiev assumed that the extremist Bulgarians were escaping from Russian protection, and thus were taking shelter in the Ottoman land in order to gain independence, while also seeking help from the West. These radicals were ready to fight for the independence of the Bulgarian Church to the bitter end.[373] In fact, Ignatiev foresaw that the Greek-Bulgarian dispute was an arduous problem, which had potential to become even more difficult and complicated in the future.

At the very beginning of his post in Constantinople, Ignatiev brought to the attention of the Grand Vizier the forthcoming danger of a general Balkan uprising.[374] This warning represented both a threat and the Ambassador's desire for Russia's future plans. The experienced diplomats of the Porte were aware of Ignatiev's intentions and intrigues, so they approached the dispute from all the angles. On the other hand, in all probability this dispute would be the most laborious task that Ignatiev had to deal with throughout his tenure in Constantinople. While he intended to keep Russia close to both the Greeks and the Bulgarians he realized that both of them were alienated from Russia. For Russia, the most reasonable attitude towards Greco-Bulgarian affairs might have been, in fact, neutrality, as was advised by St. Petersburg and the Russian Synod. Although Ignatiev found this approach wise, he knew that it would be difficult to stay neutral.[375] Therefore, he was quite decided on becoming involved in the ongoing argument, as he believed that leaving the issue

[372] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate,* 83-87.
[373] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski*, 438.
[374] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski*, 436.
[375] GARF.fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999; Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate,* 26.

unsolved would have serious consequences for Russia in the near future.[376] The most feared result would be the alienation of the Greek side and the Constantinople Patriarchate from Russia. Ignatiev complained that the Greeks had always been the most difficult group of people in the East regarding the implementation of Russian plans. Yet, similarly, Russo-Bulgarian relations were also on a razor's edge. Due to Russia's respectful and careful attitude towards the Constantinople Patriarchate, the Bulgarians began to accuse the Russian administration of Grecophilism. The more Ignatiev made efforts to solve the conflict between the two groups , the more complicated the situation became.[377] By advising both parties, he perpetuated a lack of solution and thus it would have been more advisable to remain neutral, as neither party was amenable to any of his suggestions in the long term.[378]

4.2.4. The Ottoman *Ferman* of the Bulgarian Exarchate

The Sultan's *Ferman* on the establishment of Bulgarian Exarchate was enacted on 28 February/12 March 1870, and immediately a Bulgarian Synod was appointed. At the end of March, the *Ferman* was read in the Bulgarian Church in Constantinople and the Patriarchate was notified by the order of Grand Vizier Âli Pasha.[379] Since the very beginning of the dispute, Ignatiev preferred a solution without Porte's intervention. However, after the *Ferman* was enacted, he considered

[376] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 438.
[377] "Les Grecs, ayant été pendant de longues années les enfants gâtée de la Russie en Orient, étaient devenus par trop exigeants et par trop excessifs: ceux qui n'épousaient pas entièrement leurs passions et leurs préjugés devenaient immédiatement suspects à leurs yeux; ils étaient censés être leurs adversaires et étaient rendus solidaires de la cause bulgare. De l'autre côté, on était accusé de grécophilisme par les Bulgares dés qu'on leur prêchait la modération et de la déférence pour le Patriarcat." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 438.
[378] In 1872, the Russian dragoman in Constantinople Mikhail Onu stated that the dispute is beyond any resolution and he recommended Ignatiev to stay silent and not to give any advise to both parties, as that wouldn't give any result. GARF.fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999, 5-5ob.
[379] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 446.

that it did, in fact, reflect the results of his five years effort. , In addition, through his diplomatic skills, he distanced himself from any unfavorable results of the *Ferman* for Greeks.[380] Ignatiev's primary concern was the possibility of schism, which would reverse all of his efforts, therefore he planned to bring together the Greek and Bulgarian sides on a conciliatory basis. Yet, the Constantinople Patriarch refused any contacts with the Bulgarian Exarchate.[381] Furthermore, the Patriarch did not t find it appropriate that the regulations concerning the Orthodox Church were made by a Muslim power and therefore, rejected the Porte's authority in this dispute.[382] The Russian Holy Synod, who advocated remaining neutral during negotiations regarding the dispute from the onset, agreed with the Greek Patriarch. According to them the territorial delimitation was not a religious, but a political matter that should be discussed and decided by secular authorities, while the formation of a Bulgarian Church was a religious concept, where the decision should be left to the initiative of the Constantinople Patriarchate.[383] Apparently, neither side was satisfied with Ignatiev's mediatorship, which ignored the Russian Holy Synod's position. Both the Greeks and the Bulgarians regarded Ignatiev's intrigues as an attempt to secure Russian interest in Rumelia.[384]

Ignatiev admitted that for the 10 years that this question was being addressed, Russia aimed at finding a conciliatory settlement that would satisfy both parties.[385] However, Ignatiev eventually began to grasp that there was no way to establish an independent Bulgarian Church without deteriorating Russo-Greek relations, which

[380] MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignat'ev: The Father of Lies?*, 301.
[381] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 201.
[382] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 446.
[383] MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignatev: The Father of Lies?*, 306.
[384] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 202.
[385] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 448.

was actually the argument St. Petersburg advanced since the beginning of the dispute.[386]

While Russia was addressing that dilemma, the Porte and the Western powers were ready to accuse Russia of deadlocking the dispute. Ignatiev stated that the European powers, in particular, intended to cause a great schism in the Orthodox community, which would lead to a rapprochement of the Bulgarians with the Catholic Armenians under the supremacy of the West.[387] Meanwhile, the British accused Russia of supporting the Bulgarians by propagating Pan-Slavism. Sir H. Elliot[388] argued that the Patriarchate should make concessions to the Bulgarians only within certain limits, in order to prevent the problem from turning into a triumph of pan-Slavism.[389] However, Ignatiev categorically rejected Western and Ottoman claims. His concern was to put Russia in a position where her opinion was held in equal weight with the other Powers involved in the dispute, and he aimed to do so by using his diplomatic skills together with intrigues. He was mostly concerned about Russia losing supremacy over the Balkan people as a result of the schism:

> "My primary concern in this question that was disputed was always to provide Bulgarians, without falling out with Greeks, a national body for protecting them from the Catholic and

[386] Onu's report in this regard shows the official stance toward the Church question; see GARF, fond.730, first expedition, op.1, 999.

[387] La plupart des représentants étrangers à Constantinople s'énonçaient même en faveur des Bulgares. Cette circonstance provenait en partie de l'espoir de produire un schisme au sein de la communauté orthodoxe et de voir s'effectuer ensuite un rapprochement entre les Bulgares et les Arméniens catholiques orientaux sous la bannière de l'Occident. Tout en reconnaissant ce que ces espérances avaient d'exagéré, je n'en redoublai pas moins d'efforts pour mettre nos coreligionnaires à l'abri de ces intrigues." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 448.

[388] Sir Henry Elliot (1817-1907) was the British ambassador to Constantinople.

[389] Kapıcı, "Osmanlı-Rus İlişkilerinde N.P. İgnatyev Dönemi," 331.

Protestant propaganda and sawing them for the Orthodoxy and for our influence."[390]

The Greeks considered the concessions given to the Bulgarians already too much and that they did not support their plans to Greekify Macedonia. Ignatiev, however, tried to discuss the advantages of solving the dispute with the Greeks. He told them that escaping from negotiation saying "*non possumus*" would be even more harmful to their cause. Simultaneously, he advised the Bulgarians to be conciliatory and to solve the problem not from a religious point of view but from a national one.[391] Approaching it from a religious perspective risked the dissolution of the Orthodox world in general, which, for Ignatiev meant en eventual decrease in Russia's reputation as the protector of the Balkan Orthodox people.

Eventually, following the declaration of the *Ferman*, the Porte announced a Greco-Bulgarian commission, which would discuss the solution. Upon the objection of Patriarchate, Âli Pasha assured Ignatiev that this was an unofficial commission, meaning its decision was not officially binding. However, later the Porte undermined the work of the Commission that it had itself suggested, thus the Commission's decision led nowhere.[392] Once again ending in a stalemate, Ignatiev regarded the Commission as a last chance for a solution. Nevertheless, after the Cretan uprising the Greeks were no longer willing to listen to Russia advice, while the Bulgarians, on the other hand, did not intend to lose the Porte's support. Again, both parties

[390] "Ma principale préoccupation dans la question, qui se débattait, a toujours été de procurer aux Bulgares, sans rompre avec les Grecs, un corps national en les préservant des efforts de la propagande catholique et protestante et en les conservant ainsi à l'orthodoxie et à notre influence." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 448.
[391] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 450,452.
[392] MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignat'ev: The Father of Lies?*, 296-298.

remained firm in their resolve to attain their exact goals, and with no solution having been reached, this left Ignatiev's plans unrealized.[393]

In 1870, the first Bulgarian Exarch was elected, and Antim I[394], who received total Russian support, was given a *Berat* by the Porte.[395] Following the election, Ignatiev advised the Bulgarians to repair relations with the Patriarchate since he wanted to avoid any deterioration in Russia's relations with the Patriarchate as a result of the Bulgarian radicals' objectives:

> "I further advised the Bulgarians not to consider the *Ferman* as having definitively closed the dispute and to attempt to agree directly with the Patriarch on the delimitation of the mixed eparchies, keeping their moderation and prudence so as not to compromise their own cause."[396]

After long negotiations, the Patriarchate proposed to leave 23 eparchies, including Veles and Ohrid to the Bulgarians. Ignatiev advised to keep these negotiations secret between the Bulgarians and the Patriarchate, as that would offend and provoke the Greeks.[397]

The Bulgarian groups leaded by Chomakov and Panarete of Plovdiv[398], who had set their mind on creating an independent Bulgarian national Church, continued to block cooperation with the Greeks. They intended to break the negotiations with

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[393] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 452.
[394] Antim I (Atanas Mihaylov Chalakov) (1816-1888) served as the Exarch between 1872-1877.
[395] In the election of the Exarchate the votes were shared between the bishops Hilarion of Lovech, Hilarion of Macariopoli, the Plovdiv Metropolitan Paisius, Panarte and Anthimos of Vidin. Russia supported the last one; and in 1870 Anthimos was given the berat by the Porte. Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 452.
[396] "Je recommandai en outre aux Bulgares de ne point considérer le firman comme ayant définitivement clos la question et de tâcher de s'entendre directement avec le Patriarche sur la délimitation des éparchies mixtes en usant de modération et de prudence, afin de ne pas compromettre leur propre cause." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 610.
[397] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 610.
[398] Panarete of Plovdiv (Petr Dimitrov Mishaikov) (1805-1883) was Bulgarian revolutionary of the Bulgarian national independence movement and the Metropolitan of Plovdiv.

Anthimos at all costs, and were giving rise to another Church scandal.[399] Chomakov and his fellows did not hesitate to cause a schism as they secured their position by ingratiating themselves with the Porte.[400] Through the effort of the Grand-Vizier, Âli Pasha, the Bulgarians were granted many more concessions than they expected, as the Porte was determined to break any anti-Pan-Slavic sentiment, incidentally the primary motivation of Russia in the region. Thus, Chomakov, who was close to the Ottoman bureaucracy, claimed that the Porte's approval of a Bulgarian Exarchate would be vital to protect the Bulgarians against Russian political influence. He and his followers, together with Âli Paaha, aimed at establishing the Exarchate in a remote location to further develop a Russophobic Bulgarian national feeling.[401] In parallel with this argument, the Austrian ambassador, Baron de Prokesch, reported to his Foreign Ministry that the Porte's intention behind the *Ferman* was to strengthen Bulgarian-Ottoman relations, decreasing Russia's influence in the Balkans and preventing a possible general uprising.[402]The Austrian Foreign Ministry considered Ignatiev's attitude toward Greco-Bulgarian dispute as provocative. The Austrian diplomat Count Ludolph, was against an independent Bulgarian Church as he assumed that would put Bulgaria under Russian control. Still, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Andrassy, supported the Exarchate, as he foresaw that Ignatiev's activities would end with both Bulgarian and Greek alienation from Russia.[403]

The intricacy of the Greco-Bulgarian affair led once more to a Patriarch's dismissal. In 1871, Grigorii VI resigned from Patriarchate and left his place to

[399] Graf N.P. Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* p.612.
[400] In 1871 Chomakov demanded to add some areas of Macedonia to the final arrangement; however this demand agitated the Greek party. Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1864-1872)*, 156.
[401] MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignatev: The Father of Lies?*, 307.
[402] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1864- 1872)*, 130-131.
[403] MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignatev: The Father of Lies?*, 313.

Anthimos VI,[404] the favored candidate of Russia.[405] Therefore, during the spring and summer of 1871, Ignatiev tried once more to find a balanced solution, but blocked by the Russian Synod, who rejected to gather the Ecumenical Council. The Synod itself, was in favor of the *Ferman,* and intended to finally end discussions concerning the Greco-Bulgarian affairs. By the summer 1871, Ignatiev succeeded in wining over Chomakov, who now put his weight behind the moderate Bulgarians. He convinced them to compromise in regards to the topic of territorial adjustment. However, after the breakup of the National Assembly, Ignatiev's control over the moderate Bulgarians came to an end, and the extreme group once more gained power.[406] In the meantime, Âli Paaha had caught a deadly illness (tuberculosis) and rested in his house for the whole of August. On the 6th of September 1871, he passed away.[407] His death was a relief for Ignatiev, who once more reached an impasse with the Bulgarians in 1871. That relief was caused not only due to the end of Âli Paaha's careful and cautious stance toward Ignatiev's actions, but also due to the appointment of Mahmud Nedim Paşa, a Russophile, in his place.[408] Mahmud Nedim Pasha, who was also called "Nedimov" due to his close relations with Russia, secured the appointment of Server Pasha, another Russophile, as the Minister of Foreign Affairs.[409] Ignatiev believed that through the help of both the Ottoman bureaucracy's Russophile elements and his personal diplomacy, negotiations would enter into a more conciliatory stage for both the Greeks and Bulgarians. However, Ignatiev's aims were never realized, as the Bulgarians' territorial demands remained and the

[404] Anthimos VI served as the Eucumenical patriarch in Constantiople in his first term between 1871-1873.
[405] MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignatev: The Father of Lies?*, 306-307.
[406] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1864- 1872)*, 157-161.
[407] Fuat Andıç, Süphan Andıç, *Sadrazam Ali Paşa, Hayatı, Zamanı ve Siyasi Vasiyetnamesi, 55.*
[408] In 1872 June Mahmud Nedim Paşa was retrieved from his post and replaced by Midhad Paşa, a Russophobe, who supported the schism. MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignatev: The Father of Lies?*, 312.
[409] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1864- 1872)*, 162.

question of identity arose among the Macedonians.[410] Another reason for this failure was due to Mahmud Nedim Pasha intervention in the affair. The Russian dragoman in Constantinople Mikhail Onu[411] reported to Ignatiev that Mahmud Pasha's attitude on behalf of the Bulgarians conflicted with Greek interests. He underlined that Mahmud Pasha used shady politics when dealing with the Exarchate.[412]

By January 1872, the crisis reached its extreme limits. The Patriarch, in a letter he sent to the Bishop of Lovech, had set up a condition that the members of the clergy, who want to officiate in Constantinople, initially had to receive the Patriarch's permission. However, the leaders of the Bulgarian separatist group, by exercising their power over Phanarete and the two Ilarion made them officiate the rite on 'the Day of Epiphanies', on 6 January 1872.[413] This was considered an anti-canonic act, and the Patriarch decided to impose on them the severest of punishments. Ignatiev, however, considered Patriarch's decision as "exceeding the rational boundary."[414] In the first place Ignatiev expected that the Patriarch would not cancel the plan of regulations set up with the Bulgarians in November 1871, because this plan, which had been discussed by the Holy Synods of Russia and Athens, represented a valuable stage for the solution of the dispute. Ignatiev advised the Patriarch Anthimos to consider the act of 6 January 1872 as a "simple regrettable accident,"[415] but he also encouraged him not to abandon the ongoing negotiation. However, the Patriarch had already given his decision to punish the three bishops. In addition, he enacted a couple of penalty articles, and demanded that the Ottoman

[410] As a result of the failure of the solution, the Patriarch Anthimos delayed the negotiations. Meininger, T. A., *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1864- 1872)*, pp.166-171.
[411] Mikhail Konstantinovich Onu (1835-1901) is a Russian diplomat, who started his diplomatic career in the Constantinople Embassy; later on he became dragoman during the St. Stefano Peace Agreement in 1878.
[412] GARF, fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999, p. 1ob.
[413] Graf N.P. Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* p.614.
[414] "Malheureusement, il [le Patriarche] dépassa la mesure de la raison." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 614.
[415] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 616.

administration enforce them.[416] Therefore, he continued to exhaustively persuade the Patriarch to change his mind and abstain from excommunicating the Exarchate:

> "By an utmost effort, I got out of the Patriarch the promise of not excommunicating the Exarchate as long as it would not make any anti-canonical act; I decided, on the other hand, to address to His Holiness, two different times by letter, to obtain his recognition. I even hoped to find a modus vivendi that can be accepted by both the Greeks by the Bulgarians."[417]

Yet, the Patriarch's two answers on the Bulgarian Church question left Ignatiev in a tight spot. In his first answer, he pointed out that whoever established an autonomous Church without the consent of the Mother Church would be called schismatic. In the second point, he gave his absolute approval to Sultan's *Ferman*, which complicated the situation.[418] Following the Patriarch's answers, the Greek Party began to blame the continuation of the dispute on the Russian attitude. In his correspondence[419] to Gorchakov, in 1872, Ignatiev expressed his regret about accusations made by the Greeks towards the Russian pan-Slavic policies. He admitted that alienation of the Greeks from Russia had begun with the Cretan uprising. For him, even though Bulgarians were delinquent in this matter, the Greeks did not act in compliance either and he reproached Anthimos for betraying the trust of Russia.[420] Ignatiev felt

[416] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 616-617.
[417] "Par un suprême effort, j'obtiens du Patriarche la promesse de ne pas excommunier l'Exarque aussi longtemps qu'il ne ferait aucun acte anticanonlque; je décidai, d'autre part, ce dernier à s'adresser à deux reprises différentes par lettre à Sa Sainteté pour obtenir sa reconnaissance. J'espérai même trouver, un modus vivendi qui peut être accepté tant par les Grecs que par les Bulgares." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 618.
[418] "... en déclarant dans la première de ces pièces que ceux qui formeraient une Eglise autonome sans la consécration de la Grande Eglise seraient "schismatiques" et en donnant dans la seconde une approbation trop complète et trop absolue du firman de la Porte, notre Saint Synode, en mécontentant principalement les Grecs, avait donné des armes aux deux partis en litige." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 620.
[419] Ignatiev's correspondence to Gorchakov dated to 5/27 February 1872 (No. 42), Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 620-612.
[420] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 620-612.

uncomfortable with the ongoing situation and was concerned that the Orthodox world would unavoidably be split into two parts. He particularly blamed the Patriarch for not be able to satisfactorily handle the situation and Âli Pasha for manipulating the Patriarch's decision. In mid-September of 1872, the situation reached a pinnacle and came to the fore on the Greek and Bulgarian public agenda.[421]

> "The last events that had divided the Orthodox world into two opposing and almost enemy camps ... The Patriarch was somehow passive instrument in the hands of intriguers and a men without any principle or true religion ... Violent articles in the Greek press were increasingly affecting public opinion. Loud demonstrations repeated everyday in the streets; the violent crowd went into processions and shouted: "Long live the schism". By praising the Sultan, they wanted to take these manifestations under the protection of the Government."[422]

Finally, on 16/28 September 1872, the Council declared the Exarchate to be schismatic and excommunicated it in the closed session. The decision was proclaimed in the Constantinople Church and it was reported to all Greek and autocephalous Churches with the following declaration: [423]

> "1) They [the resolutions] consider heretical the doctrine of nationalities in the Church - "phyletism", asserting that the canons do not allow any distinction to be made among Orthodox

[421] The problem reached up to Jerusalem, Cyprus and other Orthodox Churches creating uneasiness and reaction. Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 624.

[422] "Les derniers événements ayant partagé le monde orthodoxe en deux camps opposés et presque ennemis ... Le Patriarche n'était en quelque sorte qu'un instrument passif entre les mains des intrigants et des hommes sans principe, ni religion véritable ... Les articles violents de la presse grecque passionnaient de plus en plus l'opinion publique. Des démonstrations bruyantes se renouvelaient journellement dans les rues; la foule ameutée se portait en processions et criait: "vive le schisme". En acclamant également le Sultan, on avait soin de placer ces manifestations sous la protection du Gouvernement." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 622.

[423] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 626.

> Christians, 2) major excommunication was then launched against the Exarch and the Bulgarian bishops by name, and against all those that are "in spiritual communication with them," without explicitly mentioning the Bulgarian nation."[424]

4.2.5. Mikhail Onu's Search for Solution to the Church Question

The Ferman and the decision of schism created a most unfavorable atmosphere for Russia. Ignatiev's plans for finding a solution upon his own initiative did not work. In particular, Ignatiev's Russia-centered scenario was derailed due to Âli Pasha's diplomatic interference. After Âli Pasha's death, Ignatiev began to entertain hope for reviving his plan. However, Mahmud Pasha, whom he considered an ally, did not stay at his post long enough to support Russian plans. Moreover, the matter had more than one factor and upon Mahmud Pasha's appointment the dispute had grew beyond a simple Russia-centred remedy. Upon the declaration of the schism, Onu blamed Mahmud Nedim Pasha:

> "We know how he was induced to put into force the Bulgarian *Ferman*, and to authorize the election of the Exarch, who was not late to be solemnly installed as a spiritual leader of the Bulgarians."[425]

Mahmud Pasha was prudent in regards to the actions of the Greeks and therefore kept tight control over them. The Greeks were faced with humiliation when the

[424] "1) elles considèrent hérétique la doctrine des nationalités dans l'Eglise - le "philitisme", en affirmant que les canons ne permettent pas de faire une distinction quelconque entre les chrétiens orthodoxes, 2) l'excommunication majeure est lancée ensuite contre l'Exarque et les évêques bulgares nominativement, ainsi que contre tous ceux que se trouvent "en communication spirituelle avec eux", sans toutefois mentionner explicitement la nation bulgare." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 626.
[425] GARF, fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999, 1ob.

Sultan invited the Bulgarian Exarchate to the Palace and allowed him to assume an equal position to other spiritual leaders.[426] Onu continued that the ecumenical Patriarch took advantage of the occasion to organize a meeting of local councils in Constantinople.

> "This pseudo-council culminated in the proclamation of schism under the violent pressure of unbridled Hellenism not only in Constantinople and Athens but also in the most remote corners of the Ottoman Empire."[427]

Onu believed that it was still early days, regarding the excommunication, and thought to discuss this with the Greeks and persuade them that they had made a mistake.

> "It is necessary to give them time to disguise themselves and to enjoy what they consigned as a brilliant victory over the Bulgarians, Russia and Pan-Slavism."[428]

Once again Russia was advocating a neutral position in the dispute, yet this time after a 10 years delay, and after the most unwanted scenario had already come to pass. According to Onu, from that time on the only way to get out of this complicated situation was to keep silent for a while. Furthermore, he argued that it was giving advice to both parties would be in vain as they would listen anyway.

> "It is for us to gain time, to preserve our inactive position and not to engage our direct action in the Greco-Bulgarian conflict. Above all, it is necessary to clarify as much as possible the attitude which the imbroglio could adopt in both the Imperial

[426] GARF, fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999, 2.
[427] GARF, fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999, 3.
[428] "il faut leur donner le temps de se déguiser et de savourer ce qu'ils considèrent comme une victoire éclatante remparlée sur les Bulgares, la Russie et le panslavisme." GARF, fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999, 3ob-4.

Cabinet and the Holy Synod which has received communication of the act of schism."[429]

"But we shall try, nevertheless, to mark the path which, in the absence of immediate brilliant results, will at least offer us the advantage of maintaining our freedom of action vis-à-vis the Bulgarians and the Greeks - especially the Greeks, whose tactics are to challenge us and push us into the field of struggle."[430]

"So the best answer we can give to the Patriarchate of Constantinople is silence. Any other combination would only throw oil on the fire and jeopardize our official relations with the Eastern Church without any usefulness for the Bulgarians."[431]

"The Greeks consider it an insult-they who claim to have exhausted all means of conciliation-they are even capable of responding to our counsels by a summons to choose our co-religionists between the Orthodox Greeks and the schismatic Bulgarians."[432]

However, once again, remaining silent was not an option for Ignatiev when it came to solving the Greco-Bulgarian dispute. He was decisive in his plan to take an active part in the problem solving. However, he complained and was enraged by the ignorance of the Ottoman bureaucracy. After the death of Âli Pasha, Midhat Pasha took a position that was against Ignatiev.

[429] GARF, fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999, 4.
[430] GARF, fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999, 4ob.
[431] GARF, fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999, 5-5ob.
[432] GARF, fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999, 5ob.

> "the attitude of the Porte during the crisis of the year 1872 ... brought to light the complete nullity of the Ottoman statesmen and unmasked the policy in the Greco-Bulgarian question…Since Mithad Pasha was in power, the Porte acted without a system and carried the utmost confusion in its determinations, which gave the intriguers the opportunity to succeed in manipulating or exploiting him by surprise, taking advantage of the absolute ignorance of the Ministers. Eventually, in the case of reconciliation between the Greeks and the Bulgarians, the Great Vezir's complaint was that he would have to fix the political limits of "Bulgaria" by the delimitation of the eparchies, [therefore] he was pushing for schism, he preferred to see the emergence of the dissident Church, which would dispense the Porte from drawing a line of demarcation between the two nationalities, and would maintain between them an antagonism beneficial to Ottoman domination."[433]

Ignatiev assumed that the Porte's attitude was influenced and assisted by Britain and the Catholic World, as this would help to weaken both Russian influence and Orthodoxy in the Ottoman Balkans.[434] The Cretan uprising and combined with the Greco-Bulgarian Church dispute, were conflicts, which were valuable assets for the Westerns Powers to delegitimize Russian protectionist claims. Furthermore, the lack

[433] "L'attitude de la Porte pendant la crise de l'année 1872 ... mis en évidence la complète nullité des hommes d'Etat ottomans et ont démasqué la politique dans la question Gréco-Bulgare…Depuis que Mithad Pacha était au pouvoir la Porte agissait sans système et portait la plus grande confusion dans ses déterminations, que les intrigants parvenaient à modifier ou à lui arracher par surprise, profitant de l'ignorance absolue des Ministres. En définitive, le Grand Vézir poussait au schisme, craignant, en cas de réconciliation entre les Grecs et les Bulgares, de devoir fixer, par la délimitation des éparchies, les limites politiques de la "Bulgarie", il préférerait voir surgir une Eglise dissidente, ce qui dispenserait la Porte de tirer une ligne de démarcation entre les deux nationalités et maintiendrait entre elles un antagonisme profitable à la domination ottomane." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* 626.

[434] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* 626.

of concrete support from Russia during the 1866 Cretan uprising was interpreted by the Greeks as a deliberate lack of help on the part of the Russians in order to weaken Greek 'Hellenistic' ideals,[435] and so they decided to throw their support towards the Western Powers.[436] In his letter to the Russian envoy in Athens, Ignatiev expressed his anger and disappointment, and wrote that the Greeks harmed their own 'Hellenistic' ideals bye following an anti-pan-Slavist policy. He openly expressed that Russia's attitude towards the Greeks could no longer be sympathetic.[437]

> "The aim which the Greeks are pursuing by asking for the schism and which, according to them, is to save Hellenism and to put an end to the development of the Slavs, is far from being achieved; and indeed all the Greek national tendencies and the "[megali] idea" itself are abolished by the declaration of the Council, which categorically condemns the principle of nationalities..."[438]

Onu had already abandoned hope for a solution. So, attempted to convince Ignatiev to also stop trying to convince both parties towards a solution, that it was in fact, too late to solve the schism.

> "The time for good advice has therefore passed. The Patriarch confines himself to transmitting to the Russian Synod a simple

[435] Ignatiev was aware that the Greeks developed a negative attitude towards Russia. Even the marriage of the King George to the grand duchesse of Russia couldn't decrease the tension. Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* 632-634.
[436] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* 630.
[437] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* 632-634.
[438] "Le but que les Grecs poursuivent en demandant le schisme et qui consisterait, selon eux, à sauver l'hellénisme et à mettre un terme au progrès des slaves, est donc loin d'être atteint, et d'ailleurs, toutes les tendances nationales des Grecs et la "grande idée" elle-même sont invalidées par la déclaration du Concile, qui condamne catégoriquement le principe des nationalités..." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* 632.

copy of the act of the pretended council. We have only to put it *ad acta*."[439]

However, Ignatiev asserted that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Halil Şerif Pasha, and Midhat Pasha had been the ones to drag the Greco-Bulgarian dispute into a deadlock, and therefore delivered the Bulgarians into the hands of Catholic influence.[440] Ignatiev stated that Midhat Pasha and Halil Şerif Pasha made use of the dispute in order to apply the policy of "*domination par la division*"[441], and he accused Midhat Pasha of attempting to start a civil war. In his notes, he wrote that once Halil Serif Pasha left his post, Midhat Pasha's plans failed.[442]

As of 1873, the Greco-Bulgarian agreement was still deadlocked on the subject of the delimitation of the mixed eparchies. By this time, Joachim was elected as the Patriarch, taking the place of Anthimos VI. Though the Patriarch did not represent the best option, Ignatiev supported him as he had good relations with him.[443] However, the Ambassador's hope was slanted towards the Porte as he assumed that the interference of the Ottoman administration could solve the problem of the mixed eparchies:

> "As a result of my advice, an inquiry (*istilam*) was opened by the Ottoman authorities for the application of Article X of the *Ferman* regarding the mixed eparchies. The results obtained in the provinces of Ohrid and Skopje were submitted to the Council

[439] "Le temps de bon conseil est donc passé. Le Patriarche se borne à transmettre au Synode de Russie une simple copie de l'acte du prétendu concile. Nous n'avons donc qu'à le mettre ad acta." GARF.fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999, 6.
[440] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* 634.
[441] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* 254.
[442] "Si le Sultan ne s'était pas pris à temps pour destituer son premier Ministre, celui-ci aurait provoqué lui-même la guerre civile dans le pays, dont l'ordre et la sécurité lui avaient été con-fiés. Les projets de Mithad Pacha furent ostensiblement désapprouvés par son successeur Mehmed Ruschdi et ils furent complètement aban-donnés lorsque Khalil Chérif quitta le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* 636.
[443] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* 638.

> of Ministers, which pronounced their annexation to the Exarchate and authorized to send Bulgarian bishops to the dioceses."[444]

Coming to the end of his notes on the Greco-Bulgarian dispute, Ignatiev accused Chomakov, bishops Panarete and Ilarion of being the principal architects of the deterioration of Russian plans in the Ottoman Balkans.[445]

> "Unfortunately, the avant-guard party among the Bulgarians, which has no religious conviction and no principles, seek to continue the rupture with the Great Church and sometimes even consider unifying with Rome, which seems to be useful in political and national terms. In this respect Chomakov, the bishops Panaretus and Hylarion are the corrupt geniuses of the Bulgarians. These last two [names, Panaretus and Hylarion], possessing the richest eparchies, and fearing that the agreement with the Patriarchate would oblige their compatriots to sacrifice themselves, strove to discard all the draft agreements which we [Russia] favor."[446]

Onu was aware of the tension emerging out of the Patriarch's decision to enact the schism. Although he worried this would lead to a total demise in Russian influence in the region, he was not completely pessimistic about the situation. Onu calmed Ignatiev, who felt himself trapped between two groups of Orthodox people:

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[444] "Par suite de mes conseils, une enquête (*istilam*) fut ouverte par les Autorités Ottomanes pour l'application de l'article X du firman dans les éparchies mixtes. Les résultats acquis dans les provinces d'Ochrida et de Skopia furent soumis au Conseil des Ministres qui prononça leur annexion à l'Exarchat et autorisa l'envoi d'évêques bulgares dans les diocèses." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* 640.

[445] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* 642.

[446] "Malheureusement, le parti avancé parmi les Bulgares, qui n'a aucune conviction religieuse et aucun principe, vise à perpétuer la rupture avec la Grande Eglise et songe même parfois à l'union avec Rome, qui lui semble utile au point de vue politique et national. Sous ce rapport Tchoumacow, les évêques Panarète et Hylarion sont les mauvais génies des Bulgares. Ces deux derniers, possédant les plus riches éparchies et craignant que l'accord avec le Patriarcat n'oblige leurs compatriotes à les sacrifier, s'appliquent à écarter tous les projets d'entente que nous favorisons." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874),* 642.

> "However, a case may arise and it may oblige us to leave our reserve and adopt a legal and practical modus vivendi vis-à-vis the belligerents if it is possible to adopt, thus the Patriarchate and the Exarchate with which we want and must maintain good relations of spiritual brotherhood and benevolent neutrality."[447]
>
> "The course of events may lead us to the meeting of this council in two cases: The Exarchate may, at the end of a certain time, ask us categorically whether we recognize it or not, the Patriarchate can give us notice to recognize the act of the schism. This last alternative is unlikely and the first one is remote."[448]

Eventually, Onu advised Ignatiev to take a particular set of steps:

> "1) keeping silent about the schism as long as the Bulgarians or Greeks will not take the initiative to get us out of our reserve. 2) solving difficulties as they strongly impose themselves by the initiative of others, and not by ours; and while waiting, keeping us on the reserve that does not exclude benevolence for the Bulgarians. 3) not to reuniting the local limited council in Russia or elsewhere, until when we shall be compelled to do so by a definite demand; in this case, preparing us for the possibility of an ecumenical council. 4) avoiding to supply by a general sequestrator a new food to the over-excited passions of Greeks.

[447] "Cependant le cas peut se présenter où nous serons obligés de sortir de notre réserve et d'adopter un modus vivendi légale et pratique vis-à-vis des belligérant s'il est permis de caractériser ainsi le Patriarcat et l'Exarchat avec lesquels nous voulons et devons entretenir de bons rapports de fraternité spirituelle et de neutralité bienveillante." GARF. fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999, 7.

[448] "La marche des événements nous conduira peut-être à la réunion de ce concile dans deux cas: L'Exarchat peut au bout d'un certain temps nous demander catégoriquement si nous le reconnaissons ou non, le Patriarcat peut nous mettre en demeure de reconnaitre l'acte du schisme. Cette dernière alternative est peu probable et la première éloignée." GARF. fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.999, 12ob.

> Let us not aggravate a situation, which is already quite serious. Let us calmly assume that disillusionment brings them [Greeks] back to a sound appreciation of things and interests."[449]

After the Church schism Ignatiev's primary goal was to reverse that uncomfortable situation. At that point, the Grand Vizier was Midhat Pasha, a Russophobe, who was aware of Ignatiev's plans, and therefore tried to take advantage of the split by decreasing Russian religious and cultural impact in the Ottoman Balkans. Ignatiev used every network he possessed to remove Midhat Pasha from his duty and to replace him with a more neutral bureaucrat, Mehmed Rüşdi Pasha.[450] After the appointment of Mehmed Rüşdi Pasha, the Ambassador sought to impress upon him the necessity to prevent a permanent split of the Orthodox world, as otherwise a Bulgarian revolt would be inevitable. In 1873, Joachim II[451] was eventually appointed as the Patriarch of Constantinople. He declared peace with the Bulgarian Church, and Greco-Bulgarian negotiations restarted.[452] In addition, the Bulgarians and Greeks found a common cause due in the struggle of the Orthodox people against the Uniate Church in Macedonia and Thrace. However, this rapprochement did not last long. Firstly due to the crisis that broke out in 1875, and then due to the War of 1877-78. After the war in 1878, a Bulgarian Principality was

[449] "1) garder le silence sur le schisme aussi longtemps que les Bulgares ou les Grecs ne prendront pas l'initiative de nous faire sortir de notre réserve. 2) résoudre les difficultés au fur et à mesurer qu'elles s'imposeront impérieusement par l'initiative des autres et non point par la nôtre; et en attendant, nous tenir sur la réserve qui n'exclue pas la bienveillance pour les Bulgares. 3) ne réunir le concile local restreint en Russie ou ailleurs que lorsque nous y serons forcés par une mise en demeure catégorique; nous préparer dans ce cas à l'éventualité d'un concile œcuménique. 4) éviter de fournir par un séquestre général un nouvel aliment aux passions surexcitées de Grecs. N'aggravons pas une situation bien assez grave par elle-même. Attendons avec calme que les désillusions les ramènent à une plus saine appréciation des choses et des intérêts." GARF. fond. 730, op.1, first expedition, d.999,13ob-14.
[450] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski (1864–1874)*, 518.
[451] Joachim II served as the Eucumenical Patriarch as his 2nd term from 1873 to 1878.
[452] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 210.

finally established. The Church question fell from the agenda and the schism question was only once more approached and finally solved in 1945.[453]

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Russian diplomats of the nineteenth century considered the Balkans an area of Russian national interest and saw every act of interference by the West as a move against Russia and her interests in the Balkans. The problem that Ignatiev devoted most of his effort towards solving, during his post in Constantinople, was the Bulgarian Church question. The problem itself, was in actuality, much larger and more complex than a simple religious quarrel between the Greeks and Bulgarians. For Ignatiev, this question represented both Russian aim to protect and strengthening its political interest and power in the region and to preserve the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church, which was its main justification for involving itself in the region and among the Orthodox subjects of the Sultan. However, this question turned to an important test for Ignatiev. He undermined the power of the European states, chose intrigue activity rather than peaceful diplomacy, which ultimately provided no lasting solution. Eventually his credibility in St. Petersburg deteriorated.

Finally, Ignatiev believed that sooner or later the Ottoman Empire would collapse and when that moment arrived, Russia should be ready to turn the Eastern Question to its own advantage.[454] Therefore he argued emphatically to keep Catholic and Protestant influence out of the region[455], "Russia should keep its hand on these nations" and they should be prepared for unification under Russian supremacy, he

[453] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 210-211.
[454] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1864- 1872),* 193.
[455] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, f.352. (16 May 1869).

stated.[456] From the beginning of his post in Constantinople, he considered the establishment of a national Bulgarian Church, without risking a split in the Orthodox Church as a final opportunity, as he understood that relations between the Bulgarians and the Greek Orthodox Church were problematic. On the other hand, for the Bulgarian activists the target was an independent Bulgarian state, and they considered the national Church to be a first step in achieving this goal. These radicals were opposed to Ignatiev's mediation, as they were aware of the fact that he sought to keep the Bulgarian people under Russian influence and control. Therefore, an independent Bulgaria was the last thing Ignatiev desired and the nationalist activists became Ignatiev's greatest enemy.

Indeed Ignatiev's priority was far from supporting Bulgarians in their struggle for the national awareness. During his directorship at the Asiatic Department he had already set his mind for an important task: to establish a Serbo-Bulgarian state where the Serbian Prince Mikhail, who was a pro-Russian statesman, would be the head of this state. Ignatiev assumed that the Bulgarians could only compose the "raw-material" of such a state as they lacked a well-educated elite, while the Serbians, could form the leading body.[457]

Ignatiev's plans directed him to have play an active role in finding a solution to the Church dispute. If he did not, he believed that both the Ottoman administration and the Western states would increase their intervention and Russia would stay above the fray. Considering the effects of Cuza reforms as an example, he did not want to risk a set of political adjustments in Bulgaria, which could frustrate his plans. The Ferman of 1870 was not a scenario that Ignatiev preferred, as it was enacted

[456] "En effet, la Russie doit toujours avoir la haute main dans les destinées de la presqu'île des Balkans et être le ciment qui relie les différentes races coreligionnaires entre elles." See, Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No.54,* 246.
[457] "…blgărite predstavliavakha zasega samo surov material, bez dostatchno kadri", see *Zapiski (1875–1878),* trans. V. Dmitrova, Sofia: Otechestvennaia Front 1986., 57.

under the manipulation of the separatist Bulgarians and with the initiative of the Ottoman Empire. Ignatiev immediately foresaw that the Exarchate's establishment could cause a split in the Orthodox world. Eventually, although Ignatiev declared the Exarchate as his own triumph, he failed in both mediating the dispute and finding a Russia-oriented solution.

CHAPTER V

THE SLAVIC BENEVOLENT COMMITTEE AND RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY IN THE BALKANS

The Crimean defeat spurred the Russian Foreign Ministry's aim in improving Russia's relations with those region populated by Balkan Slavs. As a result of this policy shift, the Slavic Benevolent Committee was founded under the management of the Asiatic Department[458] and, in 1858, pan-Slavism took an institutional form with the formation of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee (*Moskovskii Slavianskii Blogatvaritelnyi Komitet*). Pan-Slavic propaganda became important after the 1850s, in part due to the initiatives of that institution. In the following ten years the manpower of the Committee increased as it expanded its activities. Three other branches came out of the Committee: The St. Petersburg Committee in 1868, The Kiev Committee in 1869, and the Odessa Committee in 1870.[459] These branches were founded under the administration of M. P. Pogodin[460], who was the head of the Moscow Committee. As officially proclaimed by its founders, the basic objectives of the Moscow Committee included supporting Balkan schools, especially the Church schools, in terms of money and books, funding Orthodox Slav students from the Balkans for their education in Russia, opening Slavic study centers in public libraries, publishing newspapers, collecting donations from wealthy people and

[458] For more information on the Asiatic Department See Chapter *The Asiatic Department and N.P. Ignatiev's Diplomacy*.
[459] Anderson, *The Eastern Question*, 171; B.H. Sumner, "Russia and Panslavism in the Eighteen-Seventies," 29-34; Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 35–36.
[460] Mikhail Petrovich Pogodin was a Russian historian and publisher, who became the head of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee in 1861.

organizing seminars and lectures of Russian professors, the income of which was donated to Slav students. [461]

5.1. N. H. Gerov Factor Behind the Formation of the Slavic Benevolent Committee (1856-1857)

During its foundation process, the activities of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee followed a parallel path to those of the Bulgarian national revival. Therefore, both the Odessa Bulgarian Trusteeship[462] and N. H. Gerov's[463] political endeavors played important roles in the establishment of the Committee. Gerov's interest in the Bulgarian Church question and Catholic propaganda had driven him to ask for Russian support, either directly or via a committee. On the other hand, throughout that process the Russian strategy was to give priority to their own interests, which were in conflict with Western objectives in the region. The de-facto existence of the Bulgarian Trusteeship in Odessa began in 1854. Odessa had been a center for Bulgarian activists (Hristo Botev, Ivan Vazov, Liuben Karavelov, Georgii Rakovskii, Vasil Aprilov, etc.) especially after 1839, when the Odessa Society of History and Antiquity was founded.[464] In 1856 the Trusteeship applied to Archbishop Innokentii with the proposal of forming an active committee for assisting the Bulgarian national revival process. This proposal went through the Asiatic Department with E. P. Kovalevskii at the head. Although there were bureaucratic

[461] Nil Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 2-3. S.A. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 36–37. Gulseven, Rethinking Russian Pan-Slavism In The Ottoman Balkans.

[462] *Odesskoe Bolgarskoe Nastoiatelstvo.* For the translation of "nastoiatelstvo" my suggestion is "Trusteeship". It should also be noted that the 'Odessa Trusteeship' in some contexts could be confused with the Odessa branch of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee, which is generally referred as the 'Odessa Committee'.

[463] Naiden Hadzhidobrevich Gerov (1823-1900) was a Bulgarian political figure, who was active during the Bulgarian national revival process. He also served as the Russian consul in Plovdiv.

[464] V.A. Kolesnik,"U Istokov Odesskoi Bolgaristiki," *Komparativni dostizheniia, slovianskikh mov i literatur*, 2011, no.14, 48.

difficulties, thanks to Kovalevskii's concern about the issue, in 21 May 1858 the Committee received the approval of the Asiatic Department. The motivations behind its foundation were primarily driven by Russia's plans for the Ottoman Balkans following the Crimean War. This resulted in Russian eagerness to help the Orthodox Slavs monetarily, giving them a greater ability to rise up against the Turkish authorities and therefore weakening Ottoman presence in Rumelia, paving the way for Russia's own involvement. The concerns of the official Russian circle about the Bulgarian national revival led to the establishment of the Slavic Benevolent Committee. Therefore, the Committee kept close contact with the Odessa Bulgarian Trusteeship and benefited from its structural organization.[465]

Bulgarian activists were receiving their education in Russia even before the Crimean War. Most of them graduated from Moscow and Odessa Universities and many remained in close contact with Russian official authorities after they finished their education in Russia and returned home.[466] Gerov and N. Kh. Palauzov were leading activists of Bulgarian political affairs and were propagandists of the Russian protection and support of the Balkan peoples under Ottoman rule. Palauzov, being at the head of the Odessa Bulgarian Trusteeship, was in charge of directing the public opinion in Russia on the Bulgarian question. Palauzov advocated the idea that Bulgarians, without suspicion, were always loyal to Russia and that Russia dedicated itself to the liberation of Bulgarians from the "Turkish yoke."[467]

In addition to Palauzov and Gerov, Russian Foreign Ministry official, N. P. Ignatiev developed close contacts with the Odessa Bulgarian Trusteeship, after he had been appointed Ambassador of Constantinople. He was suspicious of the Catholic and Protestant propaganda amongst Bulgarians, so he was very interested in their

[465] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 28-37.
[466] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii*, 10-13.
[467] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 12-25.

education.[468] On 16th of May 1869, N.P. Ignatiev received a memorandum from the Odessa University Rectorate, which suggested supporting the Bulgarians' education. The letter included complaints about the Catholic and Protestant propaganda that aimed at destroying the "Slavic unification and brotherhood" among Bulgarians and alienate them from Russia. The letter suggested establishing a Slavic school in Constantinople by the Committee.[469] However, at the moment, those educated in Russia were the ones who became central to the movement.

After receiving his education in Odessa, at the *Rishelyevskoe uchilishee*, Naiden Gerov returned to Bulgaria, and took part in political and cultural activities.[470] In the 1850s Bulgarians gave rise to their struggle against the domination of the Greek Church and fought against the Greek Patriarch to establish their own national church. That struggle brought together a group of Bulgarians, which also included Gerov.[471] Between 1850-1853, he founded a school in Plovdiv on his own initiative, and became an instructor there. Gerov tried to make use of his relations with Russian diplomats and his well-known colleague A. B. Lobanov-Rostovskii.[472] On the eve of the Crimean War, Gerov kept close relations with the Russian bureaucracy, especially with the Russian general consul N. D. Stupin[473] in Adrianople. Following Russo-Ottoman tensions, in May 1853 he left Plovdiv. By the

[468] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 57.
[469] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, f.352. (16 May 1869, Pismo clenov Odesskogo bolgarskogo nastoiatelstva russkomu poslu v Turtsii Ignatievu N.P.)
[470] E.A. Laptev, "Naiden Gerov i Bolgarskoe Politicheskoe Dvizhenie v Godi Krimskoi Voini (1853-1856)," *Vestnik Bashkiskogo Universiteta*, *Istoriia* V.19, No.3, 2014, 1080; S.A. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 15.
[471] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 15.
[472] Aleksei Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovskii (1824-1896) was a Russian ambassador to Constantinople in 1859. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 112.
[473] Nikolai Dmitrievich Stupin was the Russian consul in Adrionople, beginning from the end of 1840s until 1861.

end of the Crimean war the Russian Foreign Ministry displayed its trust to Gerov by appointing him as the consular of Plovdiv, and later, of Constantinople.[474]

In the after-war period he went to Russia and started lobbying activities for the Bulgarian national question from his own political position. Gerov's initial contact on that matter was Mikhail Pogodin, who advised him to keep in touch with Kovalevskii and, through him, with the Minister of Foreign Affairs himself.[475] In practice all these initiatives needed to be approved by the Asiatic Department, which was affiliated to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From the beginning of his mission as a Russian consul Gerov always had in mind establishing a committee, which would prevent the Catholic propaganda over the Orthodox Slavic people. According to him this committee should have guaranteed Russian influence through churches and education system. The above-mentioned matters composed the basis of his letters to the Russian officials.[476] In April 1856, Naiden Gerov sent a letter to Gorchakov about the brochures and articles of a newspaper in Constantinople, to convince Slavs about the reasons of the Crimean War.

> "The great war which began in 1853 was undertaken by Russia in order to protect the religion and rights of the Orthodox people of Turkey. Russian [diplomatic] agents aimed at convincing their coreligionists in Turkey. His excellency knows that I was one of those [diplomatic] agents among the Slav people, acting with the same purpose, ... to express in their mother tongues [Bulgarian and Serbian] that if the war ended, that is only because the aim was reached. [The aim was to] finally prove the

[474] E.A. Laptev, "Naiden Gerov i Bolgarskoe Politicheskoe Dvizhenie v Godi Krimskoi Voyny (1853-1856), 1080.
[475] Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department during the Reign of Alexander II, 1855–1881," 433.
[476] *Iz Arkhivata na Naiden Gerov*, V.II, 398, 473.

> rights and freedom of the religion for *reaya*, which would have reached not by other powers but by Russia. I believe we must do this, because already many brochures and articles claimed to convince them about our negative and damaging effect on them. That is the reason that encouraged me to publish in Bulgarian and Serbian languages the article that is mentioned above together with *Hatt-ı Humayun* and great manifesto on the occasion of the peace agreement...The publication [costs] of the brochures in Bulgarian and Serbian languages will be on my own account."[477]

In the letter, he drew attention of the Russian authorities to the necessity of establishing a community for the development of the "Slavic Union" idea by supporting the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in its conflict against the Greek Church.[478] In 1856 Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Gorchakov gave Gerov the task of writing reports analyzing Bulgarian and Greek articles, which mention Bulgarian relations with Russia in the context of the Bulgarian Church question.[479] On 25 January 1856 Gerov wrote a letter to Pogodin on the Church question, where he indicated that the "Greek religious yoke" over the Bulgarians was the most harmful thing for Bulgarians, even more so than the "Turkish yoke". He thought, under the "Turkish yoke" Bulgarian development was restricted, but under the "Greek yoke" their morality decayed.[480] On the Bulgarian question Gerov emphasized that all their efforts were wasted, because Greeks tried to turn the Russian protectorship over the Orthodox Church to their own advantage. Moreover,

[477] *Iz Arkhivata na Naiden Gerov*, vol.2, 473.
[478] *Iz Arkhivata na Naiden Gerov*, vol.2, 474.
[479] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 15.
[480] *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.2, p. 456; S.A. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 16.

as the Bulgarians lose their expectations from Russia, they tend to fall under the influence of the West.

> "We might have lost their [Bulgarians'] expectations over Russian support in their Church conflict. European countries could never use the situation into our disadvantage because Bulgarians never expected any benefaction from the West. If one day Russia won't help Bulgarians, Bulgarians would turn their face from Russia to the Western countries; in that case the only responsibility and guilt would belong to Russia. The solution of the Bulgarian question could only be achieved through Russian help."[481]

Some Bulgarian intelligentsia circles tried to attract the attention of Russian public opinion, in order to set the Russian government in action indirectly. In 1857, the Metropolitan Filaret received an unsigned report mentioning the need to spread the religious revival in Bulgaria through Russian influence. The report mentioned that Greeks were trying to convince Bulgarians that Russia was indifferent to Bulgarians[482], and that Russia should assign Bulgarian agents to Russian consulate in Constantinople, and to the Odessa Bulgarian Rectorate.[483]

Gerov had an effective information network, through which he was getting and sending news and letters.[484] This network was composed of Savva Filaretov,[485] Ivan Nikolaevich Denkogvlu, [486] Stephan Dmitrievich Toshkovich, Spiridon

[481] *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.2, 191-192.
[482] Loooking at Ignatiev's attitude to the Bulgarian Church question we can see that Greeks were right. See, Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 56-57.
[483] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 23-24.
[484] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 15-18 .
[485] Philaretov was from Sofia and he was a merchant in Moscow. His letters to and from Gerov can be found in *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, V.II.
[486] Nikolaevich Denkogulu was from Kalofer, Bulgaria and Merchant in Odessa. His letters to and from Gerov can be found in *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.2.

Nikolaevich Palauzov and Nikolai Khristoforovich Palauzov,[487] several Bulgarian students in Moscow including Hristo Daskalov.[488] This network's mission was to arrange close contacts with representatives of Russian bureaucracy and take them under their own influence. They would act according to the plans of Russophile Bulgarian groups[489] as Gerov and his companions believed the Bulgarian question would only succeed if the Russian government supported it and increased its philanthropic programs for the Bulgarians. Between April and August of 1856 Gerov met several Slavophiles in Moscow, such as I.Gilferding, S.N. Palauzov and N.D. Stupin. By the end of 1856, the Petersburg and Moscow Slavophile circles considered the necessity of establishing a Community for the development and improvement in the living conditions of Balkan Slavs.[490]

The idea of establishing a Slavic committee by Russia gave its first signs in Gerov's letters to Russian bureaucrats. In his report to Gorchakov dated to 11 April 1856, Gerov proposed some solutions for rendering Russian initiatives more effective in the Ottoman Balkans. Accordingly, he indicated that the numbers of Russian agents in the Balkans should be increased and that it would be useful and necessary to have agents from among the locals in the Slavic lands.[491] In order to decrease European influence over Ottoman Orthodox Slavs, he thought Russia should also open more consulates in the region. He wrote that it would be better if those new agents were Ottoman Slavs, who would have ability to propagate and inform about the importance of Russian support, as the Russian protectionist role had been degrading among the Balkan Slavs. Gerov also believed these agents should

[487] Spiridon Palauzov was from Peterburg and Nikolai Palauzov was from Odessa. His letters to and from Gerov can be found in *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.2.
[488] Hristo Daskolov was a Merchant and secretary-dragoman in Russian consulate. His letters to and from Gerov can be found in *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.2; Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 19.
[489] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 19.
[490] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 30-31.
[491] *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.1, 474.

stay away from any political positions, being active only in the position of observer. For Gerov, the formation of a Slavic Committee was a matter of finance and he was ready to suggest a practical solution for that issue.

Gerov assumed that the Russian government might not prefer to support the educational activities of the Balkan Slavs financially, in order to avoid a formal commitment and higher responsibility towards them. Therefore, he offered a solution: the government could approve the establishment of a committee that could support religious and cultural activities through Church and school aids, which would be still a worthy contribution to its Slavic brothers in Turkey. While ending his letter, Gerov underlined that this committee should not enter into a competition with the omnipotent Catholic propaganda, which was successfully spread among their coreligionists in the Ottoman lands.[492] Actually Gerov gave importance to fighting against the Catholic propaganda. However, in that period the Catholic influence over Balkan Christians might be considered so serious that Gerov did not prefer a competition with them. However, within ten years this situation would change by the formation of the Slavic Benevolent Committee together with the activities of Russian Ambassador N. P. Ignatiev.[493]

In the correspondences between Igor Kovalevskii and Naiden Gerov the main subjects were the lamentable situation of Bulgarians under the "Turkish yoke", that the Turkish government was the biggest enemy against Orthodoxy, and that the Catholic propaganda was an antagonizing factor for Russian increasing influence over the Orthodox Christians of Turkey. Among all of the officials of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Kovalevskii was the one who showed the greatest interest in the

[492] *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.1, 474.
[493] Gerov's relations with Ignatiev began to develop after 1860s. During Ignatiev's post as the head of the Asiatic department Gerov sent him reports on the Bulgarian problem. For the details of Gerov-Ignatiev relationship see the "N.P. Ignatiev and Russia's Balkan diplomacy" chapter.

question of the Orthodox Balkan Christians.[494] However, during the Crimean War, several Russian Foreign Ministry officials, such as E. P. Kovalevskii (in Montenegro), N. H. Gerov (in Bulgaria), M. I. Zolotarev[495] and N. D. Stupin[496] (in Adrianople) and K. M. Bazili[497] (in Greece) showed interest regarding the situation of Balkan Slavs. Kovalevskii was keeping Gorchakov update concerning the situation of the Orthodox Christians, by sending him some of Gerov's reports, especially the ones, where Gerov underlined the necessity to establish a committee for the benefit of Slavic people.[498] In 8 December 1856, in a report to Kovalevskii, Gerov wrote:

> "Now the sympathy towards Russia is bigger then before. Everyone is sure that in the last war [Crimean War] Russia's aims and acts were on behalf of the Orthodox people in Turkey; everybody supposed that if Western powers hadn't interfered, Russia would have ended Christians' sufferings under Turkish yoke. The war somehow proved to Bulgarians the justness of their thought that they could expect relief of their national fate only from Russia, and therefore their expectation from Russians increased even more…Accordingly, they ask with greediness that which policy Russia will follow in relation with them in the future…All of them [Bulgarians] believe that soon there will be

[494] *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.1, 474, 90-910.
[495] Mikhail Ignatievich Zolotarev was the Russian consul in Adrionople. His letters to and from Gerov can be found in *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.2.
[496] Nikolai Dmitrievich Stupin was the Russian consul in Adrionople. His letters to and from Gerov can be found in *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.2.
[497] Konstantin Mikhailovich Bazili (1809-1884) was a Russian diplomat of Greek origin.
[498] S.A. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 26

> another war in order to reach the aim which was prevented by the interference of Western powers."[499]

Gerov believed that the Bulgarians always advanced Russian political interests, however, as they were under the citizenship of Turkey, they hesitated in their acts. Though many European states proposed citizenship to Bulgarians, Russia, exceptionally, did not. He thought that if Bulgarians were able to receive Russian citizenship, they could be a useful asset for increasing Russian influence among the Bulgarian people.[500]

> "Everyone is wondering why Russian consulate is not admitting anyone to Russian citizenship, while other consulates of several countries gave citizenship not only to Turkish citizens but also to natives... here changing over one's citizenship is the most common situation.... Everyone hopes that in the future Russian consulates will admit to citizenship those who want it... When that date comes, many people from different citizenships will transfer to Russian citizenship, and they won't worry about the local authority... instead they will seek to be efficient for their country."[501]

Gerov expected more than Russian protectorship for Bulgarians and he believed that Bulgarians would, in time, receive Russian citizenship. However, the Russian administration was cautious about trusting people coming from other nationalities and when that person was a government official, the precaution was doubled. It took seven years for Gerov to achieve a post in the tenth class of the Russian diplomatic

[499] *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.1, 905-906.
[500] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 21.
[501] *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.1, 906.

table of ranks, though normally three years would have been enough. The reason for such a cautious policy was because, as a Bulgarian, he first needed to prove his reliability and loyalty to his superiors in Constantinople and the Asiatic Department. Gerov stayed at his post as a Russian consular for almost twenty years. During this period he was controlled by another Russian diplomatic agent, N.D. Stupin. He got instructions from both A. P. Butenev[502] and Stupin. The Russian Foreign Ministry was controlling each and every act of Gerov to make sure that he was conducting his diplomacy to serve not Bulgaria's but Russia's best interests.[503]

In the mid-nineteenth century the Bulgarian Church question and Catholic propaganda had driven both a group of Bulgarian intelligentsia and Russian officials to establish an organization for ending Western influence in the Balkans (especially in Bulgaria), and eventually to replace it with the Russian influence. In that sense, Naiden Gerov's political endeavors played an important role in the establishment of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee. Eventually in 1857, the Russian state found appropriate Gerov's idea of forming a benevolent committee to support Slavic people, which he had explained in his correspondences and reports to the Russian Foreign Ministry.[504] In his letters to Kovalevskii, Gerov asserted that in order to decrease the European powers' influence on the Christians of Turkey, Russia should open more consulates in Turkey.[505] As a result, in the 1860s, the Russian consulate network was increased (new consulates were opened in Plovdiv, Tırnova etc.) as was proposed by Gerov and Palauzov in their letters to Kovalevskii and Gorchakov. [506]

[502] Apollinarii Petrovich Butenev (1787-1866) was a Russian diplomat, who served as the ambassador of Constantinople (1829-43, 1856-58).
[503] Galen Blaine Ritchie, "The Asiatic Department during the Reign of Alexander II, 1855–1881," 434-436.
[504] E.A. Laptev, "Naiden Gerov i Bolgarskoe Politicheskoe Dvizhenie v Godi Krimskoi Voini (1853-1856)," *Vestnik Bashkiskogo Universiteta*, *Istoriia* V.19, No.3, 2014, 1080; S.A. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii,* 15.
[505] See for example the letter of Gerov to Kovalevsky dated 8.12.1856, *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.1, 905-906.
[506] *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.1, 906.

The motivations behind the foundation of the Slavic Benevolent Committee were primarily related to Russian plans in the Ottoman Balkans following the Crimean War and Russia's eagerness to help Orthodox Slavs monetarily for their uprising against the Turkish authorities. A group of Russian Foreign Ministry bureaucrats were interested in the struggle of Bulgarians against Greek supremacy of the Orthodox Church. Therefore, the Committee's establishment was based on the interest of Russian official circles concerning the Bulgarian national revival. Gerov believed that if the Russian Empire had been unsuccessful in supporting the Bulgarians in solving their Church question, the eventual result would have been the decline of Russian influence and, due to a strong, local national church, finally, its end. For Russia, however, that would mean the loss of one of its two bases (Bulgaria) (the other one was Serbia), which were supposed to be centers of a potential Russia-leaded Slavic Union.

In actuality, the Imperial administration intended to expand their influence in the Balkans without spending any extra effort and financial resources, similar to the other European states. That is to say, that while France, England, Italy and Austria-Hungarian Empire opened schools in the Ottoman lands,[507] Russia's activities were limited to financing the education of beneficiary Balkan students within Russia itself. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Russian Empire began to suffer financially and militarily, which led to its backwardness from the West. After the Crimean defeat the financial gap between the two poles began to rise, and the Russian Empire decided to focus on its economic and military development for the next quarter of the century. Thus, establishing and financing schools in the Ottoman

[507] For the schools opened in the Ottoman lands by foreign states See Ebru Esenkal, "Yabancı Ülkeler Tarafından Osmanlı Coğrafyasında Açılan Okullar," (M.A. Thesis, Trakya Üniversitesi, Edirne, 2007); Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 1-2.

Empire and providing them with qualified staff, was not among the primary objectives of the Russian administration. The Slavic Benevolent Committee was an alternative solution in the fight against Catholic propaganda among the Orthodox Slavs. However, as Gerov drew to attention, Russia was not capable of competing with Western religious and cultural propaganda in the Ottoman lands.[508]

All in all, the idea behind the establishment of the Slavic Committee emerged from a mutual benefit between the romantic nationalist Bulgarian groups, who aimed at ending Greek Orthodox supremacy over the Bulgarian Church, and the Russian Empire, who wanted "to keep its hand over the Balkans," [509] expecting to take control of the land in the aftermath of a possible Balkan war. Through the process of cultural and political activities, contrary to several Russian Romantic Slavophiles who valued the national revival of the Balkan Slavs, Russian realpolitik expected a future Russo-Ottoman war that would result in making the Empire the leading force in the region.

5.2. The Establishment Process of the Slavic Benevolent Committee

By the end of 1857, a group of intellectuals, aristocrats and specialists in Moscow came together to form a committee, which aimed at organizing monetary support on a voluntary basis, for the Ottoman Orthodox Slavs. The Committee's constituting members included A.I. Bakhmetev, Count A.S. Uvarov, Iu. F. Samarin, M.N. Katkov, A.S. Khomiakov, I.C. Aksakov[510], A.I. Rachinskii[511] etc.[512] In addition

[508] *Iz Arkhivita na N. Gerov*, vol.1, 474.

[509] In his notes Ignatiev wrote "En effet, la Russie doit toujours avoir la haute main dans les destinées de la presqu'île des Balkans et être le ciment qui relie les différentes races coreligionnaires entre elles." See, Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No.54,* 246.

[510] I.C. Aksakov In Popov's report Aksakov's name was written false (S.T. Aksakov; actually Sergei Timofeevich Aksakov is the father of S.I. Aksakov.) in the page, where it was first cited. In the following pages

to Naiden Gerov, A.V. Rachinskii[513], M.P. Pogodin, I.S. Aksakov and A.S. Khomiakov were among the first to formulate the idea creating a Slavic committee, playing an important role in its establishment.[514] In the mid-nineteenth century, the idea of the Slavic Committee emerged in the mind of Rachinskii, who was interested in the Bulgarian national revival and had organizations and was popular with them for supporting Bulgarian students in Moscow. To realize his plans, he shared his ideas with Pogodin and discussed the organizational details of the committee in his letters.[515] For instance, In 21 October 1857 Rachinskii wrote a letter to Pogodin proposing to establish a committee in Moscow for the purpose of supporting the Bulgarians. After receiving a positive answer from Pogodin, Rachinskii began to work on the structure of the Committee and he suggested that Pogodin write a letter to Gorchakov concerning the Bulgarian question. After a while Pogodin contacted constituting members to get the signatures of thirty-one Muscovites.[516] In addition, with the assistance of A.N. Bakhmetev, Rachinskii built his network among Slavophil circles.[517]

Eventually, the Committee emerged as a result of coinciding interests and endeavors of a group of Bulgarian intelligentsia, Russian administrative and political staff and a group of Russian intellectuals gravitating around Slavophiles. While part of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie class regarded the Committee as a means to get Russian

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it was correctly cited (I.S. Aksakov). Nil Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve.*

[511] A.I. Rachinskii. In Popov's report Rachinskii's name was written false (A.I. Rachinskii) It should be A.V. Rachinskii. Nil Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve.*

[512] For the detailed list of the constituent members of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee see Appendix-1, Nil Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 1.

[513] A.V. Rachinskii was the main practical organizator of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee. He was the first permanent Russian consul at Varna, and served in 1860s in Poland; died in 1876. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh,* 31.

[514] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 31-33.

[515] GARF, f. 1750. first expedition, d.1, "Doklad o desiatiletii deiatelnosti Slavianskogo komiteta", 3-4.

[516] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 34.

[517] GARF, f. 1750. first expedition, d.1, "Doklad o desiatiletii deiatelnosti Slavianskogo komiteta", 4.

support for the Bulgarian national revival, Russians saw it as an instrument of supporting the Bulgarian Church and countering Western influence in the region.[518]

The Committee members themselves were particularly interested in the dispute between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Bulgarians. The "Ten Years' Report"[519] of the Committee, brought to attention the old enmity of the Phanariotes towards Balkan Orthodox Slavs and the corruption among "Tsargrad" Phanariotes in dominating and influencing the Orthodox Church. The report indicated that the Phanariotes' attitude caused a gradual separation of the Slavs from their religious leaders in Greece, Montenegro and, in part, in the Danubian Principalities. It continued "Bulgarians, being the most crowded Slavic tribe in the south, felt the double external yoke more intense than the others: Turks, as having a different religion and language, and Phanariotes having the same religion but adversary attitude towards their historical tradition and character."[520]

According to the report, to prevent the Catholic-Protestant influence over the Balkan Slavs, the Committee should follow some fundamental goals such as providing Slavs with financial support for churches, educational activities for some institutions (such as the Bulgarian literary group in 'Tsargrad'), providing Slavs with religious and school books and assisting Bulgarian students in Moscow.[521]

The Committee members contacted the Minister of National Education A.V. Golovin and Gorchakov to declare the above stated goals. They admitted that before the Crimean War, Russian diplomatic agents and consuls (who did not pay enough

[518] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 35.
[519] Ten Years' Report of the Committee comprises the years between 1858 and 1868, written by Nil Aleksandrovich Popov. He was a professor at The Moscow University, and was seen like a guardian among Slavs that came to Russia for education. Bulgarians, Serbians and sometimes Czechs and Slovaks, following their arrival to Moscow, were directly going to Popov to ask support. See. A.A. Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva, 67-85; Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 61.
[520] Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 3.
[521] Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 3.

attention to religion) did not show interest in protecting the Orthodox Slav people of the Near East. In practice, they did everything to alienate the Eastern Slavs from Russia. Furthermore, the members attracted attention to the European socio-humanitarian and political existence in Bulgaria. The members believed, therefore, that they should fight against 'gentile' propaganda and European rationalism in order to increase Russian influence in the region.[522]

In 1857, the constituent members applied to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to get authorization from Tsar Alexander II for establishing a committee. In the letter they sent to Gorchakov they emphasized the importance of ending Western influence in the Balkans. They complained about European activities in the region in the following statement:

> "… in Western Europe and Turkey [there are] associations [established] for the purpose of spreading Latin, Hebrew and political propaganda activities among southern Slavs, in order to end the Russian influence and interest towards these people. The common task of these propaganda [activities] is to violate the Orthodoxy by means of so-called Cosmo-political and universally shared education."[523]

In addition to Western propaganda another threat for pan-Slavists was the spreading revolutionary ideas amongst the Orthodox Slavic subjects of the Sultan. Revolutionary activists exhibited negative attitudes towards the increasing Russian influence in the Balkans. For instance, a Bulgarian student in Moscow Pavel

[522] TSIGAM, f. 1750. first expedition, d.58, Zapiska napisala, povidimomu A.V. Rachinskii, 125-126. in Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 35.
[523] Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 1-2.

Vyskovskii wrote a letter to N. A. Popov,[524] criticizing the activists of the national liberation movement and he took issue with the increasing influence of 'Cosmo-political' ideology on Bulgarians. "[The revolutionary] Bulgarians in Moscow hurried to declare me as a Russian synod and agent of pan-Slav propaganda, who, according to them, aimed to 'Russify' and conquer Bulgaria."[525] Clearly, not all Bulgarians were supporters of Russian activity in the Balkans, some were against Russian pan-Slavism and they were suspicious about Russian plans for liberating the Bulgarians. Interestingly, the national liberation activists in Bulgaria propagated the same ideas. For example, Georgi Savva Rakovskii, who is known as the father of Bulgarian national liberation movement, expressed a similar suspicion about Russian Pan-Slavic aims. In that period some socialist groups condemned imperialistic intentions, whether they belonged to Russia or to the Ottoman State. They supported the national revolution against any imperial supremacy in order to form an independent federation of Balkan people.[526]

In the winter of 1857, the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee started its activities trying to establish and maintain contacts with Ottoman Orthodox subjects in the Balkans. The main aim of this organization was motivated by the idea of replacing European influence in the Ottoman Balkans with a Russian one.[527] In fact, throughout the nineteenth century, in terms of supporting independence for the Balkans Slavs, apart from the Russians and the Bulgarians, several European groups founded committees with this idea in mind. During 1850s there were numerous charity committees and associations, which paralleled the Moscow Slavic

[524] For detailed information on Nil Popov see, I.G. Vorobeva. *Professor-slavist Nil Aleksandrovich Popov*, (Tver: Tver State University, 1999).
[525] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, p.102.
[526] Marin Pundeff , "Marxism in Bulgaria before 1891", *Slavic Review*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Sep., 1971), 531.
[527] Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 2.

Benevolent Committee in terms of their aims and activities. Indeed, in terms of structure and goal, this Committee followed the example of the charity organizations that had been founded before. In the "Ten Years' Report" of the Committee[528], Nil Popov listed the associations founded in the Ottoman lands and their charity activities. Some of them were as follows: the Society of Polish Emigration and Marshall Bosquet[529] in Paris; the Ladies Volunteer Association for Syria and Holy-Land; the Syrian-Egyptian Society of London; the Syrian Medical Aid-Association in London; *Hilfsverein für die Christen* in Orient in Hesse-Darmstadt, *Lakaristkiia* school in Rumelia; an exemplary farm of Syrians in Dobruja; a Cossack military school[530] in Bulgaria; and the school of Polish *Kalitskii* in Ruse. Furthermore, Popov stated in the report that the Russians also revealed unofficial associations (Catholic, Protestant and other missionaries) that were secretly continuing their activities in the Ottoman lands.[531] According to him, the role of the Slavic Benevolent Committee would be to prevent all forms of anti-Orthodox propaganda in the Balkans and to expand Russian culture and language among Balkan Slavs.[532]

Soviet historian Nikitin argued that the impact of pan-Slavic propaganda over Slavic students was considerably insufficient compared to the effect of democratic or liberal ideas spreading in Russia. Pan-Slavic ideology did not offer a solution as to how the Slavs could gain their independence.[533] In that regard, Popov's report, which

[528] Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 2.
[529] "Pierre François Joseph Bosquet (1810 -1861) was a French Army general, who took active part in the conquest of Algeria and the Crimean War. He later became Marshal of France and senator.
[530] This military school was attributed to Michal Czajkowski, who was an Ukraine born (1831) polish freedom fighter and immigrant. Following the November Uprising, he went to Paris, and from there he was sent to Constantinople with a political mission. There he accepted Islam and got the name Sadık Paşa, and began to serve in the Ottoman army.
[531] Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 2.
[532] Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 1.
[533] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 103.

was published in 1868, revealed the real motive of the Committee, which was to cope with Western influence in the Balkan region.

5.2.1. The Slavic Benevolent Committee Branches

The first branch of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee was opened in 1868 in St. Petersburg by the Moscow Committee members. Among its first members were Vladimir Ivanovich Lamanskii, [534] Aleksandr Fedorovich Gilferding[535] and Spiridon Nikolaevich (Nikolov) Palauzov[536], a Bulgarian that spent most of his life in Russia. In the first meeting, which was held on 7 May 1868, the Committee chairman was V.I. Lamanskii. The Petersburg Committee absorbed the same foundational goals of the Moscow branch, until its closure in 1917.[537] However, contrary to the Moscow Committee, the representatives of the Petersburg Committee were mostly interested in literary and educational activities. They tried not to be influenced by the international and internal political developments of the era.

On 20 December 1868, a meeting was held under the leadership of Ivan Fedorovich Zolotarev, who was an active State Counselor at the time. In that period, the well-known Russian novelist and philosopher F. M. Dostoevskii was also a member, and together with Zolotarev he participated as a delegate at the Pushkin Commemoration

[534] Vladimir Ivanovich Lamanskii firstly used the term "academic slavophilism" (academicheskoe slavianofilstvo). See, Popovkin, "Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)," 73.

[535] After the death of Gilferding Ivan Petrovich Kornilov (1811-1901) continued his duty. See, Popovkin, "Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)," 79.

[536] In addition to Lamanskii and Gilferding, Aleksadr Borisovich Ivanitslii, Orest Fedorovich Miller, Ioakim Petrovich Pechatkin and Andrei Vasilevich Freigang were the first members of the St. Petersburg Committee. In the beginning of the 1870s new members were added. See Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)," 72, 80.

[537] Popovkin, "Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)," 73-75.

organized by the St. Petersburg branch in 1880.[538] *Velikii Kniaz* (Granduke) Konstantin Nikolaevich[539] helped the registration of the Committee in the bureaucratic process.[540] On 21 September 1869, a Slavist ethnographer, A. F. Gilferding[541], was chosen as the Committee Chairman and he preferred to remain outside of the political arena. By suggesting that the Committee should not interfere with politics, he admitted that the political sphere was far from the Committee's philosophy, and whatever the political situation of Russia at the time, the Committee should continue focusing on its main its activities.[542] However, despite Gilferding or the Committee's intentions, Pan-Slavism was an ideological platform, which eventually remained within a political framework. In actuality, the activities of Russian Pan-Slavs were always under the Asiatic Department's control, [543] as in that period, the Russian Foreign Ministry was cautious about the activities of any group and society that might have a tendency towards radical inclinations.

The Kiev branch of the Committee was opened in 1869. Its members were composed of bureaucratic elites and *intelligentsia*. While in 1870 it had 177 members, in 1872 this number doubled. Due to the Russo-Turkish war of 77-78 the Kiev Committee lost most of its members. This Committee followed the organizational structure of the Petersburg and Moscow Committees. Its main contribution was 34,933 rubles collected for supporting the Herzegovinians and Bulgarians between December 1875 and December 1876. In fact, all the branches of the Slavic Benevolent Committee paid particular attention to their relations with Serbia. By the end of 1874, the representatives of all branches of the Slavic

[538] Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)," 76.
[539] Konstantin Nikolaevich was the second son of Tsar Nikolai I, and the brother of Tsar Aleksandr II. He served as an admiral in the Russian Navy.
[540] Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)," 77.
[541] Aleksnder Fedorovich Gilferding (1831-1872) was a Slavist and member of St. Petersburg Academy of Science. He was interested in epic folk songs and tales, and wrote several works on the history of Slavs.
[542] Popovkin, "Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)," 78.
[543] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.64, 45-46.

Benevolent Committee (Moscow, Petersburg, Kiev and Odessa branches) came together in Kiev, where the honorary participant was Stoian Novakovich (1842-1915), the Serbian Minister of Education.[544]

On 8 April 1870 the Odessa Slavic Benevolent Committee was established. Its founder was the Russian historian, philologer-Slavist Viktor Ivanovich Grigorovich. He was one of the most ardent supporters of the Bulgarians in the Greco-Bulgarian conflict and he looked forward to see the Serbians taking part in Russian public life. The Odessa Committee included many famous names, one of which was Sergei Iurievich Witte, who later became the Minister of Finance and conducted central economic reforms. In 1874, following the example of the Moscow Committee, the Odessa branch established a nursery for Slavic girls. This project got the approval of the Tsar Aleksandr II, and the Tsarina Maria Aleksandrovna took this nursery under her guard, funding one student.[545] Interestingly, the reason why the Russian Empress funded only one student might be because the Russian imperial family did not want to draw the attention of European countries to its connection with a charity organization active in the Balkans. That might be why the Committee did not have an official connection with the Asiatic Department, although its activities were, semi-officially, always under its control.

All the Slavic Committee branches and their activities were welcomed by the Russian authorities, as long as they did not enter into political activities. Although the branches aimed at giving priority to the educational affairs, the Moscow Committee, being the central association, dealt also with political developments. In 1865 the Committee was already taking an annual grant of 1000 silver rubles from

[544] Popovkin, "Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)," 80-82.
[545] Popovkin, "Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)," 82-84.

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[546] However, although the Tsarist family showed particular interest in the Committee's activities[547], they kept their distance, as they were weary of Western reactions to the political activities of the Committee.

5.2.2. St. Petersburg's Attitude towards the Committee's Activities

The Minister of Foreign Affairs Gorchakov's aim was to strengthen Russian relations with the Balkan nations and to eliminate anything that could damage it. For that purpose, a Slavic committee would serve as an instrument for the Russian administration. However, the Committee was not established on an official basis, which provided the government with excessive freedom in its relationship with the Committee. The Benevolent Committee was founded in contact with the Asiatic Department. However, being a non-governmental organization, the Committee did not saddle the Russian government with any responsibilities.[548]

While the Committee was in direct intercourse with the Asiatic Department in their foreign affairs, the Department was an intermediary for the Committee in its relations with the Slavs of the Ottoman Balkans. The Committee's letters, money, books and the other material that it wanted to send to the Balkan region, were delivered by the order of the Asiatic Department and via the Constantinople Embassy and Russian consular network.[549] The petitions for the scholarships were dealt by the Asiatic department, the Russian consular staff, and local Slavic activists, as well as religious

[546] GARF fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.49, p.14 in Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)," p.84.
[547] The Tsarist family got information on the Committee affairs since 1859. The Empress Maria Aleksandrovna showed particular interest in the 10 Years Report of the Committee. GARF fond.730, first expedition, op.1, d.49, p.51 in Popovkin, "Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)," 85.
[548] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 36.
[549] TSIGAM, f.1750, first expedition, d.15 3-ob. (Protokoly torzhestvennogo otkrytie i zasedaniia Kievskogo otdela Slavianskogo blagotvaritelnogo obshestva.) 21 December 1869 - 11 May 1870, in Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 89.

officials. The directors of the Slavic Committee branches had personal relations with the diplomatic staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While Pogodin and Aksakov were in contact through unofficial correspondences with the director of the Asiatic Department, E.P. Kovalevskii and Nil Popov organized meetings with Constantinople Ambassador N.P. Ignatiev.[550]

Apart from the Asiatic Department, there were several other non-governmental, or unofficial links that the Committee had throughout the Balkans. An important relationship was that between the Committee and the Odessa Bulgarian Trusteeship.[551] The Committee benefited from this contact while sending packages to the Balkan lands. Another important intermediary between the Committees and its relationship with particular Slavic peoples and organizations, were the Archpriest of the Church and agent of of the Russian Embassy in Vienna, M.F. Raevskii and the Bulgarian dragoman of the Constantinople Embassy and journalist Todor Burmov.[552]

Though the Slavic Benevolent Committee's activities were observed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through the Asiatic Department, it was not an organ of the Ministry. It was a social organization that stayed close to the Asiatic Department, and Russia's diplomatic staff in the Balkans. However, in its internal affairs, the Committee was totally independent and uncontrolled.[553] In fact, a Russian charity organization active in the Balkans would disrupt Russo-European relations that had been settled by international agreements. It was strategically convenient for the Russian government to remove the Committee from the Asiatic Department's

[550] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 90, 94
[551] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.64, pp. 47, 62.
[552] Todor Burmov had close relations with the Moscow Committee; he was delivering the money sent by the Committee to fund Bulgarian journals (for example "Chitalishe") in Constantinople. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 91.
[553] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 92.

responsibility and therefore, it was established as a public charity association. However, finally, its every activity was reported to the Asiatic Department.

5.2.3. The Members of the Slavic Benevolent Committee

The Moscow Slavic Committee began its activities initially with only a few members. Nevertheless, thanks to its networking strategy, it developed close contacts within different layers of society, including powerful bureaucrats. For example, the Russian Empress Maria Aleksandrovna became a member, and regularly donated to the Committee.[554] These social connections developed the Committee's efficiency and area of influence both in Russia and in the Balkans during 1870's.

Along with increasing its social network, since its foundation the Committee was also able to increase its membership. These members were composed of famous Russian bureaucrats and scientists such as: the trustee of the Moscow education circle A. N. Bahmetev, Professor of Moscow University and renowned historian S.M. Solovev, M. P. Pogodin, specialist of the classical philology P.M. Leontev, famous archeologist A.S. Uvarov, publisher of the "*Russkii Vestnik*" M.N. Katkov, the prominent Slavophiles Iu.F.Samarin, I.S. Aksakov, K.S. Aksakov, A.N. Koshelev, A.S. Khomiakov, A.V. Rachinskii, the Metropolitan Philaret (Drozdov), the Archpriest Ioann Kronshtatskii (Sergiev), famous Russian writers F. M. Dostoevskii, L. N. Tolstoi, F. I. Tiutchev, well-known Russian chemist D. I. Mendeleev, nineteenth century composer P. I. Tchaikovskii, nineteenth century Russian historian and journalist M. P. Pogodin, Slavophile writer I. S. Aksakov, Russian art collectors P. M. and S. M. Tretiakovi, minister of National Education I.

[554] The Russian Empress Maria Aleksandrovna donated for 300 rubles yearly. For datails see Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve.*

D. Delianov, Russian generals A. A. Kireev, M. G. Cherniaev and R. A. Fadeev.[555] In addition, many historians, specialists of medicine, philologists, philosophers, sociologists, economists and pedagogues were associates of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee.[556] Indeed, the support of the Asiatic Department raised the Committee to a prestigious position, which enlisted the *inteligentsia*'s interest in its activities.

The highest approval of the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee was received on the 26th of January 1858 by the Russian Imperial Administration. The Committee's head A.N. Bahmetev's application to Gorchakov eventually opened the way for the Committee to become entrenched with the Asiatic Department.[557] Between 1867-68, several developments, such as the Slavic Congress and the possible revolt of Southern Slavs against the Ottoman regime, encouraged an increase of membership within the Committee. During this period, both the number of Committee members and its activities increased to a considerable degree.[558] In 1868, the chief administrative cadre of the Committee changed. N. A. Popov became the secretary, Aksakov left the post of treasury directorship, and N. A. Zubkov, the close friend of the head of the Asiatic Department, Stremoukhov, was appointed to Aksakov's post. This administrative body ruled the Moscow Committee until 1875. The Petersburg

[555] See Anderson, *The Eastern Question*, 171; Sumner, "Russia and Panslavism in the Eighteen-Seventies", 29-34; Popovkin, "Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)"; Popovkin, "Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge," 4-5.

[556] The other names were as such; the economist M.Ia. Kittary, Slavist O.M. Boianskii, famous therapist F.I. Inozemtsev, historian of literature F.I. Buslaev, botanist and folklorist M.A. Maksimovich, astronomer A.N. Drashusov, Slavist A.A. Maikov, anatomist I.M. Sokolov. Technolog, the previous publisher of the 'Russian archive' P.I. Bartenev, Moscow censor N.F. fon Kruze, writer and fellow worker of the 'Moskovskii Vestnik', 'Russkii Vestnik' and several other publications N.F. Pavlov, son of the historian N.M. Karamzin, poet A.N. Karamzin, director of the prison committee kniaz Iu.A. Obolenskii, personnel of the Palatial Bureau S.M. Sukhotin etc. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 39. In March 1859- the committee increased in number with the participation of D.E. Benardakii, and three brothers Aleksandr, Dmirtrii and Nikolai Pavlovich Shipovy. See Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 41. See Gülseven, "Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans."

[557] Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 4.

[558] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 82

Committee was directed by A.F. Giferding, I.P. Kornilov, Kniaz A.I.Vasilchikov, K. N. Bestuzhev-Riumin from 1868 to 1878.[559]

The Committee's two prominent constituent members were A.N. Bakhmetev and M. P. Pogodin. Bahmetev ruled the Moscow Committee between 1860-1861. After his death, M.P. Pogodin took Bakhmetev's mission and soon became one of the leading figures for shifting Russian pan-Slavism into the political arena. During Pogodin's rule (1861-1875) the Committee enriched its network with pan-Slavist intellectuals abroad. In fact, Pogodin was the first person that brought up the idea of a Slavic Union, even before Nikolai Yakovlevich Danilevskii (1822-1885). In his journals[560] Pogodin tried to attract the Slavophiles' attention. In 1854, during the Crimean War, one idea he suggested was "Danubian Union," (*Dunaiskii Soiuz*), which was assumed to comprise of Hungary, Greece, Moldova, Walachia and Transylvania. Pogodin argued that Constantinople should be the center of this Union, under Russian leadership. His proposal became the foundation of the cultural and political roots of the Slavic unification idea, paving the way for future Russian pan-Slavic propaganda.[561]

Contrary to the other Committee members, Pogodin did not prefer that Serbians and Bulgarians to attend the universities in Moscow. He claimed that the education of Slavic students in Russia would not be efficient, as these students had the potential to lose their identities as either Serb or Bulgarian. He assumed that they would most

[559] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 83.

[560] In 1827 Pogodin founded the journal "Moskovskii Vestnik" which was based on the idea of 'Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality', which was put forward by the minister of education S.S. Uvarov. Between 1841-54 he published "Moskovitianin". The main topics of this journal were Russian culture, history and folklore. Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge (1858–1912 gg.)' (PhD thesis, Voronezhskii Gosudarstvennii Universitet, 2013) pp. 67-85; Asli Yigit Gulseven, Rethinking Russian Pan-Slavism In The Ottoman Balkans.

[561] See. Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva, 67-85; Gulseven, "Rethinking Russian Pan-Slavism In The Ottoman Balkans." There were also religious representators: Arhimandrite of the Danilevskii Monastery, Archpriest Preobrezhenskii, Priest Ioann Mertsalov, M.F.Raevskii, etc. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 61.

likely not return to their homelands, preferring to stay as consular agents in the status of Russian officials. Thus, Pogodin supposed that Slavs should be educated not in Moscow, but in the South, in Crimea-Sevastopol or in Odessa.[562] He believed French and Latin courses should be excluded from the curriculum, which should instead be limited to courses teaching as Slavic languages, and those concerning the history of the Slavs, of Greece and Turkey, courses on geography, statistics and also those introducing students to the natural sciences.[563]

In addition to Pogodin, the Asiatic Department bureaucrats and Nil Popov were also concerned about the Slavist students' intentions. They supported these students' secondary education rather than higher education, as they believed that Slavic students who finished their education at higher institutions would not return, particularly if they graduated from the faculties of history-philosophy, mathematics or law. They believed that the motive of the students was not to gain independence for their co-nationalists and remove themselves from Turkish rule, but rather to avoid returning to the poor life they had left behind.[564]

The plans of both the Committee and the Asiatic Department concerning the education of the Slavic students reveals the depth of the doubts they had in regards to their future plans and how loyal these educated Slavs would be to Russia. Thus, they planned to keep these students away from Western influence by canceling their education in European languages, and by placing them in Russia's small towns and therefore limiting their training in the secondary education. By creating these limitation, the Committee and the Asiatic Department created the condition for

[562] Pogodin thought Odessa would be higly expensive for the education of Slavs, therefore he preferred Crimea to Odessa.
[563] M.P. Pogodin, *Sobranie statei, pisem i pechei po povodu slavianskogo voprosa*, (Moskva: Tipographia E.I. D.M, 1878), 3-8; his article dated to February, 29, 1860.
[564] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 99.

Balkan Slavs to emerge as subject who would serve the role of the firth column, realizing the objectives of the Russian government.

Sources from the period, support the Soviet historian Nikitin's argument that Russian expectations were not met and that the expected results of educating Balkan Slavs in Russia did not totally materialize. Many students internalized not the pan-Slav ideology promoted by the Russians, but a contrary one that was hostile to pan-Slavism. In the time they spent in Moscow, these Slavs formed beliefs motivated by democratic and material philosophies.[565] For instance, Liuben Karavelov (1834-79), a famous Bulgarian student who spent 10 years in Moscow, was suspicious of the Russian pan-Slavic program. In the 1860s he became close to Russian revolutionary groups that supported the self-awakening of the Bulgarian liberation movement without being under the protectorate of Russia.[566] Vaso Pelagic (1833-1899), a Serbian revolutionary democrat and initiator of socialism in Serbia, is another well-known example of the result of higher education in Moscow (1863-1864) and the failure to produce pan-Slavist sentiments in Balkan Slavs. Ever since he was a student, Pelagic was influenced by the revolutionary-democratic ideas of the century. After he retuned to his homeland, he took part in the Bosnian uprising of 1875-78.[567] Similarly, Dimitr Blagoev (1856-1924), a Bulgarian socialist and supporter of the establishment of a Balkan Federation, like Pelagic came finished his education by supporting socialism and independence of his own people, rather than the pan-Slavic ideals of the Russians. Blagoev completed secondary school in Odessa and later on went to study at St. Petersburg University, where he became a socialist. He was

[565] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 100.
[566] Pundeff , "Marxism in Bulgaria before 1891", 527. For detailed information on L. Karavelov see Edgar Anthony Zaharia, "Luiben Karavelov. Bulgarian Apostle of Balkan Federation" (PhD. Thesis, University of Arizona, 1984)
[567] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 101.

deported from Russia and returned to Bulgaria where he initiated the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party.[568]

In the second half of the 1860s, the Committee began to have new members[569] and membership continued to rise significantly from the 1870s onwards. Though most of the members were initially of aristocratic origins, by the 1870s the number of members belonging to the bourgeoisie raised considerably. In particular, between 1867-1869, many famous families, including those of Moscow merchants, entered the Committee.[570] By the end of the 1860s and beginning of the 1870s the Committee's membership mostly consisted of those from, what at the time were considered, the aristocratic-bourgeoisie circles. In the 1860s, aristocrats even began to become shareholders of several enterprises. Among the members of the Committee, we see representatives of the different commercial institutions and banks in Russia.[571]

Although members came from these two upper classes of society, there remained a significant difference between the social status of the members in the Committees. For instance, while the Moscow Committee members were mostly Slavophile elites from merchants and intellectual circles, the members of the St. Petersburg Committee[572] were composed of high rank bureaucrats and army officers.[573] The

[568] A. Thomas Lane, *Biographical Dictionary of European Labor Leaders,* vol. 1. (London: Greenwood Press), vol.1, 1995, 98-99.

[569] In 1860's there were new members: P.Kruzenshtern, general leiteunant N.I Kruzenshtern, Senator A.F.Kruzenshtern, (Government secretary who served in Caucasia at the end of 1961), minister of national education Ie.P. Kovalevskii, senator Kaznacheev, director of Moscow Manufacutory council, important names from literature and publication N.Ia.Danilevskii, V.I. Dal, famous banker F.V.Chinov, N.A.Belogolovyi, official A.M. Fadeev and his son oficier R.A. Fadeev, war historian A.M. Terentev, president of the moscow agriculture committee I.N.Shatilov, Peterburgskii Merchant L.Ie.Sychev. War generals: M.G.Cherniaev, I.A.Cherevin, military peronal from Caucasus, in which we see Commendar of Tiblis A.P.Opochinin, from Kuban troop N.A.Ivanov, I.S.KRavtsov, D.I.Sviatopolk-Mirskii..etc. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 59-60.

[570] In the beginning of 1870 there were approximately 30 merchants. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 64-65.

[571] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 66-67.

[572] TSIGA-SPB. Fond.400 – Petrogradskie slavianskoe blagotvaritelnoe obshestvo (1868-1917)

proportion of the aristocrats and bureaucrats among the Committee members were 36% aristocrats to 28% officers. In the St. Petersburg Committee, these two segments of the society, in particular, formed the majority of the membership, while the bourgeoisie found no place. Aksakov complained of this fact in his letter to M.F.Raevskii, stating, "the merchants, who have millions [of rubles], don't donate a kopek".[574] The founding members tried to encourage the merchant class to provide monetary support, however the merchants did not show much interest in Committee membership.[575]

Russian Slavophiles aimed at developing closer ties to the merchants, in particular economic ties. Slavic Committee members hoped to attract these merchants to their cause in order to provide the Committee with monetary support.[576] The merchants' influence on the Committee began to be visible mainly in the second half of the 1860s.[577] During that time, the journals, especially '*Moskva*' and '*Den*' played important roles in the rapprochement of the merchant class with the Committee members. '*Den*' was considered the organ of the Slavic Committee and other than articles concerning social questions, it published the protocols and reports about monetary supplies and others documents concerning the Committee. On the other hand, as '*Moskva*'[578] was founded by merchants, its articles were focused on fixing tariffs and protecting the interests of the Moscow bourgeoisie. Only the newspaper's political section, directed by I. S. Aksakov, published articles in regards to specific socio-political events in the Balkans. '*Moskva*' was, therefore, not an

[573] Zdenko Zlatar, 'For the Sake of Slavdom. II. M.P. Pogodin and The Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee: A Collective Portrait of 1870', East European Quarterly, Vol.40 No.3 (2006), 255. Asli Yigit Gulseven, "Rethinking Russian Pan-Slavism In The Ottoman Balkans."
[574] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 62.
[575] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 62.
[576] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 68.
[577] Popovkin, "Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge," 156.
[578] This newspaper was funded by Savva Vasilevich Morozov (1770-1860), Timofei Savvich Morozov (1823-1889), I.Liamin, Tretiakov brothers etc.

organ of the Committee. In his letter to M. F. Raevskii, Aksakov wrote that the Eastern and Slavic questions would be the most important part of the newspaper; if '*Moskva*' would be sold successfully they could find support from the merchant class. Eventually the newspaper indeed became successful, which brought the Slavophiles closer to the merchants.[579]

In the 1870s, Russian diplomats also tried to attract the attention of merchants through some other means by providing other motives for membership and support. For example, in 1874 N. P. Ignatiev offered to give honorary rewards to merchants in order to direct their attention to the Committee and inspire them donate. In reality, Russian Slavophiles in the Committee also had interest in becoming involved in the economy of the Balkans. However, they could not infect merchants with this idea. Slavophiles looked to the economic relations with the Balkan people as a means of increasing their own political influence in the Balkans. According to Soviet historian Nikitin, the bourgeoisie or the liberal element did not have a considerable impact on the organization of the Slavic Committee. The most important element of the bourgeoisie, the merchants, did not show any interest in supporting the Committee's activities. Their numbers and donations increased gradually during 1870s, yet they never brought a significant change in the Committee's overall budget.[580]

[579] The merchants didn't take active role in the affairs of the Committee. Only one of them Ivan Ivanovich Chetverikov was remembered as "the most diligent one of those of administrative meeting." because he was generous in donating.

[580] The Moscow merchants' support to the Committee was always limited. For example, during the war of 1877, T.S. Morozov asked the Russian state permission for establishing a fellowship of Trans-Danubian commerce. His aim was to supply to army with tea, sugar, tabacco and candles etc. However, the Moscow merchants didn't show interest in that project as they dind't consider the Ottoman Balkans primary in their objectives. Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh*, 68-81.

5.2.4. The Budget and Income Policy of the Committee

The budget and the funding policy of the Moscow Slavic Committee can be analyzed by considering a group of documents such as the "First Ten Years Report", which was written by Nil Popov; the "Second Ten Years Report", which is located at the Russian State Archives; and the letters and reports written by and sent to the Moscow branch of the Committee. However, the most detailed budget concerning the years 1858-1868 is given in the First Ten Years Report. Research in the Russian Archives, did not reveal a document giving the total budget or the itemized accounts of the Committee. Therefore, this part of the chapter will generally discuss the Committee's budget, including information detailing where the money came from and how it was spent. Unfortunately, similar documents to the Ten Years Report do not exist for the St. Petersburg, Kiev and Odessa Committee, thus this section will only cover the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee's budget in detail. Although there are no documents and no definitive proof about the other branches financial activities, by understanding how the Moscow Committee budget functioned, in the future, one may come to understand how the other branches of the Committee also oversaw their finances.

Following the confirmation of the Moscow Committee in 1858, an amount of more than 2500 rubles was collected, mainly from the founding members. In addition to that money, books and educational materials were also donated. The imperial family had special interest in the Committee activities. For example, in 1858 The Empress Maria Aleksandrovna donated religious books for the Southern Slavic

people.[581] Moreover, people from the Moscow *inteligentsia* individually funded some Slavic students to attend university. In 1858, there were sixteen Bulgarian students in Moscow,[582] and while the Committee assisted six of them, four were funded by A. S. Uvarov.[583]

In 1859, participation of new members also contributed to the income. Within two years, in 1861 the Committee's activities expanded, increasing membership and monetary contributions, which contributed to the budget. According to official records, during Bakhmetev's leadership (1858-1860), in total, there were 10,232 rubles and 50 *kopek* in donations. That money was spent for the benefit of churches, Bulgarian schools in Kukush (or Kolkich in Macedonia), for Bulgarian students in Moscow and for publishing a Bulgarian newspaper. Following the death of Bakhmetev, the administrative organization changed and on 19 May 1861, while D. N. Bludov was selected as the chairman and Pogodin as the temporary chairman, I. S. Aksakov became the secretary and treasurer.[584]

In the first years, the total amount of the donations needed to be 3,600 per year. However, this number could not be reached and the Committee fell into debt. In 1859, following the expenditure of 2,700 rubles, the Committee's debts totaled 900 rubles. In 1860, the debts amounted to 3,000 rubles and in 1861, 7,270 rubles.[585] By 1862, the budget began to increase and the Committee promised to fund Bulgarians who wanted to publish books on Bulgarian history, geography, ethnography, etc.

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[581] Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 4.

[582] Between 1858-1862 there were only were 16 Bulgarian students. See, Popovkin, Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge, 64.

[583] Aleksei Sergeevich Uvarov (1825-1884) was a constituent member of the Committee, and he was a prominent Russian archeolog in Petersburg Academy of Science. He was the son of Sergei Semenovich Uvarov, (1786-1855), who served as the Russian Minister of National Education between 1834-1849. Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 5.

[584] Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 5-6.

[585] Nil Popov*, Iz Istorii Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnogp komiteta v Moskve,* vypusk 1, (Moskva 1871), 74

However, the only Bulgarian who applied for that grant was L. S. Karavelov.[586] In fact, the Committee spent a considerable amount of its budget on members of several Bulgarian activist groups, which included members such as, Karavelov, as well as Khristo Daskalov, Konstantin Miladinov and Raiko Zhinzifov. Between 1860-1870 the total number of Bulgarian beneficiaries who were educated in Moscow totaled 100.[587] So, the Committee was able to financially support a significant number of Bulgarian students over a ten-year period.

By the year 1862, the increase in the budget is clearly recorded in the Ten Years Report. Accordingly, the budget included these items: membership fees (in total 1,386 r. for the year 1,683, per person 5 rubles[588]); one time grants from members; a grant from Ministry of National Education (1,500 rubles yearly); income from the profits of several newspapers, including '*Den'*, '*Moskva*' and '*Moskovskie Vedomosti'*;[589] from the Empress[590] and from several other individual[591] donations.[592] Thus, half of the budget came from the Ministry of National Education and the total number of sources was fixed to 3,100 rubles. I. S. Aksakov's publication 'Den' was devoted to the service of the Committee affairs, and the newspaper was publishing

[586] Luiben Stoichev Karavelov (1834-1876) was a Bulgarian writer and activist. He recived his education first in Gerov's school at Plovdiv and then in Moscow. The Committee funded Karavelov with 170 ruble, and he published his collected artciles, the "Monument of Bulgarian Popular Existance." (Pamiatniki narodnogo byta Bolgar). Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 9.
[587] Popovkin, "Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge", 110-113.
[588] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii v 1858–1876 godakh,* 43.
[589] The Committee's connections with Russian Public was through newspapers' (Den, Moskva, M. Vedomostei) announcements for beneficiary donations. Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 22-23.
[590] The Empress yearly donated 300 rubles, for the education of young Bulgarians in Russia. Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 17-22.
[591] The main part of the first donations came from the Slavophiles. Among them, the distrubiton of the money was as such: A.N. Koshelev-500, A.N. Bahmetev-500, A.S Khomiakov-250, M.N.Katkov-100, Iu.F.Samarin-150, S.M.Sukhotin-50, kn.Iu.A.Obolenski-50 rubles. Later on in1859 Bahmetev-500, Koshelev-500, Khomiakov-500, D.P.Shinov-500, A.P.Shinov-100, D.E.Benardaki-500, N.F.Samarin-100. N.Popov, Iz Istorii Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnogp komiteta v Moskve, vyp.1, Pervoe piatiletie. M. 1871, 74 ; For the personal donations of 1860 see A.A. Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge, 63-64.
[592] Fort he details of Committee income see Appendix-1, Nil Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve.*

calls for donations for Slavic people "who suffered from Turks and Greeks." New members began to join not only from Moscow, but also from other cities such as Tiflis, Ekaterinburg and Stavropol. However, this increase in the membership did not bring any significant change to the overall budget.[593]

Soviet historians have carefully separated the donations of the Empress and the Tsar. They indicate that the Tsar himself did not become involved in Committee affairs. The Soviet historian Nikitin criticized the German scholar Fischel[594] for mistakenly claiming that Alexander II donated, yearly a large amount of money for the Committee. Nikitin wrote that this claim did not reflect the reality, as the large donation received by the Committee from the Imperial government was given by the Empress (yearly 300 rubles), not the Emperor, as well as by *Velikii Kniaz* Konstantin Nikolaevich, who donated 30 boxes of religious books.[595] The Empress regularly donated money not only for the education of Slavic students but also for the organization of charitable activities for Slavs.[596]

In 1870, the Committee decided that articles and announcement published in their newspapers should also be charged. Actually, the decision to implement publishing charges was initially implemented by the St. Petersburg branch, which focused on literary and propaganda publishing activities. Accordingly, funding literary articles concerning the Slavic people and propagating the Russian language should have composed 60% of the budget.[597] Furthermore, in another attempt to raise money, the Secretary of the Committee frequently published calls for donations for

[593] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii*, 43.
[594] See Fischel, *Der Panslavismus Bis Zum Weltkrieg*.
[595] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii*, 40.
[596] Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge, 160.
[597] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii*, 126.

Slavic people in the newspaper '*Den*'.[598] Part of the monetary help was called "aid to Slavs who stayed backward in their religion and freedom". The majority of that budget was used to help Slavic students who received their education in the Russian cities other than Moscow.[599] The slogan of these calls was that "helping Slavs was not a Russian generosity, but their moral debt and obligation."[600] Popov wrote, "Russians were rather helping Greeks and Syrians and other poor people because they didn't have a clear understanding about Slavs and their current situation."[601] In 1862, following these announcements, an amount of 1,483 rubles and 50 kopek of donations was gathered from several parts of Russia.[602]

In September 1862, the members discussed whether to cut the Ministry of Education's donations or not. It might be the case that it was the Ministry that wanted to stop the 1,500 rubles annual support to the Committee. However, the Asiatic Department mediated the issue on behalf of the Committee, and the Ministry agreed to continue donating 1,500 rubles each year for the education of Bulgarians in Moscow.[603] The Ministry of National Education also asked for regular reports concerning the expenditure details of the money donated by them.[604] In general, the Moscow branch and three other divisions received high praises from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and they were taking up to 1,000 silver rubles of the annual budget

[598] Kratkii Otchet o desiatiletii (1858-1868), Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnogo Komiteta v Moskve, 7; See Appendix-1: The budget and financial structure of the Committee for 1861-1862 Kratkii Otchet o desiatiletii (1858-1868), Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnogo Komiteta v Moskve.
[599] Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 19.
[600] Kratkii Otchet o desiatiletii (1858-1868), Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnogo Komiteta v Moskve, 7; See Appendix-1.
[601] Kratkii Otchet o desiatiletii (1858-1868), Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnogo Komiteta v Moskve, 7; See Appendix-1: The budget and financial structure of the Committee for 1861-1862 Kratkii Otchet o desiatiletii (1858-1868), Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnogo Komiteta v Moskve.
[602] Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta*, 7.
[603] Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 17-18.
[604] Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge, 121.

from that Ministry.[605] Donations to the Committee in Moscow increased after several serious events in the second half of the nineteenth century. Beginning at the end of 1862 in general, both income and membership had begun to decrease year by year, the total income decreasing to 1,698 rubles. It was only after 1868, due to the Crete question, that the budget of the Committee began to increase. The 1867 Slavic Congress also contributed to its increase. Finally, the unexpected uprisings in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1875-77) furthermore changed the situation for the Committee. New categories of donations began to be announced, such as: "support for the Slavs suffering from Turkish repression", "support for the uprising", "monetary support for sending volunteers and equipment" etc. All of the above developments contributed to the increase of the budget.[606] The largest amount of donations was collected between 1875-1876. For instance, the Bosnian-Herzegovinians received money from several committees and organizations, but the majority of their funds came from the Slavic Benevolent Committee.[607] Similarly, between 1875-1876, the Kiev branch gathered 34,933 rubles to support both the Montenegrins and Bulgarians.[608] In 1862, the revenue included donations collected from various Slavic lands, especially from the Czechs and Croatians to help the Montenegrins, who revolted against the Ottoman regime. In the Turkish bombardment of Belgrade, Russian public awareness about the Slavic subjects of the Sultan increased. Following that development, the revenues of the Committee augmented. Even the Asiatic Department sent the Committee 1,000 rubles to provide support for both the Montenegrins and Herzegovinians.[609]

[605] See Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge, 67-85.
[606] Nikitin, *Slavianskie Komitety v Rossii*, 44-46.
[607] Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge, 243-266
[608] See Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge, 82.
[609] See details of funding after Turkish bombardment in 1862 Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve*, 11-12.

The Bulgarian uprising also attracted monetary donations or support from other institutions, one being the Moscow Trade Association, which was established in 1785 and reinvigorated in 1863. Initially, the Association decided to donate 1,000 rubles for only one year, in 1874. After the April uprising of Bulgarians in 1876, the Association decided to donate that amount of money annually.[610] The Moscow Benevolent Committee was in close contact with the Moscow Trade Association. However, the Committee could never totally attract the attention of Moscow merchant community, in general. The support of these merchants had always been limited and temporary.

5.3. The Activities of the Slavic Benevolent Committee

The Slavic Benevolent Committee's focus was always mostly on Bulgarian and Serbian educational problems.[611] The Kiev branch was mainly interested in the Serbians, while the Moscow and Odessa branches mostly funded the Bulgarians.[612] In addition, the Moscow Committee supported a considerable number of Montenegrins.[613] Parallel to its foundational aims, the Committee paid special attention to the Bulgarians, including women. For example, while there was not a special education plan concerning other Slavic women, Bulgarian women's

[610] See Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge, 154.
[611] The Committee was supporting several institutions such as Bulgarian Church and school community (*Bolgarskaia Tserkovno-Shkolnaia Obshina*); the publication named 'Bulgarian booklets' (*Bolgarskie Knizhnitsi*); Bulgarian Printing house in Constantinople (*Bolgarskaia Tipographia v Konstatinopole*), which received the biggest amount of these donations –800 rubles, almost double compared to other institutions. (In the first three of years of its foundation the Committee had spent 10000 rubles.) In the years 1860-1861 the Committee was donating to several Bulgarian institutions such as Bulgarian Church and school community (*Bolgarskaia Tserkovno-Shkolnaia Obshina*), Bulgarian Printing house in Constantinople (*Bolgarskaia Tipographiia v Konstantinopole);* this printing house in Constantinople was receiving the significant part of these donations. See Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva, 64-65.
[612] The Kiev Committee did not prefer funding Bulgarians. For example see, GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.70, 62.
[613] For example see, GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.64, pp.33, 45-46; GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.70, 35, 56.

education was funded by the Committee.[614] For instance, in 1872, the Constantinople Ambassador Ignatiev, gave assistance to some Bulgarian girls who had been accepted to the Moscow Aleksandrovskii Monastery.[615] Moreover, the Committee had particular relations with the Odessa Bulgarian Trusteeship, which included financial support.[616] Among all Bulgarian communities in Russia, only the Odessa Trusteeship continued its relationship with the Slavic Benevolent Committee since its foundation. Other communities contacted the Committee only between the years 1861-1874.[617] One of them was "The Bulgarian Beneficial Brotherhood of Education in Constantinople".[618] This organization was established in August of 1868, in order to spread education among Bulgarians in underdeveloped places. Their main aim was to awaken a national revival among Macedonian Bulgarians in Constantinople and to encourage them to support new schools in Macedonia and train instructors for these schools. This Brotherhood had around 160 members and 11 units. Its central home-school was at Topkapı, Constantinople. Other schools were at Vlanga and Tatavla.[619] In addition, this brotherhood gave support to Çanakçı[620] and Tarfa[621] village inhabitants. The organization's priority was to establish a Slavic Church in Constantinople, which would use Bulgarian language at religious ceremonies. To achieve this goal, they attempted to receive more support from the Moscow Benevolent Committee. On December 1873, their representatives[622] contacted the

[614] For example see, GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.64, 45-46.
[615] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.64, pp.23, 67.
[616] For example see, GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.64, 47, 62.
[617] Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge, p. 154.
[618] 'The Bulgarian Beneficial Brotherhood of Education in Constantinople' (*Bolgarskoe Blagodatelnoe Bratsva Prosveshenie v Konstantinopole*) In another document the name of the Bulgarian organization was written as "blagotvaritelnii" instead of "blagodatelnii", both meaning 'benevolent'. See GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.10.
[619] Vlanga or Langa was a Bulgarian settlement in Rumelia. Langa. Tatavla is known as the Kurtuluş district in today's İstanbul.
[620] The organization's first school was opened in Çanakçı. GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.10, 2.
[621] Today's Örencik köyü, located at İstanbul, Çatalca.
[622] The brothership was founded by Nikolai Bogdanov, Lazar Karaminkov, P.Slaveikov, I. Gedrikov (Terjikov), H.Panichkov, P. Musevich etc. GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.10, 1.

Moscow Slavic Committee in order to ask for financial aid to open schools. Their enquiry was successful as the Committee, and was generally inclined to donate. In one of their letters, the representatives of this Brotherhood complained about the monks, who received the money sent by the Committee and spent it in the monasteries, which did not carry out educational activities.[623] To solve this corruption, their only hope was to deliver the issue to the Committee Secretariat and to Ignatiev, who played the role of intermediary between that organization and the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee.[624] These letters show that the activities of the Committee was not limited only to funding educational and cultural activities, but also to organize funds, and to inspect whether they were used efficiently.

The Committee sent Bulgarian instructors (*uchiteli*) to Moscow for their higher education, on the condition that, when they get back to Bulgaria they should teach Russian in Bulgarian schools.[625] For this reason, Ignatiev attached utmost importance to the acceptance of the Bulgarian students, as the Committee beneficiaries. Ignatiev's correspondences with the Asiatic Department and the Russian universities shows that several times he took the initiative to solve the problems of these Bulgarian students, related to their acceptance to the Russian universities and schools.[626] Ignatiev was concerned about the representatives of the Committee, and tried to solve Bulgarian students' educational problems with his bureaucratic network.[627] In fact, the members of the Committee and Ignatiev paid

[623] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.70, pp. 46-47.
[624] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.70, pp. 46-47.
[625] For example see, GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.64, p.21, 33; GARF, f.1750, op.1, d.70, 34-35.
[626] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.352.
[627] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.70, p.46-ob.; GARF, f.1750, op.1, d.227, 12.

special attention that the students, once returned to their own country, became Russophile activists and supporters of Russian policies in the Balkans.[628]

Similar to the Slavic Benevolent Committee, Ignatiev was also suspicious in regards to the Catholic and Protestant influence over the Ottoman Slavs and his aim was to replace it with a Russian one. In 1869, a letter came from the Odessa Committee addressed to Ignatiev, complaining about how Western Propaganda aimed at capturing Bulgarian youth. The letter underlined that due to the weakness of the Ottoman regime, Bulgarian students were exposed to anti-Russian propaganda by Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Therefore, Ignatiev carefully observed these examples and demanded detailed reports from his Bulgarian agents on these matters.[629]

In 1870, concomitant with the increasing activities and income of the Committee, Bulgarians started to ask for increased financial aid for educational activities. Furthermore, they kept in contact with N. P. Ignatiev to solve their bureaucratic problems. During his post in Constantinople, Ignatiev did his best to mediate between the Slavic Committees and Bulgarian activists.[630] During his years as head of the Asiatic Department, he had developed the idea of a Serbo-Bulgarian state in the Balkans, which would be a stronghold for Russian interests in the region, thus he paid particular attention to the Bulgarian students. He intended for the bureaucratic elite of that projected state government to be composed of Serbians and Bulgarians, the latter representing only the lower strata of the society. In other words, they would

[628] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.64, pp. 23, 45,46,47,53, 67; GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.226, 12. The Committee was paying special attention to the education of Bulgarian women especially in 1870s. As an example of this attention, in 1872, Ignatiev helped several Bulgarian girls for their replacement at Moscow Aleksandrovskii Monastery. GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.64, 23, 67.
[629] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.352, 1-ob, 2.
[630] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.70, 46-47.

serve as the "raw material"[631] in the construction of the state. For realizing these goals, Ignatiev needed activists that embraced the idea of Russian pan-Slavism. They would return to Bulgaria and spread Russian pan-Slavism amongst the remaining Bulgarians and therefore act in tandem with Ignatiev's political plans.[632]

Being an independent organization, unofficially connected to the Asiatic Department, meant that all of the Committee's activities were under the control of the Department. The Department kept a close watch on the budget, student profiles and the Committee's other activities. There are signs that the Asiatic Department recommended to the Committee the students it preferred as beneficiaries.[633] Together with the Ministry of National Education, the Asiatic Department received regular reports from the Committee concerning the details of their monetary and educational activities. In return, the Asiatic Department provided the Committee with opinions and recommendations.[634] Furthermore, the Committee often asked the Department for help in funding students and the Department gave money for the travel expenditures of these students, including for their return to their homeland.[635]

A special institution that organized the education of Bulgarian students was the "Minkov's South-Slavic Gymnasium" (*Iuzhnoslavianskii Pansion Minkova*). Bulgarian pedagogue and supporter of the Bulgarian national revival movement, Todor Nikolaev Minkov, was the founder of this South-Slavic student-house in the town of Nikolaev (Mikolaiv) in 1862. Subsequently well-known Bulgarians[636] and

[631] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 56-57.
[632] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 56-57.
[633] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.64, 23.
[634] A.A. Popovkin, 'Slavianskie Blagotvaritel'nie Obshchestva v Moskve i Sankt-Peterburge, p. 121; See GARF, f.1750, op.1, d.64, 45-46.
[635] See, GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.64, 56; GARF, f.1750, op.1, d.70. 2; GARF, f.1750, op.1, d.70, 21.
[636] Famous graduates of Minkov's Gymnasium were as such; Mikhail G. Grekov (1847-1922) (he was a Bulgarian immigrant, who went to Russia after 1828-29 Russo-Turkish War. He was an activist of the Bulgarian national revival); Georgi Iu. Kirkov (1867-1919) (he was a Bulgarian politician and publisher.); Ekaterina V.P. Karavelova (1860-1947) was the wife of Bulgarian politican Petko S. Karavelov, she was the founder of

several Serbian students got their education in that gymnasium. Minkov was also responsible for finding beneficiaries for the Benevolent Committee from various Slavic lands, in particular from Bulgaria. In 1872, in his letter to the Moscow Slavic Benevolent Committee, Minkov underlined the gymnasium's main goal as educating as many Slavs as they could. For that purpose, he asked the Moscow Committee to send ten times as much money for the needs of the gymnasium's beneficiaries. In return, he promised to find more students from Bulgarian middle class families to attend the gymnasium as well.[637]

In practice, Committee's primary concern remained far from the formation of a national consciousness amongst the Orthodox Slavs under Ottoman rule. Most of the donations and scholarships were orientated towards bolstering the Orthodox idea and Russian culture and language. These attempts contributed to Russia's interests rather than helping Bulgarians or other Slavic peoples to build their national unity.[638] The Ottoman authorities, for their own part, closely followed these developments and were highly critical about the organizations and their actions. They realized that the Bulgarians, especially the Russophile ones, would become an instrument in the hands of the Russian politicians.[639] They were aware of the Committee's aims in increasing

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Bulgarian Women's Union, chairwoman of the Bulgarian branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and founder of the Committee for protection of Jews.); Panaiot Volov (1850-1876) (he was an activist of the Bulgarian national revolutionary movement with the nickname of Petăr Vankov. He took part in the April Uprising, 1876); Semen Nikolaev Vankov (1858-1937) (he was the General of in the Russian Army and newly established Bulgarian national army. During the 1877-78 War he was the commender of the 26th artillery brigade of Silivri.) The gymnasium functioned until 1892.

[637] GARF, f.1750, first expedition, op.1, d.70, 52. Minkov's letter to the Moscow Committee dated 18 January 1872.

[638] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875-1878)*, 56-64.

[639] The eminent Turkish historian Halil Inalcik suggested that it would be simplistic to relate Balkan rebels directly to Russian propaganda. He argued that though Russian Panslavism was effective in mobilizing local peasants, this mobilization's main motive was the taxing policy of Ottoman *gospodarlik* regime. In 1870s the Ottoman Bulgarian subjects, were encouraged by Pan-Slavists to emigrate to Russia and Serbia from Rumelia. After a short period they demanded to return home, but their living conditions, which had forced them to quit Ottoman soil, was even worsened. BOA, İ. MTZ, No.73.16/R/1278; BOA, İ. MTZ, No.79, 1/Ş/1278. For population movements in the Ottoman Balkans in the mid nineteenth century see, Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914, Demographic and Social Characteristics*, (Madison:University of Wisconsin Press,

Russian cultural and political influence amongst Bulgarians under the veil of educational activities. Accordingly, the Ottoman administration tried to neutralize the situation in order not to jeopardize Ottoman territorial integrity and the success of the ongoing Tanzimat reforms.[640] The European governments were also uncomfortable with Russia's plans in the Ottoman Balkans. France and England paid special attention to Ignatiev's personal relations with the Palace and the Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Pasha. These countries preferred that the Ottoman administration remain close to the Western powers rather than to be without support against Russian political interests.[641]

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In the second half the nineteenth century, the Russian Empire began to experience serious financial and military problems, which further contributed to its backwardness from the West. Following the Crimean War, the financial gap between the two poles began to rise, and the Russian administration decided to focus its energies on economic and military development for the next quarter of the century. Thus, unlike the European states, the Russian government intended to expand its influence in the Balkans without spending extra financial resources. While these states opened schools in the Ottoman lands, Russian activities were limited to financing the education of Orthodox Slav students in Russia. Consequently, the Slavic Benevolent Committee became an alternative way to fight against the Catholic propaganda among the Balkan Slavs. Finally, the Committee emerged as a result of

1985), 60-77; and for the Ottoman gospodarlik regime and the Russian policy see, Halil İnalcık, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi,* (İstanbul: Eren, 1992), 38-72.
[640] BOA, İ. MTZ, No.103, 29/Ca/1285.
[641] BOA, HR. SYS. No.182 /43, 1-2 (1873.Neue Frei Presse 8 Février 1873).

coinciding interests and endeavors of a group of Bulgarian intelligentsia, Russian administrative and political staff and a group of Russian intellectuals gravitating around Slavophiles. While part of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie class regarded it as a means to receive Russian support for the Bulgarian national revival, Russians saw the Committee as an instrument of countering Western influence in the region.

In addition to Western propaganda, another threat for Pan-Slavists was the spread of revolutionary ideas amongst Orthodox Slavs. In the 1870s, revolutionary activists were taking a negative attitude towards the increasing Russian influence in the Balkans. During that period, some socialist groups condemned imperialistic intentions, whether they belonged to Russia or the Ottoman State. They supported the national revolution against any imperial supremacy in order to form a federation of Balkan people.

The prominent members of the Committee were concerned about the Slavic students' intentions. They supported the education of students not in Moscow, but in the Crimea and in Odessa, the two places closest to the Ottoman lands. Moreover, socialist and radical nationalist ideologies were especially popular among Moscow student circles, and thus could be dangerously influential among South Slav students supported by the Committee. In fact, some of the Committee beneficiaries who graduated from Moscow became Russophobe activists of the national revival movement in Bulgaria. In addition, others preferred to stay in Moscow (in order to be far from the Balkan poverty), which also did not serve Russian political plans.

The Slavic Benevolent Committee began as a cultural and language association to meet the needs of the Balkans Slavs. From the first day of its formation, the Committee used the idea of ending Western propaganda in the Ottoman Balkans as its primary motive. Its foundational aim seemed to support the

national revival of the Orthodox Slavs. However, it eventually aimed at spreading Russia's political and cultural influence in the Balkans.

Some members suggested that, as Russia was politically vulnerable in the international arena, the Committee should have kept away from politics, and continue its activities concentrating on its main duties. However, the Slavic Benevolent Committee eventually became entwined within a political framework despite the fact that it was founded on an ideological basis. The Committee's relations with the Asiatic Department and the Foreign Ministry revealed its place in Russian foreign policy. The Russian administration's aim was to strengthen Russian relations with Balkan nations and to eliminate anything that could damage it. For that purpose, a Slavic committee would serve Russian plans in the Balkans. Although the Benevolent Committee was founded in contact with the Asiatic Department of the Foreign Ministry, being a non-governmental organization it did not bind the Russian government with any responsibilities.

The impact of pan-Slavic propaganda on Slavic students was considerably insufficient compared to the effect of democratic or liberal ideas spreading in Russia. Pan-Slavic ideology did not offer a solution in regards to how Slavs could gain their independence. In practice, the Committee's primary concern remained far from the formation of a national consciousness amongst the Orthodox Slavs under Ottoman rule. Most of the donations and scholarships were orientated towards the support of either the Orthodox idea or Russian culture and language. These attempts contributed to Russia's interests rather than helping Bulgarians or other Slavic people to build their national unity.

CHAPTER VI

THE OTTOMAN REACTION TOWARDS RUSSIA'S BALKAN POLICY

6.1. Pacifying the Russian Threat (Until 1871)

In the aftermath of the Crimean War, the foreign policy of the Ottoman administration mirrored those of French and British policies and Ottoman relations with Austria ran parallel with British and French attitudes. The Grand Vizier, Âli Pasha, was in close contact with each ambassador stationed in Constantinople: The British ambassador, Sir H. Bulwer, the French ambassador, Marquis de Moustier, and the Austrian ambassador, Baron de Prokesch.[642] N. P. Ignatiev's appointment to Constantinople coincided with a period, of conspicuous influence over the Porte by these three powers.[643] They sought and succeeded to extinguish Russia's credibility within the Ottoman administrative circles. Particularly, the alliance, which caused the most concern for Russia, was that between Sir Henry Bulwer and Âli Pasha. These two politicians, together with Moustier and Prokesch, shared a common assessment regarding Russia's political stance, which meant limiting Ignatiev's implementation any of his diplomatic maneuvers. Although this may have incensed Ignatiev and concerned M.A. Gorchakov, the Russian Foreign Minister recommended that Ignatiev remain on good terms with the European ambassadors.[644]

Âli and Fuad Pashas were aware of the efforts Ignatiev made to influence the decision-making process of the Ottoman administration in regards to issues concerning the Balkan affiars. Ignatiev preferred to conduct his diplomatic affairs in a direct and to-

[642] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*. 16.
[643] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 4-7; GARF, f.828, first expedition, op.1, d.1434, 230-232.
[644] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48*, 4-8; GARF, f.828, first expedition, op.1, d.1434, 230-232.

the-point manner, which helped him to secure personal contact with the Ottoman Sultan and possibly influence Ottoman policy in this way.[645] These methods of conduct was considered threatening by both Âli and Fuad Pashas, who were always keenly aware of the Ambassador's actions and initiatives, and ready to step in.

Âli Pasha and Fuad Pasha were two critical figures within the *Bâb-ı Ali*, and they played a crucial role in shaping Ottoman foreign policy during the second half of the nineteenth century. Although their responsibilities included choosing personnel for the Foreign Policy Office, the Sultan, nonetheless, always had final approval over these appointments. By time, Reşit Pasha and Midhat Pasha joined Âli and Fuad Pashas, they became the most influential Ottoman officials in terms of shaping the Porte's international affairs.

Although these Ottoman bureaucrats were described as 'pro-European', in reality they were aware of both the positive and negative affects of dealing within the European political sphere, and therefore their diplomatic decisions always erred on the side of caution.[646] Âli Pasha and Fuad Pasha, in particular, believed, that due to the Empire's geographical situation, its future was dependent on the fate of the Europeans. For instance, Âli Pasha often referred to the disruption caused by Russia's propaganda efforts and thus acknowledged how crucial it was that assistance was given to the Porte by the Western Powers. For example, although Russia produced propaganda and news reports directed at the consumption of the European public, such efforts were deliberately thwarted by the European powers.[647]

According to Ali Pasha, to attract public opinion and strengthen sympathy and

[645] Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 51-52.
[646] *Belgelerle Tanzimat, Osmanlı Sadrazamlarından Ali ve Fuad Paşaların Siyasi Vasiyetnameleri,* (çev., haz.) Engin Deniz Akarlı, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üni. Yayınları, 1978), 20-21. For the discussions about the originality of Ali and Fuad Pashas' 'Political Testaments' See *Belgelerle Tanzimat, Osmanlı Sadrazamlarından Ali ve Fuad Paşaların Siyasi Vasiyetnameleri,* (çev., haz.) Engin Deniz Akarlı, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üni. Yayınları, 1978), IX-XIV; Roderic H. Davison, *Nineteenth Century Ottoman Diplomacy and Reforms,* (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 1999) 27-41, 47-65.
[647] *Belgelerle Tanzimat,* 26.

support towards the Ottoman Empire within the international public area, a common enemy needed to be presented to European support for the Empire. Therefore, his goal was to trigger a continual competition between the European states and Russia, in order to be able to both control and guarantee Western protection over the Porte, particularly as it was framed in the context of protection from Russia and its attempt to re-establish its power in the Balkans.[648] Âli and Fuad Pashas took advantage of every occasion in order to firmly keep the attention of European diplomatic efforts on the region, with a specific focus on supporting the Ottoman Empire. Nonetheless, Fuad Pasha was suspicious of the extent of concrete support the Porte would receive from the Europeans, and also of the Russian threat that was greater than anyone understood. In his political testament addressed to the Ottoman Sultan, Fuad Paşa displayed his concerns regarding the European attitude:

> "Russia's expansion to the East is the inevitable law of Moscow's destiny. If I were a Russian ambassador, I would turn the world upside down to conquer Istanbul. Therefore, we should not be surprised or complain about Russia's offensive acts. If today [the situation] develops against us, then it resembles our actions towards Byzantium, despite the structural difference [between two examples]. So, it would be childish to depend solely on our present rights against Moscow's [possible] resurrection, the right we require is the power. ... the old, historical power, but the unbearable power granted to all European people by means of

[648] The last words of Âli Paşa in his testaments were as such: "Yirmi-otuz yıldan beri Devlet-i Aliyye'nin iç durumu değiştiği gibi, bu arada Avrupa politikası da büsbütün yeni bir yol aldı. Ne var ki, söz bunun Devlet-i Aliyye'ye etkisine getirilince, Batı devletlerinin şimdiki durumu hiç bir zaman güven verici olamaz. Şu durumda Doğu sorununda en fazla Rusya Devleti'nin parmağı olduğundan, Batı devletlerini idare etmek için, Rusya politikasıyla rekabetlerini tahrik ile yeniden bir politika dengesi oluşturmak olanaksız değildir. Bu konuda gerekli açıklamayı ve ayrıntıyı kaleme almaya fiziki gücüm dayanmayacağından, bunu benim yerime geçecek kimsenin dirayet ve içtihadına bırakırım." (The attributed testament to Âli Paşa, in Belgelerle Tanzimat), *Belgelerle Tanzimat,* 47.

> modern science and thoughts. Since Peter the Great, Russia has made enormous progress. Its power will rise still more, very soon, thanks to its railroads. However, what frightens me most is the attitude of surrender in the population of Europe and its indifference towards Russia's expansionist policies."[649]

Fuad Pasha's projection of Russia's possible future growth and the effect this would have on its policies was quite realistic and so he was particularly aware of and apprehensive about the pan-Slavic threat emanating from the Russian side. He emphasized the importance of keeping the Ottoman Christian *reaya* away from Russian influence.[650] Both Fuad and Âli Pashas were right to be concerned about the matter, which can be obviously seen in Ignatiev's first diplomatic actions during his post in Constantinople. The Ambassador's interference with the Danubian Principalities question and his interest in the Greco-Bulgarian dispute, made clear his political plans regarding the Orthodox Christian subjects of the Sultan.[651] Having trouble implementing his plans to influence the Porte's policy in terms of solving the Bulgarian Church question in a manner agreeable to Russian plans, Ignatiev accused the Paşas of jointly acting with the Bulgarian national activist, Stoian Chomakov to hamper Russian involvement from the conflict.[652] Ignatiev believed that the Ottoman administration, in order to ally the Bulgarians to the Porte, was giving them priority during discussions, which attempted to solve the Bulgarian Church question. For

[649] "Rusya'nın Doğu'ya yayılması Moskova'nın kaderinin kaçınılmaz bir yasası. Bendeniz de bir Rus nazırı olsam İstanbul'u zabt için dünyayı altüst ederdim. Dolayısıyla, Rusya'nın saldırgan hareketleri karşısında ne şaşkınlığa düşmeli ne de şikayetçi olmalıyız. Bugün aleyhimize ilerliyorsa, bu, bir zamanlar bizim Bizans'a karşı hareketlerimize benzer, aradaki biçimsel ayrılığa rağmen. Bu bakımdan, Moskova istilasına karşı salt mevcut haklarımıza dayanmaya kalkmak çocukça bir iş olur; bize gerekli olan hak kuvvettir. Yeniden canlandırmaya boşuna çabalayağımız eski, tarihi kuvvetimiz değil, fakat çağdaş bilim ve fikirlerin bütün Avrupa halklarına bahşettiği o dayanılmaz kuvvettir. Büyük Petro'dan beri Rusya muazzam bir gelişme kaydetti, pek yakında demiryolları sayesinde gücü bir kat daha artacak. Ama beni en çok ürküten şey, Rusya'nın yayılmacı siyasetine karşı Avrupa'da kitlelerin giderek takındıkları teslimiyet ve umursamazlık havasıdır." *Belgelerle Tanzimat,* 4.
[650] *Belgelerle Tanzimat,* 4.
[651] Khevrolina, *Nikolai Pavlovich Ignatiev*, 111-112.
[652] Meininger, *Ignatiev & the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate*, 47-49.

Ignatiev, such actions were countering his own agenda, which aimed at keeping the Bulgarian Church under the protection of Russia, thus securing Russia's presence in the region. Furthermore, Ignatiev accused the Porte of purposefully perpetuating the conflict, in particular accusing both Pasas of provoking the Bulgarians against the Greeks, in order for the Ottomans to profit from the conflict by dividing their enemies and making them dependent on the administration for a solution.[653]

However, as Fuad Paşa indicated in his testimony, relations of both the Greeks and Bulgarians with the Porte had utmost importance. He was concerned that Greek independence would spread to other Ottoman lands, populated by the Orthodox Christians. Thus, he advised the Sultan to keep the Greeks away from the Ottoman Orthodox Christian *reaya.* Furthermore, according to Fuad Pasha, the Porte should prevent the influence of the Greek Church over the Bulgarians, which also meant the decrease of Russian influence.[654]

A Greco-Bulgarian dispute reveals the consistent tensions between Ignatiev and Âli and Fuad Pashas. In his notes, Ignatiev indicated that Âli Paşa most ardently opposed Russian politics in the Porte. However, he also considered Fuad Pasha less cautious than Âli Pasha and therefore less of a threat. Moreover, the Ambassador believed that Âli Paşa served Western interests and thus his existence was an obstacle for Russian diplomacy.

> "For many years, Aali Pasha, who had become the continuator of the policy of his predecessor Rechid [Paşa], had fought our policy and our historical influence on the basis of the cluster of the

[653] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 48 Diplomaticheski zapiski*, 438-440.

[654] "Bizim izlememiz gereken siyaset, Rumları öteki Hrıstiyan tabaamızdan mümkün olduğunca yalıtmaya çalışmaktır. Katolik papazların ya da Rusya'nın kucağına itmemek kaydıyla, Bugarları Rum Kilisesinin nüfuzundan sıyırmak özellikle önemlidir." (Belgelerle Tanzimat, Fuad Paşa'nın Siyasi Vasiyatnamesi, 4) In addition, Fuad Paşa adviced the Sultan to be cautious about preventing Armenians from participating to the Russian Orthodox Church. *Belgelerle Tanzimat,* 4.

> Western Powers. Continually pursuing his goal, he did not shrink from any of the sacrifices, which the West demanded of Turkey as a reward for his assistance. More reserved than his colleague Fuad, Aali Pasha was more systematically hostile to us; His skillful and persevering action was infinitely more dangerous to our interests…"[655]

It was only after the death of Fuad Paşa in 1869 and Âli Pasha in 1871,[656] that Ignatiev found the opportunity to conduct his policies free from certain administrative objections. Moreover, the appointment of Mahmud Nedim Paşa, a Russophile, in place of Âli Pasha, was a substantial relief for the Ambassador.[657]

The Russian attitude towards the Ottoman Balkan people continued to disturb the Ottoman bureaucracy throughout the nineteenth century. However, the Porte did not entirely place blame at the hands of the Russian or the other Power in regards to internal developments within the Empire. Both Fuad Pasha and Âli Pasha criticized the Porte's strategy concerning the non-Muslim subjects. According, to them, the Ottoman administration's unequal and discriminative policies concerning Muslims and non-Muslims continued to cause instability and unease in the region. Therefore, it was thought that what the administration needed, was a plan to implement internal reforms guaranteeing the equality of all ethnicities and religions within its borders. . Fuad Pasha wrote that the both education system and bureaucratic appointments should be based upon a meritocracy, which measured professional competence and

[655] "Pendant de longues années Aali Pacha, qui s'était fait le continuateur de la politique de son devancier Réchid, avait combattu notre politique et notre influence historique en se basant sur le faisceau des Puissances Occidentales. Poursuivant sans relâche son but, il ne reculait devant aucun des sacrifices que l'Occident demandait à la Turquie comme récompense de son assistance. Plus réservé que son collègue Fuad, Aali Pacha nous était plus systématiquement hostile; son action habile et persévérante était infiniment plus dangereuse à nos intérêts..." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54 Diplomaticheski zapiski,* 504.
[656] Fuat Andıç, Süphan Andıç, *Sadrazam Âli Paşa, Hayatı, Zamanı ve Siyasi Vasiyetnamesi, 55.*
[657] MacKenzie, *Count N.P. Ignatev: The Father of Lies?*, 312.

endeavor. [658] Âli Pasha warned the Sultan that if the Porte failed to take such measures and precautions it could risk the collapse of the Empire. [659] Likewise, the eminent Turkish historian Halil İnalcik, argued that the instability present in the Ottoman lands, particularly the uprisings in Rumelia, could not be directly related to Russian propaganda. He argued that though Russian pan-Slavism was effective in creating unease in the region, the real motive was Ottoman taxation policy.[660] During a meeting with foreign statesmen, when the conversation turned to the political and economic capacity of the Ottoman state, Fuad Pasha replied: "The Ottoman Empire is the strongest state [in the World]. From outside, you are trying, from inside we are trying to bring it down; but anyway, we both cannot demolish it."[661] So, the Ottoman bureaucrats' reaction to the Porte's internal policies was as critical as its reaction to Ignatiev's objectives. Âli and Fuad Pasha believed that the first task of the Porte was to bring a new order to the internal organization of the Empire. Only then could relations with its Balkan subjects be solved *ipso facto*.

[658] Âli Paşa's critics about the lack of equality among Ottoman Muslim and Gayri-Muslim subjects: "...Devlet gelirlerinin belki üçte ikisini onlar [Hristiyan tebaa] verdikleri halde hep başkaları yararlanıp, kendilerinin sağmal koyun düzeyinde tutulduklarını anlamaktadırlar. O halde, kuşkusuz, her türlü dış kışkırtmayı can kulağıyla dinleyecekler ve bereket kapıları açık bir hükümet kaygısına düşeceklerdir. Hristiyanların her çeşit hizmette kullanılmaları sağlanacak olur ise, onlar yüzyılımızda ülkenin yönetimi için gerekli olan bilgide bizden ileri olduklarından bütün işleri doğal olarak ellerine geçirirler ve İslam memurlar geri kalırlar; bir de, Müslüman olmayan milletlere bu denli yüz verilmekten İslam hoşnutsuz olur düşünceleri ve bunlara benzer daha pek çok sakınca zihinlere gelmemek mümkün değildir. Hiç kuşkusu, bunlar sadece en belli başlı sakıncalardır. Ancak, ne yazık ki, sözü esilen bilgi olmaksızın ve kendimizi öteki uygar milletler düzeyine getirmeksizin, bizim bu ülkeyi Hristiyanlar olmasa da yönetemeyeceğimiz bellidir." *Belgelerle Tanzimat*, 5-6, 13-14.

[659] *Belgelerle Tanzimat,* 15-16.

[660] For the Ottoman *gospodarlık* regime and the Russian policy see, Halil İnalcık, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi,* (İstanbul: Eren, 1992), 38-72.

[661] "En kuvvetli devlet Osmanlı Devletidir. Siz dışarıdan biz içeriden yıkmaya çalışıyoruz, yine de yıkamıyoruz." Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi, *Tarih Musahabeleri*, (haz. Übeydullah Kısacık), (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2012), 87.

6.2. A multi-faceted Project: *Tuna Vilayeti*

The nineteenth century Ottoman writer, Ahmet Midhat Efendi,[662] stated that European policies concerning the Porte were based upon securing a barrier between Russia and Europe. The total population of the Ottoman Balkans was higher in number than the population of Western Europe, therefore, for the West, the most direct path towards decreasing Russian influence in the region was by supporting Ottoman land reforms.[663] With this in mind, the European-minded Ottoman bureaucrats, Âli and Fuad Pasha, began with the implantation of the Danubian Province (*Tuna Vilayet*) reforms[664]. Indeed, the reform movements, which began with the *Tanzimat-ı Hayriye*, were developed through the efforts of Mustafa Reşit Pasha, Âli Pasha and Fuad Pasha. In addition to these individuals, Midhat Pasha played a most significant role in the adjustment and conduct of the Danubian Province regulations.[665]

The Danubian Province reform was as a pilot project under the governorship of Ahmet Şefik Efendi, who later came to be known as Midhat Pasha. Ahmet Şefik Efendi started his work at the Imperial Council (*Divân-ı Hümâyun-u Kalemiye)* under the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Akif Pasha, in 1834. Six months after finishing as a trainee at the *Kalemiye*, he assumed the title of Midhat, and thereafter was named Midhat Efendi. In 1848, he began to serve at the High Council (*Meclis-i Vâlâ)*, where he worked closely with the Ottoman bureaucrats and statesmen such as

[662] Ahmet Midhat Efendi (1844-1912) was a Tanzimat Period Ottoman journalist and writer.
[663] Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Üss-i İnkılap*, 53
[664] For a most recent study on the Danubian Province reforms see Yalçın Murgul. "Re-Contextualizing the Tanzimat Reforms in the Ottoman Empire (1856-1868)," (PhD. Dissertation, Department of History, Bilkent University, 2017). For another detailed study on Midhat Pasha see, Bekir Koç, "Midhat Paşa (1822-1884)," (PhD. Dissertation, Department of History, Ankara University, 2002).
[665] Halil İnalcık, Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi, (İstanbul: Eren, 1992), 77. (First printing: Ankara, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, 1943).

Âli Pasha, Fuat Pasha, Koca Reşit Pasha and Mehmet Emin Pasha. During his post at *Meclis-i Vâlâ* he was sent to Europe for six months, to become educated in French.[666] In 1861, Midhat Efendi was appointed as the governor of Nish and received the title of Paşa.[667] In the same year, Sultan Abdülmecid passed away and Sultan Abdülaziz ascended to the throne. Sultan Abdülaziz preferred to work with Âli and Fuad Pasha, who were in favor of modifying the imperial structure along the lines of the '*vilayet* system'. The Danubian region was selected as the pilot region and Midhat Pasha was appointed the governor of this region.[668]

The Danubian Province reform program was a pilot project based on strengthening the municipal authority, and restructuring the local administration while maintaining central authority.[669] The Ottoman administration gave utmost importance to the reorganization of local assemblies, that consisted of Muslim and non-Muslim peoples.[670] The three principal objectives of the Tuna Province Regulations (*Tuna Vilayet Nizamnamesi)*[671] were, the establishment of a local administration based on a pluralist structure, the separation of legal and administrative systems mirroring Western practices, and providing equal rights and opportunities for economic and social improvement to all the subjects of the

[666] Midhat Paşa, *Midhat Paşa'nın Hatıraları:1 [Tabsıra-i İbret]* (Haz. Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu), (İstanbul: Temel, 1997), XV.

[667] In his 3 months visit to Vidin, Niş, Sofya and Şumnu, Sadrazam Mehmet Emin Paşa listened to the complaints of inhabitants, and he found them justified. He considered the source of these complaints were the unskilled governors of province, and to the 'gospodarlik' regime. After his return, he decided to appoint as Vali a compatible name, in order to solve the Province's problems. See Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, XVI. For the gospodarlık regime and the reaya's complaints See Halil İnalcık, "Tanzimat'ın Uygulanması ve Sosyal Tepkiler," *Belleten*, vol. 28., no. 112., Ekim 1964, p.643.

[668] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, XVI-XVII.

[669] Mehmet Çelik, "Tanzimat in the Balkans Midhat Pasha's Governorship In The Danube Province (Tuna Vilayeti), 1864-1868," (Ma.Thesis, Bilkent University, 2007), 49.

[670] Halil İnalcık, Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi, (İstanbul: Eren, 1992), 77. (First printing: Ankara, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, 1943).

[671] According to Vilayet Nizamnamesi the Danubian Province was composed of the northern Bulgaria and eastern Serbia; accordingly it consisted 7 *liva* (Ruse, Vidin, Niş, Sofia, Tulcea, Tarnovo and Varna) and 48 *kaza*, several nahiye, the gubernation of which was left to the assembly selected from the local people, after the Congress of Vienne, 1855. Articles 3-4-5 of Tuna Vilayeti Nizâm-nâmesi, (BOA, İ. MMS. no. 1245) in Hüdai Şentürk, *Osmanlı Devletinde Bulgar Meselesi 1850-1875.* (Ankara: TTK, 1992), 253; Çelik, "Tanzimat in the Balkans Midhat Pasha's Governorship In The Danube Province," 53; İlber Ortaylı, "Midhat Paşa'nın Vilayet Yönetimindeki Kadroları," 230.

Empire.[672] Using these principles Midhat Pasha focused on three specific projects in his memoires: road and port constructions, providing security against bandits and brigands, funding the public-works by the Agricultural Credit Corporation (*Menâfi' Sandıkları*).[673]

In order to continue agricultural production under the current economic conditions, farmers had to receive high interest-rate loans from *gospodars* or merchants. Therefore, to decrease the heavy tax burdens placed on the farmers, and to supply them with low interest credits under central control, Midhat Pasha founded the Agricultural Credit Corporation (*Menâfi' Sandıkları*).[674] In addition to these revolutionary efforts, he aimed at developing the region in commercial and cultural terms. During his governorship, he gave utmost importance to road (*şose*) construction, building 3000 km of road and 1,420 bridges. Furthermore, founding a shipping company on the Danube river, and ameliorating the Ruse port were among his plans.[675]

When he was appointed to the Danubian Province, rather than oppressing the local inhabitants, Midhat Paşa chose to gather the notables in order to listen to their complaints. He preferred to gain the confidence of local people and include them in the reform process.[676] Midhat Paşa adopted 'absolute equality' as a principle for the reforms, which included the participation of both Muslims and non-Muslims. Therefore, he included subjects from various ethnic origins into the administration

[672] See Appendix-3: The Tuna Newspaper 16th Issue, 4 Safer 1282 (16 June 1865).
[673] See Appendix-2: The Tuna Newspaper 1st Issue, 10 Şevval 1281 (23 February 1865), 1st page; Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, 47-49
[674] Agricultural Credit Corporation (Menâfi' Sandıkları) formed the basis of the Ziraat Bank, which has been active until today.
[675] See Appendix-2: The Tuna Newspaper 1st Issue, 10 Şevval 1281 (23 February 1865), 1st page; Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, 47, also for the road construction see BOA. I. MVL. no: 25981; BOA. I. MVL. no: 24965.
[676] Mehmet Çelik, "Tanzimat in the Balkans Midhat Pasha's Governorship In The Danube Province," 20. For detailed information in Danubian Province reforms see Ali Haydar Midhat, *The Life of Midhat Pasha: A Record of His Services, Political Reforms, Banishment and Judicial Murder* (London: John Murray, 1903); Mehmet Çelik, "Tanzimat in the Balkans Midhat Pasha's Governorship In The Danube Province,"

cadres.[677] The main intention of the Paşa was to form a reformist group composed of both Turks and Bulgarians. To that end, he attempted to establish schools, orphanages and printing houses. Midhat Paşa primary intention, however, was to save the Ottoman Christian subjects from Russian influence. Therefore, he appointed several Bulgarians to fill high ranking positions in the provincial administration, while attempting to create a Bulgarian bourgeoisie loyal to himself and to the reforms. [678]

In his notes, Midhat Pasha criticizes the Ottoman administration's inadequacy and neglect towards its non-Muslim subjects, especially in regards to the educational system. He wrote that the schools were not sufficiently developed to teach arts, science, etc. in modern terms, even for Muslim subjects. Therefore, he planned a new system of education[679], which would provide equal education for all the Ottoman subjects. [680] Midhat Pasha was complaining of Russia's educational activities, claiming that the Bulgarian students who were educated in Russia were negatively affecting other Bulgarians in the Ottoman lands. In fact, this was an ideological conflict between Midhat Pasha's objectives and Russian plans for the region, which primarily concerned the *reaya*'s self-consciousness:

> "…. according to the policy of the Russian State, the Russian Slavic Committees were taking many of the Bulgarian children to

[677] Çelik, "Tanzimat in the Balkans Midhat Pasha's Governorship In The Danube Province," 51; İlber Ortaylı, "Midhat Paşa'nın Vilayet Yönetimindeki Kadroları ve Politikası," in *Uluslararası Midhat Paşa Semineri* (Ankara: TTK, 1986), 227.
[678] Çelik, "Tanzimat in the Balkans Midhat Pasha's Governorship In The Danube Province," 52-53.
[679] The article of the *Tuna* Newspaper dated to June 2, 1867 indicates the importance of founding a new education system based on "...the the sciences and the knowledge that they [Bulgarians] require for the basis of their [Bulgarians] prosperity..." See Appendix-4: The Tuna Newspaper 176th Issue, 28 Muharrem 1284 (2 June 1867), pp. 351-352. In his telegraph to the governor of Plevne Midhat Paşa listed three crucial requirements for increasing the quality of education: "1) Setting up well [organized] school buildings and ... arranging them for teaching; 2) Making a decent payment to teachers for encouraging them to teach well; 3) As for children, who do not attend school, the children themselves and their parents will be notified by the government [using coercion]." See Appendix-5: The Tuna Newspaper 21th Issue, 9 Rebiülevvel 1282, p.41.
[680] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, 60-61.

> Russia and helping them monetarily, under guise of science and technical education, with the purpose of awakening the Slavic nations and unifying all the Bulgarian people. After finishing their education they were retuning [home], and corrupting the other young [Bulgarians], who agreed with them. Though, this situation was known as harmful, it was impossible to ban those, who went abroad for scientific education, from retuning. The majority of the province's inhabitants were Bulgarians and there was not any school founded by means of the [Ottoman] government."[681]

Midhat Pasha had very ambitious plans that the Ottoman treasury was not ready to sponsor. For this reason, these reform projects include a self-financing system, of which Midhat Pasha had to first convince the local people of undertaking, and so he decided to publish the *Tuna* Newspaper for advertising the reforms and inform the local inhabitants about such future developments.[682] The first issue of the *Tuna* newspaper (dated to 23rd of February, 1865) describes the scope of the reforms and the motives behind the publication of the newspaper. Accordingly, the reforms consisted of the construction of roads and the opening of a printing house for the publication and distribution, which would contribute to the arts and sciences. At this publishing house, apart from the newspaper, brochures and books would also be published on topics covering everything from the religious, moral, political, and

[681] "Lâkin Rusya Devletinin politikası gereğince, İslav milliyetini uyandırmak ve Bulgarların hepsini birleştirmek için Rusya'da olan İslav Cemiyetleri para yardımıyla her sene Bulgar çocuklarından bir çok gençleri ilim ve fen tahsili bahanesiyle Rusya'ya götürüyorlardı. Bunlar orada tahsilini bitirip döndükten sonra kendileriyle aynı fikirdeki gençleri yanlış yola sürüklüyorlardı. Gerçi bu durumların büyük zararları biliniyor ise de, ilim ve fen tahsili için yabancı memleketlere gidenlerin geri dönüşlerini yasaklamak mümkün olamıyacağına göre, vilayet halkının büyük çoğunluğu Bulgar olduğu cihetle, devlet tarafından yapılmış veya devletin yardımıyla kurulmuş bir mektep de bulunmamaktaydı." Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*,, V.1, p.60.
[682] See Appendix-2: The Tuna Newspaper 1st Issue, 10 Şevval 1281 (23 February 1865), 1st page.

governmental activities. The newspaper was bilingual in character, written in both Bulgarian and Turkish. The contents of the news concerned industry, agriculture, economy, international developments and government policies.[683]

Regarding the administrative structure, the first issue of the newspaper, published in 1865, reported that a commission would be elected for each district, sanjak and village. This election would be followed by those of the security member. In 1865, first, the local elderly commission, and then the security officers were elected. *Ziraat Bank* was applied to by Midhat Pasha to finance the reforms. The newspapers also published information concerning infrastructure, and reported that, in 1864, a new road was constructed between Ruse, Shumen and Varna, however there remained unfinished parts in some locations. One article in the first issue even enumerated the positive effect of road construction, emphasizing that this road will greatly contribute to the mobility and security of the local inhabitants. Therefore, in 1865, following a similar logic, the Ruse-Sofia road construction project started.[684]

The news reported by the *Tuna* newspaper successfully persuaded the local people to take the responsibility and the burden of the construction of the road upon themselves. Midhat Pasha's plan was to measure the area of the road to be built and divide the work between the inhabitants who would benefit from it most, and then calculated a period of time that each had to work for. As a result, the villagers were obligated to be involved in the construction of the road.[685] Despite some delays and the excessive burden placed on the inhabitants, this revolutionary plan was successful.

[683] In this first number of the newspaper there is also an appreciation note directed to the government, about the opening of the printing house. See Appendix-2: The Tuna Newspaper 1st Issue, 10 Şevval 1281 (23 February 1865), 1st page.
[684] See Appendix-2: The Tuna Newspaper 1st Issue, 10 Şevval 1281 (23 February 1865), 1st page.
[685] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, 48.

Midhat Pasha was aware of the administration's shortcomings: security problems caused by both bandits and the entrenched tensions between Muslim and Christian populations, unfair tax burden of the non-Muslims, the immediate need for transportation means, trade roads, agricultural regulations and other infrastructural adjustments.[686] Particularly thanks to Midhat Pasha's security precautions and regulations at the Serbian border, the military and banditry oppressions over the inhabitants gradually decreased. This, in turn, encouraged the Orthodox Christian subjects, who had emigrated to Serbia, to return to the Ottoman lands.[687]

Midhat Paşa thought that the disorder and the inadequacy of the security units rendered Ottoman intervention helpless against insurrections. He continuously worried that in the future, there would be more events triggered by the efforts of the Slavic Committees, located in both Russia and Bucharest, and that the state would fail to grasp the nettle. For that reason, he set out to execute firm rules to restore order.[688] Midhat Pasha wrote:

> "The Slavic Committees' and the Kishinev, Galati, Braila and Bucharest revolutionary committees' efforts and actions increased in parallel to the improvements in the safety and security of the [Danubian] province; there was news about their attempts to pass their bands across the border to this [Ottoman] side. [The situation] required alertness, precaution and carefulness."[689]

[686] Mehmet Çelik, "Tanzimat in the Balkans Midhat Pasha's Governorship In The Danube Province," 20.
[687] Mehmet Çelik, "Tanzimat in the Balkans Midhat Pasha's Governorship In The Danube Province," 22; Ali Haydar Midhat, *The Life of Midhat Pasha*, 36.
[688] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, 70.
[689] "Vilayetin emniyet ve asayişi düzelip gelişmeler başlayınca, İslav cemiyetlerinin ve Kişinev ve Kalas ve İbrail'de ve Bükreş'te bulunan ihtilal komitelerinin gayret ve çalışmaları da bu oranda artmış ve yine huduttan beri tarafa çetelerini geçirmek teşebbüslerinde bulundukları haber alınmıştı. Buna karşı uyanık olmak, tedbirlere devam etmek ve itina göstermek gerekiyordu." Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, 73.

Indeed, when it comes to assist the non-governmental groups, the administrative units tend to keep their help in secret, as such assistance was banned in the international arena as of the Congress of Vienna. On the other hand, Midhat Pasha, with his attentiveness and vigilance towards Russia's activities, was convinced that the Russian state supporting the Slavic Benevolent Committee with monetary support and military supplies. No records have been found in the Russian archives certifying this kind of assistance, particularly in regards to triggering local conflicts however, the Ottoman archival sources, memoires and *vakanüvis* monographs confirm these activities.[690]

6.3. Midhat Pasha vs. N. P. Ignatiev

During his governorship, Midhat Pasha faced constant opposition from the activists participating in the Bulgarian national movement. He believed that these separatists were trained in Serbia and Wallachia and were encouraged by the efforts of the Russian Ambassador, Ignatiev. Therefore, Midhat Pasha took several precautions to block Russian influence in the region. He suppressed revolts, promoted financial assistance to the region and established a modern education system to compete with pan-Slavic activities. All of these steps were the essential points in his plan to entice Bulgarians to stay united with the Porte.[691]

Before he was appointed Grand Vizier, Midhat Pasha's reputation had increased favorably due to his activities as governor in Nish and *Tuna*, followed by a term as the president of the Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet)* then finally due to his 3year service as the governor of the province of Baghdat. In his memoires, he

[690] See BOA .I. MTZ, No.103, 29/Ca/1285; BOA .I. MTZ, No.96, 2/R/1285.
[691] Roderic H. Davison, "Midhat Paşa and Ottoman Foreign Relations", *The Journal of Ottoman Studies,* vol. 5, İstanbul, 1986, 162

admitted that, among all of his posts one of the most difficult was as his governorship of the Danubian Province (*Tuna Vilayeti*), in particular due to the Serbian and Bulgarian revolts, which had been provoked by the pan-Slavic committees and Ambassador Ignatiev.[692]

One of Midhat Pasha's tasks in the Danubian Provice was to provide public order and safety. However, due to bandits and usurpers, ordinary crimes were on the rise.[693] In addition, Midhat Paşa was uncomfortable with the reports sent by Russia to the European states complaining about the suffering of the Bulgarians in Vidin and Silistra. At the Porte, Âli and Fuat Pashas were also aware of the uncomfortable situation, particularly in Prizren, Vidin and Silistre. For this reason, they supported the pilot province project combining Silistra, Vidin, and Niş under the Tuna Vilayet.[694]

From the very beginning of his governorship, Midhat Pasha believed that the provincial reforms would void Ignatiev's plan, as Russian influence among the Orthodox Slavs could not remain in the presence of order and stability in the region. He was aware that these reform movements were displeasing to the Slavic Committees and to Ignatiev. In return, Ignatiev expended every effort within his means to undermine the reform process. Moreover, the fact that the reforms were successful disappointed Ignatiev, and so he decided to bypass his relations with the Grand-vizier and build a direct contact with the Sultan.[695]

The rivalry between Midhat Pasha and Ignatiev continued throughout Midhat Paşa's governorship of Danubian Province. Midhat Pasha was very uncomfortable with Ignatiev's activities, as they sought to disrupt his reform plans. Moreover, as Midhat

[692] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, XX.
[693] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, 60.
[694] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, 43-44.
[695] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, 61-62; Ignatiev, *Zapiski (1875–1878)*, 51-52.

Pasha confirms in his memoir, Ignatiev succeeded in establishing a direct link with Sultan Abdulaziz. The Ambassador used this opportunity to then discredit Midhat Paşa's reform plans for the Daubian Province, and was successful in plotting against Midhat Pasha, who eventually lost the Sultan's good graces.

> "… the day by day progress of the institutions and reforms of the [Tuna] province was harming the plans and projects of the Slavic Committees. The Russian ambassador in Istanbul Ignatief focused all his attention on the Danubian province, and he made every effort for intriguing and [conducting] hostile activities in order to sabotage these new developments. He [Ignatiev] had been in Istanbul for a long time and was aware of all the affairs [of the Porte]… he was successful at delivering his [following] implications up to the Sultan Abdulaziz: 'By following a new path [*Tuna Vilayet* Reforms] far from the laws and order of the Ottoman state, Midhat Pasha will soon acquire privileges in the Danubian Province as it had happened in Egypt. These rules represent the beginning of a Meclis-i Mebusan [Chamber of Deputies], which will limit the deceased Emperor's freedom.'"[696]

Furthermore, although Midhat Pasha sought to include the locals in the construction of the roads in the Danubian Province, some *reaya* complained about the workload. Russian envoys in Ruse and Vidin made use of this situation by sending reports to

[696] "…vilayetin tesisat ve tanzimatı günden güne gelişmesi Rusların ve Rusyadaki Islav komitelerinin efkâr ve tasavvurlarına dokunuyordu. İstanbul'da bulunan Rus Sefiri İgnatiyef bütün bütün Tuna vilayetine dikkatini çevirerek bu yeni düzenleme çalışmalarını baltalamak için her türlü entrikalardan ve çirkefliklerden de geri durmuyordu. Kendisi hayli zaman İstanbul'da bulunup her işi anlamış ve... telkinlerinde, 'Midhat Paşa Osmanlı ülkesinin kanun ve nizamları dışında yeni bir yol izleyerek yakın zamanda Tuna vilayetini Mısır gibi imtiyaza kavuşturacaktır. Bu kaideler Padişahın İstiklaline dokunacak Meclis-i Mebusan'ın başlangıcıdır' diyerekten bu gibi sözleri merhum Sultan Abdülaziz'e kadar duyurmayı başarıyordu." Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, 61-62.

the Embassy in Constantinople, informing them about the complaints of the Orthodox *reaya*.[697] In practice, a minor propaganda war was enacted between Midhat Pasha and Ignatiev. The Pasha believed that Ignatiev was deliberately falsifying negative information regarding the reform movement, with the goal to, on one hand, turn the Orthodox subjects against Midhat Pasha, while on the other, to show the *Tuna* Province reforms as being unsuccessful in the eyes of European public.[698]

The discrepancy in Ignatiev's plans for the Orthodox Slavs was that, on one hand, he emphasized continuously that his objective was to help the Balkan Slavs gain their national consciousness and thus to free themselves from the Ottoman rule. To that end, he and the Slavic Benevolent Committee helped these people both monetarily and in terms of educational materials and staff, prompt their social and economic development. On the other hand, he was the leading opponent of the Danubian Province reforms, which, if properly implemented would have in fact, actually benefited the Balkan Slavs.

6.4. Ignatiev's Triumph: Mahmud Nedim Pasha

The Ottoman Sultan deposed Mahmud Pasha as grand vizier and replaced him, 6 times, in a three years period. After then Mahmud Nedim returned him to his position. This process made clear that there was turmoil at the highest level of government. This instability at the peak of the state rendered the Sultan vulnerable and open to manipulation. From the beginning of his Ambassadorship, Ignatiev aimed to personally influence the Sultan and direct Ottoman foreign policy via his

[697] E.I. Fadeeva, *Midhat Pasha: Jizn i Deiatelnost,* (Moskva: Nauka, 1977), 25.
[698] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, 61-62.

own plans. Particularly after 1875, it seemed that Ignatiev was beginning to gain the influence he had initially hoped to acquire. As Ahmet Midhat Efendi underlines:

> "As Ignatiev impressed the Sultan with his virtue, the Ambassador became the advisor in every [government] matter. Therefore, there was no possibility for the amelioration of the situation. His excellency the Emperor, who had desired to conduct the affairs of the Empire directly by his pwn imperial hands, undertook the task to regulate every work upon the opinions and measures of the majesty Ignatiev."[699]

Ottoman intellectuals of the period understood very well Ignatiev's plans concerning the Ottoman Balkans and his efforts of rapprochement with the Porte. Still, some of the statesmen were impressed and manipulated by the ambassador. *Basiretçi* Ali notes:

> "The ambassador of the Russian state in Constantinople, General Ignatiev came closer to Mahmud Nedim Pasha and so interfered in the government's general policy and the Porte's decisions. [Mahmud Nedim Pasha] He confided the government's secrets to General Ignatiev, and he waited for the assistance on the Russian State's ambassador. [All these] arose from Mahmud Nedim Pasha's predicaments and his continuing habitation."[700]

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[699] "…Rusya sefiri Ceneral Ignatiyef de zat-ı şahaneye kemaliyle hulul eylemiş bulunduğundan her işin mercii sefir-i merkum olduktan sonra ıslah-ı ahvale bir türlü imkân ve ihtimal bulunmayarak güya mülkü doğrudan doğruya yed-i iktidar-ı hümayunla idare eylemek sevdasında bulunan zat-ı hazret-i padişahi, her işi İgnatiyef cenaplarının rey ve tedbirleri mucibince ıslah eylemeyi uhde-i hamiyetine almıştı." Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Üss-i İnkılap*, cilt. 1, (İstanbul: Takvimhane-i Amire, 1294), 138.

[700] "Rusya Devleti'nin Dersaâdet sefîr-i kebiri Ceneral İgnatiyef, Mahmud Nedim Paşa'nın urûkuna kadar hulûl etmesiyle devletin umur-ı siyâsiyyesine ve Babıali'nin mukarrerâtına kadar müdâhale eylemesi ve esrâr-ı devleti Ceneral İgnatiyef'e açması, mesalih-i devlet husûsunda Rusya Devleti sefîrinden muâvenet beklemesi, Mahmud

Mahmud Nedim Pasha's existence had great value for Ignatiev's diplomacy. Particularly after the death of Fuad and Âli Pasha, the Grand-viziership of Mahmud Nedim Paşa opened up a new stage for the Ambassador. Ignatiev underlines his contentment of the situation in his notes. He praises Mahmud Nedim's manner of conducting state affairs and his general attitude, which was inclined to be favorable to the Russian side, while being cautious towards the West. Ignatiev wrote:

> "Mahmoud Pasha himself belonged to the conservative party 'the old Turks', he represented the long-standing tendencies in Istanbul. This party has preserved, with its traditions, the memory of our ancient achievements. He sees Russia as a powerful neighbor, which it is not only good to get on well with, but whose support alone could oppose a trap for the penetration of the Western spirit to which he attributes the decadence of the Empire."[701]

Ignatiev supposed that consociating with Mahmud Nedim Pasha would be more beneficial for Russian interests than if he tried to forge links with other Ottoman bureaucrats, who hide behind European politics, due to their worries about Russia. In addition, the Ambassador attached importance to Mahmud Nedim's relations with the Ottoman Orthodox subjects. Indeed, the suggestions of Âli and Fuad Pashas of employing more non-Muslim peoples to the higher levels within the administration were first realized under the authority of the grand vizier Mahmud Nedim Pasha.

Nedim Paşa'nın seyyi'ât-ı ahvâliyesinden ve ikamet-i mütevâliyesinden ileri gelmiştir." Basiretçi Ali Efendi, *İstanbul'da Yarım Asırlık Veka-i Mühimme*, (Haz. Nuri Sağlam) (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1997), 94.

[701] "Mahmoud Pacha lui-même appartenait au parti conservateur "des vieux Turques" représentait les tendances qui couvaient depuis long temps à Stamboul. Ce parti a conservé avec ses traditions le souvenir de nos anciens exploits. Il considère la Russie comme une voisine puissante qu'il est non seulement bon de ménager, mais dont l'appui pourrait seul opposer une digue à l'envahissement de l'esprit occidental auquel il attribue la décadence de l'Empire." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54, 510.*

This new disposition attracted the attention of Ignatiev, who found it practical for the benefit of Russian diplomacy. [702]

> "Personally, the Grand Vizier had no prejudice against the Christians, and elevated them willingly to the high offices of the State. Under his administration six Christian masters were appointed to the various ministries, among others, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which had never been seen before. Also Mahmoud Pasha enjoys a great popularity panel our co-religionists, mainly among Bulgarians and Armenians."[703]

After the death of Âli Pashas in September 1871, Mahmud Nedim Paşa found an opportunity to influence the Sultan, who as a result failed to apply the laws fully.[704] Though the Sultan preferred to appoint Mahmud Nedim Pasha as Grand Vizier in 1875, due to his unpopularity within bureaucratic circles, Esat Paşa was appointed to the post. During his tenure as grand vizier, the Herzegovina uprising broke out in the summer of 1875 and Esat Pasha was too late to intervene and suppress the rebellion, thus the uprising both expanded and accelerated.[705]

Midhat Pasha accused the Sultan Abdülaziz of rendering state affairs vulnerable to exploitation by his extravagant attitude.[706] In his memoires, he wrote that Ignatiev

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[702] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54, 510.*

[703] "Personnellement le Grand Vézir n'avait aucune prévention contre les chrétiens et les élevait volontiers aux - hautes charges de l'Etat. Sous son administration six motratêchars chrétiens furent nommés aux différents ministères entre autres à celui des Affaires Etrangeres - ce qui ne s'était jamais vu jusqu'alors. Aussi Mahmoud Pacha jouit-il d'une grande popularité panel nos coreligionnaires, principalement parmi les Bulgares et les Arméniens." Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54, 510.*

[704] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, p. 172.

[705] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, p. 172.

[706] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, p. 172. In the Ottoman bureaucratic system the politically powerful figures prevented those, who had potential to compete them, to get up to the high positions in the Palace. One remarkable rivalry took place between Midhat Paşa and Mahmud Nedim Paşa, who was famous with his good relations with Ignatiev. For more information on the Tanzimat bureucrats See, *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, (ed.) Halil İnalcık ve Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, (Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları:

has personally prepared the conditions that led to the 1875 Herzegovina events, and in the aftermath had pressured the Porte to leave the task of repressing the uprising to Russian and other state consuls. Finally, Ignatiev achieved his goal and the Porte let the consuls intervene address the crisis. Midhat Pasha reported how the uprising had spread to Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria due to the Porte's decision.[707] Upon these developments, Esat Pasha was removed and Mahmud Nedim Pasha once again became the Grand Vizier. He was focused on arranging the finance of the *Mabeyn-i Hümayûn* (Office of the Private Secretariat) and therefore he trusted Ignatiev's views on the state affairs.[708] In his notes, Ignatiev praises the financial conduct of Mahmud Nedim Pasha, and attributes his removal from the position of grand vizier to the envy of his opponents from the liberal bureaucratic circles, which included Midhat Pasha as well.[709]

Though the Herzegovina uprising was spreading to other parts of the Ottoman lands, Mahmud Nedim Pasha's primary concern was to regulate the financial situation through a radical solution: he decreased and stopped (*tenzil ve tevkif*) the payment of the consolidated stock shares.[710] *Basiretçi* Ali, the owner of the newspaper *Basiret* reported that Mahmud Nedim Pasha called him one night and ordered him to change the headline of the very next day newspaper by the title of 'the reduction of the stock shares'.[711] Midhat Pasha, however, argued that the grand vizier had to first negotiate

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İstanbul, 2010) 423-461. This power struggle leaded to the amendment of grand viziers in Abdülmecid reign 23 times, in Abdülaziz reign 15 times. Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, XXI-XXII.

[707] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, 175-177.

[708] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, 177-179.

[709] Ignatiev, *Arkhivite govoriat No. 54,* 512-518.

[710] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, vol.1, 177-179.

[711] "Mahmud Nedim Paşa bir gece beni arattırıp saat beşde Şehzadebaşı'ndaki hanesine celb eyledi. Yanında Hariciye Nazırı Safvet Paşa ile Amedi Mahmud Bey bulunuyordu. Sadrazam, Mahmud Bey'in hattıyla üç satırdan ibaret elime bir kağıt verdi. 'Bunu şimdi alıp yarınki çıkacak Basiret'in en başına koyacaksın, şayet kable'n-neşr bir tarafa ihbar eder isen seni berbad ederim' diye tenbih eyledi. Derhal Basiret'in en başına koyup i'lan edildi. Meali, (Devlet-i Aliyye'nin şimdiye kadar vermekde olduğu konsulid faizlerinin fahiş olması cihetiyle, bundan böyle devlet işbu i'lan tarihinden i'tibaren nıfsını vermeğe karar vermiş olduğu resmen i'lan olunur) idi. Basiret'in işbu i'lan-ı remisi üzerine bir gün evvel konsulidin piyasada fiatı ellialtı kuruşda iken derhal otuzaltı kuruşa tenezzül eylemiştir." Basiretçi Ali, *İstanbul'da yarım asırlık vekayi-i mühimme*, 86

with the European creditors and had to ask for their consent. However, Mahmud Nedim Pasha assured the Sultan that he had received the consent of the creditors, although in actuality, he did not [712] Midhat Pasha accused Ignatiev of deliberately feeding the idea of decreasing and stopping the stock shares to Mahmud Nedim Pasha, in order to completely turn the European states against the Porte.[713] The Herzegovina uprising had begun as a small conflict in a village, and had spread to all of Rumelia, preparing the way for Mahmud Nedim's resignation. [714] The disappointment of the Western powers was augmented once more after they received distorted reports from the Russians detailing Ottoman suppression of brigands in Bulgaria. While the Ottoman army was suppressing the bandits, Russian envoys were sending reports claiming the Ottoman were massacring the Bulgarians, in order to provoke European public opinion. Having lost its trust in the Porte, following the reduction of the stock shares, European support of the Ottoman Empire decreased to a considerable extent.[715] Therefore, at the very beginning of the Russo-Turkish War, the European shareholders declared bankruptcy and the Ottoman Empire was left without external support.

The *Tanzimat* is one of the principal periods in Ottoman history. In this period, reform movements were successful in only two regions, Constantinople and *Tuna* Province. If these reforms were conducted in another region, such as in the Anatolian cities, it would not have garnered Russian attention. However, as Danubian Province was on the periphery of the Russian Empire, it was of great concern to the Russians, sharing this border with the Ottoman Empire.

[712] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, 177-179.
[713] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, 178; The Ottoman Vakanüis Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi also noted that the idea of *tenzil-i faiz* was advised by Ignatiev: "İşbu zacret-i maliyenin tahfiline bir çare aranması labüt idi. Mahmud Nedim Paşa bir tedbir-i acil olmak üzere ve alâ rivayetin Rusya Sefiri General İgnatiyef'in de inzimam telkinatıyla zikri sebk eden Ramazan Kararnamesi'ni ilan etti." Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi, *Tarih Musahabeleri,* 123.
[714] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, 177-179.
[715] Midhat Paşa, *Tabsıra-i İbret*, 180-182.

Approximately within five years (1871-1876), Russian ambassador Ignatiev's primary objective shifted from expanding Russian influence in the Balkans to preparing the country for war, in order to regain its pre-Crimean War supremacy in the Ottoman Balkans. The most prominent events of these five years were the *Tuna* Provincial reforms, the independence of the Bulgarian Church, and the reduction of the stock shares. These events prompted Ignatiev to change his objectives, as he began to think that Russia was losing control over the Ottoman Orthodox Christian subjects. Therefore, these five years were marked not only by the Ignatiev-Gorchakov disagreement, but also by the Ignatiev-Midhat Pasha rivalry.

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Since the Paris Peace Agreement, the Porte was cautious in regards to Russian political strategy towards the Ottoman Balkans. Due to the Ottoman bureaucrats' alertness and active diplomacy, N. P. Ignatiev's intrigues never came to fruition. In addition, in the post-Crimean War era, the effect of European diplomats, particularly the British and French, on Ottoman foreign policy became particularly dominant. Their diplomatic affiliation with the Ottoman high officials discomforted N. P. Ignatiev, who also desired to establish close relations with the Porte. Ignatiev's primary opponent at the Porte was Âli Pasha, who was the grand-vizier until 1871. Indeed, together with Âli Pasha, Fuad Pasha was also actively opposed to the Russian Ambassador. Nevertheless, as he was mostly acting in parallel with Âli Pasha, Ignatiev did not consider Fuad Paşa to be a major obstacle in achieving his goals. Fuad Pasha passed away two years before Âli Pasha, which meant Âli Pasha had always been at the center of the Ottoman administration.

The most practical solution, in terms of removing Russian influence from the Ottoman Balkans, was for the administration to significantly improve the living conditions of the Christians in both socio-economic and educational terms. Therefore, Ali and Fuad Pasha decided to begin the *Tuna* Vilayet Reforms under the governorship of Midhat Pasha. Those reforms weakened N P. Ignatiev's endeavors in the region and he soon became the most ardent foe of Midhat Pasha. Meanwhile, Midhat Paşa was actively sought to block pan-Slavist influence in the region, in any way possible. However, by time of the death of Âli Pasha in 1871, and the appointment of Mahmud Nedim Pasha, who was a known Russophile, a new path towards success was opened for Ignatiev by the grand-vizier. In 1875, following his suggestion, Mahmud Nedim Pasha decreased the payment of the consolidated stock shares, which negatively affected the situation of the European shareholders. This attempt cut European support to the Porte, and the Empire lost any Western support during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONCLUSION

After the Napoleonic Wars, Russia's prestige increased among the European Powers. During the reign of Tsar Nicholas I, Russia followed a strategy of preserving the European status quo so as to avoid another war in the future. However, first in 1828, then in 1853 Russia found itself involved in two new wars. Russia's failure in the Crimean War opened a new era in Tsarist foreign policy during the second half of the nineteenth century, diminishing Russia's prestige among the Western powers. In order to restore its international prestige, St. Petersburg decided to actively adopt a more peaceful strategy. The promoter of this peaceful policy was A. M. Gorchakov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Though he was in favor of dismantling the humiliating conditions placed upon Russia as a result of the Paris Peace Treaty, he followed a non-aggressive-diplomatic path.

Therefore, a consequence of the Crimean defeat for Russia was the development of the Russian diplomatic and consular services in the Ottoman lands. Thus, the Asiatic Department personnel were ameliorated and more staff came to be appointed to the Porte. In time, the Asiatic Department found itself becoming more and more responsible in regards to involving Russia in the situation concerning the Ottoman Orthodox Slavic subjects. After the foundation of the Slavic Benevolent Committee, the Department established close relationships with the Committee members and supported their activities. The Committee made its pan-Slavic character known

through its active support of South Slavs living in the Ottoman lands, especially during the 1860s and 1870s.

Asiatic Department director, and later the Ambassador to Constantinople, N. P. Ignatiev, was the most significant figure in formulating Russia's Balkan policy and in the development of the 1877-78 War. Although he was in agreement with Gorchakov about the necessity for the abolition of the Paris Peace Treaty, and he was an independent-minded diplomat and his methods were offensive. The Ambassador's initiatives were essentially motivated and shaped by pan-Slavic ideology. This political-ideological approach became particularly more prominent after the Crimean War. When the postwar economic crisis began to make itself felt by the 1870s, Pan-Slav ideology started to become popular among Russian intellectuals and fast became the basic tenet of Russia's foreign policy.

The Ottoman administration was aware of the intentions and efforts of Ignatiev and the Slavic Benevolent Committee to strengthen Russia's influence in the Ottoman Balkans. The Danubian Province reforms were, in part, a counter action towards Russian plans, and in part, an opportunity to improve the living conditions of Balkan Orthodox Slavs. The governor of the Province, Midhat Paşa, was the most ardent opponent of Ignatiev. He was aware of the Ambassador's plans and endeavored to realize the Hospodar's reform projects despite Ignatiev's intrigues.

St. Petersburg kept its distance from pan-Slavic activities, in order to avoid any conflict with the European powers. Indeed, when the Slavic Benevolent Committee was first established, its main goal was to provide Orthodox Slavic students with educational and humanitarian help. However, in time, the Committee became politically involved in Russian propaganda activities in the Ottoman Balkans.

It would be inaccurate to exaggerate the role of the pan-Slavic ideology in regards to its effects on Russian foreign policy-making between 1856 and 1877. Yet, both the initiatives of N. P. Ignatiev and the activities of the Slavic Benevolent Committee upturned the peaceful, diplomatically-based strategy adopted by St. Petersburg, and instead contributed to international tensions, paving the way for the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. Undoubtedly, Ignatiev's diplomatic acts and his political strategy were far more effective than the activities of the Slavic Benevolent Committee, in directing Tsarist foreign policy. Being an expert with a field experience, as well as a passionate character, from the early days of his Asiatic Department directorship, Ignatiev had thoroughly planned all of his actions concerning Russian policy in regards to the Balkans, as from the early days of his Asiatic Department directorship. He has laid out a goal that included the establishment of a Slavic Union and an Orthodox Empire with Constantinople at its center, under Russian control. To this end, he plotted to seize the Straits and take the Ottoman Sultan under influence and guidance of St. Petersburg. .

After Greece, the dissolution of the Ottoman Balkan lands did not end. The 1875-76 unrests in the Peninsula and the Serbian-Ottoman War of 1876, followed by the Russo-Turkish Wars of 1877-78 contributed to this dissolution. Though many of the uprisings during 1875 were not motivated initially by nationalist ideas, they eventually turned out to be nationalist in character. For example, the leaders of the Three Emperor's League demanded that the Ottomans concede to the demands of the insurrectionists in 1875.

In April 1876, another uprising began in Bulgaria. As the Ottoman intervention in the region became more intense and physical, Ignatiev began to warn St. Petersburg more persistently that each day, Russia was losing the sympathy of the Bulgarians. If

Russia did not attempt to stop the uprising, it would completely lose its influence in the region. Ignatiev's warnings were left, however, unanswered as Russia had already decided to take no action against the Bulgarian insurrections. Furthermore, the Europeans were blaming Russia for provoking the uprisings in the first place, and were trying to convince the Bulgarians that it was in their best interests to disagree and cut themselves off from any Russian aide or intervention. As for the Bulgarian rebels, they were against all imperial authority, and therefore, rejected any help from anyone deemed to be on the 'outside'. Thus, the Tsar and Gorchakov deemed it in Russia best interests to remain uninvolved in the Balkan uprisings. On one hand, the Russian administration conducted a policy that declared themselves to be against the rebels, on the other hand it used the atrocities stemming from these uprisings as a propaganda tool against the Porte.

Furthermore, May 1876 brought a new period regarding the fate of both the Ottoman Sultan and Ignatiev. On 18 May 1876, the Young Ottomans overthrew Sultan Abdul Aziz. They also blamed Ignatiev for encouraging the uprisings in the Balkans and therefore tried to send him away from Constantinople. However, Foreign Minister Gorchakov now began to acknowledge Ignatiev's warnings to take g advantage of the crisis, while they could. Indeed, the Ambassador considered a Russo-Turkish War was inevitable. Nevertheless, during 1876 and 1877, the Russian Foreign Ministry still tried to save the European balance and keep the Balkans stable. At a Conference in Constantinople, from December 1876 to January 1877, the Great Powers agreed on political reforms in Bosnia and Bulgaria. This time, Russian interests were mostly concentrated on Bulgaria, yet in January 1877, Grand Vizier Midhat Pasha declared the Ottoman Empire's repudiation of the results of the Constantinople Conference, due to the Ottoman Constitution that was approved by

the Sultan Abdul Hamid II.

Ottoman denial of the Conference decisions caused a disturbance in St. Petersburg, which consequently led to the 1877-78 Russo-Turkish War. The war ended in March 1878, by the Treaty of San Stefano, which approved the establishment of a Bulgarian State within the boundaries of the Bulgarian Exarchate, making it the largest state in the Balkans. No one was pleased with the results of Treaty of San Stefano except Russia and thus the powers met again at the Congress of Berlin.. However, despite this success, Russia's relations with its Slavic allies deteriorated in the aftermath of the Russo-Turkish war. The creation of an enlarged autonomous Bulgarian state, the increase in the territory of Montenegro, the independence of Serbia, Romania, and Montenegro and the reforms in Bosnia-Herzegovina, were significant gains for Russian pan-Slavism, though after the St. Stefano Agreement, they did not last long. Consequently, the Congress of Berlin that was held on 13 July 1878 and reversed Russian plans by making Tsar accept the existence of a much smaller Bulgarian state.

The Balkan Slavs were, predictably, completely dissatisfied with the Congress of Berlin. The Slavs counted on Russian protectorship for defending their interests in Berlin, but they were to be disappointed. Bulgaria was an exception in that sense as Russia was able to defend only the interests of the Bulgarians in Berlin. However, soon the Bulgarians also broke their alliance with Russia. Consequently, the Russo-Turkish War did not bring a comprehensive solution to the major problems that emerged in the Ottoman Balkans during the nineteenth century. Russia itself did not make any worthwhile acquisition and Bulgaria was reestablished as a smaller Principality. As a consequence, the St. Stefano Agreement remained a dream, once destined of never coming true.

The immediate consequences of the Berlin Congress was a series of conflicts in the Balkans. For example, the Serbo-Bulgarian War, which was fought between November 1885 and March 1886, displayed the precariousness of the settlement and implementation of the decisions made by the Congress of Berlin, in the Peninsula. Moreover, after the Congress, the region of Macedonia became a subject of rivalry among Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian nationalists. The unsatisfied expectations of the Balkan nations triggered further tensions in the region.

The foundation of Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans found its reflection as an imperial ambition in Ignatiev's diplomacy. However, this policy did not help Russia to establish its supremacy in the Balkans, not to mention re-establish the loss of prestige in the international arena. All of these developments played a role in the escalation of tensions among the Balkan nations, which paved the way for the First and Second Balkan Wars, and eventually the First World War.

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APPENDICES

Appendix – 1

Nil Popov, *Kratkii Otchet o Desiatiletnei Deiatelnosti (1858-1868) Slavianskogo Blagotvaritelnago Komiteta v Moskve.* "Short Report on the Ten Years (1858-1868) Activities of the Slavic Benevolent Committee in Moscow"

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MINISTERSTVA ZAHRANIČNÍCH VĚCÍ
SLOVANSKÁ KNIHOVNA
V PRAZE

КРАТКІЙ ОТЧЕТЪ

о десятилѣтней дѣятельности (1858—1868) Славянскаго благотворительнаго Комитета въ Москвѣ, составленный секретаремъ его Н. А. Поповымъ.

Вскорѣ послѣ восточной войны и Парижскаго мира въ концѣ 1857 г., въ средѣ Московскаго общества возникла мысль объ основаніи Комитета съ цѣлію благотворенія православнымъ, а равно и другимъ, Славянамъ изъ добровольно собираемыхъ приношеній. Лица, которымъ принадлежала честь основанія Комитета, были слѣдующія *): А. Н. Бахметевъ, графъ А. С. Уваровъ, Ф. И. Иноземцевъ, Ю. Ф. Самаринъ, М. Н. Катковъ, А. И. Кошелевъ, Ф. И. Буслаевъ, О. М. Бодянскій, А. С. Хомяковъ, С. Т. Аксаковъ, Н. В. Павловъ, С. М. Соловьевъ, М. Я. Киттары, Н. Ф. Павловъ, С. А. Смирновъ, А. С. Ефремовъ, А. Н. Драшусовъ. К. И. Александровъ-Дольникъ, Н. Ф. Фонъ-Крузе, А. А. Майковъ, П. М. Леонтьевъ, А. И. Корсаковъ, И. М. Соколовъ, М. А. Максимовичъ, М. П. Погодинъ, П. И. Бартеневъ, К. С. Аксаковъ, князь Ю. А. Оболенскій, С. М. Сухотинъ, А. Н. Карамзинъ, А. И. Рачинскій. Они обратились съ просьбою къ министру иностранныхъ дѣлъ, кн. А. М. Горчакову, исходатайствовать Высочайшее Его Императорскаго Вели-

*) Въ томъ порядкѣ, какъ они подписались подъ просьбою.

чества соизволеніе на сборъ и передачу пожертвованій какъ за границу, такъ и внутри Россіи, на безпрепятственныя сношенія по сему предмету, съ облегченіемъ оныхъ по возможности по вѣдомствамъ министерства иностранныхъ дѣлъ и почтоваго главноуправленія. Далѣе въ своемъ письмѣ учредители выражались, что они рѣшаются „на такую просьбу въ особенности потому, что подобное желаніе С.-Петербургскихъ благотворительницъ уже удостоилось одобренія правительства.“

Къ письму приложена была записка, въ которой говорилось объ образованіи въ западной Европѣ и въ Турціи обществъ для распространія между южными Славянами пропаганды латинской, іезуитской и политической съ цѣлію уничтожить вліяніе Россіи и сочувствіе къ ней. Общая задача этихъ пропагандъ состояла въ томъ, чтобы подорвать православіе посредствомъ такъ называемаго космополитическаго, общечеловѣческаго образованія.

Изъ болѣе извѣстныхъ обществъ, имѣющихъ туже цѣль, названы были слѣдующія: общество польской эмиграціи и маршала Боске въ Парижѣ; the Ladies benevolens Association for Syria and Holy-land; the Syroegiptian Society of London the Syrian medical Aid-Association въ Лондонѣ, Hülfsverein für die Christen in Orient въ Гессенъ-Дармштадтѣ; Лакаристкія училища въ Румеліи; образцовая ферма Сиріанъ въ Добруджѣ; казацкія военныя училища Садыкъ-Паши (Чайковскаго) въ Болгаріи; рущукское училище поляка Калицкаго на Дунаѣ. Сверхъ того римская легація въ Константинополѣ, общество подъ начальствомъ павликіанскаго епископа Андрея Казанова въ Филиппополѣ; Мальтійскій коллегіумъ для юношества всей Турціи. Это—общества, о дѣятельности которыхъ уже давно было заявлено печатью. О множествѣ миссіонеровъ римскихъ, протестантскихъ и другихъ говорить нечего.

Для необходимаго противодѣйствія предстоитъ возможность устроить въ Москвѣ, въ связи съ Петербургскими благотворителями, и болгарскимъ настоятельствомъ въ Одессѣ, собраніе частныхъ пожертвованій съ слѣдующею цѣлію:

1. Доставлять южнымъ Славянамъ денежныя средства на

пользу церквей, училищъ и другихъ истинно полезныхъ учрежденій, каковы общество болгарской письменности въ Цареградѣ и народныя читалища.

2. Доставлять имъ пособія книгами, утварью, всѣмъ тѣмъ что можетъ способствовать къ поддержанію православія, въ отношеніи къ церквамъ и училищамъ.

3. Вспомоществовать въ Москвѣ колодымъ Славянамъ, пріѣзжающимъ для образованія.

Были и другія причины, заставлявшія Московскихъ благотворителей внимательно подумать о положеніи православія въ Болгаріи. Эти причины лежали въ начинавшемся тогда разладѣ между Константинопольскимъ патріархомъ и Болгарами.

Историческая вражда фанаріотовъ къ племенамъ славянскимъ, особыя отношенія, въ которыя поставлена цареградская іерархія при усилившсйся симоніи,—все это оттолкнуло Славянъ отъ духовныхъ ихъ пастырей: такъ видимъ мы постепенное отдаленіе православной паствы отъ цареградскаго патріарха въ Греціи, Черногоріи и частію въ придунайскихъ княжествахъ. Болгары, главное по многочисленности своей славянское племя на югѣ, сильнѣе всѣхъ чувствовали двойное иноплеменное иго: Турокъ, какъ иновѣрцевъ и иноязычныхъ, и фанаріотовъ единовѣрныхъ, но враждебныхъ по своимъ историческимъ преданіямъ и характеру.

Иновѣрная пропаганда воспользовалась недальновидностію и упорствомъ фанаріотовъ и, обративъ вниманіе на желаніе Болгаръ слышать слово Божіе на родномъ языкѣ, поспѣшила удовлетворить столь законному желанію утѣсненнаго племени. 20.000 Павликіанъ въ Пловдивскомъ (Филиппопольскомъ) и Свищовскомъ округахъ услышали католическую проповѣдь на болгарскомъ нарѣчіи. Болгарія съ восторгомъ приняла славянскій переводъ книгъ св. писанія, сдѣланный въ Америкѣ. А русскія церковнославянскія книги подвергались постояннымъ задержкамъ и порчѣ въ Цареградѣ, гдѣ фанаріоты видѣли въ нихъ сильнѣйшую поддержку славянской народности и непріятнаго имъ сочувствія Болгаръ къ Россіи.

Мысль о помощи со стороны русскаго общества и частныхъ лицъ южнымъ Славянамъ и Болгарамъ, находившимся въ столь трудныхъ обстоятельствахъ, возникала не разъ, то въ Одессѣ, то въ Кіевѣ, то въ Москвѣ, но исполненія ея не было. На сей разъ эта мысль имѣла большій успѣхъ.

26-го января 1858 г. послѣдовало Высочайшее утвержденіе Славянскаго Благотворительнаго Комитета въ Москвѣ, первымъ предсѣдателемъ коего былъ покойный попечитель Московскаго Учебнаго Округа, А. Н. Бахметевъ, подписавшійся первымъ въ вышеозначенной просьбѣ къ министру иностранныхъ дѣлъ. О послѣдовавшемъ утвержденіи увѣдомилъ Бахметева князь А. М. Горчаковъ; вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ Комитетъ поставленъ былъ въ непосредственныя сношенія съ Азіятскимъ Департаментомъ. 2-го февраля того же года Бахметевъ въ письмѣ своемъ къ министру народнаго просвѣщенія, Евграфу Петровичу Ковалевскому, писалъ, что разстроенное здоровье его не позволитъ быть можетъ исполнять обязанность его съ тѣмъ постоянствомъ, которое необходимо для пользъ предпринимаемаго подписчиками полезнаго дѣла и просилъ его ходатайства, какъ для приглашенія графа Уварова къ содѣйствію въ дѣлѣ съ тѣмъ, чтобы въ случаѣ усиленія его болѣзни или отъѣзда въ имѣніе графъ могъ замѣнить его, такъ и для извѣщенія о семъ Князя А. М. Горчакова.

По утвержденіи Комитета внесено учредителями его и собрано пожертвованій въ 1858 г. болѣе 2500 руб. Главнѣйшими жертвователями были: А. Н. Бахметевъ—ежегодныхъ 500 р., А. С. Хомяковъ — 710 р., М. Н. Катковъ 400, митрополитъ Московскій Филаретъ 300 р., Ю. Ѳ. Самаринъ 250 р., Аксаковы и Апраксина единовременно по 100 р. и т. д. Кромѣ того Ихъ Императорскими Высочествами, Великимъ Княземъ Константиномъ Николаевичемъ и Великою Княгиней Александрой Іосифовной и Августѣйшими дѣтьми ихъ, пожертвовано для церквей южныхъ Славянъ 30 ящиковъ съ церковными книгами, составлявшими въ каждомъ ящикѣ одинъ полный церковный кругъ. Книги сіи присланы при отношеніи придворной конторы (отъ 8-го марта

1858 г. за № 342) на имя г. гофмейстера Бахметева, съ просьбою распорядиться ими по его усмотрѣнію.

Болгаръ находившихся въ Москвѣ для образованія въ 1858 г. было 16; изъ нихъ шестеро пользовались пособіями отъ Комитета, четверо воспитывались на счетъ графа Уварова, двое на иждивеніи Кокорева, двое на счетъ Мамонтова, одинъ на счетъ графа Толстаго и одинъ стипендіатъ Денкоглу *).

Кромѣ сего отъ Комитета пользовались пособіями Болгары, находившіеся и въ другихъ мѣстностяхъ: такъ студентъ С.-Петербургской духовной академіи Илія Христовичъ получилъ 30 р. с.; выслано 300 р. для поддержанія Пловдивскаго (Филиппопольскаго) болгарскаго училища; выдано Христ. Константиновичу Даскалову, отправлявшемуся въ Болгарію для излѣченія болѣзни 150 р.; послано кн. Васильчиковой для отсылки въ монастырь Іоанна Рыльскаго 48 р. 51¾ коп.; на путешествіе въ Константинополь, Солунь, Кукушъ и въ Рыльскій монастырь В. Чолакову дано 150 р.; пріобрѣтено церковной утвари и облаченій для Болгаръ на 260 р. и отправлено въ Болгарію Панагюрющскому училищу религіозныхъ и научныхъ книгъ на 107 р. 55 к.; выдано пособіе по изданію „Болгарскихъ Книжицъ“ въ 300 р.; оказано пособіе болгарской типографіи въ Константинополѣ, находившейся въ долгу у общества Бенедиктинцовъ, въ 800 руб.

Въ послѣдующіе годы (1859—1862) пожертвованія въ пользу Комитета увеличились, и съ 1861 г. кругъ дѣятельности, составъ и цѣль его нѣсколько разширились. Признано было, что для южныхъ Славянъ, не имѣющихъ вовсе высшихъ и даже среднихъ учебныхъ заведеній, (а между тѣмъ устроившихъ собственными средствами начальныя училища почти въ каждомъ большомъ селѣ), конечно прежде всего необходимы учители и вообще люди способные къ просвѣщенію и литературному возрожденію своего на

*) Полный списокъ воспитанниковъ Комитета приложенъ въ концѣ отчета.

рода; но и для другихъ славянскихъ земель, даже такихъ, которыя, какъ отечество безсмертнаго Гусса, имѣютъ старѣйшій въ Европѣ университетъ, Комитетъ можетъ приносить посильную пользу, содѣйствуя ихъ нравственному сближенію и духовному общенію съ Россіей.

Въ 1859 г. въ Комитетъ вступило нѣсколько новыхъ членовъ: Дм. Ег. Бернардаки и Александръ, Дмитрій и Николай Павловичи Шиповы, изъ коихъ первый внесъ 1000 р., а послѣдніе 1650 р.

Такимъ образомъ съ самаго основанія общества въ теченіи трехъ лѣтъ во время предсѣдательства А. Н. Бахметева, соединявшаго въ себѣ также должности секретаря и казначея, пожертвовано разными лицами ежегодно и единовременно, кромѣ вещей, деньгами всего 10,232 руб. 51¾ коп., которыя, какъ видно изъ отчетовъ его въ „Московскихъ Вѣдомостяхъ“ и израсходованы имъ (съ передержкою 86 р.) на пособіе нѣкоторымъ церквамъ, на основаніе болгарскаго училища въ городѣ Кукушѣ (или Колкичѣ въ Македоніи до 3000 р.); на учащихся въ Москвѣ Болгаръ, на пособіе одному болгарскому періодическому изданію и т. п.

Въ первое состоявшееся послѣ смерти А. Н. Бахметева засѣданіе 19-го мая 1861 г. избраны были: 1) въ званіе почетнаго предсѣдателя гр. Д. Н. Блудовъ, (которому впрочемъ обширныя государственныя занятія и слабое здоровье не позволили принять на себя это званіе); 2) временнымъ предсѣдателемъ М. П. Погодинъ, въ званіе секретаря и казначея И. С. Аксаковъ, и по предложенію И. С. Аксакова рѣшено устроить особую коммиссію изъ нѣсколькихъ членовъ для содѣйствія предсѣдателю и секретарю въ исполненіи ихъ обязанностей, которая долженствовала бы разработывать разные проекты и предположенія о расширеніи круга дѣятельности Комитета, объ улучшеніи участи здѣшнихъ Болгаръ и проч. Комитетъ на первое время назначилъ коммиссію изъ трехъ членовъ и таковыми избраны: П. И. Бартеневъ, П. А. Безсоновъ и Я. О. Орелъ-Ошмянцевъ.

Состояніе кассы къ 1861 году, было слѣдующее: въ

кассѣ не было наличныхъ денегъ, а нередержку 86 р. вдова покойнаго А. Н. Бахметева приняла на свой счетъ; по двумъ же подпискамъ, состоявшимся на прежнихъ засѣданіяхъ Комитета оставалось невзнесенныхъ денегъ 7,270 р.

Изъ этой суммы собранно въ теченіе 1861 г. 1600 р.; сверхъ того отъ г. бывшаго министра народнаго просвѣщенія, Е. П. Ковалевскаго, чрезъ попечителя московскаго учебнаго округа (при отношеніи его отъ 9 августа 1861 г. за № 2212), прислано „для воспособленія молодымъ Славянамъ, обучающимся въ Россіи“ 1500 р. с., и принято пожертвованій отъ разныхъ лицъ 108 р.

Всего поступило на приходъ	3,208 р.
Изъ нихъ израсходовано на воспитанниковъ Комитета	2,932 р.
Къ 25 января 1862 г. въ остаткѣ было	276 р.

Независимо отъ сего въ газетѣ „День“ напечатано было приглашеніе, о пожертвованіяхъ въ пользу Комитета. Въ этомъ приглашеніи развивалась та мысль, что помогать Славянамъ не есть дѣло великодушія, а нравственный долгъ, повинность Русскихъ; что у насъ вообще охотнѣе помогаютъ Грекамъ, Сирійцамъ и прочимъ нуждающимся, потому что не имѣютъ яснаго понятія о Славянахъ и о томъ положеніи, въ которомъ послѣдніе находятся.

Въ слѣдствіе этого приглашенія въ Комитетъ поступило съ 10 ноября по 25 января съ разныхъ концовъ Россіи, отъ разныхъ не только лицъ, но и обществъ, наприм. отъ преподавателей и чиновниковъ Казанскаго университета, отъ членовъ Петразаводскаго Благороднаго Собранія, изъ Оренбурга: отъ Казачьяго войска, отъ областнаго правленія и отъ купцовъ; отъ преподавателей и учениковъ 1-й Кіевской гимназіи, отъ учениковъ московской семинаріи, отъ муромскихъ купцовъ и пр. и пр. 1,483 р. 50 к.

Въ томъ же году, по предложенію вышеупомянутой коммиссіи, Комитетъ принялъ въ руководство слѣдующія правила.

1. Право быть членомъ Комитета дается ежегоднымъ взносомъ, мѣра котораго опредѣляется степенью желанія и

средствъ самаго жертвующаго лица, (начиная напр. съ 5 р. с.) или значительнымъ единовременнымъ пожертвованіемъ. Кромѣ денежныхъ взносовъ, право на избраніе имѣютъ и всѣ лица, которыя могутъ содѣйствовать Комитету своими трудами, совѣтами, изданіями, исполненіемъ его порученій и тому подобнымъ, или вообще выражаютъ дѣятельное сочувствіе въ какомъ либо отношеніи, согласно съ широкой цѣлью Комитета безъ всякихъ исключеній и ограниченій.

2. Всякій членъ имѣетъ право голоса въ собраніяхъ и дѣла рѣшаются въ немъ, въ случаѣ невозможности достигнуть соглашенія единодушнаго, по большинству голосовъ, (какъ и доселѣ дѣлалось).

3. На предложеніе одного изъ членовъ, чтобы дать здѣшнимъ Юго-Славянамъ въ дѣлахъ до нихъ касающихся, по крайней мѣрѣ совѣщательный голосъ, который бы выражался, по приглашенію Комитета, чрезъ избранныхъ ими самими. Нѣкоторые выразили, что это правило подразумѣвается само собою; но Комитетъ нашелъ, что выразить его отнюдь не безполезно.

4. Комитетъ будетъ принимать съ удовольствіемъ всякій посторонній голосъ, личный или письменный, и не будетъ оставлять словесныхъ или письменныхъ отзывовъ (прошеній) безъ отвѣта и вниманія.

Послѣ напечатанія о приблизительно опредѣленномъ низшемъ предѣлѣ ежегоднаго членскаго *взноса* (5 руб. сер.) многіе прислали свои пожертвованія съ просьбою внести ихъ въ списки членовъ и съ обязанностію жертвовать ежегодно.

Изъ суммъ, собранныхъ Комитетомъ въ 1861 году, производилось содержаніе 8 Болгарамъ по 16 р. 75 к., въ мѣсяцъ. По предложенію одного изъ членовъ коммиссіи оно увеличено съ іюля мѣсяца до 20 р. с. Самое число получающихъ пособіе также увеличилось, а именно:

На полномъ содержаніи (20 р. въ мѣсяцъ) состояло одиннадцать Болгаръ: 6 студентовъ московскаго университета, 5 готовившихся къ вступленію въ университетъ и сверхъ того одинъ студентъ Кіевскаго университета (который за-

болѣлъ грудью въ Москвѣ, отправился было на родину, но почувствовавъ облегченіе, возвратился изъ Одессы въ Кіевъ и поступилъ въ тамошній университетъ).

На половинномъ содержаніи (10 руб. въ мѣсяцъ) были: одинъ студентъ и одинъ готовившійся въ университетъ. Оба они получали сверхъ того пособіе изъ Болгаріи.

Кромѣ того дано было единовременное пособіе одному студенту изъ Болгаръ, учившемуся въ Москвѣ на деньги, присылаемыя изъ Болгаріи. Въ декабрѣ мѣсяцѣ всѣмъ имъ выдано было сверхъ того по 5 р. с. При этомъ надо замѣтить, что всѣ они помогали другъ другу въ занятіяхъ, и Комитетъ за всѣ пособія признавалъ за ними только одну нравственную обязанность: по окончаніи образованія возвратиться на родину и дѣйствовать къ ея благу.

Выдавалось также ежемѣсячно одному Сербу изъ Босніи, имѣвшему помѣщеніе и столъ въ Петровскомъ монастырѣ, по 10 руб. въ мѣсяцъ. Выдано единовременно 20 руб. Болгарину, пріѣхавшему лѣтомъ и слишкомъ мало приготовленному, котораго потомъ, по желанію его и по просьбѣ Н. В. Сушкова, покойный митрополитъ Филаретъ помѣстилъ въ Заиконоспасское духовное училище и исходатайствовалъ на его содерженіе сумму 180 р.

Имѣя въ виду большее развитіе литературной дѣятельности между здѣшними Болгарами, Комитетъ обѣщалъ ссуду денегъ тѣмъ изъ нихъ, которые пожелаютъ напечатать здѣсь свои труды по болгарской исторіи, географіи, этнографіи и пр. Этимъ предложеніемъ воспользовался тогда только одинъ г. Каравеловъ, которому и выдано такимъ образомъ взаймы 170 руб. сер. для напечатанія его сборника: „Памятники народнаго быта Болгаръ,“ который и поступилъ въ продажу въ книжные магазины.

Кромѣ того Комитету указана была настоятельная необходимость для Болгаръ имѣть какъ можно скорѣе просвѣщенныхъ іерарховъ изъ среды своего собственнаго народа, которые получили бы образованіе не у Грековъ, а въ Россіи.

По этому на предложеніе одного почтеннаго Болгарина вызвать, чрезъ архимандрита Софронія въ Москву, трехъ

способнѣйшихъ Болгаръ для высшаго духовнаго образованія, послано имъ 125 р. на путевыя издержки.

Необходимость имѣть учебныя пособія, а также оспаривать противъ Грековъ права болгарской церкви съ историко-богословской точки зрѣнія и дѣйствовать противъ католическихъ пропагандистовъ побудили Комитетъ препроводить въ даръ Габровскому училищу книгъ учебныхъ, историческаго и богословскаго содержанія на 65 р.

Наконецъ отъ западныхъ Славянъ получены были заявленія о необходимости присылки русскихъ книгъ, касающихся исторіи Россіи, а также богословскаго содержанія. Просьба эта была исполнена: хотя вслѣдствіе ея отправлено книгъ отъ Комитета только на 50 руб. сер.; но предсѣдатель М. П. Погодинъ послалъ на свой собственный счетъ десять ящиковъ книгъ.

Въ 1862 г. предстояли слѣдующіе непремѣнные расходы:

а) На полное содержаніе 11 Болгаръ (по крайней мѣрѣ по 20 р. с. съ мѣсяцъ)..... 2.640 р.

б) На половинное и добавочное содержаніе 11 Болгаръ и 1 Серба..... 400 р.

Итого 3.040 р.

А въ кассѣ Комитета состояло на лицо только 1759 р., но такъ какъ постоянно поступали новыя пожертвованія и новые члены, то и въ этомъ году Комитетъ надѣялся не только покрыть свои непремѣнные расходы, но и развить гораздо обширнѣйшую дѣятельность.

Въ дѣйствительности поступило по 1-е января 1863 года:

а) Членскихъ взносовъ..... 1386 р. — „

б) единовременныхъ пожертвованій отъ членовъ..... 711 „ 50 к.

в) пособія отъ министерства народнаго просвѣщенія..... 1500 „ — „

г) въ пользу Славянъ, отстаивающихъ свою вѣру и независимость, чрезъ редакціи разныхъ газетъ..... 2683 „ 50 „

д) На основаніи перваго славянскаго училища, на предѣлахъ болгарскаго и греческаго

населенія въ южной Ѳракіи, и на научное приведеніе въ извѣстность остатковъ Славянъ въ сѣверной Германіи отъ члена Я. О. Ошанцева ..... 400 р. — к.

е) Отъ А. М. Васильчикова на основаніи болгарскаго училища въ южной Ѳракіи..... 50 „ „

ж) На переселеніе Чеховъ изъ Америки на Амуръ отъ Кавказскихъ ветерановъ и другихъ лицъ..... 85 „ — „

Всего 6716 „ — „

А съ оставшимся отъ прошлаго года..... 8475 „ „

Не надо забывать, что въ 1862 г. производились сборы пожертвованій во всѣхъ славянскихъ земляхъ, особенно въ чешскихъ и хорватскихъ, въ пользу Черногорцевъ, только что окончившихъ упорную борьбу съ Турками; что въ этомъ же году Турки бомбардировали Бѣлградъ и этимъ вызвали сочувствіе въ русскомъ обществѣ къ Славянамъ, отстаивающимъ свою вѣру и независимость, что наконецъ въ этомъ же году прибыли въ Петербургъ депутаты отъ Чеховъ, желавшихъ переселиться изъ Америки въ край, лежащій между рѣками Амуромъ и Усури. Все это вызвало большій притокъ средствъ въ кассу Комитета, чѣмъ въ прежніе годы, а вслѣдствіе этого и самые расходы Комитета были разнообразнѣе:

а) Послано чрезъ Азіатскій департаментъ въ Черногорію и Герцеговину ..... 1000 „ — „

б) Выдано Черногорцу Спиро-Нѣгушу, проѣзжавшему изъ Черногоріи въ Петербургъ..... 50 „ — „

в) Употреблено на обмундировку двухъ молодыхъ южныхъ Славянъ, поступившихъ экстернами въ одинъ изъ Московскихъ кадетскихъ корпусовъ, по высочайшему соизволенію, и на поѣздку одного изъ нихъ въ Петербургъ по сему дѣлу ..... 145 „ — „

г) На содержаніе молодыхъ Болгаръ и Сербовъ, учившихся въ московскомъ университе-

тѣ, Виѳанской семинаріи и готовившихся для поступленія въ университетъ.....	2672 р. — к.
д) На единовременныя пособія южнымъ Славянамъ, обучавшимся церковной живописи, во время болѣзни нѣкоторыхъ изъ воспитанниковъ Комитета, на похороны одного изъ нихъ, на возвращеніе двоихъ на родину.....	690 „ — „
е) Уроженцу Буковины, учившемуся въ Россіи, протодіакону А. для возвращенія на родину.....	45 „ — „
ж) На отправку книгъ болгарскому читалищу въ Букарештѣ (8 пуд. 25 фунт.).....	17 „ 75 „
Итого	4619 р. 75 к.

Изъ вопросовъ, обсуждавшихся въ засѣданіи Комитета, важнѣйшими были слѣдующіе:

Нѣкоторые члены предложили ходатайствовать объ улучшеніи положенія Болгаръ въ духовныхъ заведеніяхъ, объ особомъ для нихъ помѣщеніи и пр. Членъ П. И. Бартеневъ предложилъ основать въ Москвѣ, по примѣру подворій іерусалимскаго, антіохійскаго и другихъ, болгарское подворье, при которомъ и жили бы всѣ обучающіеся здѣсь Болгары. На это было возражено, что, не говоря уже о средствахъ потребныхъ для такого основанія, подобная попытка уже не удалась. Живя среди Русскихъ, Болгары очень скоро выучиваются практически Русскому языку, и потому понимаютъ слышимое отъ преподавателей; а живя вмѣстѣ говорятъ непремѣнно по болгарски. По этой и по другимъ причинамъ, когда здѣсь однажды (по предложенію г. Рачинскаго), устроено было ихъ житье вмѣстѣ (на уменьшенномъ содержаніи),—это не могло долго продолжаться.

Далѣе членъ Я. О. Ошмянцевъ прочелъ нѣкоторыя мѣста изъ записки, составленной имъ въ 1860 году по поводу смерти Болгарина Ф. Константинова, изъ которыхъ видно до какой степени вредны для дѣтей лѣсовъ и горъ закрытыя заведенія; видно, что въ Кіевѣ умерло значительное число Болгаръ отъ худаго содержанія въ закрытомъ за-

веденіи, тогда какъ въ Москвѣ изъ жившихъ на вольныхъ квартирахъ ни одинъ не умеръ (чѣмъ и опровергается мнѣніе, что будто климатъ не только С.-Петербурга, но и средней Россіи для Болгаръ не выносимъ), и наконецъ указано на необходимость и на нѣкоторыя мѣры для увеличенія числа Болгаръ учащихся въ Россіи и вообще для болѣе успѣшнаго хода этого дѣла. Въ заключеніе онъ предложилъ снова просить Св. Синодъ о содержаніи Болгаръ при духовныхъ заведеніяхъ экстернами.

И. В. Бѣляевъ и священникъ П. А. Преображенскій, вполнѣ соглашаясь съ этимъ, замѣтили однакожь, что количество содержанія, причитающагося на каждаго воспитанника, не будетъ ему достаточно для прожитія на вольной квартирѣ и что въ такомъ случаѣ пришлось бы просить добавочнаго содержанія, которое въ случаѣ надобности и рѣшено принять, по предложенію Ф. В. Чижова, на счетъ пожертвованій, поступавшихъ въ Комитетъ.

Вслѣдствіе предложенія г. предсѣдателя М. П. Погодина, нѣкоторые Болгары читали статьи свои предъ обществомъ о положеніи училищъ въ Болгаріи и о практическомъ методѣ, которому намѣрены слѣдовать въ преподаваніи по возвращеніи на родину.

Кромѣ того одинъ изъ болгарскихъ воспитанниковъ Комитета представилъ довольно подробную программу о торговлѣ Болгаріи съ Россіею.

Членъ Комитета графъ А. С. Уваровъ согласился вновь принять на свое содержаніе одного Болгарина ѣздившаго на родину, а другому хотя уже и окончившему курсъ, продолжать содержаніе еще до мая мѣсяца 1862 г.

Прибывшему въ Москву болгарскому архимандриту Софронію съ цѣлію собиранія пожертвованій, для основанія между прочимъ училища, оказано содѣйствіе, касательно знакомства съ почетнымъ купечествомъ, безвозмезднаго печатанія въ газетахъ объявленій и помѣщенія.

Въ сентябрьскомъ засѣданіи Комитета читано отношеніе Азіатскаго департамента, въ которомъ онъ спрашивалъ: можетъ ли Комитетъ обойтись безъ пособія, опредѣленнаго ему отъ министерства народнаго просвѣщенія въ 1500 р.?

По обстоятельномъ разсужденіи о состояніи кассы Комитета и необходимыхъ предстоящихъ расходахъ опредѣлено: просить о продолженіи означеннаго пособія.

Наконецъ 1862-й годъ былъ годомъ празднованія тысячелѣтія славянской азбуки, изобрѣтенной Св. Кирилломъ и Меѳодіемъ. Славянскій благотворительный Комитетъ въ Москвѣ не могъ пройти молчаніемъ этого всеславянскаго празднества.

Вслѣдствіе приглашенія М. П. Погодина ознаменовать празднованіемъ тысячелѣтіе славянской письменности, священникъ П. А. Преображенскій замѣтилъ, что хотя въ настоящее время память св. Кирилла и Меѳодія наиболѣе чтима на Моравѣ, но въ старину она была и у насъ въ Россіи гораздо живѣе. Въ доказательство онъ сослался на статью профессора Горскаго: „Служба св. Кириллу и Меѳодію,“ и выразилъ желаніе возобновить эту память, по случаю приближающагося тысячелѣтія, тѣмъ болѣе что у насъ-то и сохранилась ихъ азбука. Мысли этой многіе члены выразили свое сочувствіе. Такимъ образомъ, по случаю исполнившагося тысячелѣтія славянской грамоты, было устроено празднованіе въ честь славянскихъ апостоловъ Кирилла и Меѳодія въ университетской церкви: профессоромъ Сергіевскимъ сказано было слово; предсѣдателемъ М. П. Погодинымъ напечатано Посланіе къ Славянамъ.

Описаніе этого празднованія было помѣщено въ № 33 „Дня.“ Редакція заключила его обращеніемъ къ русскому обществу, а особенно купечеству, о необходимости жертвовать на образованіе молодыхъ Славянъ.

И. С. Аксаковъ прочелъ слѣдующее письмо къ нему отъ профессора казанскаго (нынѣ одесскаго) университета В. И. Григоровича:

„Прошу васъ почтить вниманіемъ предлагаемые оттиски древнеславянскаго памятника. Напечатанный съ соблюденіемъ болгарской рецензіи, онъ будетъ по крайней мѣрѣ корректурнымъ листомъ для будущаго болѣе полнаго и образцоваго изданія службъ святымъ Кириллу и Меѳодію. Для такого изданія находятся, конечно, пособія въ собраніяхъ рукописей обѣихъ столицъ. Желаю, чтобы

содержаніе предлагаемаго памятника отвѣчало возвышенному участію, пробужденному живымъ пониманіемъ заслугъ славянскихъ апостоловъ."

„Если это участіе должно выразиться празднованіемъ памяти апостоловъ, то текущій годъ почелся бы настоящимъ тысячелѣтіемъ.

„Въ 861 году, именно, совершивъ странствованіе по сѣверовостоку, гдѣ они убѣдились въ необходимости народной грамотности, апостолы наши рѣшительно могли обдумать подвигъ славянскаго богослуженія.

„Уроженцы Солуня, тогда города представителя Иллирика, независимость эпархіи котораго никогда не забывалась, они, среди возникающихъ споровъ Византіи и Рима, возъимѣли мысль о свободѣ и взаимности Славянъ въ сферѣ христіанства. Эта мысль сознавалась съ усиленіемъ споровъ, сопровождаемыхъ замыслами на подавленіе этой свободы и взаимности. Воспоминаніе о такомъ началѣ славянскаго богослуженія будетъ всегда дорого намъ Славянамъ.

„Это начало необходимо отнести къ 861 или 862 году, ибо 863 для насъ Славянъ памятенъ непріязненнымъ замысломъ, противодѣйствіемъ этому началу. Этотъ 863 годъ записанъ въ лѣтописяхъ церковныхъ годовъ перваго собора противъ Фотія.

„Нельзя ли, чтобы 10 экземпляровъ были розданы молодымъ учащимся въ Москвѣ изъ южныхъ Славянъ. Если же возможно, то просилъ бы выручку за другіе 10 экземпляровъ принять въ пользу славянскаго сбора и послать Болгарину М., пріѣхавшему въ Казань учиться; рѣшившись готовиться къ учительскому званію, онъ нуждается въ пособіи."

Это желаніе профессора В. И. Григоровича было исполнено.

Далѣе членъ Я. О. Ошмянцевъ предложилъ основать при Комитетѣ библіотеку, которая имѣла бы двоякое назначеніе: 1) служить пособіемъ для самихъ членовъ и для желающихъ изъ публики въ занятіяхъ или справкахъ ихъ по славянскимъ предметамъ, такъ какъ Москва, къ сожалѣнію,

доселѣ не имѣетъ еще ни одного открытаго книгохранилища съ этимъ спеціальнымъ назначеніемъ и 2) служить пособіемъ для Славянъ, учащихся на счетъ Комитета (такъ какъ для него было бы обременительно снабжать особо каждаго изъ нихъ книгами). Съ этой послѣдней цѣлію въ нее должны быть допущены и не въ одномъ экземплярѣ нѣкоторыя учебныя книги, преимущественно историко-филологическаго содержанія, отнюдь впрочемъ не исключая и другихъ отраслей знаній, а также произведенія лучшихъ писателей. Цѣли библіотеки въ послѣдствіи, вмѣстѣ съ средствами, могли бы расшириться. Для начала же онъ предложилъ пожертвовать въ нее нѣкоторыя книги по славянскимъ и другимъ предметамъ изъ своей собственной библіотеки.

Мысль эта была встрѣчена г. предсѣдателемъ, изъявившимъ готовность снабдить библіотеку своимъ вкладомъ, а равно и другими членами съ полнымъ сочувствіемъ.

„Такъ какъ на русскомъ языкѣ почти не имѣется руководствъ для изученія славянскихъ нарѣчій, особенно же нѣтъ ни одного *) славянско-русскаго словаря даже учебнаго (не только ученаго), и всякому начинающему надо прибѣгать къ словарямъ — славянско-нѣмецкимъ, такъ что знаніе нѣмецкаго языка есть у насъ доселѣ sine qua non для узнанія чешскаго, сербскаго и другихъ," то секретарь Я. О. Ошмянцевъ представилъ Комитету настоятельную необходимость заняться такими изданіями; съ тѣмъ что, если эта мысль найдетъ содѣйствіе гг. членовъ, то онъ предложитъ на усмотрѣніе общества планъ и начало такого всеславянско-русскаго словаря, который бы могъ въ одномъ томѣ совмѣстить нѣсколько ручныхъ словарей главныхъ славянскихъ языковъ и вполнѣ замѣнить ихъ.

Мысль эта встрѣтила сочувствіе въ нѣкоторыхъ членахъ Комитета и они изъявили желаніе содѣйствовать ея осуществленію. Трудомъ составленія этихъ словарей и до сихъ поръ занимается г. Ошмянцевъ, независимо отъ Комитета

*) „Кромѣ древне-болгарскаго и польскаго."

Въ концѣ года И. С. Аксаковъ, который, будучи редакторомъ газаты „День“, весьма много содѣйствовалъ успѣхамъ Комитета, заявилъ что вслѣдствіе многосложности занятій по редакціи не можетъ долѣе оставаться казначеемъ и секретаремъ Комитета, а потому слагая съ себя эти званія, просилъ гг. членовъ объ избраніи на оныя новаго лица: но, цѣня заслуги И. С. Аксакова для Комитета и имѣя въ виду, что публика привыкла обращаться съ пожертвованіями въ редакцію „Дня“, и что слѣдовательно ему все таки не возможно будетъ совершенно освободиться отъ веденія счета по приходу, члены просили И. С. Аксакова сохранить за собой званіе казначея, на что онъ и согласился; а въ званіе секретаря единогласно былъ избранъ Я. О. Орелъ-Ошмянцевъ.

Въ слѣдующемъ 1863 году поступило въ Комитетъ пожертвованій:

а) Отъ Государыни Императрицы для „благой цѣли воспитанія молодыхъ Болгаръ въ Россіи“	300	р.	— к.
б) Отъ сторонннхъ благотворителей	1.972	„	— „
в) Отъ членовъ Комитета	1.100	„	„
г) Пособія отъ министерства народнаго просвѣщенія	1.260	„	— „
Всего	4.632	„	— „
А такъ какъ отъ предшествовавшаго года оставалось	3.855	„	25 к.
То всей суммы въ распоряженіи Комитета въ 1863 году было	8.487	„	25 „

Какъ въ предшествовавшемъ, такъ и въ этомъ году пожертвованія вызваны были преимущественно сочувствіемъ къ Черногорцамъ, Герцеговинцамъ и Боснякамъ. Наибольшее число пожертвованій получено было съ Кавказа (изъ Ставрополя, изъ укрѣпленія Воздвиженскаго изъ Владикавказа, изъ Тифлиса, изъ Усть-Ведѣнскаго укрѣпленія изъ Кубы, отъ епископа Θеофилакта) отъ полковыхъ обществъ отъ общества офицеровъ 13-го стрѣлковаго батальона въ Херсонѣ, отъ Екатеринбургскаго пѣхотнаго имени Его Им-

ператорскаго Высочества Великаго Князя Алексѣя Александровича полка, отъ рядовыхъ Бѣлогородскаго уланскаго полка, отъ конно-артиллерійской батарейной № 9 батареи, стоявшей въ посадѣ Новая Прага въ Новой деревнѣ, отъ лицъ состоявшихъ въ V округѣ путей сообщенія. Остальныя пожертвованія поступали преимущественно изъ Прiуральскихъ и Поволжскихъ городовъ и мѣстностей, лежащихъ по берегамъ Чернаго моря. 11-го мая, въ день св. Кирилла и Меѳодія, поступили пожертвованія, собранныя въ тотъ день, по окончаніи молебствія святымъ угодникамъ, отъ Московской духовной академіи и отъ Синодальной типографіи. Значительное пожертвованіе было отъ Московскаго Англійскаго Клуба. Въ число членовъ Комитета поступали многіе изъ жителей цровинцій, въ числѣ ихъ былъ даже крестьянинъ Иркутской губерніи Верхоленскаго округа И. С. Серебренниковъ.

Главнымъ образомъ Комитетъ употреблялъ находившіяся въ его распоряженіи суммы на образованіе молодыхъ южныхъ Славянъ въ Московскихъ учебныхъ заведеніяхъ. На полномъ содержаніи Комитета было 10 воспитанниковъ, на половинномъ и дополнительномъ 5. Кромѣ того воспитывалось по прежнему на счетъ графа Толстаго 1 и 2 Комитетскихъ воспитанника получали вторую половину своего содержанія отъ г. Кокорева и г. Мамонтова.

Вслѣдствіе новаго запроса министерства народнаго просвѣщенія о томъ, не можетъ ли Комитетъ обойтись безъ пособія отъ министерства въ 1500 р. на воспитаніе Славянъ, представлены ему Комитетомъ отчетъ объ употребленіи этой суммы, списокъ воспитывавшихся Славянъ и свѣдѣніе о возможномъ уменьшенія вышепоказанной суммы на 240 р., по случаю окончанія курса двумя Болгарами съ просьбой о немедленномъ ея доставленіи, такъ какъ сумма эта получается въ Комитетѣ по истеченіи года; до того же времени Комитетъ находится въ затрудненіи выдавать пособія изъ своихъ суммъ.

На представленіе это послѣдовало отношеніе изъ Азіатскаго Департамента (отъ 15 апрѣля № 1170), съ извѣщеніемъ, что вслѣдствіе ходатайства министерства иностран-

ныхъ дѣлъ министерство народнаго просвѣщенія согласилось продолжать выдачу 1.500 р. на воспитаніе Болгаръ въ московскихъ учебныхъ заведеніяхъ до окончанія ими курса наукъ, а впредь воспитаніе славянскихъ уроженцевъ на казенный счетъ будетъ сосредоточено въ Николаевской гимназіи и въ Новороссійскомъ университетѣ.

Оберъ-прокуроръ Синода г. Ахматовъ въ письмѣ своемъ къ г. Погодину, отъ 12 августа, сообщилъ, что вслѣдствіе ходатайства Комитета — возвысить содержаніе воспитывающимся въ духовно-учебныхъ заведеніяхъ Славянамъ, онъ „изыскалъ возможность“ возвысить его до 147 р. с., и что Болгары: Петко Марковъ, Димитрій Петровъ Муловъ и Савва Мирковичъ, привезенные въ Россію О. Софроніемъ, о принятіи коихъ въ духовныя заведенія хлопоталъ Комитетъ, зачислены къ пріему въ Кіевскую Семинарію. До сентября же они воспитывались въ Москвѣ на суммы Комитета.

Всего же въ 1863 году, употреблено Комитетомъ на образованіе молодыхъ южныхъ Славянъ, на единовременныя пособія нѣкоторымъ изъ нихъ по случаю болѣзни и на отъѣздъ въ отечество кончившимъ курсъ ученія 5.172 р.

За тѣмъ изъ суммъ, назначенныхъ „въ пользу Славянъ, отстаивающихъ свою вѣру и независимость“ представлено Комитетомъ въ Азіатскій Департаментъ 1.000 р., для пересылки ихъ въ пособіе Черногорцамъ.

Кромѣ того выдано тремъ Черногорцамъ, изъ коихъ двое воспитывались въ С.-Петербургской духовной академіи, а одинъ въ тамошнемъ кадетскомъ корпусѣ, для возвращенія ихъ на родину ..... 300 р. — к.

Отослано въ одинъ изъ православныхъ монастырей въ Далмаціи на заведеніе при немъ училища ..... 225 „ — „

Выслано въ русское общество св. Іоанна Крестителя въ Пряшевѣ, пособія на воспитаніе Карпаторусской молодежи ..... 120 „ — „

Выдано боснійскому воеводѣ Ристо Ичу,

спасшемуся отъ турецкаго плѣна въ Малой Азіи, гдѣ пробылъ около трехъ лѣтъ ..... 80 р. — к.

Наконецъ израсходовано на пересылку русскихъ книгъ въ Галицію, чешскія и словацкія земли и въ Сербію ..... 120 „ 25 „

Всего же израсходовано было въ 1863 г. 7.017 р. 25 к.
Въ остаткѣ къ 1864 г. было ..... 1.470 „ — „

Въ 1864 и 1865 годахъ благотворительность русскаго общества преимущественно была направлена на западныя губерніи Россіи; того требовало положеніе западнаго края, въ которое онъ ввергнутъ былъ польскими волненіями. Пожертвованія сторонникъ благотворителей въ пользу Славянскаго Комитета значительно уменьшились. А потому Комитетъ, озабочиваясь выполненіемъ принятыхъ на себя обязательствъ, постановилъ съ одной стороны обратиться къ членамъ о пополненіи своихъ взносовъ, а съ другой устроилъ одинъ литературный и одинъ драматическій вечеръ. Такимъ образомъ въ 1864 году, Комитетъ имѣлъ въ своемъ распоряженіи 4.404 р.

въ составъ коихъ вошли:

а) Пожертвованыя Государыней Императрицей ..... 300 р. — „

б) Пособія отъ министерства народнаго просвѣщенія ..... 1.140 „ — „

в) Вклады членовъ Комитета ..... 1.038 „ 50 „

г) Пожертвованія сторонникъ благотворителей ..... 456 „ 50 „

На эти суммы воспитывалось, въ разныхъ учебныхъ заведеніяхъ Россіи, 20 молодыхъ Болгаръ и Сербовъ, изъ коихъ 4 получали пособіе отъ упомянутыхъ подъ 1863 годомъ членовъ Комитета. Кромѣ того выдано единовременно пособіе одному Черногорцу и двумъ воспитанникамъ Комитета, окончившимъ курсъ въ кадетскихъ корпусахъ и отправившихся во временную службу на Кавказъ. Наконецъ незначительныя суммы употреблены были на пересылку русскихъ книгъ въ славянскія земли и на возстано-

вленіе древнѣйшаго славяно-русскаго пѣнія. Всего употреблено было Комитетомъ на вышеозначенныя цѣли 4.380 р.

Въ остаткѣ къ 1865 г. было 24 р.

Въ 1865 году, въ кассу Комитета поступили слѣдующіе вклады:

а) Отъ Государыни Императрицы	300 р.	— к.
б) Отъ Д. Е. Бернардаки	1.500 „	— „
в) Отъ министерства народнаго просвѣщенія	900 „	— „
г) Отъ А. И. Кошелева	100 „	— „
д) Отъ членовъ Комитета	635 „	25 „
е) Отъ двухъ литературныхъ вечеровъ	96 „	— „
ж) Отъ сторонникъ благотворителей	66 „	75 „
з) Оставалось отъ прошлаго года	24 „	— „
Всего	3.622 „	— „

Изъ нихъ употреблено на воспитаніе Болгаръ и Сербовъ въ русскихъ училищахъ	3.339 р.	— к
Выдано на содержаніе училища при монастырѣ Житомысличѣ въ Герцеговинѣ	105 „	— „
Отправлено учебныхъ книгъ въ Брчанское училище въ Герцеговинѣ на	66 „	— „
Употреблено на пересылку книгъ, пожертвованныхъ членами Комитета для училищъ въ Львовѣ, Пряшевѣ, Прагѣ, Загребѣ и Бѣлградѣ	55 „	— „
Всего	3.565 „	— „
Въ остаткѣ къ 1866 году было	57 „	— „

Въ 1866 году благотворительность русскаго общества обращена была преимущественно на пользу жителей Кандіи, страдавшихъ отъ турецкаго ига; не смотря на то въ Славянскій благотворительный Комитетъ поступило:

а) Отъ Государыни Императрицы	300 р.	— к.
б) Отъ членовъ Комитета	513 „	— „
в) Отъ министерства народнаго просвѣщенія чрезъ попечителя Одесскаго учебнаго округа	750 „	„
г) Остаточныхъ отъ прошлаго года	57 „	— „
Всего	1.620 „	— „

Вся сумма эта употреблена на содержаніе воспитанниковъ Комитета, которые кромѣ того пользовались пособіями отъ графа А. С. Уварова, К. Т. Солдатенкова и другихъ членовъ Комитета.

Въ 1867 году средства Комитета состояли изъ слѣдующихъ приношеній:

а) Отъ Государыни Императрицы	300	р. — к.
б) Отъ министерства народнаго просвѣщенія, чрезъ попечителя Одесскаго учебнаго округа	740	„ — „
в) Отъ членовъ Комитета	436	„ —
г) Собрано редакціей „Москвы“ во время пребыванія Славянъ на Этнографической выставкѣ	212	„ — „
Всего	1.698	„ — „

Вся эта сумма употреблена на воспитаніе Болгаръ и Сербовъ, получавшихъ образованіе въ Московскихъ учебныхъ заведеніяхъ.

Такова была дѣятельность Славянскаго Комитета за первыя десять лѣтъ его существованія.

Въ началѣ нынѣшняго года, благодаря содѣйствію нѣкоторыхъ лицъ, особенно интересовавшихся успѣхами Комитета, устроены были два музыкальныя и четыре литературныя собранія, а изъ редакцій „Московскихъ Вѣдомостей“ и „Москва“ переданы были всѣ пожертвованія, которыя собраны были за вторую половину прошедшаго года. Кромѣ того Д. А. Славянскій (Агреневъ) и общество Славянскихъ пѣвцовъ, имъ управляемое, предоставили Комитету часть сбора съ концертовъ, данныхъ ими въ Москвѣ. Все это, вмѣстѣ съ частными пожертвованіями, составило до 9000 руб., изъ которыхъ половина и отослана для разныхъ учебныхъ и образовательныхъ заведеній въ западныхъ славянскихъ земляхъ, какъ-то для русскихъ училищъ къ Галиціи, для Словацкихъ гимназій, для бѣдныхъ славянскихъ студентовъ Вѣнскаго университета, для хорватскихъ народныхъ школъ. По поводу празднованія Чехами закладки зданія для большаго національнаго театра въ Прагѣ, Комитетъ

въ засѣданіи 27 апрѣля постановилъ: назначить 1000 руб. въ видѣ преміи за лучшую драму на чешскомъ языкѣ, изъ славянской исторіи вообще и чешской въ особенности, съ тѣмъ чтобы эта драма была дана при открытіи Театра. Касательно пособія образовательнымъ и учебнымъ заведеніямъ въ южнославянскихъ земляхъ, опредѣлено было снестить предварительно съ Болгарскимъ настоятельствомъ въ Одессѣ и сербскимъ митрополитомъ Михаиломъ въ Бѣлградѣ и потомъ уже дѣйствовать по ихъ указаніямъ. Изъ отвѣтовъ, полученныхъ отъ Болгарскаго настоятельства и Сербскаго митрополита, видно, что православныя церкви въ Болгаріи, Ѳракіи, Македоніи, Босніи и Герцеговинѣ нуждаются въ богослужебныхъ книгахъ, священныхъ сосудахъ и облаченіяхъ, антиминсахъ и проч. Болгарское же настоятельство и Сербская митрополія, по неимѣнію въ своемъ распоряженіи полныхъ круговъ богослужебныхъ книгъ и необходимыхъ сосудовъ не въ состояніи удовлетворить этихъ нуждъ надлежащимъ образомъ. Вслѣдствіе чего Комитетъ и обратился чрезъ газеты къ русскимъ благотворителямъ, приглашая ихъ оказать содѣйствіе православной церкви у Болгаръ и Сербовъ. Въ Комитетъ стали поступать также приношенія русскими книгами, особенно учебниками, которыя отсылаются Комитетомъ въ славянскія земли. Вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ расширились сношенія Комитета внутри Россіи. Нѣкоторые изъ иногородныхъ жителей (въ Петербургѣ, Кіевѣ, Черниговѣ, Харьковѣ, Казани, Нижнемъ-Новгородѣ, Рязани) приняли на себя званіе членовъ Комитета. Въ составѣ же должностныхъ лицъ Комитета произошло слѣдующее измѣненіе: обязанности казначея и секретаря принялъ на себя Н. А. Поповъ. Петербургскіе члены-благотворители получили право распредѣленія собранныхъ ими суммъ съ обязательствомъ представлять о нихъ въ Московскій Комитетъ. Вообще сношенія Комитета внутри нашего отечества не ограничиваются однимъ только собираніемъ пожертвованій въ пользу Славянъ, но и по возможности обнимаютъ всѣ частныя и мѣстныя предпріятія въ Россіи, однородныя по своей цѣли съ его дѣятельностію.

Говоря о своей дѣятельности, Комитетъ не можетъ не

упомянуть о литературныхъ трудахъ нѣкоторыхъ изъ своихъ воспитанниковъ. Такъ:

1. *Даскаловъ Х.* печаталъ статьи въ *Русскомъ Вѣстникѣ* и въ *Чтеніяхъ Общества Исторіи*: „Возрожденіе Болгаръ или реакція въ Турціи;“—„Открытія въ Терновѣ;“—„Житіе Св. Ѳеодосія Терновскаго,“ открытое имъ а также и другія мелкія статьи.

2. *Поповичъ В.*: „Поѣзда въ виноградникъ,“ разсказъ изъ жизни болгарскаго народа, напечатанъ въ *Русской Бесѣдѣ*; „Статьи о современной болгарской письменности“ (Тамъ же). Принималъ участіе въ изданіяхъ „Братскаго Труда,“ гдѣ помѣщалъ свои стихотворенія на болгарскомъ языкѣ.

3. *Миладиновъ К.* перевелъ съ русскаго на болгарскій языкъ и издалъ брошюру: „Православныя церковныя братства въ юго-западной Россіи“; принималъ участіе въ изданіи „Братскаго Труда,“ гдѣ печаталъ стихотворенія и статьи; собралъ въ Македоніи и издалъ въ Загребѣ „Болгарскія народныя пѣсни.“ Сборникъ этотъ заключаетъ въ себѣ 674 народныя пѣсни.

4. *Каравеловъ Л.* напечаталъ книгу подъ заглавіемъ: „Памятники народнаго быта Болгаръ,“ въ составъ которой вошли болгарскія народныя пословицы и поговорки и народный календарь сравнительный съ русскимъ. Напечаталъ въ *Русскомъ Вѣстникѣ* разсказы изъ быта болгарскаго народа; 1) „Нѣда;“ 2) „Страницы изъ страданій болгарскаго народа“; въ *Отечественныхъ Запискахъ*: „Болгары стараго времени“, разсказъ изъ жизни Болгаръ; въ *С.-Петербургскихъ Вѣдомостяхъ* помѣщались его мелкія статьи о современномъ положеніи Болгаръ и разсказы. Помѣщалъ статьи и стихотворенія на болгарскомъ языкѣ въ *Братскомъ Трудѣ* и *Болгарской Пчелѣ*.

5. *Теохаровъ Г* напечаталъ въ *Братскомъ Трудѣ* статью „ современно болгарской литературѣ.“

6. *Тодоровичъ П.* перевелъ съ русскаго на болгарскій языкъ „Письма объ исторіи Сербовъ и Болгаръ, Гильфердинга“ изъ которыхъ два письма напечатаны въ *Братскомъ Трудѣ*.

7. *Вязанковъ К.* перевелъ съ русскаго на болгарскій

языкъ книгу Ю. Ѳ. Самарина: „Іезуиты“, но переводъ этотъ еще не изданъ.

8. *Жинзифовъ* К. принималъ дѣятельное участіе въ изданіи *Братскаго труда*, гдѣ помѣщены его стихотворенія на болгарскомъ языкѣ подъ заглавіемъ: „Новоболгарская Гусля и „Прогулка“ разказъ изъ народной жизни Болгаръ. Издалъ на болгарскомъ языкѣ книгу: „Болгарскій Сборникъ“, въ составъ котораго вошли его переводы: 1) „Слово о полку Игоревѣ“, въ болгарскомъ переводѣ и подлинникѣ; 2) вся „Краледворская рукопись“—переводъ съ чешскаго; 3) изъ Кобзаря Т. Шевченко: a) „Тополь“, b) „Думы“, c) „Утопленница“, d) „Катерина“, 4) „Новоболгарская Гусля“, стихотвореніе на болгарскомъ языкѣ. Въ Болгарской газетѣ „Время“ напечаталъ историческое изслѣдованіе: „Объ отношеніяхъ византійскихъ императоровъ къ Болгаріи въ XIV столѣтіи.“ Принимаетъ участіе своими статьями и стихотвореніями въ болгарскихъ газетахъ: *Народность* и *Македонія*. Много его статей и замѣтокъ касательно Болгаръ, Сербовъ и Грековъ напечатано въ газетахъ *День*, *Москва*, *Москвичъ*, *Московскія Вѣдомости* и *Современная Лѣтопись*.

Къ сожалѣнію, Даскаловъ умеръ; а Миладиновъ, вмѣстѣ съ своимъ братомъ, погибъ въ Турціи насильственною смертію. Другіе воспитанники Комитета, вернувшись на родину, сдѣлались учителями болгарскихъ и сербскихъ школъ: ихъ дѣятельность подлежитъ оцѣнкѣ будущаго времени; но имена ихъ уже и теперь пользуются уваженіемъ среди ихъ соотечественниковъ. Заявляя о такихъ плодахъ своей дѣятельности, Комитетъ считаетъ себя счастливымъ, что можетъ упомянуть здѣсь Высочайшее имя Государыни Императрицы, отъ чьихъ щедротъ Комитетъ ежегодно получаетъ опредѣленную сумму для воспитанія молодыхъ Болгаръ въ русскихъ учебныхъ заведеніяхъ.

Списокъ воспитанниковъ, получавшихъ полное или дополнительное содержаніе или единовременное пособіе отъ Славянскаго Благотворительнаго Комитета въ 1858—1868.

1. * Даскаловъ Христофоръ (Моск. Универс.).
2. * Миладиновъ Константинъ (М. У.).
3. Запряновъ Теодоръ (М. У.).
4. Станишевъ Константинъ (М. У.).
5. Жинзифовъ Ксенофонтъ (М. У.).
6. Караконовскій Василій (М. У.)
7. Кокаланъ Стефанъ, (М. У.).
8. Бончовъ Николай (М. У.).
9. Поповичъ Василій (М. У., при пособіи отъ гр. А. С. Уварова).
10. Тодоровичъ Паскаль (тоже, теперь въ школѣ живописи и ваянія).
11. * Камбуровъ Харлампій (М. У.).
12. Константиновъ Теодоръ (тоже).
13. Кесяковъ Константинъ (М. У. и въ военномъ училищѣ; на содержаніи В. А. Кокорева).
14. Каравеловъ Любенъ (М. У. на содержаніи В. А. Кокорева).
15. Геровъ Константинъ (М. У. стипендіятъ Денкоглу).
16. Христовичъ Илья (С.-Пб. духовной академіи).
17. Теохаровъ Георгій (М. У.).
18. Христовичъ Иванъ (Александр. военн. училища).
19. Вязанковъ Константинъ (М. У.).
20. Желѣзковъ Младенъ (Александр. военн. училища).
21. Стояновъ Андрей (М. У.).
22. Діамантіевъ (М. У. и Кіев. Ун.).
23. Станчовъ Семенъ (готов. въ Универс.).
24. Каравеловъ Петко (Моск. Унив.).
25. Кирковичъ Кирко Стояновъ (М. У.).

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*) Лица, имена которыхъ отмѣчены знакомъ, умерли по возвращеніи на родину.

26. Дриновъ Маринъ (М. У. при половинн. пособіи отъ графа Толстаго).
27. Бончовъ Нешо (тоже).
28. Бацетичъ Ѳома (тоже).
29. Радоміровъ Нико Христофоръ (Виѳанск. семинаріи).
30. Финговъ Дмитрій (тоже).
31. Ѳеодосій (іеродіаконъ, учится живописи въ Троицкой Лаврѣ).
32. Марковъ Петко (Кіевск. семин. и духовн. академіи).
33. Муловъ Дмитрій (тоже).
34. Мирковичъ Савва (тоже).
35. Демьяновичъ (М. У.).
36. Пелагичъ Василій (М. У.).
37. Миленковичъ (Московск. семинар.).
38. Вучковичъ Аѳанасій (М. У.).
39. Дучичъ Дмитрій (М. У.).
40. Чехичъ Ездиміръ (М. У. при пособ. отъ г. Васильчикова).
41. Львовъ Ефремъ (іеродіаконъ, въ Троицкой Лаврѣ).
42. Маноловъ Андрей (М. У.).
43. Мишайковъ Василій (М. У.).
44. Пановъ Иванъ (М. У.).
45. Михайловъ (М. У.).
46. Петровъ Аѳанасій (въ школѣ живописи и ваянія).

Пожертвованія иконами, церковными книгами, разными предметами богослуженія, книгами ученаго и литературнаго содержанія и другія, назначаемыя въ Славянскій Благотворительный Комитетъ въ Москвѣ, могутъ быть присылаемы на имя:

1. Предсѣдателя Комитета, Михаила Петровича Погодина (на Дѣвичьемъ полѣ, въ собственн. домѣ).
2. Секретаря Комитета, Нила Александровича Попова (у Большаго Каменнаго моста, въ домѣ Грузинской царевны).
3. Чрезъ редакціи газетъ, издаваемыхъ въ Москвѣ.

Дозволено цензурою. Москва. Апрѣля 23-го дня, 1868 года.

Въ Университетской Типографіи (Катковъ и К°),
на Страстномъ бульварѣ.

Appendix-2

The Tuna Newspaper 1st Issue, 10 Şevval 1281 (23 February 1865)

ГОД. I. 1865 ФЕВРУАРІА 23. Брой. 1.

ДУНАВЪ

Вѣстникъ който съдържава вътрѣшни и външни новини и сѣкакви разсѫждания, излиза единъ пѫть на недѣлята, сѣка Сряда. Цѣната му е за една година 40 грошове, за шестъ мѣсеца, 25 гр. а за единъ шестъ четирисе пари. За мѣстата вънъ отъ Туна-Вилаети ще са прпгуря на цѣната и разходити на пощата. Който ище да ся подпише за една година или за шестъ мѣсеца, може да са отнесе до Книгопечатницата на Туна-Вилаети въ Русчукъ.

Богъ да подари на нашіятъ августѣйши Господарь, Абдулъ-Азисъ, единъ твърдѣ дълъгъ животъ. Неговото възлизваніе върху прѣстолътъ стана една нова епоха на благоденствіе и на осигуряваніе за голѣмата имперія на която сѫдбити му сж ввѣрени.

Едно отъ важнити прѣобразувания и отъ очевидниты ползи, станжли чрезъ отеческата грижа, която Негово Величество не прѣстава никога отъ да распространява, слѣдъ това чести то възлѣзваніе върху величіето и славата на своята имперія, е, безъ противоречіе, новото учрежденіе, което ще управлява отъ сега Дунавската Провинція, която е приглсена да стане примѣръ за управленіе за да са въспріеме и за другита провинціи съсъ цѣлъ да са развіе и да порасте всеобщото благоденствіе.

Онія, които имать умътъ си малко нѣщо обработенъ, знаятъ твърдѣ добрѣ, че образуваніето на единъ народъ, сиречъ тишината, съвършенното осигуряваніе, помежду което той живѣе, и постѫпленното развитіе на веществениото и нравственото му състояніе, е основано върху началото на Правото и на Дължностьта, което то му е дадено споредъ стѫпеньтъ на воспитаніето му и на ученіето му, и това начало може да бѫди полозвито за сѣкого само тогази, когато сѣки си прави една священна дължность да почита закони ти на царщината и да имъ са подчинява. На сѣкадѣ дѣто това подчиненіе, тоя почетъ са най много държать, тамъ улучшеніята, осигоряваніе то и благоденствіето сж и тѣ най много развити. Въ една земя дѣто научениять народъ си е начерталъ единъ пѫть съсъ разбираніе и споредъ нѣравити си, не е нужда да са прибѣгнува до насилствени срѣдства за да го държать въ дължностьта му; това си става естественно, защото сѣки има интересъ щото да не са развала общіятъ редъ. Отъ това слѣдува, че за да са улучши и развіе веществениото и нѣравственното състояніе на единъ народъ, трѣбува непрѣмѣнно да са освободи отъ невѣжеството, което е причина на сичкити злини, отъ които човѣщината страдае. Това става само чрезъ съвършенното уничтожаніе на причинити на тая болѣсть на душата и чрезъ распространеніето на срѣдствата за ученіе и за въспитаніе. На нашити дни Книгопечатницата като чудкото срѣдство на това распространеніе, за това, което да допълне голѣмити добрини, които ще проилизватъ отъ новіятъ уставъ, който векѣ започена да управлява Дунавската Провинція, Н. В. Султанъть благоволи да заповѣда основаніето на една Книгопечатница, която да са намира въ сѫщото сѣдалище на главното управленіе. И както го казахми, това заведеніе като е центрътъ, отъ дѣто ще блѣщатъ върху народътъ свѣтлинати на науката, на искуствата, най после на сичко, което помага на всеобщото благополучіе, прибърза са да са нареди въ сѫщіятъ Русчукъ една книгопечатница, въ която турскіятъ и българскіятъ языци трѣбува да служатъ за официалнити съобщенія и за моральтъ. Както сѣкакъвъ видъ книги, брошури итр., които ие ще докачатъ религіята, моральтъ и политиката на правителството на И. В Султанътъ, могатъ да са печататъ въ тая книгопечатница, за да са направятъ общенародни успѣхити на вѣкътъ, и да са приказова за нѣща и за недокачителни новини, рѣши са да са обнародва единъ вѣстникъ подъ име Дунавъ. Както го показува тоя първи брой, тоя вѣстникъ ще са печата на два языка: половина на турски, половината на български, и ще излиза единъ пѫть на недѣлята. Той ще са занимава съсъ вътрѣшни и външни новини, съсъ прѣдмети на науката, на индустріята и на земледѣлието и сѣки ще са ползува много или мако. И тамъ, ніи не можемъ освѣнъ да благодаримъ на правителството на Н. В. Султанътъ, дѣто е благоизволилъ да допълни добрините, съсъ които е испълнилъ новата Дунавска Провинція, като е позволилъ основаніето на една книгопечатница и обнародваніе то на тоя вѣстникъ.

ВЪТРѢШНІ НОВИНИ.

Избранiята на членовити отъ съвѣтити на управленіето, на правосѫдіето и отъ старѣйшинеки ти съвѣти които, споредъ новото учрежденіе на Дунавската Провинція, ще са събиратъ въ сѣки санджакъ, мюдюрлыкъ, махала и село, споредъ тѣхната важность, са довършиха. Сега е редътъ на избранiята на членовети за съвѣтити на управленіето, на правосѫдіето и на поправителната полиція, които ще засѣдаватъ въ сѫщіятъ Русчукъ.

Шосето, което бѣше направено миналата година между Русчукъ, Шуменъ и Варна, е още недовършено върху много точки Това недовършуваніе уничтожава, нѣкакси, сичкити ползи, които можеше да са чака отъ тоя пѫть и сичката работа на народонаселеніето остава тай да кажемъ безъ плодъ. З щото на тоя часъ врѣмето е доста благопріятно, а народонаселеніето безъ много работа, рѣши са да са проведатъ на мѣстата инджинери и други чиновници потрѣбни за довършуваніето на тоя пѫть споредъ правилата на науката. Заповѣдъ са даде сѫщо и на тамшнити мѣстнизлости да събиратъ въ ній скоро врѣме работницити, които ще работятъ на това довършуваніе.

Сѫщо са рѣши да са изпратятъ още два пѫтя, единъ между Русчукъ и Софія, който да минува или прѣзъ Ловечъ или прѣзъ Плѣвенъ, а другіятъ, между Русчукъ и Търново. Туку като му позволи врѣмето, И. П. Главніятъ управитель Митатъ Паша ще иде самъ на сѫщити мѣста было да разгледа наедно съсъ инджинерити проектити на тія пѫтища, было да са занимае съсъ други въпроси за обща полза.

За да са улесни и умножи капиталътъ на земледѣщити и на занаятчити въ сичката провинція, рѣши са да са основатъ каси за заемъ. Капиталътъ на тія каси е съставенъ само отъ единъ половинъ данъкъ турецъ на страна отъ селенити изсѣкадѣ дѣто жетвата е спорна. На тоя часъ тія каси вече фанаха да работятъ въ Русчукъ (канцеларіята е на шапчи-ханѣ), въ Ески-Джума, въ Нишъ, въ Шаръ-Кюю и въ Лесковицъ. Лихвата на това завед ніе за кредътъ ще бѫде единъ на стотѣхъ; сиречъ законната лихва 12 на стотѣхъ за година. Очевидно е, че това е противно на интереситѣ на файдаджіити

Appendix-3

The Tuna Newspaper 16th Issue, 4 Safer 1282 (16 June 1865)

ГОД. I. 1865 ІЮНІЯ 16. 16

ИЗЛИЗАНИЕ

Вѣстникътъ излиза единъ пѫтъ на недѣлята, сѣка Срѣда. Който ще да са подпише за една година или за шесть мѣсеца, може да са отнесе до Книгопечатницата на Туна-Вилаети въ Русчукъ.

ДУНАВЪ

ВѢСТНИКЪ, КОЙТО СЪДЪРЖАВА ВЪТРѢШНИ И ВЪНШНИ НОВИНИ И СѢКАКВИ РАЗСѢЖДЕНІЯ.

АБОНАМЕНТЪ

Цѣната на вѣстникътъ е:
За една година . . . . . гро 40
„ шесть мѣсеца. . . . . „ 25
„ единъ листъ. . . . . 40 пр.
За мѣстата вънъ отъ Вилаетътъ ще са притурятъ и разходити на пощата.

Прѣводъ на съдържанието на рапортътъ когото великиятъ съвѣтъ е чолъ тая година на Мухаремъ на В. Порта при присѫтствието на Н. Ц. Величество Султанътъ:

Богъ да благослови благодѣтелиятъ и правосъдиятъ нашъ Царь и Господарь, който е укрѣпителъ и утвърдителъ на славните закони и установленія. Нѣка утвърди вѣчно високиятъ му прѣстолъ върху когото той царува, и народътъ да бѫде подъ неговата свѣтла сѣнка.

Въ епохата на твоето високо-славно и честито царуваніе народътъ живѣе въ благоденствіе и спокойствіе. Споредъ високата твоя царска заповѣдь сѣко отдѣленіе на управленіето на царщината трѣбува да си испълнява денощно дължностити на службата си. Великиятъ Съвѣтъ съсъ колкото работи са е занимаваль, изложилъ ги е въ единъ рапортъ въ видъ на тефтеръ, който споредъ обычаятъ прѣдставя сѣка година на Ваше Величество

Ваше Величество пожела да знае и за общеполезнити работи, които са извършуватъ по вѫнъ за царството и за народона селеніето. Споредъ тая висока ваша заповѣдь външнити работи за осемдесеть и първата година са съобщиха на Великиятъ Съвѣтъ, който ги приложи на своити и ги прѣдстаия на Ваше Величество както слѣдува:

Сѫгласно съсъ законити на Правителството и споредъ изискуваніето на обстоятелствата административното отдѣленіе на Великіятъ съвѣтъ е нарѣдило работи ти си, които са отнасятъ до дължностьта му. За общеполезнити работи на царството и на народонаселеніето и за приходити на хазната, върху които това отдѣленіе е имало грижа, съобщило ги е въ рапортъ. То е внимавало още и за другити работи на хазната, сирѣчь доходи и приходи на сичкити вѣтрешни и административни управленія.

Сичкити работи извършени за управленіето на мѣстата, за напрѣдъкътъ на народонаселеніето и за убогатяваніето на земята, сѫ разновидни и многобройни, и за туй не могатъ да са изчислятъ. Ніи съобщаваме на Ваше Величество една отъ тѣхъ, която е плодъ на Вашето свято желаніе, и на която основаніето са прїе минлата година. За общото управленіе на царството, за напрѣдъкътъ и за спокойствіето на народътъ нѣкои си важни сѫлети и каймакамлъци са съединиха на едно и са туриха подъ едно управленіе което са нарече Вилаетъ.

Споредъ високата издадена заповѣдь сѫгласно съсъ написанити и обнародвани ти нови наставленія, най напрѣдъ са съставили Дунавскіятъ Вилаетъ, който сѫстои отъ областити, които са намиратъ въ сѣверната часть на Румели. За начинътъ на управленіето съставиха са въ срѣдоточіето, въ каймакамлъцити, въ казити и въ селата съвѣти: темизихукукъ, търговски, наказателни и давійски. За вървежътъ и улесненіето на разните правителственни и мѣстни работи опрѣдѣлиха са нарочни чиновници. Това управленіе въ малко врѣме достигна на стѫпенятъ, който са изискува, и показа доста голѣма полза за работити на царщината и на народътъ.

Споредъ работити, важностьта и положеніето на Босна и Херцеговина въ Румели и на Ерзерумскити мѣста въ Анадолъ, на Дамаска и Саида въ Аравія, видѣ са за потрѣбно да са основе и въ тія мѣста едно таквози управленіе. И тѫй са рѣши да са основатъ Вилаети подъ име: Босна, Ерзерумъ и Сирія.

Тія наредби са основаха по три причини. Споредъ ветхити закони сѣкаква работа по вѣнъ оставаше са на Валіити, отъ което произлизаха нѣкои злоупотрѣбленія, които отъ послѣ макаръ и да са ограничихъ, нъ работити пристигваха до столицата и са убавяха. Споредъ сегашнити закони не остана вече мѣсто да стават тія работи Защото споредъ този начинъ са основа едно правленіе, въ което са съставилъ една здрава администрація която ще слѣдува подъ общото надзирателство на столицата. споредъ което мѣстната власть ще бѫде усигорена.

Главнити управители, които си гледаха административнити работи, намѣсяха са и въ работата на мехкемето, отъ което колко и какви бъркотіи и неуредби са появяваха. По тая причина видѣ са за неизбѣжно да са раздѣлятъ особно административнити съвѣти и особно давійскити, и сѣки отъ тѣхъ да си гледа работити които са отнасятъ до него.

Третята причина е, да са държи и да са испълнѣва дължностьта, за да са ограничатъ работити въ единъ съвършенъ прѣдѣлъкъ. Тія сѫ причинити, които са появяха.

Споредъ извѣстіята, Дунавскіятъ Вилаетъ, сѫгласно съсъ тія закони, въ разстояніе на седемь осемь мѣсеца показалъ е доста дѣла и бѣлеци за улучшеніе. Казити отъ втората стѫпень, които са намиратъ въ каймакамлъцити на Вилаетътъ, подѣлиха са: нѣкои села споредъ географическото имъ положеніе, и споредъ блинностьта имъ, присъединиха са на потрѣбнити кази. Испълняніето на царскіятъ деньокъ са расподѣли на мѣсецъ: за събиранието му и за други нѣкои улесненія са наредиха правила; основа са отъ ново единъ алай военни заптіета и чиновници миофетини, които сѫ отдѣлно отъ заптіетата; наредиха са таксилдари; опрѣделиха са чиновници [illegible] наставленія за дължностити и постжпваніето на заптійскити чиновници, и споредъ правилата на финанціити на Вилаетътъ направиха са тефтери за записваніе.

Съмъ парити отъ хранити артардисани отъ народътъ прѣминалата година въ сѣка каза са съставиха градски каси. Повечето отъ тія каси сѫ са отворили и почнаха да даватъ заемъ на земледѣлцити съсъ лихва двайнайсеть на стотѣхъ.

Парити които ще са зематъ отъ продажбата на хранити въ другити кази, за едно съсъ парити отъ хранити, които ще са артардисатъ и тая година, като са притурятъ и ланскити ще съставятъ за Вилаетскити градски каси единъ капиталъ отъ около трійсеть четыри си хиляди кисіи

Въ Русчукъ, срѣдоточіето на Вилаетътъ, са отвори една Книгопечатница, която пе чати съсъ типографически и литографически преси сичкити официяни работи на Вилаетътъ, и издава въ недѣлята единъ пѫтъ единъ Вѣстникъ на турски и на български. На тія два язици са печатятъ Книги, Брошури и други.

Съставени са и едно туземно дружество за кола, което прѣнася пѫтници и царскити пощи отъ Русчукъ, Разградъ, Новъ-Пазаръ, Шуменъ и Варна. Това дружество фана да работи. Както въ Русчукъ тѫй и въ Кюстенджа са направени по едно Ислахъ-Хане, въ което да са възпитаватъ сирачетата на ветхити жители и на прѣселенцити. Запрещити са каратъ да работятъ, за да имать въ ржцѣ ти си единъ занаятъ, когато излѣзатъ отъ заширкята. Съставени са една занаятчійница, въ която са работятъ дрехи и кундури за военнити заптіета които ставатъ съсъ ефтина цѣна. Таквизи занаятчійници сѫ са отворили и въ Софія, Търново, Тулча и Варна. Направи са по единъ пѫтъ отъ Русчукъ за Търново, Свищовъ, Плѣвенъ и Софія. Нареди са варденіето на горити. Настаняніето на прѣселенцити са извърши, и тія прѣселенци са снабдиха съсъ потрѣбнити сѣчева за земледѣліето. Отъ самията страна по край Дунавътъ отъ Сулина до Видинъ са наредиха отъ ново двѣстѣ стражи, въ разстояніе на половина и на единъ часъ Потрѣбнити работи за войнити, които ще са намиратъ по тія стражи, наредиха са отъ чиновницити и инджинерити Въ Русчукъ, Кюстенджа, Плѣвенъ и Ломъ са правятъ болници за странни хора Прѣдъ Видинското и Русчушкото кадета ще са направи по край рѣката насипъ, който да въспира влаченіето на пѣсъкътъ. Въ мѣстата на Вилаетътъ дѣто нѣма правителственни конаци за мюдирити и за забита-мейтурлярѣ, ще са направятъ изъ ново конаци. За распространеніето на искуствата и на земледѣліето въвожда са статистическіятъ законъ и фанаха да са правятъ училища за дѣцата. За узнояеніето на годежити и на свадбити уничтожиха са разноскити и расипванията, които праияха хората; тѣ са раздѣлиха на четыри класа и са опрѣдѣлиха разноскити имъ, за което са издадоха и нови наставленія. Направи са едно мѣсто подъ име Чифликъ за опитъ на земледѣліето, което ще бѫде юрнекъ на мѣстното земледѣліе. Желѣзніятъ пѫть, който почна лани да са прави отъ Русчукъ до Варна половината му е направена и надѣжно е, че идящата година ще са свърши.

Тія сѫ поглавнити и поважнити работи извършени въ тоя Вилаетъ, както и положеніето на онія, съсъ които той сега са занимава. За сичкити тія работи извършени за царството и за народътъ, хората са благодарятъ и сѣки день отдаватъ молитви на Бога за дългоденствіето на Ваше Величество.

Съсъ Божіята воля като са основатъ и другіи Вилаети, тѣ ще сѫдуватъ по тоя пѫтъ и ще са удеснятъ. Основаніето на тія Вилаети е подложено на основаніята и правилата, които сѫ сѫгласни съсъ щетіо и волята на Правителството. Ако би да са основатъ и въ другити мѣста на царството Вилаети, по примѣръ на Дунавскіятъ Вилаетъ, който докара голѣми добрини и плодове, явно е, че разноскити за сѣки Вилаетъ малко-много ще са увеличатъ споредъ новити заплати и въведенити нови служби. Нѣма сѫмнѣніе, че тія разноски ще съ покріятъ ако нѣ въ първата, то въ втората, или третята година, като са обогатятъ тія мѣста и като произлѣзатъ нови срѣдства за доходити. Както и да е, за пѣрвъ пѫть ще са похарчатъ малко пари, додѣ тія Вилаети влѣзатъ въ исканіятъ редъ, пари, които ще бѫдатъ новъ товаръ на хазната. До дѣто достигнатъ до исканата стѫпень тія Вилаети, ще са зематъ отъ день на день мѣрки, за да са основатъ на Вилаети и другити мѣста на царството, защото нѣма да са остави, щото другити Елети да остатнатъ на ветхіятъ си редъ. За туй, за да влѣзатъ и тѣ въ Вилаетскіятъ редъ, Великіятъ съвѣтъ са старее да са усноватъ и тѣ по новити улесненія правила и отъ ново наредженія чиновници администратівни и финанціялни, като приложи още нѣкои нови закони и наставленія. Съсъ тія прѣдприятія и извършуванія ще са нареди общото управленіе на царството.

Работити които сѫ са извършили по вѣнъ за убогатяваніе, прѣдставями ги споредъ както сѫ изложени въ прикюченіятъ расписъ. Научявами са отъ мѣстнити точни извѣстія, че отъ исчистяваніето на блатата и на рѣкити ще са убогати земята, ще напрѣдне земледѣліето, ще са умножатъ доходити на хазната и ще произлѣзе вѣтрѣшніятъ напрѣдъкъ на търговията и на искуствата. Съсъ голѣмо стараніе са прѣдпріема да са направятъ кашли и болници за царската войска, както и ѧденія за военнити припаси. Потрѣбнити кадета и стражи за запазваніе ще са основатъ.

Освѣнъ пѫтищата, които са направиха прѣминалята година, основаха са още доста пѫтища и пѫтеки, и са направиха около двѣстѣ мостове. Поличина на памучното земледѣліе въ Измиръ и Айдинъ са направиха многочисленни фабрики. Въ улиціи на Измиръ са турнаха газовети, които бѣха са дали съсъ привилегія на една компанія. Въ Босна-Сарай са натуряха прости фенери. Въ Едрене са съставиха съвѣти за убогатяваніе. Въ тоя градъ, както въ Дунавскіятъ Вилаетъ, зафанали да основаватъ каси за зѣмъ. Въ познатити и горѣназначенити Елети и каймакамлъци съставиха са десеть търговски сѫдилища. Освѣнъ тія работи посѣяли сѫ са единъ миліонъ и сто и толкова хиляди дървета, които ще даватъ плодъ и за правителството и за народътъ.

Подъ благодѣтелната сѣнка на Ваше Величество испрати са въ Зоръ, една голѣма часть отъ Халепскіятъ Елетъ, войска, която поправи граждапскити наредн, наказа и помири нѣкои отъ кочующити племена и засели честнити благородни фамилии. Тѫй сѫщо са помириха и онѣзи кочующи племена, които са намиратъ въ Акча-Даа, Харпутъ и Кюрдистанъ. Тамъ са направиха кашли и пѫтищѧ, и нѣкои отъ Бедуюнити зафанаха да са заселяватъ. Отъ силата на нарочно испратената царска войска помириха са и племената въ Козанъ и Беркетъ-Даа.

Сичкити тія изложени работи сѫ плодъ и бѣлѣци на добрините на Ваше Величество, за туй ніи са считами дължни да изразимъ крайната си признателность и благодареніе къмъ Ваше Величество.

(слѣдува)

ЧАСТНИ РАБОТИ.

Н. В. Абди паша, мюширинътъ на втората царска Ордія, на което отпзвеніето за Видинъ бѣхми извѣстили въ прѣдпнята листове на Вѣстникътъ, доде тія дни въ Русчукъ и са върна на Шюменъ.

Н. П. Ферикъ Омеръ-Шевкъ паша, отъ Ета-мажоръ на втората Царска Ордія и Комендантъ на Видинското военно Отдѣленіе, и той доде отъ Видинъ наедно съсъ Н. В. Абди паша и съсъ сѫщіятъ трѣгна за Шюменъ.

Денятъ на честитото възкачваніе върху прѣстолътъ на благодѣтелиятъ и държавиятъ нашъ царь празноваса въ недѣля на 13 Юнія. Първата празнична вечерь бѣше въ недѣля срѣщо понедѣлникъ.

Въ тоя благословенъ день сички граждански, шерійски и военни чиновници, на отдѣленіе на отдѣленіе, додоха на посѣщеніе на Н. В. Главнія Управитель. Часътъ по петь топовнити гѣрмежи отъ сухо и отъ рѣката като извѣстиха празникътъ, консулити на пріятелскити сили, заедно съсъ чиновницити си, и облѣчени въ официялната си форма, додоха въ Вилаетското отдѣленіе и направиха официяната си визита.

Нея вечеръ Н. В Главнитъ Управитель на Вилаетътъ даде единъ голѣмъ зіяфетъ на чиновницити отъ разнити класове, на консулити и на нѣкои странни главни чиновници. Градскити кѫщи и дукенити въ чаршіята, а най много Вилаетската градина, насрѣща й топханата и отъ двѣти й страни телеграфътъ и книгопечатницата бѣха освѣтени съсъ разни чудни кандѣла

Музиката свири до срѣдъ нощь; въ топ ханата са фърляха разни фишеци; съсъ една дума отъ сѣка страна са показваха бѣлѣци на радость и въсхищеніе

На трапезата австрійскіятъ консулъ упълномощенъ отъ другити си сѣбратія, нарѣче едно слово, въ което похваляваше напрѣдъкътъ направенъ за малко врѣме отъ Пр вителството. Н. В Валята отгов

приличнити. Малко слѣдъ тая церемонія, вечерята са свърши съсъ едно крайно благодареніе, което съсъ радость извѣстявами.

Най за вниманіе е това, дѣто русчушкити улици бѣха пълни отъ разни човѣци дошли за любопитство, безъ да са появи нѣкоя лошавина, макаа или голѣма, противна на законити на полицията или на човѣщината. Сѣки стана участникъ на това радостно позорище съсъ съвършенно спокойствіе и удоволствіе.

Това произлиза отъ доброто поведѣніе и благонравіе на градскити жители, за което особно имъ са благодари.

Нѣка Всевишни Богъ споди сички, които сж подъ благодѣтелната сѣнка на Негово Величество да посрѣщатъ сѣкоги тоя радостенъ день и нощь. Аминъ!

Прѣводъ на писмото дадено на Книгопечатницата отъ страната на Управленіето на земледѣліето въ Туна-Вилаети:

Сѣкиму е познато, че душата на растенията е водата: безъ нея нищо не може да изникне отъ сухата земя. Тадѣвашната тѫжи годишна засвидѣтелствована суша подтврдѣва горнити думи.

По нѣкои мѣста, въ Румели и Анадолъ дѣто са виждатъ, че текѫтъ води и рѣки, когато прѣзъ лѣтото нѣма дъждове, нивити трѣбува да са напояватъ отъ тѣхъ. По тоя начинъ въ онія мѣста, дѣто нѣма вода, тамъ нищо не може да израсте. За туй, за тевизи мѣста, трѣбува да са разяснятъ нѣкои въпроси.

Ако водата не може да си одържи мѣстото, тогизи за да не стои земята на безсилити ниви много врѣме въ горѣщина, трѣбува да са земе отъ вънъ тиня съсъ гнелъ [трѣва], които да са размѣсятъ изъ нивата съсъ мотика и съсъ грибло, та да са уравни нивата. Или пакъ прѣдъ да са посѣе сѣмето трѣбува да са посѣятъ нѣкой видъ трѣви, отъ които като изникнатъ, да стане едно зелено и топло гьобре. Това гьобре трѣбува да са зарови съсъ ралото и тогази да са посѣе сѣмето. Това ако не са направи, тогази трѣбува оралото да са пуща по дълбоко и равно. Туй е единъ отъ въпросити за сушата.

Простити рала, които употрѣбяватъ по тія мѣста, не могатъ да разораватъ дълбоко и добрѣ земята, за туй трѣбува да гледаме да са употрѣбяватъ и да са умножаватъ въ сѣко мѣсто плуговети.

Знаено е, че безводнити произведенія са повреждатъ, а повечето отъ тѣхъ са развалятъ отъ топлината. Когато въ ливадити нападне много вода и стои много врѣме, растенията имъ са обрѣщатъ на тръстъ и на сазъ. За туй сѣки земледѣлецъ трѣбува да знае и да са научи, че въ онія мѣста дѣто водата стои много врѣме, трѣбува да са отварятъ вади и порои, за да са оправи.

Слѣдующити извѣстія сж извлѣчени отъ мѣстнити журнали на приключенията:

Отъ кѫщата на Милинка отъ селото Сериторакъ въ Ергюпската каза, откраднали сж нощя нѣкои нѣща. Работата той я извѣстява на началникъ на военнити заптіета, които вардятъ тія страни. Тоя началникъ, когато обикалялъ нощя по кѫрътъ часътъ по четырь срѣщнуна трима души, които на питанієто му не дали отговоръ и прибѣгнали на оржжіето. Заптіетата отъ своя страна фърлятъ и обиватъ едногото отъ тія лица, а другити двама побѣгнали. На другіятъ день на сжщото мѣсто сж намѣрили нѣкои отъ откраднати нѣща на Милинка, които му сж дали като ги доказалъ.

Тія лица были хайдути, отъ които убитіятъ былъ нѣкой си Абасъ отъ селото Раховица въ Приштинската каза, а побѣгналити двама были отъ селото Зешаръ въ сжщата каза, Яшаръ и Лушь, прочути разбойници.

Потрѣбнити мѣрки сж зели за улавяніето и на тія двамата.

-- Мустафа, синътъ на назавтинятъ Кель-Хасана отъ Ловечь, и Мехмедъ Али извѣзли тія дни на хайдутлукъ. Тія хайдути присрѣщнали Мехмедя отъ селото Добри-Дѣлъ въ тая каза и му зели единъ поясъ шаленъ, а на единъ християнинъ отъ Троянъ зели сто и педесеть гроша. Тѣ излѣзли и испразнили оржжіето си и върху Троянскити мухтари, които носяли пари за царскіятъ сандѫкъ и искали да ги обератъ, нъ не сполучили.

Като са извѣстило за това, правителството испратило заптіета, за да ги изловятъ. Ятакътъ на тія хайдути, Исмаилъ, уловилъ са и са турилъ подъ испитъ.

— Уловили са сж отъ мѣстнити си власти и са сж турили подъ испитъ слѣдующити лица:

Михаль, Добри и Иванъ които ударили у главата съсъ камъкъ Никола отъ селото Кюркліи отъ Варненската каза и умрѣлъ.

Елинскіятъ подданникъ Михаль и другарити му отомански поддавници Маринъ, Ставри и Нако, които ударили Елинскіятъ подданникъ Анастаса, който и умрѣлъ отъ ранити.

Андонъ слугата и убійцътъ на Пашка, единъ отъ Кюстендилскити жители

-- Ахметъ отъ селото Бебенкли въ Гьопската нахія отъ Пловдивската каза, който прѣди четырь години са годилъ за момичето на Иса отъ селото Киса въ Златишката каза, правилъ разбойничество лѣтно врѣме около Златица, а зимно врѣме около Текиръ-Даа. Тоя разбойникъ понѣкоги дохождалъ и са кріялъ въ кѫщата на тестътъ си, за което правителството са научава. Той сега дошелъ пакъ въ кѫщата на тестътъ си, и като са нападналъ отъ правителството и безъ да намери врѣме да са улови у оржжіето си, фанадъ са

Особна кореспонденція отъ Ломъ.

Като пріемамъ да бѫдж кореспондентъ на Вѣстникъ „Дунавъ,“ за първъ пѫть ви съобщавамъ долуозначенити новини:

Трима души Българи хайдути уловиха Цековото момче отъ селото Винище въ Берковската каза. Тія хайдути отишли въ кѫщатж на Петра въ село Сливовикъ, отъ дѣто, слѣдъ като зели нѣколко ястія и опенки, върнали сж и отишли въ Липенскіятъ орманлжкъ. Тѣ излѣзли тамъ на нѣкои Българи ловци и като помислили, че ушѣ тія Българи дошли върху имъ, тія хайдути сж оплашили отъ това, побѣгнали и оставили Цековото момче, което водѣзи съсъ тѣхъ си вървано.

Споредъ расказуванієто на това момче, единътъ отъ тѣхъ е Кель-Петко отъ лѣсковецъ, който былъ забѣгналъ въ Сърбія. Другіятъ былъ Петръ, на когото отъ кѫщата зели прѣзъ нощьта ястія и опенки. Третіятъ отъ тѣхъ былъ непознатъ.

Ломскіятъ мюдиринъ Али Риза ефенди испрати военни заптіета, за да изловятъ тія хайдути. Има надѣжда, че или ще ги изловятъ живи, или ще ги убіятъ.

Каквито работи са появятъ за напрѣдъ, ще ви пишж.

ОБЩИ РАБОТИ.

Особна кореспонденція отъ Едерне.

Пѫтятъ отъ Едрене до Цариградъ, споредъ планътъ направенъ прѣди малко зафана да са прави. Въ растояніе на двайсеть крачки насипуватъ по сто и двайсеть кола камъни, блѣнки и пѣсъкъ.

Пѫтятъ, който води отъ Сливенъ до Ахизо-Бургазъ, е търговски пѫть на селата, които са намиратъ отъ вѣдната страна на Балканътъ и на казити отъ Сливенскіятъ сандѫкъ. Тоя пѫть са развалия и не може да са ходи въ дъждовно врѣме, за туй сега му са начьрта планътъ отъ инджинери испратени отъ министерството на общественнити работи, по който зафана да са работи.

По тія страни лошата зима и пролѣть не оставиха землѣдѣцити да си посѣятъ. Сѣмето, което са сѣеше сѣка година, не можи да се посѣе тая година нити половината, по причина на многото дъждове и порои. Това лѣто дъждове като не валеха както трѣбва, сѣидбити исъхнаха и са развалиха.

Най голѣмата търговія на градътъ Едрене и на другити градове и села е произведеніето на коприната. Болѣстьта, която са е появила отъ нѣколко години въ коприната сѣме, причини доста голѣми загуби на онія, които го вадятъ. Ако бы и тая година болѣстьта да са появи пакъ, относително на ефтената цѣна отъ ланската година, може да са мисли, че това произведеніе ще остане на една срѣдня стѫпень.

Споредъ единъ ветъхъ обичай на Букурещъ са отваря сѣка година единъ панаиръ, на едно мѣсто, което са нарича Мошъ, въ който са продаватъ влашки произведенія, паници, тенджери и дребни детински работи за играчка. Тамъ са събиратъ отъ околнити кази и отъ Букурещъ, годѣмци, които са бавятъ тамъ петь-десеть дни съсъ земане-даване и са веселятъ.

Научавами са, че сега, за да произлиза една обща полза отъ това събраніе отворило са въ тоя панаиръ на двайсеть и седемь Маія едно изложеніе, въ което имало проби отъ разни работи донесени прѣди малко отъ влашкото правителство, съсъ цѣлъ да подбудятъ хората за распространеніето на мѣстнити произведенія и искуства. За нѣщата, които са отличатъ за по добри ще са дава на стопанити имъ награда.

Нѣкой хора отъ Русчукъ ходили на тоя панаиръ за любопитство. Извѣствать ни че въ това изложеніе имало сѣкакви проби отъ нѣща за харесваніе. Въ това изложеніе отъ сичкити други работи най много имало проби отъ машини за хранити и за други сѣкакъвъ видъ сѣидби, сърпове паламарки, и нѣкои машини за сѣяніе и върщеніе на мисирити и на житото. Тія машини сж направени съсъ стараніето на чиновницити и ученицити отъ земледѣлското училище основано прѣди нѣколко години.

Въ прѣминалиятъ листъ на Вѣстникътъ бѣхми помѣстили погрѣшено отъ Сѣкаквити нѣща на вѣстникътъ „Анатоли“ че въ Отоманското царство за единъ четверомѣсленъ часъ са падатъ сто и двайсеть и петь души. На мѣсто това число, трѣбува да четемъ: триста и двайсеть и петь.

ВЪНШНИИ РАБОТИ

Вѣстникътъ, който са издава отъ медицинскіятъ съвѣтъ въ Франція, пише, че прѣминалата година въ Франція двѣ хиляди и триста души прѣфанали отъ побѣснели животни. За никого отъ тая болесть не можило да са намѣри срѣдство за избавеніе. Главниятъ докторъ отъ болницата въ Брестъ прифаналъ и той сега тая болесть. Плюмката на болниятъ, когото той цѣрилъ, падала на кѫрпата му и отъ тамъ сичко то му тѣло прифанало. Слѣдъ осемь дни, бѣлѣщити, които фанали да са появяватъ, сирѣчь като види вода, плашлъ са, и други подобни явленія, убѣдили го, че са е фаналъ отъ тая болѣсть, и са е отчаялъ веки за животътъ си.

При тая болница имало една натурална баня, въ която той влѣзалъ, и като са испотилъ добрѣ, излѣзалъ на вънъ, и болѣстьта фанала да си губи бѣлѣщити. Той фаналъ да уздравява и слѣдъ нѣколко дни съвсѣмъ са отървалъ отъ нея.

Отъ послѣ който са разболявалъ отъ тая болѣсть, занасяли го въ тая болница, туряли го въ банята и като са испотявалъ уздравялъ. Отъ това са разумѣва, че махнуваніето на тая болѣсть зависяло отъ испотяваніето въ тая баня.

Въ Парисъ сега измислили единъ видъ петали отъ ластика, които залѣпявали подъ краката на животното. Житотното съсъ таквизи петала като стѫпи на камъкъ, не са харзаля, и тоя видъ петали повече трая ятъ.

Като са испитали тія петали по правилата, фанали да ги употрѣбяватъ общо и исфърлили употрѣбленіето на ветхити петали.

ИЗВѢСТІЯ.

Споредъ официяльното умоленіе На австрійскіятъ консулъ въ Русчукъ, извѣстява са слѣдующето:

„Австрійскити подданници, които са намиратъ по тія страни, споредъ царскіятъ имъ търговски законъ, трѣбува сичкити да отидатъ въ растояніе на единъ мѣсецъ да са прѣдставятъ и да си запишатъ името и занятіето въ консулатото.

„Ако би нѣкои да иматъ сѫдружителни договори за нѣкои сѫдружески работитія договори трѣбува и тѣ да са прѣдставятъ.

Въ книгопечатницата на Туна Вилаети са намиратъ за продачь, на български языкъ:

Букварь	пар 20
Законникъ за управленіето на градскити каси	гр. 2
Наставленія за събираніето на вергіята, беделятъ и ашаръ	„ 2

Опрѣдѣлиса щото турскити и български училищи и черковни книги, брошури и други да са печататъ въ Книгопечатницата на вилаетъ съ една цѣна подоло съсъ десеть на стотяхъ отъ цѣната, която дѣржи стопанинътъ или търговецътъ на тія Книги въ сѣка една друга Книгопечатница. За това, който и да има таквизи Книги и брошури за печатаніе и за издаваніе нѣка прибѣгне до тая печатница.

Цѣнити на Хранити (за една ока)

имената на мѣстата	жито			ячимикъ	мисири	краве масло	Червишъ
	първо качеств.	второ качеств.	третьо качеств.				
	пари	пари	пари	пари	пари	пари	пари
Русчукъ	25	21	19	11	15	440	360
Видинъ	28	25	22	14	14	480	360
Варна	31	28	25	14	19	520	380
Тулча	33	30	23	10	18	620	400
Кюстенджа	40	32	28	11	»	580	400
Софія	15	12	10	11	10	300	220

طونه

صفر سنه ۱۲۸۲ (چهارشنبه کونی) حزیران سنه ۱۲۸۱ نومر ۱۶ ۱۶

اشبو غزته داخلیه وخارجیه وهردرلو مباحثی شامل اوله رق هفته ده بردفعه چهارشنبه کونلری چیقار ر سنه لکی (٤٠) والتی آیلغی (٢٥) غروشه و بهر نسخه سی (٤٠) پاره یه در داخل ولایتدن ماعدا محلر ایچون یوقیاتله پوسته اجرتی ضم اولنور سنه لکنی و یاخود التی آیلغی الق ایچون یازلمق امتیازیکی حالده مر کز ولایت مطبعه سنه مراجعت اولنمق لازمکلور

اشبو سنهٔ مبارکه ماه محرمنده باب عالی یی تشریف میامن ردیف حضرت پادشاهی شرفوقوعنده حضور عظمتوفوز جناب ملکدار یده قرائت اولنان مجلس والا مضبطه سی صورتیدر

جناب حق مشید نظام سلطنت ومعهد قوانین دولت اولان ولی نعمت بیمنز شهنشاه معدلت پارکاه افندمز حضرتلرینی ما تعاقب الدوران رونق افزای دیهیم شوکت وشان وسایهٔ عدالتوایهٔ شهریارلرینی مفارق اهال و برایاده ابدنشان یورسون عصر مسعود محاسنلو جناب خلافتپناهلرینك هر سال همایون فالی ازدیاد سعادت تحال ملك وملته دلیل جلیل اولان اصلاحات عدیده وهر شعبهٔ مصالح سلطنت سنیه لرنده پرر کونه ترقیات وتنظیمات جدیده یی شامل اولوب بوآثار خیریت دثارك منشأ حقیقیسی وعمرانی ممالك وبلدانك سبب اصلیسی اولان علوهمت وسمو قدرت معالیفتیت حضرت شهنشاهلرینك درجات باهرهٔ الفیوضاتنه توفیق حرکت وانتظام ادارهٔ ملکیه یه تفرع ایدن کافهٔ احوالده تمهید بنیان اجرآت ووضع قواعد ونظاماته دوام ودقت ایلك وظایف مأموریت ومأذونیت ایجابتدن اولمغله مجلس والانك بو بابده مشغول اولدیغی مذاکراتی متضمن موقع اجرایه تقدیم ایلدیکی مضبطه لرك خلاصه سی ادارهٔ ملکیه نك دفتر موازنه سی حکمنده اولق اوزره بهر سنه ابتدا سنده لطفا وتنزلا باب عالی شایان تشریف معالی ردیف جناب شهریاری بیورلدقجه معروض حضور خدیوی حضرت تاجداری اولدیغی حالده هر ایالت ولواتك وظایف مستقله سنه عائدهٔ عمارات واصلاحات بلدیه یه متعلق اولان اجرآت مقتضاده سی فذلکه لرینك دخی جلیله خلاصهٔ معروضه مواد مندرجه سنه تذییل وعلاوه سی یکی سنه ارزان بیورلدقجه مساعدهٔ اصابتعادهٔ حضرت ملوکانه اقتضای یمالسندن بولنمسنه بناء سکسان برسنه سی ایچنده ممالك محروسهٔ شاهانه نك اکثر ایالات والویه سنده وقوعبولان اومقوله اصلاحات نافعه نك کتورديلان خلاصه لری مجلس والانك مذاکراتی موجبنجه اجرا قلنمش اولان خصوصات ایله پرلشدیریله رك احکام مجمله سی آتی بنداره عرض وبیان قلنور

مجلس والا امور ملکیه دائره سی کندو وظایفنه دائر اولان موادك احکام نظامات وقوانین سلطنت سنیه یه وایجاب حالهٔ تبعیهٔ اولویت وتسویه سیله منافع ملك وملته وتزاید واردات خزینهٔ دولته متعلق شیارك اسباب وفعالیتی استیذان واموال خزینهٔ جلیله نك صرفیاتنده هر دائره واداره نك اعتنا ایلدیکی تصرفاتی امور داخلیه وملکیه دائره لرینه عائد مصارفاته دخی کمالیه اجرایه حصر نظر دقت وامعان ایلمندر ترقی انتظام ادارهٔ ممالك و بلاد وتکثیر ثروت واستراحت عباد قضایای ملزمه سنك اسباب ووسائلی متنوع ومتفرق اولمق حسیله دائرهٔ ملکیه نك بوشیارله متدائر مذاکره وعرض ایلدیکی ایشارك مقرداتی بالطبع محدود ومعین اولهمزاسه ده ممرهٔ توجهات قدسیت آیات حضرت ولی نعمت اولق اوزره سنهٔ سابقه ده اتخاذ واجرا اولنان تدابیر اساسیهٔ اصلاحیه نك بری ادارهٔ عمومیه نك مستند اولدیغی مبانیٔ نظامات وقوانینی ازسرنو تحکیم وتبعهٔ دولتك متساویا ومتمادیا مظهر اولدقلری سعادت تحالی توسیع وتتمیم ایله برابر نیات خیرآیات حضرت ملکداری یه تطبیق وظیفه ایتمك مطالعه واعنیه سنه مبنی قطعات ممالك محروسهٔ شاهانه دن موقع ومصلحتجه مهم اولان بعض ایالات والویه نك خطوط اداره ووظایف متفرقه لری جهت وحدته ربط وتوحید ایدلمك وولایت نام واعتباری و برلکله تنسیق وتنظیم احوالی مادهسی اولوب اولبابده شرفصدور بیورلدقلرندن امر وفرمان عالیٔ جناب ملوکانه موجبنجه قله الثان ونشرواعلان اولنان نظامات جدیده یه تطبیقا ابتدا روم ایلی قطعه سنك ایالات شمالیه سندن مرکب اولق اوزره طونه ولایت جلیله سی عنوانیله تشکیل ایدیلان هیئت منتظمهٔ اداره نك مرکز ومقحفاتنده وقضا و قریه لرنده ادارهٔ عمومیه وتمییز حقوق تبعه ایله تجارت وجنایته متعلق دعاوی ایچون متعدد مجلسلر ترتیب وهر شعبهٔ مصالح دولت ومملکتك تسهیل جریانی ضمننده مخصوص ومستقل مأمورلر تعیین اولنمش ایدوکندن بوداثره نك ازوقتده مکان امکانه ایصال ایلدیکی خصوصات ملکیه دولتجه واهالیجه بادیٔ منافع کلیه اولمغله وروم ایلیده بوسنه ایله هرسنك ایالتلری واناطولینك ارضروم طرفلری وعرستانده شام و صیدا جهتلری موقعا ومصلحةً بویله پرادارهٔ جدیده یه مستعد کورنمکله بونلرك بو سنه وارضروم وسوریه نامارلیه پر ولایت اتخاذی قرارلتدیریله رق محلرنجه اقتضا ایدن تشکیلاتی در دست اجرا بولنمقدر شو تنظیمات اوج قاعده اوزرینه مبنی اولوب برنجیسی اصول قدیمهٔ دولت اقتضاسنجه طشره لرده هر نوع مصالح ولایات ایادیٔ اقتدارینه پراغلمش و بوایسه برطاقم سوء استعمالاتی انتاج ایتمش اولدیغندن صکره لری بالضروره ولایتك دائرهٔ اقتدارلری حصر وقصر اولنمش ایسه ده بودخی بتون مصالحك مرکزه دوکلمسی واوجهتله چاره سز ایشلرك تأخرانه دوچار اولمسی مستلزم اولدیغنه وحالبوکه هر برده قرارکبر اولان اصول عاده لهٔ ملکیه اقتضاسجه [illegible] برطرف اولمش ایدوکنه بناء شو صورتله پر دائرهٔ ملکیه تشکیلیله وهر برنده پرادارهٔ قویه و منتظمه تأسیسیله یته مرکزك نظارت عمومیه سی التنده حرکت ایلك اوزره حکومت محلیه تقویه و اقتدار ایدلمسی و ایکنجیسی طشره لرده مجلسلر هم امور ملکیه نك موقع مذاکره وعهده مواد حقوقیه نك تحکمه سی اولهرق واجراءاموریٔ محاکم ایشلرنده یوقه رق بوتدن نجمه قاریشمغلق واویغونسزلقلرظهوره کلدیکندن و بوجهتله امور ملکیه ایله احکام شرعیه ومواد قانونیه ونظامیه نك تفریق مصالح دولتجه وخلقك حقوقه قطعیه لابد ایدوکندن امور ملکیه ایشلرینك تفریقیله حقوقه عائد خصوصاتی رؤیت ایدن محاکمهٔ شرعیه الك اصلاح وتنظیمی واوجهیسی دخی حقوق و وظایف متنوعیت وتابعیتك تعیینیله برابر هر پرده اصلاحات مادیه و معنویه نك اکمال وترقیسنه مدار اولهرق جق وسائل واسبابك استحصالی مادهٔ لابدیر بوقواعده تطبیقا طونه ولایتنك بدی سکر آی ایچنده کوسترديکی فعلیات وآثار اصلا حالتك اشعارات محلیه دن مستفاد اولان فذلکه سنه نظرا ولایته مربوط اولان الویه نك ودرجهٔ تابعه ده قضالرینك تفریق وتقسیمله قریه لرك دخی موقع جغرافیاری ومناسبت وقربیتلری ایجابتجه لازم کلان قضالره الحاقی وتکالیف ودولتك تقاسیط شهریه یه ربطیله صورت استیفاسی حقنده سائر بعض تسهیلاته دائرهٔ قاعدهٔ مخصوصه وضع واعمالاتی وعساکر ضبطیه پر آلای اعتباریله محدداً ترتیب وتنسیق وتفتیش مأمورلری افراد ضبطیه دن تفریق اولنه رق بونلرك وتحصیلدار صنفی ایله جمعیتخانه مأمورلرینك وتشکیل ایدیلان ضابطه مأمورلرینك وظایف وصورت حرکتلرینی مبین تعلیمات متعدده نشری وولایتك امور مالیه نظامنامه سی حکمنجه محدداً قیود ودفاتر تنظیمی کبی اجرآت اساسیه وجوده کتورلمش اولدقدن بشقه ولایت داخلنده کائن محللر اهالیسندن اکثریتك یکن سنه‌کی محصوللرندن ارتدفلری ذخایر متنوعه امتعالیه هر قصادره پر مملکت ضبطیه تشکیل اولنه رق بونلرك خلیسی اجلوب یوزده اون ایکی فائض ایله اهالیٔ زراعه الحق اقراضنه باشلامش ودیکر قضالرده اومقوله مرتب اولان محصولاتك شو پرفاج آی ایچنده صاتیلوب الحق ایدلمسی و بوسنه دخی یته اویله پر مقدار ذخایر ارتیله رق المتیله سرمایهٔ موجود تك توسیعی دردست اولوب یکسن سنه‌کی سرمایه ایله بوسنه نك سرمایه سی برلشدیکی حالده ولایت مملکت ضبطیه لری تخمینا اوتوز فرق یك کیسه سرمایه یی جامع اولهجقی تخمین قلنمقدر مرکز ولایت اولان روسچقده پرطوبخانه کشاد اولنوب امور و لایتنه متعلق کافهٔ اوراق رسمیه بو مطبعه ده حروف ولیطوغرافیا واسطه سیله طبع اولدیغی کبی طونه نامیله وهفته ده پرکره ترکجه و بلغارجه اولهرق برغزته چیقارلمقده واشبو ایکی لسان اوزره کتب ورسائل دخی طبع اولنقده بولنمش وروسچقدن هزارغراد وشمنی ویکی بازار ووارنه یه یولجی طاشیمق ودولت بوستهلرینی کوتوروب کنورمك اوزره داخلی برعربه قومپانیه سی تشکیل وتأسیس اولنه رق ایشلمکه باشلامشدر بنیاد یا یلدیغی کبی روسچق و کوستنجه ده دخی اهالیٔ قدیمه ومهاجره اطفال وایتامنك اتفاق وتربیه سیچون پرر اصلاحخانه ومحبوسین موجوده یوش طوردیموب صنعت صاحبی اولمغله برابر محبوسدن چیفه جقلری وقت الرنده سرمایه یولنمق وعسا کرضبطیه النسه وایالی قابلری دخی اهون شیئات ایله وجوده کلك اوزره پرصنعتخانه وصوفیه وطرتوی و وارنه وطوزلجه ده دخی پرر مرکز اوطه سی تأسیس وکشاد اولنوب روسچقدن طرنوی وزشتوی و پلونه وصوفیه طرفلرینه پرر قول طریقك محدداً [illegible] تعین صنوفی و کال لوازم اسکانیه لری ایله ادوات زراعیه لرینك تنظیم وتسویه سنه وسه دن ودینه قدر طونه نك بر طرفنده یارم و پرساعت فاصله ایله محدداً ایکی یوزعدد قرانغوطخانه تنظیمی و بونلرده بوانسه جق پرلو عسکرینك ترتیبی ماده سنك مخصوص مأمور ومعهد سایر معرفتلریله تسویهٔ مقتضاسنه وروسچق وکوستنجه و پلونه ولوم قصبه لرنده غربا ایچون پرر خسته خانه انسانی وودین وروسچق قلعه لرینك جریان نهردن حاصل ایلمکله اولدیغی رخنه لرك منع وقوعی ایچون اسوقلعه لرك اوکلرینه ونهرك اوزرینه پرر پرختم یاپلمسی خصوصنه و ولایت داخلنده حکومت قونغلی اولیان قضالرده مدیر وضابطه مأمورلری ایچون قونغلر تنظیمنه وفن زراعتك نشر فوائدی ضمننده استانبول اصولنك اجراسنه ومکاتب صنعیه نك تنظیم احوالنه تشبث قلنمش واز دواج وتناسلك تکثیری ایچون خلفك مجبور اولدیغی تکلفات ومصارفات زائده نك الغاسیله اهالینك حالا درت صنفه تقسیمی ومقدار مصرفلرینك تعیینی امرلرنده قاعدهٔ جدیده وضع وتخصیص وامور زراعتك تنظیمنه موقع نمونه اولق اوزره تجربهٔ زراعت چفلکی نامیله پر محل یاپلمش وروسچقدن وارنه یه قدر یکن سنه قومپانیه معرفتیله مباشرت اولنان تمور یولی عملیاتی نصفنه قریب اولوب کله چك سنه یه خاتمی مأمول اولدیغی اکلاشیلمشدر اشبو ولایت مذکوره نك یاشلی واساسلی اجرآتی ومشغول اولدیغی موادك درجاتی بالاده تعداد وایراد اولنوب بونلرك هر برنده ایسه ادارهٔ دولت وحکومته وملك وملته عائد پر کونه فوائد ومحسنات موجود وعیان اولمسیله اوخوالی اهالیسی سایهٔ اطفوابهٔ حضرت ملوکانه ده بویله جهات عدیده ایله نائل ومظهر اولمقده بولندقلری نعم معدلت ووسائل امنیت واسترا حتدن طولایی مفروض عهدهٔ مصادقتاری اولان دعای توافر عمر وشوکت جناب تاجداری یه تردیفا عرض تشکرات لایحصی ایلمکده بولنمش اولدقلری مثللو ان شاء الله تعالی دیکر ولایترجه دخی ختام تشکیلات اوزرینه بویله وهر برینك اجابات موفقیه لرینه وافق صورتده اجرآت عدیده واصلاحات خیریه نك قریبا تیسر حصولیله برووفق دلخواه عالی ابراز آثار مبارکه واعتلا خانه جنی وبالاده عرض وبیان قلندیغی وجهله اشبو ولایترجه اتخاذ اولنان تنظیماتك مستند اولدیغی قواعد اساسا موافق حکمت وحکومت اولدیغی مثللو طونه ولایتنده وقوعبولان اجرآت وبایسلان تفریقاتی دخی شو تدبرك محاسن آثاریتی مؤید ومثبت اولمغله بونك ممالك شاهانه نك هر برطرفنده اجراسی آرزو اولنور ایسه ده کرك مأموریتلرك توسیع معاملاتلرندن وکرك مجددا برطاقم مأموریتلرك احداثات وتعیینلرندن طولایی هر برولایتده ازچوق برمقدار فضله مصرفه احتیاج کورنیوب اکرچه اصلاحات واقعه تکثیر معموریت وسائر اسباب وجهتله ایله تزیید ایده جکی واردات ایله بو مصارفك ایلك سنه سنده اولز ایسه ایکنجی واوچنجی سنه لرنده اورتایه جکدن قطعا شبهه یوغیسه ده نصل اولسه ابتدا لرنده براز الحق صرف اولنه جغنه و بو اصول تعمیم اولنسه شو ارالق خزینه یه بار جدید اولهجقدن بناء اصلاحات واقعه تخفیف مصارف ایتدیکه درجه درجه بو ولایت اصولنك سائر یرلرده دخی اجراسنه تشبث اولنمسی متصور اولدیغی حالده سائر ایالتلرك بتون بتون اسکی حالده قالمسی دخی تجویز اولنه میه جغندن ولایت اصولارندن بر درجه فرقلی اولق اوزره سائر ایالات والویه نك دخی مؤسس اولان نظامات اداره واصول موجودهٔ تحفظیه سیله مأمورین ملکیه ومالیه سی وظایفنك اصلاحی وحدا بعض مواد تنظیمیه نك علاوه سی مجلس والاجه دردست مذاکره و استیذان اولمغله شو تشبثات واجرآت ممالك محروسهٔ شاهانه ادارهٔ عمومیه سنك اکمال تنظیمات ملزمه سنه دلالت ایلیه جکی مأمول ومنتظر قویدر

طشره لرجه سنهٔ سابقه ده اعمارانه متعلق اجرا اولنان خصوصاته دائر تنظیم ولفا عرض وتقدیم قلنان برقطعه جدوله کوسترلدیکی وتحقیقات واشعارات واقعه دن متفهم اولدیغی وجهله کول ونهر محرارینك تطهیر وتسویه سی کبی اداضیتك معموریتی وزراعت وحرانتك ترقیاتی وواردات خزینه نك تکثیریتی موجب اولهجق وتجارت وصنایع داخلیه نك ایلرولمسی استلزام ایلیه جك تشبثات وتدابیره مداومت وغیرتله برابر عساکر حضرت شاهانه یه متعلق قشله وخسته خانه وحبهانه نك مثللو ایلمنك ومحافظه جه لازم اولان قله وقره غولخانه لرك تنظیم وتأسیسی واولکی سنه بایلان یوللردن بشقه برخیلی مسافه طرق ومعابرك تسویه سی ایله ایکی یوزه قریب کوپری انشا وازمیر واداسه طرفلرنده یاموق زراعتك تزایدندن طولایی متعدد دفاتر یکدن تنظیمی وبکن سنه برقومپانیه یه ویرلدن امتیاز اوزرینه ازمیر شهری اسواقندهٔ غاز اشعاله وسرای بوسنه شهرنده دخی عادی فنار لر وضع وایقادینه وادرنه ایالتنده اعمار محللری تشکیلیله طونه ولایتده یاپلدیغی اوزره اغراض صنعتکاری ترتیبنه ابتدار اولنوب ومعلوم الاسامی ایالات والویه ده اون عدد محکمهٔ تجارت تشکیل ایدیلوب یوشیلردن بشقه رمیلیون یدی یوز یوقدریك عدد امتعهٔ غرسیله ملکجه واهالیجه اقتطاف ثمراته جالیتلمقده بولنمش اولدیغی مثللو حلب ایالتی داخلنده کائن زور قطعهٔ جسیمه سنك سایهٔ مقتدرانوایهٔ جناب پادشاهیده قوهٔ عسکریه سوقیله اصلاحات ملکیه سی وعشایر عربانك تأدیب وتربیه سی اجرا ومستعد مدنیت اولان قبایل اسکان وابوا ابله واردات جدیده استحصال واستیفا سنه وخربوت طرفلرنده الحق طاغ حوا ایسنك وکردستان ایالتجه جول عشایرینك اصلاح احوالیله بورادره دخی قشله و یوللر یاپیله رق بدوی الطبع اولان برطاقم اهالینك توطین واسکانته ابتدار اولنمش وقوزان و برکت طاغلری عشایرینك دخی بودفعه مخصوصا سوق وتسریب بیورلدن قوهٔ مکمله واسطه سیله اصلاحاتی در دست اجرا بولنمش اولمغله

ASTRA KODTO C.A. [illegible] BUCUREȘTI

مواد خصوصیه

ایکنجی اردوی همایون مشیری اولوب ودینه عزیمت بیوردقلری اولکی عزتله‌ده بیان اولنان دولتلو عبدی پاشا حضرتلری بو دفعه‌ده روسچمه‌ده بالورود شمنی یه عزیمت وعودت بیور مشلردر

اردوی همایون مذکورار کاستدن ودین فرقه‌عسکریه‌سی قوماندانی فریق سعادتلو عزمی شوقی پاشاحضرتلری دخی مشیر مشار الیه‌ایله برلکده ودیندن روسچمه‌ده کلوب شمنی یه عزیمت ایلمشلردر

اشو سکسان برسنه‌سی شهر حزیرانك اون اوچنجی پازار کونی مبدأ سعادت تحال ملك وملت ومنبع جویار قوت دولت اولان جلوس همیمت مأنوس حضرت پادشاهینك یوم مسعودی ویوصورتله پازار ایرتسی کیجه‌سی عالمك ابتدای لیله‌ٔ قدری اولمسیله یوم مذکوردن کافهٔ مأمورین ملکیه وشرعیه‌ایله موجود دیوانان امرا ونشابطان عسکریه اعیاد مبارکیه توفیقا طاغ طاغ والیٔ ولایت دولتلو پاشا حضرتلرینه کلوب ایفای تبریك وتهنیت وعرض سرور وشکرانیت ایلدیکی واوقات خمسه‌ده برا ونهرا طو پلرا تلدیغی مثلو دول متحابه قونسولسلریله رفاقت مأمورلری دخی البسهٔ رسمیه‌لریله دارهٔ ولایته بالورود رسم وزیارته بی اجرا ایلمش وار کیجه والیٔ مشار الیه حضرتلری جانبلرندن متحیزان صنوف بندکان ایله مومی الیهم قونسولسلره وبعض سرامدان مأمورین اجنبیه یه بریوك ضیافت ویرلمشدر لیلهٔ مذکوره‌ده برلو واجنبی متعینان خانه‌لریله بتون چارسوی مملکت وعلی الخصوص دارهٔ ولایت میدان کلستان نشانیله قارشوسنه مصادف اولان طو بخانه عامره‌سی وجانبنده‌سه کائن تلغرافخانه ومطبعه اولکاری انواع قنادیل انجم عدیل ایله تزیین اولدقدن بعده‌ن نصف اللیله قدر موزیقه جانبلریله رق ودرلو فشکلر آتیله رق جمله طرفدن آتار سنروشادمانی ایصال طاق آسمانی فلیمش واثنای طعامده اوسترتیا دولت فخیمه‌سی قونسولوسی موسیو مارنیو رفقاسی طرفندن یمانه بدست وکالت اولدیغی حالده لیلهٔ مسرتك تهنیتیله پرابراز وقت ایچنده ترقیات ولایت وعملکتی تفدیرا برنطق ایراد ایتمش وعقیبنده والیٔ مشار الیه حضرتلری طرفلرندن دخی مقابله پیورلمش ومجلس مطعام یوجه لطیف ایله قرین حسن ختام اولمش اولمغله مقام تشکر وافتخارده اولمه‌رق اعلان کیفیته مبادرت وشورا سی دخی شایان دقدر که روسچمی قصبه‌سنك سوقاقلری سیرتجی ایله مالامال اولوب ایچنده هرنوع وصنفدن آدم اولدیغی حالده اصول ضابطه‌یه واقتضای ادبیه مخالف هیچ کیمسه طرفندن جزئی وکلی برحرکت ومعامله وقوعبولمیه رق هرکس عموما راحت واسایش ایله حصه‌دار سرور ومفخرت نامحصور اولمغین بوحال دخی اهالیٔ شهرك نشانهٔ حسن ادب واخلاق اولمغله رق بونك ایچون دخی بشسفه جه تشکره مبارعت قلندی جناب رب العالمین اشبو روز فیروز ولیلهٔ بهجت افروزك هزار امثالنك ادرا کیله بالجمله بندکان وزیر دستانی کامیین ایلیه امین

طونه ولایتی زراعت مدیر لکی طرفندن مطبعه‌یه ویرلان ورقه‌نك عینیدر

روح جسم نباتات صو اولوب بو اولدقجه قوری طوپراقدن برشی حاصل اولمدیغی جمله عندنده معلوم اولمغله رق حتی یوسنه شوحوالیجه مشهود اولان قوراقلق دخی بو افاده یی مؤید در صولر ونهرلر اولان یرده واتاطولی وروم ایلینك بعض محلاتنده کوراندیکی وجهله بعض امور اولیسان موسملرده ترلاری صولامق لازم ایسه‌ده بوصورت صو بولنمیان یره کوره فائدهٔ اولمه‌یه جقدن بومثلو محلاردایچون دخی بعض وسائله

لومدن تحریرات مخصوصه

طونه غزته‌سنك مخبرلکنی قبول ایدوب ایلك دفعه اولق اوزره بروجه اتی حوادثی بیان ایدرم اوح نفر بلغار جیدودی برقوچه فضاسنده وبشته قریه‌لی چفونك اوغلی طوغمش ولوم فضاسنده اصلیوویك قریه‌لی پژه‌نك خانه‌سنه کیده‌رك اورادن دخی بعض مأکولات وچاریق الوب عودت ایتمش اوادقلری حالده‌لین قریه‌سی اورمانلرنده صید وشکارایله مشغول اولان بلغارلرله تصادف ایتدکلرنده یوبلغارلر کویا کندولرینك اوزرینه کلشلردر ظنیله اشقیای مرقومه خوفه دوشه‌رك بانلرنده باغلو کزدر دکلری مرقوم چفونك اوغلنی یراقوب فرار ایتمشلردر

چفونك اوغلنك افاده‌سنه کوره یونلرك بربیسی ضرب طرفنه قرار ایتمش اولان متفوجه‌لی کل یقوب ودیکری دخی کیجه‌لین خانه‌سندن مأکولات وچاریق الشان مرقوم پژه ودیکری نامعلوم اولوب یونلرك اخذ وکرفتی ایچون لوم مدیری علی رضا افندی طرفندن عساکر ضبطیه سوق اولنمغله یاخیجا وبامینا دردستری مأمولدر ایلروده نه‌وقوعات اولور ایسه یازارم

مواد عمومیه

ادرنه‌دن تحریرات مخصوصه

ادرنه‌دن درسعادته کیدن طریقك مقدما یابدیریلان خریطه‌سی موجبنجه انشاسنه مباشرت اولنه‌رق بهر یکرمی خطوه‌ده برمحله یوز یکرمیشر عربه طاش وچاقل وقوم یغدیرلمقده درا لیحه‌دن احیولی برغوسنه کیدن پول دخی بالفعال اونه یوزنه بونلرقرا ایله اسلیمه سنجاغی قضاسنك طریق تجارتی اولوب یعمورلی هوارده چامورددن چکلمز درجه‌ده فنا اولدیغندن بوراسنك دخی نافعه نظارت جلیله سندن تعیین واعزام بیورلان متهدسلر واسطه‌سیله خریطه‌سی الدیرلمش اولمغله امر انشاسنه مباشرت اولنمق اوزره در

بو حوالیده فصل شتا وموسم بهار اهالیٔ زراعه کوز اچدیرمیه جق صورتله پك زیاده یعمورلر ایله کدران ایتدیکندن هرسنه اکیلان تخمك بوسنه نصفی بیله اکیله‌مدی وبو یازمیوسنه‌ده دخی مطلوب وجهله یعمورلر یاغمدیغندن مزروعات موجوده قورا قلقدن فنا اندی

نفس ادرنه شهریله بعض قصبات وقرالك کلیتلی تجارتی ایله محصولی اولدیغی حالده یرلاج سنه‌ده دنبرو ایك یوجکلرینه عارض اولان خسته‌لك بوتجارتله مألوف اولانلری کلی خسارزیانه اوغرامقده ایدی اکرچه بوسنه دخی اوعلت موجود ایسه‌ده منعین ماضیه‌یه نسبتله اهونجه اولدیغندن محصول مذکورك وسط حالده استحصالی امید اولنور

اخلاق عمالکی محصولات تندن چناق جوملك وچوجوق اویونجقی کبی برطاقم اوفق تفك شایاندن عبارت اولمه‌رق هرسنه شو موسمده بکرش جوارندهموش نام محلده پرپنار اطفی وجوار قصبالرندن وبکرش ایچندن یکارجه آده‌لرایش اون کون اورایه بریکوب اخذ واعطا وسائك ایتمك اوته دنبرو عادت اولمش اولمغله بودفعه‌ده عموما شوجه‌یمندن استفاده ایدلمك یعنی بو پنار وسیله سیله مملکتین محصولات ارضیه وصناعیه‌سی تشهیر اولنوب شایان بسند اولان شیلر ایچون اصحابنه مکافات اجراسیله خلق معارف وصنایعه تشویق ایتمك ایچون اوچنجه جانب امارتدن جلب اولنان انواع اشیانمونه سندن عبارت اولمه‌رق ما یسك یکرمنجی کونی محل مذکوره‌ده برسرکی اچیلدیغی ایشیدلمش وبونك تثبیت لازمدر شویله که اکرچه اصل صوبك پرینی طونه‌مز ایسه‌ده طو یراغك جوق وقت رطوبتی زائل اولمامق ایچون طو یراغی قوتسز اولان ترلاره خارجدن وکل نوعندن برمقدار اوزلی طو یراق کتوروب وفارشدیروب ترلارك بوزینی دخی طبرمق وچاپله ایله ایوجه اوفالیه رق دوزلمك وباخود اکثری اکزدن اول بعض نوع نباتات اکوب بونك یشیلی رطوبتلی کوپره اوله جعدن بوکوپره صبانن ایله طو یراغه کوملدکدن صکره تخم اکلك وبوده اوله‌مزایسه صباتی درپچه ودوز کوتوچه یورتمك نقصانی رطوبتك وسائل مخصوصه سندندر قالدیکه بورالرجه زراعتك قوللانلدقلری عادتی صبانلر ایله مطلوب وجهله طو یراغك التی اوستنه چویره رك درین سورمك ممکن اوله میه‌جعندن پوللق تعمیر ایدیلان صبالرك هرپرده ایجاد وتکثیرینه چالشلمسی ایجاب ایدر صوصزلغك محصولاته نه‌درجه ضرری وار ایسه کثرت رطوبتك دخی محصولاتی چورتدیکی وچاپر اولان محللری صو باصوب ایده‌رچوق مدت طورور ایسه اورالرده نباتاتك فامش وساز کبی شیلره منقلب اولدیغی معلومدر اشته چوق صوطورانلر یرلرك دخی جدولر وخرطلرکشاده یله اصلاحی لازمه‌دن اولمغله بورالرینی ارباب زراعت بتلك واوکرنمك اقتضا ایدر

ار کوب قضاسنه تابع زیطورا که قریه‌لی میلقوتك کیجه‌لین خانه‌سندن برطاقم اشیاسرقت اولنه‌رق مرقوم کیفیتی اوجوار محافظه‌سنه مأمورعسا کرضبطیه ضابطه‌سنه خبر ویرمش اولمسنه مبنی ضابط مرقوم کیجه ساعت درت قرارلرنده قبرده طولاشمقده اولدیغی حالده اوچ نفر کسه‌مر قومك اوزرینه کلش ووقوع اولانی سؤاله جواب ویرمیوب تسهیر سلاحه ابتدار ایتمش اولدیغندن بروطرفدن دخی اولتان مقابله‌ده اشخاص مرقومه دن بربسی تلف اولوب دیکر ایکی نفری فرار ایلمش وفرداسی کوفی اوحلده مرقوم میلقوتك اموال مسروقه سندن بعض شیلرینه رق یونلرکندوسنك مالی اولدیغی اثبات ایتمش اولمسیله اشخاص مرقومه‌نك سارق اولدقلری ومقتول اولان شخص پرشنه قضاسنه مضافه راتوبچه قریه‌لی عباس اولوب فرارایدنلرك دخی قضاء مذکوره‌ده قوراکی قریه‌لی بشارایله خرسزلقده مشهوراولان لوش نام کسنه ایدوکی اکلاشیله رق یونلرك دخی اخذ وکرفتی ضمنده تدابیر لازمه‌یه تشبث اولندیغی محلی وقوعات زورنالنده کورلمشدر

لوجه قصبه‌سی اهالیسندن یاسیان کل حسن اوغلی مصطفی ومحمد علی بودفعه‌ده طریق شقاوته سلوك ایدرك قضاء مزبورداخلنده کائن دووره‌دن قریه‌لی محمد کك اوکنه چیقوب برعدد شال قوشاغنی وطوربان قریه‌لی برخرستیانك دخی یوزالتی غروشنی غصب ایتمش اولدقلری ومذکور طوربان قریه‌سی مخبرارای مال صندیغنه الچه کوتوررز ایکی یونلرك دخی اوکلرینه چیقه‌رق وسلاح آتارق صوبمق استه‌مسلر ایسه‌ده نصلسه موفق اولامه‌دقلری جانب حکومتدن استخبار واخذوکرفتلریچون نفرات ضبطیه اعزام وتسیار اولنمش ومرقومان ایله یناقلری اسماعیل اله کتوریلوب استنطاقلری اجرا اولنمقده بولنمش ایدوکی

ووارنه قضاسنده کورکار قریه‌لی نیقوله بی باشنه طاش ایله اوروب قتل ایدن یمحال ودوبری ویوان وینه وارنه‌ده یونانی اناسطاشك نکن کون مجروحا فوت اولمسیله فاظری اولان یونانی میکل ورفیقلری تبعهٔ دولت علیه دن وارنه‌لی ماربن واستاوری وناقو وکوستندیلده تمکن ایکی قتیلا فوت اولان باشقوتك قاتلی حد متکاری اندون نام کسنه‌لر محکمه‌ری حکومتاری معرفتیله طونبلوب تحت توقیف واستنطاقه‌اندقلری

وفی الاصل فلبه قضاسنده کوپو ناحیه سنده باشکلی قریه‌لی اولوب درت سنه اول ایزلادی قضاسنه تابع کلیسا قریه‌سی ساکنلرندن عیسانك قریه‌نشان اولدیغی صمره ده غیبوبت ایدن احمدك طریق شقاوته سلوك ایله یازلری ایزلادی وفیلیری تکفور طاغی طرفلرنده جیدو دلی ایلدیکی وارادعه فاین پدری مرقوم عیسانك خانه سنده اختفا ایتدیکی خبرالله رق مرقوم بودفعه دخی فاین پدری اوینه کلدکده حکومت طرفندن باصدیرولوب اعمال سلاحه میدان قالمقسزین اخذ وکرفت اولندیغی محال مذکوره وقوعات زورنالرنده محرردر

سیروتماشا سیچون روسچمه‌دن دخی بعضیلری کتمشیدی اشوسرکیده هردرلو اشیادن بعض یکنه‌جك چوقه‌لر کورلمش ایسه‌ده چندسنه اول تأسیس اولنمش اولان زراعت مکتبی مأمورلرینك اقدامی وساکردانك اجراآت عملیه سی ایله میدانه کتورولان ذخایر وسائر انواع نباتات نمونه لری واورو پا کاری صبالر وتخم اکمجك ومصر بغدایی دانه‌لیه‌جك بعض ماکنه وآلات اشیای موجوده‌نك هپسندن زیاده شایان پسند اولدیغی خبر ویرلمکده در

اتاطولی غزته‌سندن الثوب کچن هفته‌کی غزته‌یه درج اولنان فقرات نوعیه‌ده ممالك عثمانیه‌نك بهر ساعت مربعنه ۳۲۵ نفوس اصابت ایدردیه‌جك یرده سهوا یوز یکرمی بش یازلمش اولمغله تصحیح اولنور

حوادث خانجه

فرانسه طبیه مجلسی طرفندن طبع اولنقده بولنان غزته‌نك یازیشه کوره سنهٔ سابقه‌ده فرانسه ده قودومرمش حیوانات زخمدار اولمه‌رق مئاً ثرا ایکی یك اوچیوز نفوس هلاك اولمش ویوغلته مبتلا اولانلردن شمدی یه دکین چاره سی بولنوب هیچ برفردك قورتاریله مامش اولدیغی حالده بودفعه برست خسته خانه سی سرطبیی اشبو علته مبتلا اولمش برخسته یه تداوی ایدر ایکن هر نصلسه مرقوم خسته‌نك توکروکی جوره سنه واندن دخی وجودینه سورغسندن سکرکون صکره بوکا مبتلا اولانلر علامتلرینك یعنی صویی کوردیکنده خوف ایلمسی وبوکا مماثل تجربه ایدلمش اولان اوضاع سائره سنك کندوسنده ظهوره کلمکه باشلامسی دلالتیله علت مذکوریه کرفتار اولدیغی درك ایدرك حیاتدن نا امید بولندیغی حالده قضای ماانفق مذکور خسته خانه‌نك بخار جامعه کیرمش وزیاده تریلوب چیقدیغنده علت مزبوره آثارینك زائل وانحراف مزاجی کرکی کبی صحته مائل اولوب واره دن جوق کچمکسزین بتون بتون پرؤتام حاصل ایدوب مؤخرا بوعلته مبتلا اولمه‌رق خسته خانه‌یه کتورلمش اولان برخسته‌نك دخی علی الدوام برفاج کون مذکور جامه قویوب ترلدیریله رك افاقتیاب اولدیغی کورلیلوب علت مذکورینك اندفاعی چاره سی بهر کون جامه قویوب ایوجه ترلتمکدن عبارت بولندیغی انکلشلمشدر

پارسنده بودفعه حیوانلرك نعل یرینه اباغنه یاپشدیرلق اوزره ایجاد ایدلمش اولان غایت قیی برنوع لاستیقی طباش اوزرینه یاصدیغنده فایماملق وزیاده طیماملق ومثلو تجربه ایدیلان فوائدینه مبنی عموما استعمالیه عتیق نعلارك ترك اولنمسی یولی بولنمشدر

(روزنامهٔ جریدهٔ حوادث)

اعلانات

اوسترتیا دولت فخیمه‌سی تبعه سندن بوحوالیده بولنانلرك دولت مشار الیهانك تجارت قانوننامه‌سی موجبنجه برآی ظرفنده امضالرینه صفت تعیتارینی روسچمه‌ده کائن اوسترتیا قونسولخانه سنه قید ایتدرملری وشرکتنه متعلق ایسارای اولدیغی حالده شرکت مقاوله نامه‌لرینی دخی ابراز ایتملری لازم کله‌جکی قونسولخانه طرفندن وقوعبولان التماس رسمی اوزرینه اعلان اولنور

حنطه (سواحلیده اولان اسکله‌لرده ذخائرك فیاتی)

اعلا	اوسط	ادنا	شعیر	قوقورووز	روغن ساده	روغن چرویش	اسامی مواقع
قیمه	قیمه	قیمه	قیمه	قیمه	قیمه	قیمه	
۱	۱	۱	۱	۱	۱	۱	
پاره	پاره	پاره	پاره	پاره	پاره	پاره	
۲۵	۲۱	۱۹	۱۱	۱۵	۴۴۰	۳۶۰	روسچق
۲۸	۲۵	۲۲	۱۴	۱۴	۴۸۰	۳۶۰	ودین
۳۱	۲۸	۲۵	۱۴	۱۹	۵۲۰	۳۸۰	وارنه
۳۳	۳۰	۲۳	۱۰	۱۸	۶۲۰	۴۰۰	طولجی
۴۰	۳۲	۲۸	۱۱	۰۰	۵۸۰	۴۰۰	کوستنجه
۱۵	۱۲	۱۰	۱۱	۱۰	۳۰۰	۲۲۰	صوفیه

Appendix-4

The Tuna Newspaper 176th Issue, 28 Muharrem 1284 (2 June 1867)

ГОД. III. НЕДѢЛЯ 21 МАІЯ 1867 Брой 176.

Дунавътъ излиза два пѫти въ седмицѫтѫ. Годишнитѣ и шестмѣсячнитѣ спомоществованія сѧ пріиматъ въ книгопечатницѫтѫ на Дунавскѫтѫ область въ Русчюкъ.

ДУНАВЪ

ВѢСТНИКЪ, КОЙТО СЪДЪРЖАВА ВѢТРѢШНИ И ВЪНѢШНИ НОВИНИ И ВСѢКАКВИ РАЗСѢЖДЕНІЯ.

Годишната цѣна на вѣстника за въ велаетътъ е . . . . . гр. 70
Шестмѣсячната . . . . . „ 40
Единъ листъ 40 пари. За всѣко мѣсто вънъ отъ велаета съ царскѫтѫ пощѫ прибавятъ сѧ по 10 пари на листътъ.

1284 МУХАРЕМЪ 28 (отъ Егира) ИЗДАВА СѦ ВСѢКА СРѢДА и НЕДѢЛЯ 1867 ЮНІА 2 (н. к.)

ЧАСТНИ РАБОТИ

Правадійскыятъ мюдиринъ Абдуллахъ ага, като сѧ показваше всѣкогажъ небрѣжливъ за да издирва появяванитѣ по онази странѫ разбойници, а особенно като неможеше да поднася на Варненскыятъ каймакамлѫкъ казалійската мѣсячна равносмѣтка въ краятъ на всѣки мѣсяцъ, споредъ както сѧ изисква отъ правилата, видѣ сѧ за нуждно да сѧ промѣни отъ службѫтѫ сѝ, и на негово мѣсто сѧ опрѣдѣли напрѣшныятъ Мачинскы мюдиринъ Ибрахимъ ага, а за Мачинъ сѧ опрѣдѣли напрѣшныятъ Оряховскы мюдиринъ Али бей, който сѧ намираше въ тукашныятъ меркезъ. Подобно и Джюмалійскыятъ мюдиринъ Али ефенди, по състоянієто сѝ и по качествата сѝ като сѧ видѣ за несходенъ да управлява рѣченната каза, промѣни сѧ и той отъ това мѣсто за да сѧ испрати на други нѣкой мюдирликъ, а за Ескы-джумая сѧ опрѣдѣли напрѣшныятъ Балчишны мюдиринъ Джемалъ бей.

По причинѫ на смъртътѫ на Изнеболсвыятъ мюдиранъ Ибрахимъ бея, на мѣстото му сѧ опрѣдѣли напрѣшныятъ Габровскы мюдиринъ Ахмедъ ефенди.

Негово благородіе Исмаилъ-Кемалъ бей, който е единъ отъ главнитѣ писари въ велаетското писалище, обнародва особно, извѣстіе за изданіето на едно періодическо списаніе подъ наименованіе: „ИСТОЧНИКЪ МНЕНІЯ“, което ще сѧ издава единъ пѫтъ на мѣсяцътъ. Г-но му благоволи да даде и на печатницѫтѫ ни едно отъ тія извѣстія, което обнародваме спорядъ както слѣдва:

Ако хвърлимъ единъ погледъ върху просвѣщението и благосъстоянието на Европейскытѣ държави, и направимъ едно сравненіе съ държавѫтѫ на царското правителство, ний щѣ видимъ че въ всѣко мѣсто на западнѫ Европѫ богатството и благосъстоянието сѫ достигнѫли до изискаемѫтѫ си крайнѫ степень, а за нашето отечество ако и да неможе да сѧ каже че е съвсѣмъ въ невѣжество, нъ то е останало твърдѣ назадъ въ търговіятѫ и въ индустріятѫ, които сѫ главнитѣ средства за усъвършенствованіето на общето обогатяваніе и благоденствіе. Коя е причината на това наше положеніе? Да ли че жителитѣ ни сѫ лишени отъ умственнитѣ способности, съ които Провидението е надарило безъ разликъ всичкото земно населеніе? или пѫкъ нашето отечество нѣма естественна способность за да прави разни търговіи,я да сѧ занимава съ индустріята? Не, нъ при всичко това, Европейцитѣ на които сѧ удивляваме, напротивъ считатъ за невѣжество степеньта на просвѣщението и природното умственно развитіе, до които сѫ достигнѫли нашитѣ жители. Основателитѣ на наукытѣ и просвѣщението сѫ были отъ нашія народъ, а Европейцитѣ сѫ могли само да усъвършенствоватъ и увѣнчеятъ тѣхнитѣ изобрѣтенія, съ които сега сѧ радватъ и наслаждаватъ.

Земята на нашето отечество е изобилна съ повечето произведенія, които сѧ употрѣбляватъ въ свѣтътъ, та още има и рудници такыва, които можятъ да послужятъ за всякакви художественни изработванія, и отъ основнитѣ състави чрѣзъ които сѧ върти търговіята и искуствата въ Европѫ, отъ едни малко, а отъ други много сѫ въ рѫцѣтѣ ни, нъ ніи не знаемъ да сѧ възползуваме отъ употрѣбленіето имъ. Тія основни състави за които ни е думата, сѫ вѫтрѣшнитѣ ни произведенія.

Отъ това сѧ разумѣва, че причината за гдѣто сме останали тѫй назадъ, е недостатокътъ, който сѧ вижда въ употрѣбленіето на моралното украшеніе и добрина, и въ природнытѣ веществениx способность и качество, съ които всевышный Богъ е надарилъ отечеството ни. Ето слѣдствіето на недостатокътъ, който ни е направилъ да останемъ по долни отъ твърдѣ много народности, когато нашіятъ народъ по своя мораденъ и веществеенъ материялъ, трѣбваше да сѧ счита за прьвь на свѣтътъ. А причината на това е, че отъ много врѣмя насамъ ніи немарехме за распространеніето на наукѫтѫ и просвѣщеніето.

Обнадѣждени, че като послѣдваме направленіето на нашитѣ прѣдшественници, които сѫ источникътъ на наукѫтѫ и просвѣщеніето, чрѣзъ които сѫ сѧ и прославили, и като сравнимъ положеніето въ което сѧ намираме днесь, ще видимъ че възрожденіето на нашія народъ и на отечеството ни, ще сѧ сподучи само чрѣзъ распространеніето на наукѫтѫ и просвѣщеніето.

Въистина, онія които познаватъ исторіята, немогѫтъ да откажѫтъ че причината на ненаклонностьтѫ ни къмъ наукѫтѫ и просвѣщеніето, сѫ мѫчнотіитѣ и злитѣ събытія, които отъ много вѣкове насамъ сѧ ививахѫ едни слѣдъ други въ нашето отечество. Слава и благодареніе всевышнему Богу, че подъ щастливѫтѫ сѣнкѫ на Н. И. Величество, отъ нѣкое врѣмя насамъ не остана вече мѣсто да сѧ разносятъ разновидни вънкашни противорѣчія къмъ светото правo на царското правителство; слѣдователно, никога неможе да сѧ каже, че въ насъ сѫществува патріотизмъ, ако уприличяваме прѣминалитѣ врѣмена на сегашнитѣ, и сѧ извиняваме съ прѣминалитѣ събытія за днешното ни положеніе.

Най първата отечественна длъжность на добродѣтелнитѣ лица е: всѣки единъ да сѧ старае спорядъ колкото му допущатъ силитѣ и способностьта, да заслужва тѫй, щото да може да възползува сьотечественицитѣ сѝ.

Долоподписанный такожде катосчитамъ себе си за единъ отъ доброжелателитѣ сынове на отечеството сѝ, и като познавамъ че ми сѧ налага една часть отъ тази отечественна длъжность, прѣдприехъ да издавамъ едно повсемѣсячно періодическо списаніе на Турскы и на Българскы языкъ, подъ наименованіе *„Источникъ мнѣнія,“* на което излагамъ цѣлта по долу.

Отъ когато сѧ въведе велаетската напрѣдба по тази страна, тя успѣ въ разни отношенія, спорядъ които ще сѧ образува едно учебно отдѣленіе. Прочее ако и да е явно че жителитѣ не ще сѧ лишятъ отъ добринитѣ на наукѫтѫ и образованіето, които сѫ главнѫтѫ основѫ на тѣхното благоденствіе, нъ за да бы могли да сѧ възползуватъ бѫдѫщитѣ младежи на отечеството отъ това учебно отдѣленіе, отъ което естественно нещe можятъ да сѧ възползуватъ онія на които е минало врѣмято за да сѧ образуватъ по днешната урѣдна система, азъ сѧ наимамъ да издавамъ това періодическо *списаніе* съ цѣль, за да бѫде като едно кратко оглавденіе на наукытѣ които ще слѣдва младото поколеніе, и отъ другѫ странѫ, да дава такыва полѣзни понятія, които не сѫ познати на възрастнитѣ хора, или пѫкъ сѫ гы знаяли а не сѫ гы запомнили. Заради това ній по възможности ще сѧ стараемъ, щото Турскыятъ языкъ на когото ще сѧ списва изданіето, както и Българскыя му прѣводъ, да бѫдатъ на единъ ясенъ и всѣки му вразумителенъ языкъ.

По причинѫ на малкото ни познанія и на трудноститѣ които естественно сѧ посрѣщатъ въ начялото на всѣко едно прѣдпріятіе, азъ сѣмъ увѣренъ че достопочитаемѫтѫ публикѫ ще мя извини за недостатокътъ, когото бы срѣщнала както въ *основѫтѫ*, тѫй и въ съдържаніето и съчиненіето на списаніето ми; а поправленіето на такъвъ единъ недостатокъ, очиква сѧ отъ мнѣнієто и цѣлтѫ ми, на които сѧ и основавамъ.

Дерзающъ да рѣкѫ, че достопочитаемѫтѫ публикѫ ще пріеме и ще оцѣни тѫзи ми заслугѫ, които искамъ да й принесѫ, азъ сѧ надѣвамъ положително, че за да бы сѧ турнало въ дѣйствіе прѣдпріятіето ми, всѣки ще благоволи да стане спомоществователь, щото да могѫ да посрѣщнѫ разноскытѣ за изданіето и за печатнѣто му.

„Источникъ мнѣнія“ ще сѧ издава на Турскы и на Българскы языкъ, и ще обема 48 страници. То ще излиза въ начялото на всѣки мѣсяцъ, и ще сѧ печята въ книгопечатницѫтѫ на Дунавскѫтѫ область. Изданіето му ще захване отъ пьрви Августа.

Спомоществованіята сѫ годишни, а цѣнѫтѫ е 60 гроша. Който иска да стане спомоществователь, нека сѝ запише въ долнытѣ расписъ имято, мѣстопрѣбываніето и колкото тѣла ще пріиме, съврѣмянно да забѣлѣжи, че е платилъ стойностьтѫ му въ брой.

Онія лица които благоволятъ да ни испратятъ нѣкои вѫтрѣшни познанія достойни за вниманіе и за обнародваніе, было на Турскы, было на Българскы, или на Французскы, или на Грѣцкы, ще сѧ пріиматъ съ благодареніе и ще сѧ обнародватъ безплатно.

Освѣнъ политическытѣ въпроси които ще излага *Источникътъ мнѣнія*, той ще обнародва и разни размышленія върху наукѫтѫ и просвѣщеніето.

Русчюкъ 1867 19 Маія.

Редакторъ и издатель
Исмаилъ-Кемалъ

По една высочайшя царска заповѣдь, отъ прѣминалата година захвана да сѧ продава на части панаирското мѣсто въ Хаджиоглу Пазарджикъ. Повечето отъ това мѣсто сѧ продаде, а за да сѧ продаде и останалата му часть, главныятъ велаетскы мюдиринъ на дефтер-хаканѫтѫ, Намыкъ ефенди, завчера отиде въ рѣченныятъ градъ, гдѣто ще продава мѣстото и ще дава на купувачитѣ притѣжателнитѣ имъ тапійскы или-хабери. За това сѧ извѣстява, че който иска да си купи отъ тія мѣста, трѣбва да сѧ отнесе до рѣченныятъ мюдиринъ въ Хаджиоглу Пазарджикъ.

Извѣстяватъ ни отъ Видинъ, че попрѣди излѣзли отъ Сърбія двама души разбойници, които като дошли въ селото Рилянъ, отъ Бѣлоградчишкѫтѫ казѫ, уловили сынътъ на нѣкого си Лазарана. Разбойницитѣ прѣди да проводятъ да искатъ пари отъ бащата за да пустнѫтъ сына му, мѣстната власть сѧ извѣстила за това приключеніе, и тутакси испратила едно количество заптіета за да гонятъ разбойницитѣ. Колкото и да бѣгали разбойницитѣ, нъ заптіетата гы стигнали, и хвърлили та убили едного отъ тѣхъ, а другытѣ като пусналъ момчето, което было наранено въ рѫкѫтѫ съ нѣколко сачми, побѣгналъ прѣзъ границѫтѫ въ Сърбія.

Тія двама души разбойници сѫ отъ отсамшнитѣ жители, и прѣминалата година пѫкъ бѣхѫ слѣзли въ същето село, гдѣто убихѫ двама души цигани, и пѫкъ побѣгнахѫ въ Сърбія.

Отъ нѣколко врѣмя насамъ въ Хаджиоглу Пазарджикъ бѣше сѧ направила една телеграфическа станція, на която тія дни сѧ донесохѫ потрѣбнитѣ орудія и другитѣ телеграфическы сѫчева. Главното управленіе на телеграфитѣ испрати сега и потрѣбныятъ телеграфическы чиновникъ, и взаимнописанията сѧ отворихѫ.

Помощьта за Критскытѣ жители отъ Лѣсковскѫтѫ казѫ:

Казалійскыятъ наибинъ Мехмедъ Вехби еф. 150, Мехмедъ бей чл. въ идаре меджиси 100, хафѫзъ Ахмедъ еф. чл. въ даавійскыя съвѣтъ 100, Еминъ ага чл. въ даавійскыя съвѣтъ 30, хаджи Косто еф чл. въ идаре меджиси 50, хаджи Гончо еф, чл. въ сѫщыя съвѣтъ 50, Димитраки еф. чл. въ даавійскыя съвѣтъ 20, Михалаки еф. чл. въ сѫщыя съвѣтъ 15, касіернѣтъ хафѫзъ Сюлейманъ 30, отъ тахсилдаритѣ 77 1/2, нуфусскыя назѫринъ Ахмедъ еф. 15, хафѫзъ Мехмедъ еф. чиновникътъ на тапіитѣ 25, Абди еф. писарътъ на смѣткытѣ 15, Арсланъ ага чиновникътъ на тютюнътъ 15, Махмудъ ага 98, Шерифъ бей 38, Сюлейманъ бей 28, бейзаръ Мустафа бей 34, Ахмедъ бей 20, Хюсеинъ бей 20, Абдул-Рахманъ бей 13, Али ага 23, Юсуфъ ага 18, Шабанъ ага 28, Сандъ Занмъ 10, уста Османъ 7, Исманъ ага 48, Сялихъ спахія 13, Мустафа ага 28, Абасъ бей 17, Хасанъ ага 17, хафѫзъ Салихъ 10, хаххѫзъ Махмудъ 10, Сандъ спахія 10, Сандъ ага 19, тюфекчіятъ Белязъ ага 10, Кадри Яшяръ ага 38, Османъ ага 19, молла Али 14, Хасанъ ага 10, Ибрахимъ ага 10, Омеръ ага 10, Реджебъ ага 28, Фезиз еф. 19, Сюлеиманъ спахія 14, Мехмедъ ага 10, молла Дурмушъ 14, попъ Мито владишкыя векилинъ 20, търговецътъ Кьоко 48, Тасо 48, Стоянчо ага 48, Мито 24, хаджи Стоянъ 19, Яню 18 1/2, терзіятъ Миденко 17 1/2, механеджіятъ Гьорги 14, юрганджіятъ Иванъ 18, ба-

калинътъ Томо $9\frac{1}{2}$, Косто $9\frac{1}{2}$, Трайко 6, кръчмарътъ Миленко 18, бакалинътъ Гьорго 18, касабъ Коста пазвъ огау 28, кръчмарътъ Коста 10, кръчмарътъ Гьорго 9, Цвѣтко $9\frac{1}{2}$, Иванъ симитчіятъ $9\frac{1}{2}$, кръчмарътъ Стойко 9, терзіятъ Тасо 9, Иванъ 9, търговецътъ Нешко 48. Всичкото количество на помощьтѫ отъ Лѣсковскътѫ казѫ възлиза на гр. $1995\frac{1}{2}$.

Отъ Нишъ.

Отъ първенцитѣ Ювувъ бей гр. 100, хад. Халилъ ага 60, модирипътъ на Ислях-хането Мустафа ага 53, чиновникътъ на Ислях-хането Абдуллахъ еф. 25, Али еф. писарътъ на Ислях-хането $15\frac{1}{2}$, Мустафа ага 25, Зюкрія ага 50, Меххмедъ ага 40, Хасанъ ага $17\frac{1}{2}$, наибинътъ Мехмедъ ага 10, хамамджіятъ Хюсеинъ ага 25, хад. Мустафа ага 30, Дервишъ бей 50, воденчярътъ Али бей 20, отъ кръчмарскыя еснафъ 250. Сумма гр. $795\frac{1}{2}$. Всичкото количество на помощьтѫ отъ казитѣ въ Нишкыя санджякъ възлиза на гр. $6441\frac{3}{4}$.

ОБЩИ РАБОТИ

Въ всяко мѣсто на царскытѫ държавѫ, ній виждаме доволни успѣхи и различни нарѣдби, които сѫ свидѣтелство на ежедневнитѣ полагаеми царскы старанія за напрѣдъкътъ на всяко едно нѣщо. Подобни старанія показва и Н. В. Исманъ паша Егыпетскыятъ подкралъ, който съ непрѣстаннитѣ си грыжи и благоволенія, всѣкога диря узеснителни срѣдства за благоденствіето на всичкытѣ си въобще поданици.

Най главното попеченіе на подкразътъ е образованіето на жителитѣ, за което гледа да усъвършенствова нужднитѣ за тои прѣдметъ мѣрки, чрѣзъ които да могѫтъ да сѧ снабдятъ съ славятѫ, която сѧ отдава на образованный свѣтъ. Прочее Н. В. както полага стараніе за образованіето на мѫжкыятъ полъ въ Егыпетъ, тъй сѫщо и сега е заповѣдалъ да сѧ отвори едно училище и за женскыятъ полъ.

Ученицитѣ които ще сѧ пріемѫтъ въ това училище, ще бѫдѫтъ раздѣлени на три класа, отъ които въ първыятъ класъ ще бѫдѫтъ дѣцеритѣ на благороднитѣ и около 150 на число, а въ вторыятъ и въ третіятъ такожде ще има по 150 ученици, отъ които еднитѣ зарань ще ходятъ на училището, и вечерь ще сѧ връщатъ у тѣхъ си, а другытѣ ще живѣятъ въ училището както е въ мѫжкытѣ училища.

Това прѣдпріятіе на Н. В. доказва до колко успѣватъ оныя страни въ подобни отношенія. Р. Д. Х.

Яшкытѣ жители като имѫтъ извънрѣдно непріятелство и ненависть къмъ Евреитѣ въ тоя градъ, тіи всякогашъ угнетяватъ и упритесняватъ тіи окаяни хора, и сега сѧ подигнали даже да гы изпѫдятъ съвсѣмъ изъ отечеството си. Съ това заедно рѣченнитѣ жители обявили, че ще сѧ възбунтуватъ въ случай, ако бы да непостигнѫтъ цѣлътѫ си, спорядъ което министърътъ на вѫтрѣшнитѣ работи въ съединенитѣ Княжества, принудилъ сѧ да отиде самъ въ Яшъ за да укроти мнѣнієто на жителитѣ, нъ като видѣлъ че нѣщо можятъ да сѧ отклонятъ отъ това си постоянствованіе и упорство, той заповѣдалъ да сѧ вдигне отъ Молдавія всичкыятъ Еврейскы народъ.

Спорядъ най послѣднитѣ извѣстія отъ Букурещъ, Евреитѣ испратили до всичкытѣ Държави по единъ жялбъ въ видъ на протестъ, за да сѧ нетури въ дѣйствіе такава една неправедна за тѣхъ мѫка и гоненіе.

ВЪНШНИ НОВИНИ

Заемаме слѣдующыя членъ отъ Нюкастелскыятъ вѣстникъ.

Когато сѧ свикало едно събраніе отъ Нюкастелскытѣ жители въ едно особно мѣсто, и послѣдвали нѣкои разсѫжденія върху иностраннитѣ работи, г-нъ Естойартъ (единъ отъ членоветѣ на събраніето) изрѣкълъ слѣдующето слово относително за Турція.

„Отъ тринадесять години насамъ, главното стараніе на Англійскыятъ печятъ е, да докаже неизбѣжнятѫ нуждѫ за отблѣсваніето на Рускятѫ цѣль, и да сѧ направятъ всѣкакви пожертвованія за пълното упазваніе на цѣлостьтѫ на Османското царство.

А сега колко удивително нѣщо е, гдѣто този печятъ сѧ възвърна отъ сѫществената си дѣлжность, и сѧ обърналъ вниманіето си къмъ едни лъжовни думи, които ще причинятъ голѣми врѣди не само на Турція, която е нашъ искренъ пріятель и съюзникъ, нъ и на сѫщыятъ ни народъ.

Ако хвърлимъ единъ поглѣдъ къмъ хартіятѫ, ній ще видимъ, че земята въ Турція е плодородна и изобилна, и Географическото й мѣстоположеніе е надарено съ разновидни естественни ползи. Много отъ нашитѣ съотечественници сѫ разумѣли това нѣщо, а особенно единъ отъ теплитѣ ревнители на отечественнитѣ интереси г-нъ Виллиѫ Каржилъ, отъ 1848 год. до сега, зрѣло е разсѫдилъ сключваніето на единъ търговскы трактатъ мѣжду Англія и Турція.

Този г-нъ Вилиямъ Карджилъ, който е единъ отъ най първитѣ и най голѣмитѣ търговци въ нашія градъ, не прѣди много врѣме издаде една брушура за изобылієто въ Турція, и съ нея привлече общето вниманіе.

Г-нъ Оркартъ, който всякогашъ сѧ занимава въ иностранни работи, и отъ пътешествіето сѧ което направи по съединенитѣ княжества въ 1834-та год. доста бѣше сѧ удивилъ за природното богатство на тыя страни, отъ пространната имъ изобилна земя, и отъ разновидноститѣ имъ многобройни произведенія, а по онія врѣмена Англійското правителство никъкъ не бѣше зехванало да износя храни отъ рѣченнитѣ княжества.

Г-нъ Оркартъ сѧ постара за сключваніето на единъ търговскы трактатъ, и въ 1834-та год. като сѧ зимаше единъ малъкъ ресимъ за изнасяніето на Турскытѣ произведенія по иностранни мѣста, той сѧ надѣваше че ще може да сполучи сключваніето на такъвъ единъ трактатъ, защото като сѧ махнеше забраненіето което сѫществуваше въ Турція за търговіятѫ, бѣше извѣстно че мѣжду Турція и Англія ще сѧ отвори една голѣма врата за търговскытѣ работи.

Прочее въ 1838-та год съ стараніето на г-на Оркартѫ, мѣжду Англія и Турція сѧ сключи единъ трактатъ и сѧ потвърди отъ В. Портѫ, нъ не слѣдъ много врѣме той сѧ уничтожи, и спорядъ направенитѣ договори когато трѣбваше да сѧ вдигне ресимътъ за изнасяніето, напротивъ постави сѧ едно ново правило, за да сѧ зима по 12 гроша ресимъ за стокытѣ, които ще сѧ изнасятъ отъ Турція за въ Англія. Това правило слѣдуна до 1861-та год.

Ако бѣше сѧ упазилъ напрѣшнятъ трактатъ, нѣма никакво сѫмненіе, че напитѣ търговскы сѫобращенія, които днесь имаме съ Турція, щехѫ да бѫдѫтъ двойно по голѣми отъ днешнитѣ, а това сѧ доказва отъ распространеніето на търговскытѣ сношенія, които сѫществуватъ мѣжду двѣтѣ тія правителства, спорядъ промѣненіята които сѧ направихѫ за трактатитѣ въ 1861-тѫ год. Отъ тогава до днесь, нашитѣ търговскы сношенія съ Турція отъ день на день сѧ увеличяватъ, щото въ 1866-тѫ год. за Турція сѧ изнесохѫ стоки отъ Англія за повече отъ осьмь милиона лири, а за Егыпетъ който е такожде присъединенъ на Турція, изнесохѫ сѧ близу за седемь милиона лири, които всичкытѣ ставатъ петнадесять милиони лири.

Освѣнъ съединенитѣ Американскы държави и освѣнъ нашитѣ тамшни владѣнія, въ никое друго мѣсто на свѣтъ не сѧ харчятъ нашитѣ произведенія колкото въ Турція. Нашитѣ ежегодишни покупки отъ Русія възлизатъ до двадесять милиона лири, а стойностьта на стокытѣ които тя купува отъ насъ, едвамъ достигатъ до три милиона лири.

Отъ днешнитѣ обстоятелства можемъ да сѧ увѣдомимъ, че Англіскытъ народъ ако не внимава добрѣ, и правителството не размысли както трѣбва, твърдѣ тешки слѣдствія ще произлѣзѫтъ отъ намѣсваніето ни въ вѫтрѣшнитѣ работи на Турція. Спорядъ мнѣніето на много человѣци, отъ сключваніето на трактатътъ въ 1856-тѫ год. съ когото цѣлостьтѫ на Турція сѧ турна подъ поржителството на Европѫ, различнитѣ Турскы работи сѧ слѣдватъ по изискаемото си направленіе, а отъ сключваніето на този договоръ, какви работи сѧ извършихѫ за Влахо-Молдавія, Бѣлградъ и Критъ! Повечето отъ Англійскытѣ художественици, да ли искатъ нѣкои принадлѣжящи мѣста на Турція да станѫтъ втора Полша? Спорядъ моето мнѣніе, тіи никога нежелѣятъ такъво нѣщо."

Слѣдъ изричянієто на това слово, всичкытѣ лица въ събранієто по обще съгласіе рѣшихѫ слѣдующето:

„Спорядъ точнитѣ ни извѣстія които пріимаме съ съвършенно благодареніе, напятата търговія съ Турція напрѣдва извънрѣдно, слѣдователно, ній казваме положително, че Англія спорядъ успѣхитѣ си трѣбва да земе въ вниманіе тишината и спокойствіето на тази държавѫ. Нашето мнѣніе е, че Англія каквито бы снисходителни постѫпкы да направи за Сърбія и Критъ, тя ще разбърка вѫтрѣшнитѣ работи на Турція. Отъ всичкытѣ прѣмънали примѣри ныи виждаме, че всичкытѣ полезни и добрини на иностраннитѣ намѣсванія, отнасять сѧ все за Русія, слѣдователно, за да упазимъ интереситѣ си, и за да завардимъ народытъ сѧ отъ едно пятно, което може да му нанесѫтъ подобни постѫпкы, считаме за неизбѣжнѫ нуждность, че нашіятъ министъръ на външнитѣ работи, първо трѣбва да сѧ отнася съобразно съ правилата на правителството, относящи сѧ до всичкытѣ сѫществующи сношенія и съобращенія, които има Англія съ В. Портѫ, и второ, да държи въ голѣма тайность разговоритѣ, които ще има съ нѣкой иностраненъ посланникъ, и да гы извѣстява на правителственнитѣ министри.

(*Тюрки*)

Прочитаме въ вѣстника *Момакъ*:

„Между главныятъ министръ на държавятѫ, г-на де Бисмарка, и посланника на съединенитѣ Американскы държави, тія дни ставатъ твърдѣ чести разговори и споразумѣнія.

Главната цѣль на тія споразумѣнія, е рѣшеніето на въпроса, за да бѫдѫтъ задължени защищаемитѣ отъ Америкѫ Прусіяне да влизатъ въ воинството, за които отъ много врѣмя насамъ сѫществуваше една распра мѣжду двѣтѣ тыя държави. А причината на тъзи распра бѣше, че Американското посолство въ Прусія сѧ противеше да сѧ зиматъ войскари Пруситѣ, които отъ много врѣмя сѫ сѧ населили въ Америкѫ, и сѫ сѧ подчинили на правителството й. съврѣмянно зели сѫ паспортитѣ си и сѫ сѧ върнали въ Прусія.

Прусія ако и да е обърнала извънрѣдно вниманіето си за рѣшеніето на този въпросъ, нъ отъ нѣколко врѣмя насамъ като сѧ намира въ доста пріятелскы сношенія съ Америкѫ, нѣма сѫмненіе, че тя по нѣйдѣ ще сѧ стори като че невиди неправдата, или правдата въ този случяй.

(*Куріе д' Оріана*)

Спорядъ пріятитѣ извѣстія отъ Парисъ, наслѣдникътъ на Прускыятъ краљъ, пристигналъ въ тоя градъ на $\frac{12}{14}$-ый того. А за краљътъ ако и да има нѣкое сѫмненіе, че нещо може да отиде, по причинѫ на напомнюваніето което му сѧ направи отъ страняѫ на Франція за да сѧ позабави, обаче нѣма нѣкое официално извѣстіе, за че сѧ е съвсѣмъ отвърналъ отъ напрѣшнего си намѣреніе.

Извѣстіята които сѧ обнародватъ всѣки день въ Европѫ за състоянієто на Мексиканскыятъ императоръ Максимиліяна, до толкова сѫ противоположни едни на други, щото не сѧ знае на кон отъ тѣхъ трѣбва да дадемъ увѣреніе. Онія които сѧ сѫ заузели да даватъ подобни извѣстія за рѣченныятъ императоръ, сѫ вѣстницитѣ на Американскытѣ републикѫ, и Французскытѣ пресѫ, а особенно привързанитѣ къмъ императора жюрнали.

Основаніето на едно императорство до главатѫ на съединенитѣ държави, като ще имъ прѣпятствова за достиженіето на тѣхнытѫ цѣль и желаніе, тіи непрѣставатъ да полагатъ разновидни тайни и явни старанія, за да сѧ сѫбори единъ чясъ по скоро това императорство и да си съставятъ една републикѫ, която да имъ бѫде сходна за направленіето и за работитѣ имъ. Заради това тіи всякогашъ обнародватъ извѣстія за съкрушеніето на императора Максимиліяна, и по прѣди даже бѣхѫ раздали единъ слухъ по цѣлѫ Европѫ, че императорътъ сѧ уловилъ отъ републиканитѣ, и че го убили.

Отъ другѫ страняѫ обаче, Франція колкото и да сѧ възвърна отъ условията които имаше за упазваніето на Максиміліяновытѫ държавѫ, и сѧ дръпна войската отъ Мексикѫ, та по този начинъ не остави да има нѣкоя закачкя за това мѣсто, нъ защото тя сама основа рѣченното императорство, разумѣва сѧ че и съвсѣмъ даже да сѧ немѣси въ работитѣ, нъ чакъ желае съхраненіето му. Слѣдователно днешнитѣ извѣстія, които обнародватъ повечето отъ Французскытѣ вѣстници, опровергаватъ всичкытѣ прьснати противъ Максиміліана слухове, и като искарватъ за лъжливи брацолевеніята ушь че е былъ убитъ, увѣряватъ че Н. В. е въ Кретаро съ войскытѣ си заедно, и противостои на непріятельтъ.

ИЗВѢСТІЯ

Въ края на идущыя мѣсяцъ Юнія, понеже сѧ свършва врѣмято на кондратътъ за паленіето на фенеритѣ въ Русчюшкѫтъ чиршія, извѣстива сѧ че тія фенери ще сѧ дадатъ съ единъ опрѣдѣленъ цѣнъ и за единъ годишъ съ условіе, че газътъ, паленіето на фенеритѣ и всичкытѣ имъ подправянія да бѫдѫтъ за смѣткѫ на кондратчіятъ.

Онія които искатъ да зематъ върху си тія фенери съ показаннитѣ условіе трѣбва да сѧ отнесатъ на Русчюшкіято бедеіе меджиси, най много до свършваніето на мѣсяцъ Маія.

Единъ отъ канторскытѣ слуги на г да Братія Х. Петковичъ въ Руссе, е намѣрилъ три ключеве отъ каса. Който има изгубени подобни ключеве, нека сѧ отнесе въ канторътъ на рѣченнитѣ г-да, за да си гы земе.

Русчюкъ въ печатницѫтъ на Дунавскѫтъ Область.

طونه

(محرم الحرام) ۲۹ سنه ۱۲۸٤ (پازار) (مایس) ۲۱ سنه ۱۲۸۳ (نومرو) ۱۷٦

(اشبو غزته داخلیه وخارجیه حوادثی وهر درلو مباحثی شامل اولهرق هفته ده ایکی دفعه چهارشنبه و پازار کونلری جیقار پرسنه لکی (۷۰) والتی ایلغی (٤۰) غروشه و بهر نسخه سی (٤۰) پارمیه در داخل ولایتدن ماعدا اسکلر ایچون)
(بوفیأته پوسته اجرتی ضم اولنور سنه لکی و یا خود التی آیلغی الی ایچون یازلمق استلدیکی حالده مرکز ولایت مطبعه سنه مراجعت اولنمق لازمکلور)

مواد خصوصیه

وارنه سنجاغی داخلنده کائن پراوادی قضاسی مدیری عبداللهاغانک اوراجه ظهور ایدن بعض خرسز وسار فلرك تعقیبی امر نده و فضالك اداره ملکیه سنده وهرای پاشی رأس لوایه تقدیمی اصول و قاعده موضوعه سی اقتضاسندن بولنان ای پاشی دفترینك وقت وزمانیله ارسالی خصوصنده رخاوت وتکاسلی تحقق ایلمسی اوزرینه عزلیه یرینه ماچین قضاسی مدیری سابق ابراهیم اغانك و ماچین مدیرلکنده دخی سابق راحوه مدیری اولوب مرکزه مداومت ایلمکده اولان علی بکك و روسچق سنجاغی داخلنده بولنان جمعه عتیق قضاسی مدیری علی افندینك دخی حال وصفتی شو قضالك اداره سنه غیر موافق بولنمسنه مبنی انك دخی بشقسه بر مدیرلکده استخدام اولنمق اوزره عزلیه یرینه پازلجی مدیری سابق جمال بکك مأموریتلری اجرا پیورلمشدر

ئیش سنجاغی داخلنده کائن ارتیول قضاسی مدیری ابراهیم بکك وقوع وفاتنه مبنی قضاء مذکور مدیرلکله غیره مدیری سابق رفعتلو احمد افندی نصب وتعیین پیورلمشدر

مکتوبی ولایت خلفاسندن اسماعیل کمال بکك ایده ردفعه اولهرق طبع ونشر ایده جکی (مجرای افکار) نام مجموعه حقنده یازیلوب هر طرفه نشر ایدیلان اعلان مخصوصك بر صورتی مطبعه مزه کوندرلمش اولدیغندن زیرده عینیله درج اولنور

ممالك محروسه شاهانه ایله اوروپا ممالکنك احوال مدنیه وعمرانیه سی پیشنده اولان فرق ونسبته امالهٔ نظر دقت وامعان اولندیغی حالده اوروپا ممالکنك یعنی قطعهٔ غربیه نك هر طرفی ثروت ومعمورینك درجهٔ اقصاسنه واردمش و بزم مملکتمز یتون یتون خراب دینله جك بر حالده دکل ایسه ده ثروت ومعموریت عمومیه نك استحصال واستکمالنه پاشلوجه اسباب اولان کرك امر تجارتجه و کرك اعمالات صناعیه جه یك کیرو قالمش اولدیغی اکلا شیلور عجبا شو حالزه سبب اولان ندر اهالیزك استعداد وزکاوت فطریه دن محروم میدر یوقسه ملکمزك هردرلو تجارتك ایفاسنه واتواع اعمالات صناعیه نك اخراجنه قابلیت طبیعیه سمچی یوقدر حالبوکه اهالیمزك فرط زکا وفطانتی واردقلری درجهٔ کمالات انسانیه ومدنیتلرندن طولایی استغراب ایدیلیکرز اوروپالولرندنده دخی ضرب مثل حکمنده در بنای انسانیت ومدنیتك اساسنی وضع ودرخت معارفك فدائی غرس ایدنلر یزم اهالیمزك مترکب اولدیغی ملتلر در اوروپالولر ایسه یالکز شواصل ثابتك فرعی اکمال وبعض مرتبه تزیین ایده بیلمشلر و بونکله دخی افتخار وابتهاج ایدرلر

ملکمزك اراضیسی دنیاده متداول ومستعمل اولان اکثر محصولاتی منبت وهر درلو اعمالات صناعیه یه مدار اولهجق معادن وسائر بی محتویدر اوروپالك چرخ تجارت وصنعتنك دونمسنه مدار اولان اجزای اساسیه نك پرجزؤ اعظمیده یزم المزده اولوب جهت استعمالدن استفاده سنی بیلدیکمز محصولات داخلیه مزدر

بوندن اکلاشیلور که بزم کبرو قالقلغمز باعث اولان شی جناب خداوندیجونك ملتمزه ومدکمزه اعدا واحسان پیور دیغی مزیت و فضیلت معنویه واستعداد وقابلیت مادیهٔ طبیعیه نك صورت استعمالنجه اولان نقصانلرینی اکسکلك دنیاده سرمایهٔ معنوی و مادی جهتیله رنجبی ملت عد اولهجق ایکن بر چوق ملتلردن اشاغی قالمقلغمزی اتاج ایتمشدر و بوده بر فاجع زمانمزده معارف وفنون انتشارینه عدم رغبتمزدن منبعث اولمشدر مأخذ وصنع علوم وفنون اولان اسلافمزك حائز اولدقلری شان واقتدار ایله انلرك مسلکنه اتباع ایلمکله رخاوت ایلدیکمز ایچون دوچار اولدیغمز حال و درجه موازنه اولنسه بالکز معارف وفنونك انتشاریله ملت ومملکتمز احیا اولنه بیله جکی تحقق وتعین ایدر واقعا معارف وفنونه رغبت وتوغل اولنمایشی قرون متعدده دنبرو ملکمزده یری بر بنی تعاقب ایدن بعض غوائل ووقایع مؤلمه دن ایلرو کادیکی تاریخشناسان عندنده امر غیر منکر در فقط له الحمد والمنه سایهٔ موفقیتپرورانه حضرت پادشاهیده رومدنیتنبرو دولت علیهٔ ابدی الدوامك حقوق مقدسهٔ مالکداریه سنه خادمجدن هر درلو تعرض احترازینه محل قالمامشدر بناء علیه ماضی یی حاله مثال ووقوعات سالفه یی بولدیغمز حالك معذوریتنه مدار استدلال اتخاذیله اظهار آثار تأسف ایتمك کارحیت ووطنپروری دکلدر ارباب حیت اولانلر وسع واقتداری یتدیکی قدر ابنای وطنك استفاده سنه ایده جکی اثارك نشرینه بذل نقدیهٔ وجود ایلمك وظیفه سنی وطنه اولان کافهٔ پورجلره مقدم طوتملیدر اشته ماجزلری دخی وطنك اولاد وخیرخواهانی افرادندن معدود اولدیغم حیثیتله شو وظیفه دن پرجهتنك کندیمه تعلق ایلدیکی پیله رلئ زیرده مندرج تعریفات وجهله ایده رجیقمق اوزره ترکجه وبلغارجه (مجرای افکار) نامیله رمجموعه سنك طبع ونشرینی تصور ایلدم بوندن مراد عاجزانهم شو قطعه نك ولایت اصولنه کیره دیکی زمانده ندنبرو مظهر اولدیغی بونجه ترقیات اوزرینه رمعارف داثره سنك تشکیله اهالیك اساس سعادت تحالی اولان تحصیل معارف وفنون نعمتندن دخی محروم قالمه جقلری درکار ایسه ده بو معارف داثره سندن وطنك ایتدیه یتشه جك کنجلرطاقی استفاده ایده بیلوب صورت مرتبه ومنتظمه ایله تحصیل علوم زمانی اشمش اولانلر یاطبع مستفید اولهمیه جقلری جهتله هم تحصیلده بولنان نورسیدکانك اوقودقلری شیلرك بر فهرست مجملی مشابه سنده اولمق وهمده سن تحصیلی متجاوز اولانلرك هیچ بیلمدکلری و یاخود بیلدیکلرینی نسیان ایلدکلری و یاخود بیلدیکلرینی بر لشدیره رمدکاری معلومات مفیده نك اعطاسی حسدمتی کورمکدر بونك ایچوندنه شو مجموعه نك لسان وعبارای کرك اصل متنی اولان ترکجه ده وکرك ترجمه سی بولنان بلغارجه ده هرکسك آکلایه بیله جکی صورتده اچیق وساده اولمق خصوصنه ممکن مرتبه اعتنا ایدیلمشدر

بضاعه مك قلیل وهر شیدن مبادیٔ ظهور نده نقصان وخطادن وارسته اولهمامکی مقتضای طبیعت بشریه دن بولنمسی جهتیله بونده اساسجه کوریله جك نقصان وقصور وکشادرجه بولنه جق رکاکت وسقامتك عموم عندنده نظر عفو واغماضه مقرون اولهجقنی هرحالده افکارونیت خالصهٔ کترانه مه مستندا بکار ومن غیرحد عمومه ابراز ایتمك استدیکم شو خدمت رهین قبول وتقدیر اولهرق قودوندن فعله کتورلمك اوزره ایجاب ایدن مصارفات ترتیبیه وطبعیه سنه کفایت ایتمك ایچون اشتراسنه عموم طرفندن رغبت اولنه جغنی دخی قویاً امید ایلرم

اشبو (مجرای افکار) مجموعه سی برنصفی ترکچه ودیکر نصفی بلغارجه اولهرق وعادی صحیفه لردن قرق سکز صحیفه دن عبارت بولنه رق کله جك شهر اغستوسك ابتدا سندن بر آیلیه بهرشهر رومیلی ابتدا سنده طونه ولایت جلیله سی مطبعه سنده طبع ایدیلهجکدر

بونك ابونه سی سنه لك اولوب قیمتی التمش غروش اولهجقدر وابونه اولق استین ذوات کرام زیرده تخصیص اولنان اسامی خانه سنده اسم وشهرت واقامتکاهنی تصریح ونقدر قطعه یه مشتری ایسه عددینی بیان وبدلنی پیشنا ایفاو تأدیه ایتدیکنی اشارت اییله جکدر

شایان نشر واعلان اولهجق بعض معلومات داخلیه کوندرلنلرنی قبیلندن اولوب ایسه اولسون کمال ممنونیتله قبول اولنه رق مجانا طبع ودرج ایدیلهجکی دخی اخطار اولنور

اشبو (مجرای افکار) مجموعه سنده پولتیقه مسائلندن ماعدا فنون ومعارفه متعلق هرنوع مباحث مندرج بولنه جقدر

وارنه سنجاغی داخلنده کائن حاجی اوغلی پازار جغی پنارمحلنك پارچه پارچه صاتلمسی مقتضای ارادهٔ سنیه دن بولنمش و برچوغی یکی سنه صاتیلوب برمقداری قالمش اولدیغندن اشبو اراضی یی ظهور ایده جك طالبنه صاتمق ولازم کلان طاپو عامو خبر ایرینی محلنده تنظیمله اعجابنه اعطا ایتدرمك اوزره ولایت جلیله دفتر خاقانی مدیری رفعتلو نامق افندی بوکون اولطرفه کتمش اولمغله شو اراضیدن صاتوبن المقسه رغبتی اولانلرك افندیهٔ مومی الیهه مراجعت ایتملرینون کیفیت اعلانه ابتدار قلدی

ودیندن واقع اولان اشعاره نظراً ایکیدرده صربیه دن ایکی نفر حدود چیقوب بلغارستانجق قضاسنده ریلان قریه سنه کلمش وقریهٔ مذکوره اهالیسندن لازارلان نامنده بر پسنك اوغلینی طونه رق قویو برمك ایچون فدیه نامیله رقاج غروش طلب ایلمك صددنده بولنمغه میدان قالمقسزین محلی حکومتی وقوعمالی استخبار المکله برابر ضبطیه دن نفرات کافیه سوقیله تعقیب ایدلمش و بونلر هرنفدر فرار یولی طوتمش ایسه ده ضبطیه نفراتی پشتوب اوزرلرینه تفنك اتمش وانلردن ریسی میأالله کجورمش واوتهکی ایسه رابر کنوردیکی جوجغی ترك ایله رینه صربیه نك خط امتیازینه کچمش ومذکور چوجغك انلرك تفنکدن بالکز رقاج صاچمه الینه اصابت ایلمش اولدیغی وشو ایکی نفر حدود لك بروطرف اهالیسندن اولوب کچن سنه دخی بنده قریهٔ مذکوره ده ایکی نفرقبطی یی قتل ایله اوتهیه فرار ایدن حیادیدن اولدقلری اکلاشلمشدر

وارنه سنجاغنه محلی بازار جقده بوندن اولجه کشاد و انشا اولنان تلغرافخانه نك ادوات والات مقتضیه سی جلب و استحضار و مأموری دخی جانب اداره دن تعیین و قسیار اولهرق بوکره امر مخابره یه مباشرت ایدلمشدر

لسقوفیه قضاسی مأمورین وسائر اصحاب حیثی طرفندن کریدایچون اعانه اولنان اوجه نك مقدارایله اعانه ایدن ذواتك اسامیسی

۱۵۰ نائب قضا مکرمتلو محمد وهبی افندی ۱۰۰ اداره مجلسی اعضاسندن محمد بك ۱۰۰ اداره مجلسی اعضاسندن سلیمان بك ۱۰۰ دعاوی مجلسی ممیزلرندن حافظ احمد افندی ۳۰ دعاوی مجلسی ممیزلرندن امین اغا ۵۰ اداره مجلس اعضاسندن هاجی قوسطو افندی ۵۰ اداره مجلسی اعضاسندن هاجی طانجه افندی ۲۰ دعاوی مجلسی ممیزلرندن دمیرای افندی ۱۵ دعاوی مجلسی ممیزلرندن محالاکی افندی ۳۰ صندق امینی حافظ سلیمان ـ۷۷ تحصیلداران ۱۵ نفوس ناظری احمد افندی ۲۵ طاپو مأموری حافظ محمد افندی ۱۵ محاسبه کاتبی عبدی افندی ۱۵ دخان مأموری ارسلان اغا ۹۸ وجوهدن محمود اغا ۳۸ وجوهدن شریف بك ۲۸ وجوهدن سلیمان بك ۳٤ بکزاده مصطفی بك ۲۰ احمد بك ۲۰ حسین بك ۱۳ عبدالرحمن بك ۲۳ لال اوغلی علی اغا ۱۸ بقال یوسف اغا ۲۸ شعبان اغا ۱۰ سعید زعیم ۱۷ وسته عثمان ٤۸ حیصه اسماعیل اغا ۱۴ صالح سپاهی ۲۸ تجار دن مصطفی اغا ۱۷ عباس بك ۱۷ حسن اغا ۱۰ حافظ صالح ۱۰ حافظ محمود ۱۰ سعید سپاهی ۱۹ تجار سید اغا ۱۰ توفنکچی بلال اغا ۳۸ حاجی بشیر اغا ۱۹ عثمان اغا ۱٤ حسین افندی زاده ملا علی ۱۰ حسن اغا ۱۰ ابراهیم اغا ۱۰ عمر اغا ۲۸ کوله زاده رجب اغا ۱۹ فیضی افندی ۱٤ سلیمان سپاهی ۱۰ محمد اغا ۱٤ تجا ملا دور مش ۲۰ وکیل متره پولید پاپاس میطو ٤۸ تجار کوفو ٤۸ تجار طاسو ٤۱ تجار استوپانچو اغا ۲٤ تجار میطو ۱۹ هایجی اوستوپان ـ۱۸ تجار پانیو ۹ ترزی ملتفو ۱٤ بخانه جی روم کورکی ـ۱۸ اورغانجی یوان ـ۹ بقال طومو ـ۹ بقال قوسطو ۹ بقال طرایفو ۱۸ بخانه جی میلتفو ۱۸ بقال کورکو ۱۸ قصاب قوسطو ۲۸ ترزی قوسطو پاپاز اوغلی ۱۰ بخانه جی قوستو ۹ بخانه جی کورکو ـ۹ بخانه جی اجو تفو ـ۹ سمنجی یوان ۹ بخانه جی استوپفو ۹ ترزی طاسو ۹ ترزی یوان ٤۸ تجار فستفو یکون ـ۱۹۹۵

نفس تبشده بعض اصحاب حیث طرفندن ویرلان ۱۰۰ خانه دانون یوز نس بك ٦۰ تجار دن حاجی حلیم اغا ۵۳ اصلاحخانه مدیری مصطفی اغا ۲۵ اصلاحخانه مأموری عبداللهافندی ۱۵ اصلاحخانه کاتبی علی افندی ۲۵ تجار دن مصطفی اغا ۲۵ مرحوم حاجی عمر اغا ۵۰ حاجی بلاثین زاده زکریا اغا ٤۰ حاجی حافظ حسین زاده محمد اغا ـ۱۷ خزینه دار اوغلی حسن اغا ۱۰ استانبول قپوسنده فعله بند محمد اغا ۲۵ حمامجی حسین اغا ۳۰ قره

بجانق حاجی مصطفی اغا ۵۰ درویش بك ۲۰ دکرمنجی علی بك ۲۵۰ میخانه‌جی اصطافندن یکون ـ ۷۹۵

مواد مهمه

سایهٔ معمور پناهیه حضرت شهریاریده ممالك محروسهٔ ملوکانه نك هر بر محتشده آثار ترقیات واصلاحات کون بکون روغمای مرات شهود اولمقده ومصر والی والاشاقی فخا متلو دولتلو پاشا حضرتلرینك بولونده اولان اقدامات وهممات متواليه وموفقیتلرینك بر کمال بولندیغی ملا بسه سبیله بلاد قاهره نك معموریت واهالیسنك سعادت حالاری ازهر جهت ارتقاده وجهله سنك تحصیل علوم ومعارف الیه ممتاز واستکمال شرف انسانیه الیه سر افراز اولمارى ملتزم بولنمقده اولدیغندن مصر اهالیسی اولا دذکور ینك تحصیل معارف وتربیه‌لرینه صرف نقدینهٔ همت اولندیغی کبی اناث ایچون دخی برمکتب کشاد یله انلرکده بهره‌مند علم وهنر اولمارى التزام بیورمیله رق الته جق شاکردلر اوچ صنف اعتبار اولنه جغندن بونلردن برنجی صنف شاکردانی اصحاب حیثیت کربه‌لری اولهرق یوزاللی کشیدن عبارت اوله جغی مثلو صنف ثانیسنك دخی کذلك یوزاللی واوچنجی صنفی اوجیوز اللی نفردن مرکب اوله رق بونلردن برطاقمی صباحلین مکتبه کیدوب اخشام خانه‌لرینه کلك وبرطاقمی دخی ارکك اوجوقلره مخصوص اولان مکتبده اولدیغی کبی اورادہ ارام وپستوتت ایتك اوزره قصوبب وترتیب قلندیغی اخبار محلیه دن مستبان اولمش وبوصورت ترقیاتك درجهٔ اولیسندن ایدوکی مستغنی عن البیان بولنمشدر

(روزنامهٔ جریدهٔ حوادث)

بغدان مقر حکومتی اولان پاش قصبه سی اهالیسنك اوراده ساکن بولنان یهودی ملتله فوق العاده بغض وعداوتلری اولمق مناسبتیله ایکیده پرده شو بیچاره‌لره انواع حقارات وخسارات ایلمکده اولدقلری مثلو بوکره دخی انلرك بتون بتون مملکتیندن دفع وطردلرینه قالقشمش وشو مظلو بلرینك حصولی ممکن اولمدیغی تقدیر ده اختلال یولی طوتمه جقلرینی نشر واعلان ایتمش اولمسیله بونلرك اذهانی یاتشدیرمق ایچون مملکتین امورداخلیه مدیریتی بالذات شهر مذکوره عزیمت ایلمش واهالینك اوپایده اولان عناد واصرارلرندن وازکچدیرلمسنك امکانی اولمدیغی اکلا دیغندن عموم یهودی ملتك بغدان طیغاندن دفع قوطردیله امر ویرمش اولدیغی ویهودیلر ایسه حقارتده اولان یوله پرغدر وحضرلغك موقع اجرایه قونلمامسیچون عموم دولتلره پرو تستو بوللو استدعانامه‌لر کوندرمش اولدقلری بکرشدن الان حوادث اخیره‌دندر

حوادث جلیه

انکلتره ده واقع نوقاستل ژورنالنك نشر واعلانی ایله دیکی برخبرك خلاصه سیدر

نوقاستل اهالیسندن مرکب اوله رق برمحل مخصوصده عقد انجمن مشورته امور ومواد خارجیه حقنده بعض مباحث ومذاکرات جریان ایلدیکی صرده جمعیت اعضاسندن موسیو استوارت دولت علیه حقنده اتیده درج اولنان مقاله‌یی سرد واتیان ایلمشدر

„ اون اوچ سنه دنبرو انکلتره مطبوعاتنك جملهٔ مقاصد „ ومساعیسی روسیه‌نك منو یاتنك موقع حصوله کلمسنی „ منع ایتمك وسلطنت عثمانیه‌نك تمامیت ملکیه‌سنی محافظه „ ایتمك ایچون هربر فداکارلغك اختیار ینه لزوم وحقیق „ اولدیغنی اثبات ایتمکه منحصر بولنمشدر

„ شمدی ایسه نقدر استغراب اولنسورکه مطبوعات „ مذکوره وظایف اصلیه‌سنك اجراسندن روکردان „ اولهرق بالکز دوست ومنفق خاصمز اولان دولت „ علیه یه سوء کشندی ملتزم دخی ایراد ایلمکده مضرت „ کلیه ایده‌جك برطاقم نفوهات کاذبه‌یی نظر اهمیت „ واعتباره السون

„ حربطه به باقیله جق اولور ایسه ممالك عثمانیه نك „ اراضیسنك منبت ومحصولدار اولدیغی کبی انك موقع „ جغرافیسنك دخی انواع فوائد طبیعیه‌یی مستلزم بولندیغی „ اکلاشیلور بورالرینی ایسه وطندا شلرمزدن برخیلیسی „ وقتیله تیمن ایتمش وازا ن جمله وطنمزك مثافعینی التزام „ ایدنلردن بری اولان ویلیام قارزیل دخی بیك سکز „ یوز فرق تاریخندنبرو دولت علیه‌ایله انکلتره بینده „ روابط تجاریه نك عقدی خصوصنی لاعفیله مطالعه المشدر „ بلده‌مزك ثبوتك ومعتبر تجارتدن معدود اولان موصی الیه „ ویلیام قارزیل بوندن اولجه ممالك عثمانیه‌نك محصولدار اولغنه „ جمله‌نك نظر دقتنی جلب ایده‌جك بر رساله مخصوصه „ نشر المشیدی

„ موسیو اورفارت داعما امور خارجیه ایله مشغول „ ومتوغل بولنه رق بیك سکز یوزاوتوز درت تاریخنده „ ممالکتین طرفلرنجه وقوعبولان سیاحتی اوزرینه „ اولحوالینك ثروت طبیعیه سیله اراضیء منبته نك „ وسعتدن ومحصولاتك اجناس متعدده سندن مخبر „ وقالمشیدی اوزمانلرده ایسه انکلتره دولتی شو ممالکتلردن „ قطعا ذخایر جلب واستحضارینه تشبث ایتمامشیدی „ موسیو اورفارت برتجارت معاهده‌سنك عقدوحصولی „ ایچون حصر اوقات ایلدی بیك سکز یوزاوتوز درت „ تاریخنده ممالك عثمانیه دن دیارا جنبی یه نقل واخراج „ اولنان شیلردن اخراجیه نامیله برر سم النمقده ایدی موصی الیه „ موسیو اورفارت بونك ایچون بر معاهده‌نك حصولی „ مأمول ایدرایدی چونکه دولت علیه جه اولان ممنوعیت „ تجاریه نك رفعیله برابر انکلتره ایله دولت علیه بینده „ تجارت معاملاتنجه بر یوك قبونك اجیله جغی درکار „ ایدی بیك سکز یوز اوتوز سکز تاریخنده موسیو „ اورفارتك ثمرهٔ همتی اولهرق دولت علیه ایله برتجارت „ معاهده‌سی عقدوتنظیم اولنمش وجانب باب عالیدن دخی „ تصدیق ایدلمش ایسه ده ارادن براز مدت کچمز „ بونك احکامی فسخ اولمش وواقع اولان تعهد وجهله „ اخراجیه رسومنك لغوی لازم کلورایکن انکلتره „ ایچون ممالك عثمانیه دن چیقاجق شیلردن یوزده „ اون ایکی رسمك اخذی اصولی وضع اولنمش „ وبو اصول بیك سکز یوزاللمش تارینخنده دکین „ مرعی الاجرا طولمشدر اکر اوجله یاللمش اولان „ معاهده‌نك اجرای احکامنه دوام اولنمش اولیدی „ ایکی دولت بینده اولان تجارت معاملاتنك پوکونکی „ کونده بولدیغی درجه‌دن ایکی قات زیاده برراده‌یه „ وارمش اولهجغندن ثمره یوغیدی بومد عامز „ بیك سکز یوزاللمش برتاریخنده معاهده جه واقع „ اولان اصلاحات وتعدیلات اوزرینه دولتین بینده „ جریان ایدن مناسبات تجاریه به فك ترق وتوسعدن „ اثبات اولنور تاریخ مذکوردن بری ممالك عثمانیه „ ایله تجارتکز کوندن کونه چوغالوب نهایت بیك سکز „ یوز اللمش التی سنه سنده اصل ترکیه ایچون سکز „ میلیون دن متجاوز بر سنه ترکیه یه مربوط اولان „ مصر قطعه‌سی ایچون یدی ملیون قریب کجماً اون بش „ ملیون لیرالق اشیا وامتعهٔ متنوعه انکلتره دن „ چیقارلمشدر

„ امر بقا ممالك مجتمعه سیله امر بقا قطعه سنده بولنان „ انکامز دن بشقه دنیاده هیچ بر مملکت یوقدر که „ محصولات وامتعه‌سنی ممالك عثمانیه قدر صرف „ ایتسون روسیه ممالکندن واقع اولان مبایعاتمز بکرمی „ ملیون لیرایه یاقین اولور ایکن روسیه نك یالقا یله „ بزدن جلب واستحضار ایلدیکی اشیانك قیمتی انجق „ اوچ ملیون لیرالقدر

„ شمدیکی حالده جریان ایتمکده اولان بعض احوالدن „ استدلال اولونور که انکلتره ملتی از یاده سیله دقت „ ایتروده لتز حصر افکار ایلرسه ممالك عثمانیه‌نك „ امور داخلیه سنه واقع اولان مداخله مزدن برحقوق „ نتایج وخیمه حاصل اولمش اولور برحقوق ادعالرك „ افکارینه کوره دولت علیه‌نك تمامیت ملکیه‌سی „ عموم اوروپانك تحت نکاهلرنه التمش اولان بیك „ سکز یوز اللی التی معاهده‌سندن بری دولت علیه به „ تفرع اولان احوال محور لایقده جریان ایتمکده در „ شو معاهده‌نك عقد وتنظیمندنبرو ایسه بغدان „ اولاح بلغرادو کریدجه نلرداولدی انکلتره صنعتکارانی „ سلطنت سنیه به مربوط اولان برطاقم ممالکك „ ابکنجی لهستان اولمق استرمی بکا قالورسه بونی „ ابدأ اراز و ایتمرز“

اشبو مقاله سرد واتیان اولندقدن صکره جمعیتده بولنان ذوانك اتفاق عمو میسیله آتیده مندرج بولنان مواده قرار ویرلدی

„ کال تمنو نیله الدیغمز معلومات قویه یه کوره ترکیا ایله „ اولان تجارتمز فوق العاده ایلرولمکده در بناء علیه بو ملاکت „ اهمیت واسایشی انکلتره نك ترقیء تجمه نظرا اهمیته „ الته جق مواددن اولدیغی قطعیاً بیان ایلرز افکارمزه „ کوره انکلتره دولتنك صریحه وکریحه حقده کوسترمه جکی „ هرکونه الفاأتی دولت علیه‌نك امور داخلیه سنك „ تشویش واخلالنی موجب اولمش اولور ما ضیده „ وقوعبولان جمله تجار بدن مستبان اولور که „ مداخلات اجنبیه نك فوائد ومحسناتنك کافه سی „ حصراوقصرا روسیه یه راجع اولمشدر

„ بناء علیه منا فعمزی محافظه ایتمك وشوحر کاتدن „ طولابی لمکه دار اولان شان ملیمزلك وقایه سی ایچون „ اولا باب عالی ایله انکلتره دولتی بینده جاری „ اولان کافهٔ معاملات ومناسبات حقده حقوق ملك „ قواعد واحکامنه تبعیت اولنمق وثانیا اجنبی ردولك „ سفیرلرایله اولهجق مذاکراتك مکتوبیت قویه تحتنده „ طوتلمق وسلطنت وکلاسنك پیش نظر بتنه قونلمق „ ایجاب ایتدیرن قاعده ودأب دیرین دولته امور „ اجنبیه ناظری طرفندن تطبیق حرکت قلمق لازمهٔ „ حالدن عدایدرز (لاتری)

مومان غزته سنده مندرج بولنان بر بند مخصوصدر

بوکونلرده پروسیا پاش وکیلی موسیو ده بسمارق ایله ممالك مجتمعهٔ امر یقا سفیری بینده صق صق مخابرات ومحاورات اجرا اولنقده در

بو مخابرات ومحاوراتك پاشلوجه مقصدی برخیلی زمانلرنبرو پروسیا ایله ممالك مجتمعه بینده منازع فیه اولان امر یقا مجمایرینك عسکر خدمتنه مجبور یتی مادهسنك تسویه سیدر چونکه پروسیالولردن اولوب امر یقایه هجرت تله امر یقانك بیتی احراز ایتمش واوپایده لازم کلان پانسه‌لری المش اولدقلرنك پروسیایه عودلرنده سلك عسکریه اعاده‌لرینه ممالك مجتمعه سفارتی جانبندن مخالفت اولنه‌یور

اکرچه پروسیا بو مسئله نك حل وفصلنه فوق العاده اهمیت ویرمش ایسه ده بوارالق امر یقا ممالك مجتمعه سیله حسن امیزش مجبور بقده‌دیکی بولندیغندن بو پایده حقلی حقسز بعض مرتبه اغماض عین ایده‌جکی بی اشتباهدر (قور به دوریان)

پروسیا قرالنك ولی عهدینك الافرانقه مایسك یکرمی دردنجی کونی پارسه مواصلت ایلدیکی و پروسیا قرالنك تأخر عزیمتی حقنده اولنان معامله اوزرینه پارسه عزیمتی منکوك کبی کورینیور ایسه ده انك تصور سابقندن صرف نظر ایلدیکنه دائر برکونه خبر رسمی اولدیغی پارس حوادثندن مستبان اولمشدر

اعلانات

روسچق قصبه سنك چارشو بوینده یاقلقده اولان غاز فابریقه‌سنك مدت قونطراتوسی اشو سکسان اوچ سنه‌سی حزیرانی غایتنده منقضیه اولهجغندن وموجود اولان فابریقه غاز قونیلوب یاقلق وکافهٔ تعمیراتی ملتزمنه عائد اولق اوزره‌ینه مقطوعاً ظهور ایده‌جك طالبنه برسنه‌لك اوله‌رق احاله والزام قلنه جغندن طالب اولانلرك نهایت مایس غایتنه قدر مجلس بلدیه یه کلوب مراجعت ایتملری اعلان اولنور

اوچ عدد قاسا اتاخصاری برپرده مربوط اوله‌رق حاجی اطاسنك مغازه خدمتجیلرندن بری طرفندن چارشوده بولنمش اولدیغندن مذکوراتا خارلری هرکیمك ایسه مرقوم حاجی اطاسنك مغازه‌سنه مراجعت ایتمسی لازم کلور

Appendix – 5

The Tuna Newspaper 21th Issue, 9 Rebiülevvel 1282, (2 August 1865)

ГОД. I 1865 ІУЛІЯ 21. Брой 21.

ИЗЛИЗАНІЕ

Вѣстникъть излиза единъ пать на недѣлята, сѣка Сряда. Който ще да са подпише за една година или за шесть мѣсеца, може да се отнесе до Книгопечатницата на Туна-Вилаети въ Русчукъ.

ДУНАВЪ

АБОНАМЕНТЪ

Цѣната на вѣстникъть е:
За една година . . . . . гр. 40
„ шесть мѣсеца . . . . . „ 25
„ единъ листъ . . . . . 40 пр
За мѣстата вънъ отъ Вилаетъть ще са притурятъ и разходити на пощата

ВѢСТНИКЪ, КОЙТО СЪДЪРЖАВА ВЪТРѢШНИ И ВЪНШНИ НОВИНИ И СѢКАКВИ РАЗСЪЖДЕНІЯ.

ЧАСТНИ РАБОТИ.

Н. В Главниять управитель на Вилаетъть трѣгналъ отъ Плѣвенъ миналіять вторникъ за Софія и пристигналъ въ Враца.

Назѣмѣнѣть на Телеграфъть, Агатонъ ефенди, който отъ нѣколко врѣме са намираше въ Еврона съсъ особна мисія, и който са завръщаше прѣзъ Вієна по Дунавъть, излѣзълъ на Никополската скеля, които е шесть часа далеко отъ Плѣвенъ като са научилъ, че Н. В. Вилаетскіятъ Главенъ управитель са намиралъ въ тоя градъ. Негова милость отишелъ въ Плѣвенъ, за да са разговори върху телеграфическитѣ линіи на Вилаетъть и слѣдъ като прѣсѣдѣлъ нѣколко дни и са разговорилъ за работата, доде въ Русчукъ въ петъкъ на четиръ на тоя мѣсецъ. Като прѣгледа работитѣ на Русчушкіятъ телеграфъ, на другіятъ день въ сѣботъ тръгна за Цариградъ по Дунавъть.

За да са гледатъ болнити на прѣселенцити и на други странни и немощни, които са намиратъ въ Вилаетъть, заповѣда са отъ срѣдоточіето на Вилаетъть да са направятъ шесть болници, отъ които едната да бѫде на Плѣвенъ, който зависи отъ Рушчушкіятъ санджакъ.

Имаретъть основанъ въ Плевенъ отъ благодѣяніята на Гази Али бей и Сюлиманъ бей, за помощь на сиромасити и за добро на онія, които сѫ въ нужда, останалъ е запустѣлъ и занемаренъ. Спорѣдъ издирванія, [illegible] Н. В Главниятъ Управитель направи самъ въ заминуванието си прѣзъ Плѣвенъ, тоя *Имаретъ* има повече отъ трійсеть хиляди грошове приходъ на годината, отъ които ушь двайсеть тѣ хиляди сѫ давали за разноски на зерде-пилавъ, който са давалъ по нѣкой пать на сиромасити.

Намѣсто да даватъ толкози пари на празно за таквози едно запустѣло и занемарено мѣсто, дѣто нѣма друго освѣнъ единъ мутфакъ и единъ казанъ, рѣши са щото опрѣдѣленити доходи на този *Имаретъ* да са даватъ тамъ дѣто да фанатъ мѣсто, сирѣчь да са прѣдпріематъ добри срѣдства и истинни благодѣянія за душата на вакуфити, тъй щото тѣ да бѫдатъ згодни за сѣкогашното обдържаніе на сиромасити.

Тоя *Имаретъ* ще бѫде отъ една страна както са каза по горѣ, мѣстото за болницата на странницити, а отъ друга пакъ ще е за да прѣминуватъ въ него нѣкои отъ бѣднити насѣлени жители и за онія въ Вилаетъть заселени и незаселени жители които сѫ слѣпи, хроми и недѫгави.

Основаніето на прѣдпріетата болница ще стане въ мѣстото на *Имаретъть*, на което разносити за направата ще са зематъ отъ избитъкътъ на вакуфътъ, а сѣкогашнити му разноски отреди са да бѫдатъ отъ доходити, които има тоя *Имаретъ* въ селото *Трыстеникъ*.

За тая болница са опрѣдѣли единъ мюдиринъ и потрѣбнити слуги, и ще са управлява съобразно съсъ наставленіята, които ще са испратятъ отъ Вилаетъть.

Мѣстото, което са нарича *Имаретъ* както са каза по горѣ, едно съборено мѣсто. Зданіето, което ще са направи, заедно съсъ дуварити му и другити му принадлежности, ще бѫде отъ около шестьседемь стотинъ аршина.

Мѣстото на *Имаретъть* като не може да побере толкова зданіе, за туй, половината мѣсто на единъ ханъ, който е до него и на който половината е посвятенъ за благодѣяніе, а половината са куги за шесть хиляди гроша, тъй и едно мѣсто и единъ желѣзарски дюкенъ, които са подарили самосебно, ще са употрѣбятъ за здането, което са начерта върху тѣхъ и зафана да са прави.

Подъ благодѣтелната царска сѣнка това извършено нѣщо е единъ отъ мѣстнити вилаетски общеполезни и добри дѣлѣщи. Съсъ тоя начинъ *хемъ* добрини на вакуфътъ ще фанатъ мѣсто и ще бѫдатъ съобрази съсъ узаконеніето му за единъ видъ помощь, *хемъ* ще са устрои едно вѣчно срѣдство, чрезъ което ще оздравяватъ толкова болни и ще са прѣхранюватъ и запазюватъ толкова странни и бѣдни отъ бѣдности и повреди.

Прѣводъ на заповѣдьта, която е издадена отъ Н. В. Митатъ паша, Главніятъ управитель на Дунавскіятъ Вилаетъ, до Нашъ ефенди въ Плѣвенската каза за уреждането и за управленіето на училищата, както и за други нѣкои работи, въ замининуванието си за Софія прѣзъ Плѣвенъ.

Въ Плѣвенъ са намиратъ нѣколко хиляди мусулмански кѫщи. Споредъ тая смѣтка, дѣцата които са учатъ въ училищата, вмѣсто да бѫдатъ повече отъ хиляда, споредъ издирванята сичкити сѫ около триста, и повече отъ училищата сѫ занемарени и запустѣли. Както родителити сѫ неизбѣжно длъжни да сѧ трудятъ за въспитаніето на дѣцата си по вѣра и по благонравіе; тъй и жителити отъ единъ градъ изъ общо иматъ нужда, щото дѣцата на тоя градъ да са изучаватъ. За тая работа като са разсѫди, даде са слѣдующето рѣшеніе, което са излага тука на долу.

За да са накаратъ да са трудятъ дѣцата да изучатъ разни познанія и за да са постигнатъ желаемити плодове, изискватъ са тія три нѣща:

1) Да сѫ наредени училищнити здания добрѣ и да са въведе и уреди начинътъ на прѣподаванието;

2) Да сѫ плаща прилично на учителити, които сѫ опрѣдѣлени да учатъ дѣцата за да могатъ да са прѣминуватъ добрѣ;

3) За ученицити, които не дохождатъ редовно въ училището, както и да е да са извѣстява на родителити имъ, и ако не са оправятъ, тогази да са извѣстява на правителството, за да са нагълчатъ за постѫпкити имъ.

На нѣкои училища, които зависятъ отъ *вакафтъ*, разносити както за подправяніето имъ, тъй и за други работи макарь и да са посрѣщатъ отъ страната на вакуфътъ, въ други училища нѣматъ никакви приходи. За туй трѣбува да са избератъ първо онія отъ тѣхъ, които по състояніе и способность сѫ за въ работа и ако иматъ нѣщо за подправеніе, по скоро да са наредатъ. Разносити за подправяніе ще са посрѣщатъ отъ вакуфътъ, ако има; ако ли нѣма, тогази отъ третята часть на благодѣтелната помощь (сююсъ), ако ли нѣма и това, тогази ще са посрѣщатъ отъ добродѣюбивити и почтенніти ученолюбци, които сѫ по имотни.

На учителятъ, който е опрѣдѣленъ за сѣко градско училище, ще му са плаща по педесеть грошове мѣсечина за прѣхраната му, и нѣ по малко годишнина отъ шесть стотинъ грошове, тъй щото ученицити, които са учатъ, да не сѫ длъжни вече да плащатъ на недѣля или на мѣсецъ. За да не даватъ сиромашкити дѣца никакъ пари, годишната шестотинъ грошове заплата на сѣки учитель ще са посрѣща отъ вакуфътъ, ако има; ако ли нѣма вакуфъ или има и не достига, тогази за шестьстотинътѣ гроша, които трѣбува да са допълнатъ, ще са зема отъ благодѣтелната помощь (сююсъ), която пакъ ако не сѫществува или не допълня тогази ще са събира отъ родителити на ученицити. и то отъ по мѣжду по имотнити на тя махала, тъй на примѣръ и отъ кожити на курбанити по байрамътъ и отъ други нѣкои нѣща, които могатъ да събератъ помѣжду махленити, и отъ тѣхъ ще са посрѣщне заплатата на учителятъ.

Разносити на училищата които нѣматъ приходъ отъ вакуфътъ, рѣши са да са събиратъ отъ помѣжду гражданити.

Вій, Наибе, като сѫ научите за тая работа, наедно съсъ Мюфти ефенди, съсъ градскити улеми, съсъ мусулманскити махленски мухтари, съсъ членовити отъ Ихтіяръ-меджлиси и съсъ други, които сѫ спесобни, ще са свикате на мехкемето, дѣто помѣжду си ще рѣшите и ще расправите кое училище ще си остане и кое ще сѧ подправи; съврѣменно да са рѣши отъ дѣ ще са плати годишната заплата на учителятъ.

Учителити, които са намиратъ въ училищата, трѣбува да са испитатъ и ако не сѫ способни да са замѣнятъ съсъ други по способни. За това нѣщо трѣбува да са направи тефтеръ, който да са подпише отъ сичкити, и послѣ да стане илямъ отъ страната на шеріята.

Отъ сега на татькъ ученицити, които въ врѣмето на училищното прѣдание, ходятъ по пѫтищата напразно, ще са наказуватъ отъ родителити сѝ и отъ наставницити си, а онія, които въ такъвъ случай не са управятъ, ще са испращатъ въ Русчушкото и Нишкото Ислахъ-Хане.

Това нѣщо трѣбува да са расправи сѣкому добрѣ отъ сега, и не трѣбува да са сравнява съсъ други работи, защото то е за сѣкого и на тоя и на другіятъ свѣтъ като единъ центъръ и една важна работа за благополучіе и прибѣжище.

За туй, съсъ дълбоко стараніе и ревность отъ сѣка страна да са заловите, и както и да е, за да са испълни желаемата цѣлъ, трѣбува да са постарате да употрѣбите силити си за това добро дѣло.

За това са написа и са даде тая заповѣдь отъ страната на Вилаетското управленіе.

Отъ като са е съставилъ Вилаетъть въ растояніе на седемь-осемь мѣсеца до сега, редовети и добрини направени отъ Н. В. Главніятъ управитель за усъвършенствованіето на мѣстнити работи сѫ знакъ на общата полза и сѫ достойни за голѣма похвала, както относително къмъ царщината, тъй и къмъ народътъ.

И сега съсъ пристигнуванієто си въ Плѣвенъ, вътрѣ въ два-три дни заповѣда да са направи особна болница за странници и за мѣстнити, както са види отъ горѣизложената заповѣдъ.

За нареждането на плѣвненскити училища, Н. В. благоизволилъ да заповѣда да са зематъ добри мѣрки

Истина, че тія работи хубави и голѣми сѫ достойни за благодареніе.

Печатницата на Вилаетъть, на която са пада благодареніето, испълнява си длъжностьта.

Въ прѣдидущити листове на вѣстникъть ни бѣхми извѣстили начинванието на направата на пѫтятъ отъ Русе до Търново. Тоя пѫть, на който направата е твърдѣ хубава и прилична на шосе, довършилъ са отъ Търново до селото Бѣла чрезъ постояннити стараніе на търновскіятъ каймакаминъ, на чиновницити и на народонаселеніето.

Има надѣжда, че тоя пѫть, съсъ божіята воля, ще са направи и отъ Бѣла насамъ до Русе чрезъ стараніето на чиновницити, прѣдъ да доде зимата.

Сичкати потрѣбности, каквото камъни, варъ, кересте, за кевгиреніятъ мостъ, който ще се направи върху Янтрата, прѣзъ който минува пѫтятъ, сѫ са приготвили чрезъ стараніето и грижата на нарочната комисія и на незамѣнѣнятъ Бѣлски Мехмедъ бея. Тія дни са мислило да са туряятъ темелити на мостътъ, отъ което работата доста щеше да напрѣдне, нъ по божіето провидѣніе тая година дъждовети, които не валѣха на врѣме и въ мѣсецити Марта и Априлія, сега сѣки день и постоянно са случаватъ, отъ което рѣкити твърдѣ много прѣливатъ. За туй, темелити на тоя мостъ още не сѫ са турили. Нъ веднажъ темелити турени, твърда надѣжда има за свършението му додѣто доде зимата, защото сичкити му потрѣбности сѫ приготвени по много отъ колкото трѣбува.

Казата и градътъ Плѣвенъ, който бѣше присъединенъ отъ първо на Видинъ, а отъ послѣ на уничтоженіятъ ловчански санджакъ, притури са споредъ основаніето на Вилаетъть, на русчушкіятъ санджакъ. Тоя градъ, отъ като бѣше едно мѣсто способно за сѣкакво благоденствіе и търговія, бѣше достигналъ до едно скрѣбно състояніе.

Мюдиринътъ Хасанъ бей, който са опрѣдѣли прѣдъ нѣколко дни за малко врѣме оправилъ улицити и дюгенити на тоя градъ. Освѣнъ това, той направизъ и нѣкои полезни работи. и дава за себе си пълно увѣреніе за напрѣдъ.

Позната е важностьта, която придоби Черна-Вода по причина на Кюстенджанскіятъ желѣзенъ пѫть. Споредъ туй, тамъ са поставиха нарочни началници, потрѣбнити мюфетиши и заптіета. Нъ сѣдалището имъ, сирѣчь въ Черна-Вода, твърдѣ далеко са намира отъ скелята, споредъ което тія чиновници не могатъ да сварятъ пристигнаніето на вапорити и на колата на желѣзнія пѫть. Колкото за мѣстата, които са намиратъ тамъ, компаніята на желѣзнія пѫть ги е съвсѣмъ призела.

Прѣдъ нѣколко дни тая работа слѣдъ като са разгледала отъ чиновницити, компаніята са съгласиля да даде приличното мѣсто за направата на едно здание за чиновницити.

За да са направи тамъ едно хубаво мѣсто за чиновницити, оставило са на грижата на Н. П. Расимъ паша, тулчанскіятъ каймакаминъ.

Съ направата на това здание, естественно е, че ще са махне *забитсизликъть*, въ който са намираше до сега това мѣсто.

Споредъ земята на шумненската каза, числото на прѣселенцити черкези, които сѫ заселени въ тая каза, е многичко. Научавами са, че чрезъ грижата и стараніето на шумненскіятъ мюдиринъ, Али-бей и на мѣстнити чиновници, тія прѣселенци въ малко врѣме сѫ настанили споредъ както са изискува, като ги заселили скупомъ и отдѣлно въ селата направени изъ ново въ мѣстото Страндза близо при Шуменъ и около ханътъ Нисіе.

За да не испадатъ отъ сиромашія и отъ нужда по пѫтищата да са обезчестюватъ и да просятъ дѣцата, както на ветхити мусулмански и християнски жители, тъй и на прѣселенскити жители, които сѫ останали безъ покровитель и сирачета и които са отъ двайсеть години на долу, напрѣди бѣше са извѣстило насѣкѫдѣ да са събиратъ таквизи дѣца и да ги провождатъ по ислахъ-ханетата. Нъ съсъ скърбь разказуватъ, че пакъ въ нѣкои мѣста таквизи дѣца пълнятъ пѫтищата.

Ислахъ-ханетата, които са основаха подъ високото царско покровителство въ Нишъ, Русчукъ и Кюстенджа, направени сѫ нарочно съсъ цѣль да помогнатъ и да отхранятъ таквизи сзаби и бѣдни дѣца.

Напомнюва са че таквизи отчаяни и загубени дѣца, за да не ходятъ насамъ нататъкъ изъ пѫтищата, оставатъ са на грижата на чиновницити и на онія, които обичатъ отечеството и народътъ си.

Познато е че рѣкити голѣмъ Искъръ, и малъкъ Искъръ, които извирать отъ Софійскіятъ балканъ и са изливать въ Дунавътъ, събиратъ са наедно отъ врачанската каза насамъ и мѣжду казити Рахова и Никополь истичатъ са въ Дунавътъ. Ако са отвори за голѣмити пусти мѣста, които са намиратъ въ Рахова единъ каналъ отъ едно мѣсто, което са намира при Враца, казуватъ, че съсъ голѣма полза ще напоява твърдѣ много мѣста, кои то са останали празни и неразработени само по причина на безводіето.

Инджинеринътъ, който съдружава Н. В. Главніятъ Управитель въ сегашното му пжтуване, казува, че ако тая работа са сбѫде, безъ сѫмнѣніе много мѣста, които иматъ едно пространство отъ петнайсеть двайсеть часа, отъ ново ще уживѣятъ.

Хранити, за които имаше страхъ по едно врѣме по причина на суша, отъ послѣ зеха новъ животъ споредъ дъждовети, които валяха.

Наистина, че като бѣше прѣминало врѣмето му, нчмикътъ на сѣкждѣ по мѣстата на Видаетъть малко не го бива. нъ житото, ръжьта и други произведенія сѫ спорни, а най много мисирити, които сѫ твърдѣ и несравнително добри, сѫ спорна и много.

Тимарліята Ахметъ спахія, единъ отъ жителити на Ергюпската каза въ Нишкіятъ санджакъ, съсъ своя добра воля помогналъ на нишкото Ислахъ-хане отъ тимарскіятъ си приходъ шесть хиляди и петь стотинъ и педесеть и осемъ грошове.

Това благодѣяніе и великодушіе на спахіята, които сѫ единъ бѣлѣкъ на ревностьта му, сѫ достойни за уцѣненіе.

За да направятъ една похвална заслуга, жителити отъ плѣвненската каза прѣдъ нѣколко врѣме на два пжтя оставиха и подариха на хазната сто и шейсеть и четирь хиляди и петстотинъ и трійсеть грошове кайме, за възпріемането на което бѣха пратили едно прошеніе.

Това кайме сега са испрати отъ срѣдоточіето на Видаетъть до хазната.

Тая работа е единъ бѣлѣкъ на благодѣянієто и на великодушіето на тія жители.

ОБЩИ РАБОТИ.

За Сирійскіятъ Вилаетъ, който са основа сега наскоро, стапжли сѫ слѣдующити наименованія:

Напрѣшніятъ каймакаминъ въ *Белади-Бешаре*, Н. П. Едемъ паша, каймакаминъ въ Бейрутъ;

Хамидъ бей, каймакаминъ на Тарабулузъ-Шамскіятъ каймакамлъкъ който е съставенъ отъ санджакити Тарабулузъ и Лазикіе, съсъ чинътъ миримиранъ;

Кямилъ бей, напрѣшніятъ мухасебиджія отъ Санда, каймакаминъ на Видаетскіятъ меркезъ съсъ чинътъ миримиранъ;

Напрѣшніятъ шамски мухасебеджія, Сейфи ефенди, мухасебеджія на Видаетскіятъ меркезъ, съсъ втори чинъ отъ първи класъ;

Напрѣшніятъ мюмезининъ отъ мухасебето въ Санда, Изетъ ефенди, мюмезининъ въ Видаетскіятъ меркезъ, съсъ втори чинъ отъ втори класъ.

Азизъ паша, каймакаминъ на Анакъ, подтвърдѣва са на службата си.

Милостивіятъ, свѣтлиятъ, владѣтелніятъ и правосѫдніятъ нашъ Господарь изваждя на явѣ възрожденіето на наукити и искуствата. Издаденити до сега книги и други списанія сѫ едни добри бѣлѣци за стараніята, които Той показва върху распространеніето на наукити и искуствата по мѣжду сичкити му поддапници. —

Подъ Неговата покровителна сѣнка са позволи да са испълнятъ сичкити общеполезни срѣдства за достигнуваніето на общото образованіе. Никой языкъ не е въ състояніе да испълни истинното благодареніе относително за благодѣяніята, които ніи виждами въ неговата славна епоха. Една отъ милостивити негови добрини е и тая дѣто заповѣда да сѫ основе една стая за прѣводи, която ще бѫде подъ управленіето на министерството на общенародното просвѣщеніе. Главната цѣль на това общество е общата полза на царството и на народътъ. Тя ще прѣвожда на языкътъ ни най новити учебни книги и брошури, издадени и распространени отъ лица опитни, едномисленни и способни.

Книгити, които ще са прѣведатъ отъ чужди язици на сладкіятъ горѣказанъ языкъ, ще са прѣдставятъ на съвѣтътъ на общенародното просвѣщеніе. Като са прѣгледатъ, отрѣдено е да са даде на прѣводачьтъ една царска награда.

По висока царска заповѣдъ Мюнифъ ефенди, първи прѣводачь на В. Порта, по причина на познатото му ученіе, наименова са прѣдсѣдатель на това общество, а Хія бей и Пертебъ ефенди, управвачи.

Долоназначените лица, познати по своето ученіе, наименоваха са членове и писари на това общество. За знаніе на работата, извѣстява са.

Членовети избрани за това общество сѫ:

Кадри бей, управителятъ на царскити пощи;

Мехмедъ Али бей отъ царскити етамажори;

Охапесъ ефенди, помощникъ на общіятъ кредетъ;

Маджедъ бей отъ чиновницити на Терджуманъ одасѫ;

Ваханъ ефенди, прѣдсѣдатель на второіятъ търговски съвѣтъ;

Нури бей, каймакаминътъ на Мехендихането;

Омеръ бей, каймамъ и прѣводачь на военното училище;

Охапесъ ефенди, управителятъ на пресата;

Ахмедъ Хѫми ефенди отъ чиновницити на Терджуманъ-одасѫ;

Сандулъ-лахъ бей, отъ чиновницити на терджуманъ одасѫ;

Рифатъ бей отъ чиновницити на терджуманъ одасѫ;

Александро бей отъ прѣводачити на Великіятъ съвѣтъ;

Писари:

Мехмедъ Шевкъ ефенди отъ чиновницити на Терджуманъ-одасѫ, първи писарь на турски;

Нури бей отъ чиновницити на Визирското писалище, втори писарь на турски;

Фардисъ ефенди отъ чиновницити на Терджуме-одасѫ, писарь на французки языкъ.

(Таквими-Вакаи).

Ніи бѣхми писали, че като фанаха да са показуватъ бѣлѣци на *холерината*, нарочна комисія са основа на Голѣмото Заптіе.

Сѣдъ като турила въ дѣйствіе неизбѣжностьта и нуждата на правилото, което изискува да са мете градьтъ, тая комисія видѣла за нужно да са направятъ три приврѣменни болници една на Касѫмъ-паша, друга на Бешикъ-пашь, и друга въ двѣ села. Мѣстата на тія болници сѫ опрѣдѣлили и сичкити имъ потрѣбности сѫ приготвили.

Въ сѣка една болница ще има по единъ опитенъ и способенъ докторъ, който ще бѫде като миофетгишинъ и мюдиринъ на тая болница и който ще има за помощници и други доктори. Педесеть ученици, които сѫ си свършили наукити въ Медицинското училище, и които сѫ подѣлени по докторскити срѣдоточія основани въ потребнити мѣста, въ Хасъ-кюю, Пера, Галата, Татавла, Юскюдарь, Бююкъ-Дере и Станболъ, ще сѫ на расположеніето на тія болници.

Въ мѣстата, каквото Касѫмъ-паша, дѣто народонаселеніето е многично, а жилищата имъ тѣсни и малки, петстотинъ чадѫри сѫ наредили, и нѣкои работници и бекяри сѫ извадили вънъ отъ градьтъ. Когато са покаже въ една кѫща холерата, ако потрѣбува исправяватъ кѫщата. Съсъ една речь голѣмо вниманіе става въ съмнителити мѣста и са зематъ мѣрки. За да са улеснятъ сиромасити, комисіята имъ раздава потрѣбніятъ хлѣбъ, месо, орисъ и масло.

Подъ улеснителното царско покровителство, едно съсъ таквизи общеполезни мѣрки, които са зематъ и са турятъ въ дѣйствіе, друго съсъ дъждовети, които идатъ отъ единъ два дни насамъ и които можатъ да исчистятъ въздухьтъ, и най посль както тая болѣсть не може да се каже сѫща холера, и въ който градъ са появи, за петь десеть дни са махнова, като са покаже стараніе, трѣбува да са надѣвами, че за малко нити името на болѣстьта нѣма да остане.

(Терджумани-Ахвалъ).

ВЪНШНИ РАБОТИ

Прѣводъ на писмото испратено отъ едно лице въ Парисъ и обнародвано въ вѣстникъ „Рузнамеи-Джеридеи-Хавадисъ:“

Не са съмнѣвамъ, че писмото ми, което ви бѣхъ испратилъ напрѣдъ, е направило голѣмо впечатлѣніе върху французити на онія, които са го чели.

Онія, които са намиратъ отъ вънъ, като не познаватъ истинното положеніе, глѣдатъ на това писмо съсъ едно прѣзрѣніе и мислятъ че това не е тъй, нъ е писано отъ ярость

Азъ ви бѣхъ съобщилъ добрити и лошити работи които видѣхъ тука до сушь, безъ да искривьк нѣщо.

Срѣщу лошавинити на Французити, отъ които ви съобщихъ едната отъ стотѣхъ хиляди, има и нѣкои добрини, които азъ съсъ сѣкакъвъ начинъ забѣлѣжихъ и отъ които ви съобщавамъ едната, която е за забѣлѣжкваніе и която може намъ да понесе. Ако я намѣрите за благословна, можете да я обнародвате въ вѣстникьтъ си.

Прѣминуваніето на ношното зимно врѣме въ Цариградъ е твърдѣ мжчно и трудно. Сѣки трѣбува да са събере съсъ едного двама пріятели, били отъ писалището, били отъ еснафьтъ сѣсѣди съсъ чаршійскити си дюгени, или посль. ако послѣ ястието не отиде или у сѣсѣдьтъ си или у пріятелять си, не може да си прѣминуватъ врѣмето. Долнити хора сѫ принудени да отидатъ послѣ ястието си или на кафенетата или по дюкяни, за да си прѣминуватъ врѣмето съсъ прости и безразсѫдни прикаски. При това има едно нѣщо за удивленіе, че нѣкои отъ онія, които піятъ, като отидатъ на едно мѣсто дѣто не са піе ракія, освѣнъ че безпокоятъ стопанинътъ на кѫщата и гостити, нъ събрани съсъ други пійници піятъ часьтъ до петь до шесть и най послѣ са натъркалюватъ като замени. Това е познато сѣкиму и не е нужно да са расправя подробно.

За да са земе едно добро прѣобращеніе било за махнуваніето на лошавинити, било за доброто прѣминуваніе на ношното врѣме, азъ мислѣ, че трѣбува да са основе въ Цариградъ единъ *клубъ* както и тука.

Тука денемъ сѣки спи въ кѫщата си, и са успокоява. Сѣдъ залѣзуваніето на сѫлнцето сичкити сѫ събирать въ онія мѣста, дѣто има веселба.

Истина че прѣминуваніето на врѣмето е ограничено въ театри, джамбази и балове, нъ това намъ не ни прилича. защото е противно на нашити обичаи.

Клубъ е едно пріятелско събраніе, което сѫстои отъ сто, двѣсть и най много отъ петстотинъ членове. Въ това общество има хора безъ разлика отъ министри до най прости. Членовети на това общество зематъ единъ конакъ съсъ кирія и го украсяватъ и постилатъ, споредъ силата на онія. които го съставлявать.

Тоя конакъ сѫстои отъ нѣколко голѣми салони, една одая за пушеніе, едно читалище, една одая за яденіе, едно писалище и една одая за почиваніе. Членовети, когато ще са разговарять, стоятъ въ салонити; ако би да піятъ чибукъ, отиватъ въ одаята за пушеніе; онія които искатъ да прочитатъ разни вѣстници на разни язици, отиватъ въ читалището, а онія, които искатъ да пишатъ или да четатъ, отиватъ въ писалището и тамъ са занимаватъ.

Единъ вънкашенъ човѣкъ не е възможно да влѣзе въ тоя клубъ, освѣнъ ако нѣкой отъ членовети го прѣдстави.

Ястіята, които са правятъ въ клубовети, сѫ твърдѣ чисти и вкусни и по ефтини отъ ястіетата на лукантити. Когато нѣкой отъ членовети отиде тамъ, ще намѣри до двайсеть-трійсеть хора познанници. Тамъ са намиратъ слуги твърдѣ добрѣ облѣчени и които разбиратъ отъ работа и отъ прикаска. Ето по кой начинъ единъ най простъ човѣкъ, когато отиде въ клубъть, съобразнъ съсъ състоянієто, проминува си врѣмето до срѣдъ нощь.

Тукашното общество, което са нарича *Джоке-Клубъ* сѫстои отъ петь-шестотинъ хора богати, сѫмтката на капиталътъ му не е позната. Влизаніето въ тоя клубъ е много по мъчно отъ колкото да иска човѣкъ да стане членъ въ народніятъ съвѣтъ, или да земе една по голѣма служба. Защото онзи, който иска да стане членъ на тоя клубъ, трѣбува да бѫде благороденъ, чиновникъ и богатъ.

Инджинеритѣ и търговцити и тѣ си иматъ нарочни клубове. Казуватъ, че въ Лондра има единъ клубъ. въ който влизатъ само онія лица, които иматъ чинътъ си по голѣмъ отъ миралай; подолни отъ тоя чинъ не сѫ пріети. На противъ, отъ послѣ са съставилъ други клубъ. въ който не са пріематъ лица, които иматъ чинъ по горенъ отъ миралай, въ него клубъ си проминуватъ врѣмето. По примѣрътъ на тія, мореплавателити и тѣ си отворили клубове.

Тука има единъ клубъ за расходка, въ който са пріематъ за членове лица, които сѫ забикаляли три хиляди часа мѣсто и които сѫ ходили въ Кина и въ Индія.

Гърбавити и кумарджіити и тіи си иматъ клубове, въ които не пріематъ другиго освѣнъ подобнити си.

Споредъ както изложихъ по горѣ, ако би за сега и въ Цариградъ да са отворилъ такъвъ единъ клубъ, който да са обдържава отъ лица вліятелни и отъ нѣкои високи чиновници, може да са приготви до идущата зима. Едно мѣсто за такъвзи клубъ може да са приготви и накиче въ едно прилично мѣсто въ Цариградъ, съсъ двайсеть хиляди грошове най добрѣ. Азъ мислѣ, че тоя клубъ може да са обдържи на мѣсецъ съсъ петь хиляди гроша; а за другити му разни потрѣбности могатъ да достигнатъ други още двайсеть хиляди грошове. По тоя начинъ като са по харчатъ за годината сто хиляди гроша и като са намѣрятъ сто хора членове, сѣкиму ще са падне по осемдесеть мѣсечина. Това, мислѣ никой не може да го откаже. Ако стане нужда да са намира въ касата му малко пари, то може да стане, ако членовети, които ще влѣзатъ въ обществото, да датъ по триста-петстотинъ гроша Ако едно високо лице отъ голѣмцити благоизволи да прѣдсѣдателствова тоя клубъ и ако направи потрѣбното подбужденіе, не ще прикаска, че тая работа въ малко врѣме може да са свърше.

Добрините отъ тая работа не е нужда да са расправятъ и прѣпоржчаватъ по други начинъ, защото сѫ явни като денятъ.

Когато бѣхъ въ Цариградъ, отворяха прикаска за проминуваніето на ношното врѣме и са спомена да са отвори едно общество по други единъ начинъ. Азъ нѣмамъ сѫмнѣніе, че на това ще са съгласятъ.

Най главното заниманіе на тукашнити клубове е играніето на комаръ, което става до едно опрѣдѣлено количество Това играніе не са дозволява въ Цариградъ. Ніи трѣбува да турями въ дѣйствіе онія работи, които са виждатъ умственно полезни, а кривити нѣка ги оставимъ на французити.

Въ Париското Всеобщо Изложеніе, което ще са отвори въ 1867 година, освѣнъ дѣто ще са намиратъ въ него сѣкакви нѣща, ще има отъ различнити племена на човѣшкіятъ родъ, а най много отъ дивити колкото сѫ намиратъ. Отъ сичкити тія ще са намѣри по единъ човѣкъ до отъ най долнити.

Тія ще бѫдатъ сичкити наредъ отъ сѣкакъвъ видъ: черни, бѣли, мѣдини, червени и жълти, отворени и затворени. Колкото разни творенія са намѣрятъ по градовети, напълно ще бѫдатъ изложени.

Сичкити тія разни лица съсъ собственити имъ дрѣхи и принадлѣжности да са видятъ на едно мѣсто, истина ще бѫде едно добро зрѣлище. [Терджумани-Ахвалъ]

ИЗВѢСТІЕ.

Святото Евангеліе, прѣведено отъ славенски на български отъ Попъ Неичо, Севліовецъ, зафана да са печати въ Книгопечатницата на Дунавскіятъ Вилаетъ съсъ черковни едри слова. Който ще да стане спомоществователь нека са отнесе до реченіятъ священикъ.

Цѣнити на Хранити (за една ока)

имената на мѣстата	жито			ячимикъ	мисири	краве масло	Червишъ
	първо качеств.	второ качеств.	третьо качеств.				
	пари	пари	пари	пари	пари	пари	пари
Русчукъ	32	28	24	18	20	440	360
Видинъ	28	25	22	14	14	480	360
Варна	33	29	27	20	20	520	360
Тулча	33	30	23	10	18	620	400
Кюстенджа	40	32	28	11	»	580	400
Софія	18	15	14.	10	12	160	240

طونه

ربیع الاول سنه ۱۲۸۲ (چهارشنبه کونی) تموز سنه ۱۲۸۱ نومرو ۹ ۲۱

اشبو غزته داخلیه وخارجیه وهر درلو مباحثی شامل اولهرق هفته ده بردفعه چهارشنبه کونلری چیقار یرسنه لکی (٤٠) والتی آیلغی (٢٥) غروشه وبهر نسخه سی (٤٠) پاره یه در داخل ولایتدن ماعدا محلر ایچون بوفیاته پوسته اجرتی ضم اولنور سنه لکنی و یاخود التی آیلغی المق ایچون بازلق استلدیکی حالده مرکز ولایت مطبعه سنه مراجعت اولنمق لازمکلور

مواد خصوصیه

والی مشار الیه حضرتلرینك بو دفعه صوفیه یه کتمك اوزره پلونه دن مرورلرنده مکاتب صبیانك تنظیم اصول واداره لری وتفرعات سائره سی حقنده قضاء مذکور نائبی افندی یه خطابا بازدقلری یورلدی صورتیدر

پلونه قصبه سنده برفاج یك خانه نفوس اسلام موجود اولهرق او حسابه کوره مکتبلرده تحصیل علمه دوام ایدن اطفالك عددی یك نفردن زیاده اولق لازم کلور ایکن بودفعه اولنان تحقیقاته کوره قصبه ده موجود مکتبلرك جوغی معطل و خراب اولوب تحصیله دوام ایدن اطفال ایسه طوپی اوچیوز یوقدر نفردن عبارت اولدیغنه وچوجقلرك تحصیل علوم دینیه وادبیه یه چالشدیرلمسی ولیلری اوزرینه فرض اولدیغی کبی بر مملکتده بولنان اطفالك بو وجهله تحصیل علوم ایتدیرلمسی اوملکتده بولنان سکنه واهالی یه دینی عموما واجب ایدوکنه بناء بوخصوص حقنده بالملاحظه ویرلیان قرار بر وجه آتی بیان اولنور شویله که چوجقلرك معتاد یا تحصیل علوم وفنونه چالشدیرلمسی وثمره مطلوبه منك وجوده کتورلمسی اوچ شیئه موقوف اولوب بونك بریسی موجود مکتبلرایتنه سنك تنظیم واصلاحیله قاعده تعلیم وتدریسك بویله قونلمسی وایکنجسی تعلیم صبیان ایچون معین اولان خواجه لرك وظایفی حدلایقنه ابلاغ اولنه رق یکدیرلمسی واوچنجسی چوجقلرك مکتبه دوام ایتلریچون کندولری وولیلری عادتا اجبار اولنه رق مکتبه کتمیان چوجقلر اولدیغی حالده حکومت طرفندن معاملهٔ تکدیریه و تهدیدیه اجرا قلنمسی خصوصلری اولدیغندن ومکاتب موجوده نك برقاچی اوقاف معینه داخلنده اولهرق کرك مصارف تعمیریه لرینك وکرك سنوی تخصیص اولنه جق مخصصاتنك وقفلری جایسندن تسویه سی ممکن ایسه ده دیکر بر طاقم هیچ وارداتی بولنمدیغندن اولا موجود مکتبلردن حالحله وموقعجه ایسته یرایه جق اولانلر قفلیری ایسه ابقا اولنق اوزره بونلرك محتاج تعمیر محللری همان تنظیم وتسویه ایله مصارف تعمیریه سی وقفلری وارایسه اندن و یوغیسه وجوه یره و یومقوله خیراته وصیت ایدلمش ایچه دن واوده اولمدیغی حالده محله اهالیسنك اصحاب حیث واقتداری طرفلردن تسویه وتأدیه اولنمسی و بهر مکتبه تعلیم صبیان ایچون تعیین اولنه جق خواجه شهریه اللیشر غروش حسابیله سنوی لااقل التیوز غروشدن اسافی اداره ایدیلمه یه جکندن بعد ازین مکتبلره دوام ایدن چوجقلر هفته لق و آیلق ویرمکه مجبور اولمامق وفقرا چوجقلرچون هیچ برپاره ویرلمامك اوزره بهر مکتب ایچون سنوی التیوز غروش تخصیصله مکتبك وقفی وار ایسه اشبو معاش وقفی طرفندن ووقفی اولمدیغی و یاخود اولوبده مخصصاتی کافی بولنمدیغی حالده التی یوز غروشه ابلاغ ایچون دخی التی یوزك غروشه مبایعه اولنمش و یرنه اوراده برعرصه ایله تعمیرجی ده کارلردن بریسی صاحبلری طرفندن مجاناً ترك وتبرع ایدلمش اولدیغندن اشبو عرصه لرك هیئت مجموعه سی اوزرینه ترسیم ایتدیریلان اینه لك همان اساسته مباشرت اولنمش و بومیاده دخی سابقاً معالیوایهٔ حضرت شاهانه ده ولایتنك موقع فعله ووجوده کتورلان اثار نافعه وخیریه سنه ضمیمهٔ جدیده اولهرق بو وسیله ایله هم واقعهٔ خیراتی ایشه یرایه جق وشرطنامه موافق اولهجق برصورتله اعمار واحیا وهمده بونجه خستکان وغربا وبیچارکانك استحصال وسایل رفاه وتعیشلریله عجز ومذلت وضرورتدن محافظه لرینه پرچارهٔ دائمی اتخاذ اولنمشدر

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خصوصی مواد

والی ولایت دولتلو مدحت پاشا حضرتلرینك پلونه دن حرکتله صوفیه یه مواصلت پوردقلری تلغراف حوادثندندر

تلغراف ناظری اولوب مأموریت مخصوصه ایله براز وقتدنبرو اوروپا جانبنده بولنان معاون باشا حضرتلرینك پلونه دن اقدی ویانه اوزرندن طونه طریقیله عودت ایدرك تیکولی اسکله سنه ورودنده والی مشار الیه حضرتلرینك پلونه ده بولندقلری خبرینی الدیغندن ونیکولی ایله پلونه نك اراسی دخی التی ساعتلك مسافه ایدوکندن ولایت تلغراف خطلری حقنده بعض مذاکرات اجرا بیورمق اوزره پلونه یه عزیمت ایتمش وافندیٔ مومی الیه پلونه ده چندکون اقامت ومذاکرهٔ مصلحتله ماه حالك دردنجی جمعه کونی روسچوقه کلوب روسچوق تلغرافخانه سی خصوصاتنی روئیته فرداسی جمعه ایرتسی کمك دخی طونه طریقله درسعادته کیتمکدر

دائرهٔ ولایته بولنان مهاجرین ایله غربا وعجزه دن وقوعبولان خسته لره مداواتلری ایچون ولایتنك مواقع معلومه سنده التی عدد خسته خانه انشاسی و بونلردن بریشك دخی روسچوق سنجاغی داخلنده واقع پلونه قصبه سنده بالفعل مقرر اولدیغنه وغازی علی پاشك وسلیمان پاشك اوقاف شریفه سی خیراتندن پلونه قصبه سنده واقع عمارت فقراوه محتاجینك انفاق ودفع احتیاجی نیت خیریه سیله وضع اولنمش ایکن خراب و معطل طورد یکندن بودفعه والی مشار الیه حضرتلرینك پلونه یه مواصلتلریله بالذات اجرا ایلدکاری تحقیقاته کوره مذکور عمارتك سنوی اوتوز یك غروشدن زیاده واردواتی اولوب کویا بعض کره فقرا ومحتاجین ایچون یشوریلان پلاوزده مصرفی دنیله رك سنه ده بکرمی یك غروشدن متجاوز مصارفی اولدیغی حالده عمارت دنیلان شی خراب برعرصه ایچنده برمطبخ و برقرناغدن عبارت بولندیغنه بناء بوراسی بویله خراب و معطل طورمقدن وبوقدرمصارف یهوده وهبا اولمقدن ایسه اشبو عمارتك مخصوص اولان واردواتك حقیله محلنه صرف اولنق ووافقك روحیچون حقیقةً استعمالات خیراتیه ایدلمك اوزره دائمی صورتله انفاق محتاجیته صالح اولدیغی برحالده استعمالی مرجح واولی اولغین سالف البیان عربا خسته خانه سیله برده ولایت دائره سنده بولنان علیل وسقط وعمالمانده بعض عجزه نك انفاق واداره سیچون مسکن عجزه ومساکین اولنق اوزره تأسیسی متصور اولان محلك اشبو عمارت محلنه یاپدیریلوب مصارف انشائیه سنك وقف مذکور فضله سندن تسویه ومصارف دائمه سیچون دخی اشبو عمارته مخصوص اولان ترسنك قریه سی حاصلاتنك تخصیص اولدیغی وجهله تصحیحیله وبر مدیر وخدمهٔ لازمه تعیینیله مرکزولایتده کوندرلمسی کوندریلمك اعلامات تطبیقیهٔ اداره ایتدیرلمسی قرارلشدیرلمش وعمارت دنیلان محل برمنوال مخرب وخراب عرصه دن عبارت اولوب یاپیلهجق ابنیه ایسه دوائر متعدده و متفرعه سیله برابر التی یدیبوز زواع مقداری برتبا اولمسیله عرصهٔ مذکوره بوقدر ابنیه یی استیعابه صالح اولدیغندن وچوارنده برخان عرصه سنك انصافی ذاتاً وجوه یره وصیت اولنمش ثلث مالی اولوب نصف دیکری

ایلرولمسی امید اولنمقده بولنمش اولدیغی حالده بوسسته حکمت خفیهٔ ربانیه ایله وفاتده ومارت ونیسان ایلرنده یاغمایان یغمورلرك شمدی هرکون وتمادیا وقوعی مناسبتیله نهرلرك پك زیاده طغیان ایتمسندن طولایی جسر مذکورك هنوز تمللری وضع اولنمامش ایسه ده برکره تمللری اتلدقدن صکره چونکه کافهٔ لوازماتك مع زیاده مستحضر اولمسی جهتیله موسم شتابه قدر ختامی قویاً مأمول اولنور

مقدماری ودین ودهاصکره لری ملحا لوجه سنجاغی مرپوطاتدن ایکن ولایتك تشکیلاتی اقتضاسنجه روسچوق سنجاغنه الحاق اولنان پلونه قضاسیله قصبه سی هردرلو معموریته وموقع تجارت اولمغه صالح برمحل ایکن تأسف اولنه جق برحالده قالمش اولدیغندن کچنده تعیین اولنمش اولان مدیرحسن بکك پك از کون ایچنده قصبهٔ مذکورمك سوقاقلرینی ودکانلرینی تنظیم ایتمکله برابر سائر بعض آثار مفیده میدانه کتورمش اولدیغی ایلروسی حقنده تأمینات کلیه ویرمکدر در

کوسنجه شندفری مناسبتیله بوغاز کویی موقعنك کسب ایلدیکی اهمیت معلوم اولهرق بونك ایچون اورایه ارسال اولنه جق بولك عربه لرینك ورودنده مأمورلری ینه مذکلرندن واوراده اولان اراضی یی یسه تحریر یولی قومیسیانه سی کاملا ضبطنه المش ایدوکندن کچنده مأمورلریله اولنان مذاکره اوزرینه ضابطه مأموریتی ایچون برتبا یاملق اوزره قومیسیانه طرفندن مناسبی مقدارپرا عطاسنه موافقت اولنمش واورایه رکوزل ضابطه محلی یاپدیرلمسی طوطلی قائممقامی سعادتلو راسم پاشانك همتنه حواله اولنمش اولدیغندن بونك وجوده کلمسیله شمدی یه قدر اوراجه کورولان ضابطه سزلق برطرف اولهجغی طبیعیدر

سمنی قضاسنه کوندریلان مهاجرین چراکسه اورالرك اراضیسنه کوره نفوسجه براز زیاده ایسه ده سمنی مدیری رفعتلو علی بك افندینك وسائر مأمورین محلیه بك همت واقدامیله بونلرطویدن ومتفرقا اسکان اولنه رق وخصوصیله سمنی جوارنده استراتجه نام محل ایله نسیه خانی جوارینه محدداً کوبرلیایله رق پك از وقت ایچنده بروفق مطلوب پرلندیرلمش اولدقلری ایشیدلمشدر

اسلام وخرستیان اهالیٔ قدیمه یك وکرك اهالیٔ مهاجرمك اطفالندن بیکس و یوایه قالمش اولان واون ایکی یاشلرینك مادونده بولنان جوچوقلرك سوقاقلرده فقر واحتیاج ایله ذل وسؤاله دوچار اولمالرملریچون اومقوله لرك طوپلانیله رق اصلاحخانه لره کوندرلمسی مقدم ومؤخر هرطرفه اعلان اولنمکین بعض برلرده ینه اومقوله جوچقلرك سوقاقلرده تسأل ایلدکلرینك روایت اولنمسی موجب تأسف اولدیغندن وسایهٔ معالیوایهٔ حضرت شاهانه ده یش وروسچوق وکوسنجه ده تأسیس اولنان اصلاحخانه لرك انجق یومشللو عجزه و بیچارکانك انفاق وتربیه سی مقصدیله بایلدیغندن اومقوله جوچقلرك خائب وخاسر سوقاقلرده وشوراده یورادهٔ براغلمامری تکرار مأموریته وخیرخواهان وطن وملتك حمیتلرینه حواله ایله اخطار اولنور

صوفیه جهتنده واقع یوك بالقائدن حاصل اولوب

طونه به منصب اولان کوچك اسکفیر ویوك اسکفیر نام نهر لرایواجه قضاسندن بروده برلسنه رك راحوه وتیکولی قضالری اراسندن طونه به اقدیغی معلومدر راحوه قضاسی داخلنده واقع اراضیٔ وسیعهٔ خالیه تك ایواجه جهتنده کائن برمحللدن برقتال اجلدیغی حالده مجرد صوسزلق سببیله خالی ومعطل قالمش اولان برچوق اراضیی اروا ایده یله جکی افادات موثوقه ایله مروی اولدیغندن ووالیٔ مشار الیه حضرتلرینك بو دفعه اواطرافلره عزیمتلرنده معیتلرنده مخصوص مهندس بولندیغندن بوماده وجوده کلوایسه اون بش یکرمی ساعت مسافه یی متضمن اولان برچوق اراضینك یکیدن احیا ومعمور اولهجغی یی اشتباهدر

برارالق تورافلو منا سبتیله قورقیلان محصولات عسکره دن ظهور ایدن یعمورلر سایه سنده برحیات تازه بولهرق اکرچه اربه محصولنك وقتی یکمش اولسی جهتیله داڑهٔ ولایتده کائن محللرده عموما شعیر محصولی اویغونسزجه ایسه ده بعضای وعلف ومحصولات سائره اهون اولوب خصوصیله قوقوروز محصولی یك اعلا وبی همتا اولهرق کسب فیض وترقی ایتمکدر

بش شجاعی داخلنده ارکوب قصبه سی سا کنلرندن وتجارلو طاقندن احمد سامی تجاری حاصلاتدن بش اصلاحاته سنه کندی حسن رضا سیله الی بیك بشیوز الی سکز غروش اعانه ایلدیکی بوکره محللدن اشعار اولنمش ومومی الیهك اشو همت وغیرتی اترحیت اولهرق شایان تقدیر کورنمشدر

پلونه قضاسی اهالیسی طرفندن برخدمت مفتخره اولمق اوزره مقدم ومؤخر ایکی دفعه ده خزینهٔ جلیله یه ترك ونبرع ایله قبول استدعا اولنان یوز الفش درت یك بشیوز اوتوز غروشلق قوائم نقدیه یودفعه مرکز ولایتدن خزینهٔ جلیله یه تقدیم قلنمش وبو کیفیت اهالیٔ مرقومه نك حمیت وغیرتلری اثارندن بولنمشدر

مواد متنوعه

بوکره تشکیل اولنان سوریه ولایتی داخلنده کائن بیروت قائمقاملغی بلاد بشاره قائمقامی سابق سعادتلو ادهم پاشایه

ولایت مذکوره داخلنده کائن طرابلس ولاز قیه سنجاقلرندن تشکل ایدن طرابلس شام قائمقاملغی قائمقام سابق سعادتلو حیدیکه رتبهٔ میرمیرانی ایله

مرکز ولایت قائمقاملغی صیدا محاسبه جیسی سابق سعادتلو کامل بکه کذلك رتبهٔ میرمیرانی ایله

مرکز ولایت محاسبه جیلکی شام محاسبه جیسی سابق عزتلو سیفی افندی یه رتبهٔ ثانیه صنف اول مغازیزی ایله محاسبهٔ ولایت ممیزلکه تعیین قلنان صیدا محاسبه ممیزی سابق عزتلو عزت افندی یه رتبهٔ ثانیه صنف ثانیسی ولایت مذکوره داخلنده کائن عکا قائمقاملغی حالا قائمقامی سعادتلو عزیز پاشا یه ابقاء توجیه واحاله یورلمشدر

نسخهٔ زیدهٔ لطف وشوکت اولان ولی نعمت بی منتر پادشاه توفیق مظهر وشهنشاه عدالت پرور افندمز حضرتلرینك احیای علوم ومعارف حقنده دینی شمدیه قدر مکتوب صحایف ظهور اولان اثار مؤلفه نحاسن پیرایی کافهٔ صنوف تبعهٔ شاهانه لریی نعمت جلیلهٔ معارف ومعلوماته مظهر البلکه وسایهٔ موفقیتواید حضرت خلافتپناهیلرنده تربیت عمومیه یی اتاج ایدن مقدمات ووسائل نافعه تك اجرامنه مساعدهٔ سنیهٔ مرحمتیور ورلری شایان پیورلمقده اولدیغی جهتله شوعصر همایون شاهانه ده مشاهده الکده اولدیغمز نعم جلیله تك حق تشکریی ادایه هیچ برلسان مقدر اولهمز اشته شوجمله مجمله دن براطف جدید دینی بو دفعه معارف عمومیه نظارت جلیله سی اداره سی تحتنده اولهرق تشکیله امر وفرمان معارف نشان حضرت پادشاهی شایان پیورلمش اولان ترجمه جمعیتیدر که اشبو جمعیتك مقصد متافع ملك وملتی موجب اولهرق اتحاد دینی اتحاد جنسیتی تدوین اولنمش اولان اثار علمیه یی وتلاحق افکار اصحاب تجارب وهنرایله ان یان نهادهٔ دستکاه طباعت وانتشار اولمقده بولنان کتب ورسائل جدیده یی استاره نقل ایتمك وبوندن بشقه السنهٔ سائره دن لسان عذب البیان ترکی یه نقل وترجمه اولنوب اصول موضوعه سی وجهله مجلس معارفه حواله اولنان کتب ورسائل مترجمه یه امرار انظار دقته اهمیتی حقنده بیدریغ پیوریله حق مکافات سنیه یی تحدید ایلمکدر جمعیت مذکوره یه مسلم اولان معلوماتلری جهتیله بالاراده سنیه باب عالی مترجم اولی عزتلو منیف افندی رئیس واحیایك وبرتو افندی مصحح نصب وتعیین یورلدیغی مثلو اربابات معارف ومعلوماتدن زیرده محرر ذواتدن جمعیت مذکوره یه عضا وکتبه نصب وتعیین قلنمش اولدقلری معلوم اولمق ایچون کیفیتك بومحله درجیله اعلانه مبادرت قلنمشدر

(جمعیت مذکوره یه انتخاب اولنان اعضا)

یوسف خانهٔ عامره ناظری سعادتلو قدری یك افندی

ارکان حربیه دن میرالای عزتلو محمد علی یك

اسهام عمومیه معاونی عزتلو اوحانس افندی

ترجمه اوطه سی خلفاسندن عزتلو ماجد یك

ایکنجی محکمهٔ تجارت رئیسی عزتلو واحان افندی

مهندسخانه ده قائمقام عزتلو نوری یك

مکتب حربیه ده مدرس قائمقام عزتلو عزیك

مطبوعات مدیری رفعتلو اوحانس افندی

ترجمه اوطه سی خلفاسندن رفعتلو احمد حلمی افندی

ترجمه اطه سی خلفاسندن سعداء یك

ترجمه اوطه سی خلفاسندن رفعت یك

مجلس والا مزاجارندن الکساندره افندی

(کتبه)

ترکی کاتب اولی ترجمه اوطه سی خلفا سندن محمد شوقی افندی

ترکی کاتب ثانیسی مکتوبی صدر عالی خلفاسندن نوری یك

فرانسز کاتبی ترجمه اوطه سی خلفاسندن فاردیس افندی

(تقویم وقایع)

درسعادتده قوارین اماره زی ظهوریله مبنی باب ضبطیه ده قومیسیون مخصوص تشکیل یورلدیغی یازمشدیق قومیسیون مذکور اول باول شهرلك قاعدهٔ ملزمهٔ تنظیفه سنی التزام وایجاباتی اجرا ایلمش اولدیغی حالده بر یسی قاسم پاشاده ودیکری بشکطاشده ودیکر بری دینی یکی کویده اولمق اوزره موقت اوچ خسته خانه نك وجودینه لزوم کورمکله برای تعیین وهر لواز ماتی اکمال اولنمش وبونلرك هر بریندهٔ مفتش ومدیر صفتلرینده بر محرب وحاذق حکیم ایله معاون مقاملرینده اطبای دیکر بولندیریله رق مکتب طبیه نك اکمال فنون ایتمش شاکردانندن الی قدر یی دینی مذکور خسته خانه لرك خاصکوی وبك اوغلی وغلطه وطاطاوله ایله اسکدار وبیوك دره ده واستانبولك ایجاب ایدن برلرنده آچدیرلمش اولان طبیب مرکز ینه توزیع اولنمش وقاسم پاشاکیی سکنا سنك طارلق وازلغیله اهالیسی جوقجه اولان محللرایچون بشیوز قدر چاد تخصیص برله برطاقم عمله وبیکار لرخارج شهره چیقارلمش اولوب برخانه دن قوارین علاجیه نظاماً هر اولدیغی تقدیر ده ایجاب ایدرسه مذکور خانه نك همان تخلیه قلنمسی والحاصل شهرلی بولتان برلرك لابتقطع دقتله معاینه اولنمسی کبی تدبیرك اتخاذ واجراسنه اعتنا قلنمقده وفقرای اهالی یه مدار اولمق اوزره قومیسیونك لزوم کورمکی مقدار اتمك وات ورنج وياغ تعیناتی دینی تخصیص واعطا اولنقده اولمسیله سایهٔ تسهیلا توابهٔ حضرت پادشاهیده بوکونه تبشثات وآجراآت نافعهٔ مؤثره ایله وهوالر کوزل کیدوب برایکی کوندنبرو اورته لغی وهوایی یك کوزل تمیزلیه جك صورتده یعموزلر یاغمش اولمسی وخسته لك دینی ذاتیاً قورا دینیله جك مرتبه ده اولیوب هر ملکتده اهتمام ایله بش اون کونده دینی وقوعی کوریلان قوارین نوعندن بولنمسی جهتلرایله قریبا خسته لك اسمینك یله قالمیه جغی مأمول واطاف خفیهٔ الهیه دن مسؤلدر

(ترجمان احوال)

حوادث جلیهٔ جهان

یازمشدیغمز ذات طرفندن کوندریلوب روزنامهٔ جریدهٔ حوادثه درج اولنان مکتوبلردر

کلنلرده سنه یازمش اولدیغم تحریراتمك اکر اوقودیلر ایسه فرانسزلره درجهٔ نهایده ده تأثیر ایتدیکنده شبهه یوقدر انجق خارجده بولنوب حقیقت حالی یله میانلر تحریرات مذکوره یه تریف نظریله باقارلر ایسه ده اوبله اولیوب نفسایتدن عاری اولهرق پوراده یتك وبد کورديکم شیلری ذره قدر خلا قسز تحریر وبیان ایتمشدیم

فرانسزلرك بوزیکده یرینی اشغال ایلمش اولدیغم قنالقارینه مقابل بعض محسناتلی اثرلری دخی اولدیغی جهتله وبنده زی هر حالده بی غرضلق یولنی التزام ایلدیکم سببله اومحسناتك یزه یرایه یله جکلرندن برینی اخطار ایتمکدن اوله رق سنه یروحه آتی افاده وبیان ایده حکمدن ادی المطالعه قبول یورلیورایسه روزنامه کزه درجنی تمنی ایدرم

استانبولده قیش کیجه لری وقت کجورمك یك صعوبتلی ومشکل اولوب هرکس یا اولدیغی قدمن ویا اصناف اولنلرچارشو ودکان قومشولرندن برایکیشر اجبا استحصالیله اوینه وباخود بعد الطعام قومشو ودوستله کتمز ایسه وقت کجوره من ادنا اولمدیغی یکلرینی یدکدن صکره برطاقم اشخاصدن مختلط معناسز معناسز لقردیلرله وقت کجورلیان قهوه دکانلرینه کتمکه مجبور اولورلر بونك دینی برمحذوری وارکه اهل عشرت اولان برقاچ آدم عرفنده راقی ایچملیمیان برمحله کیده جك اولسه هم صاحب خانه وهمده مسافر راحتسز اولدقدن بشقه برقاچ چاقان آدم برره اجتماع ایتسه ازدحی ایجوب چاقوت نهایت ساعت درتده بشنده مست لایعقل دوشوب صیره دقلری مشهوده در بوراری جمله تك معلومی اولدیغی جهتله تفصیله حاجت اولیوب فقط کرك بوفنالقلرك دفعی وکرك کیجه کوزل وقت کجورمهنك برقالب حسنه افراغی ضمننده بوراده اولدیغی کبی درسعادتده دخی بر (قولب) جمعیتك تشکیلی ایجاب ایدرم ظن ایدرم

چونکه بوراده کوندوزلری هرکس خانه لرنده اویقو اویوب استراحت ایدرك نقدر ذوق وصفا ایده جك محال وار ایسه بتون غروب شمسدن صکره جمعیتلو اولور

واقعا تیاترو وجانباز وبالوزه کیدلك دینی امرار وقته مدار ایسه ده بونلرك هر بریسی طبیعت وعادتمزك مغایری اولدیغندن یزه یا قتمغار فقط بالاده بیان قلنان قولب برمجمع محبت دیمك اولوب اشبو جمعیت یوز وایکی یوز نهایت بشیوز اعضادن عبارت اولهرق تاوکلادن سفلایه قدر بلا استثنا آدملر وار در

بو اعضا برداڑهٔ وقوناق استکرا ایله اعضالك درجهٔ ثروت وغناسنه کوره قولی ترتیب وتعریش ایدرلر داڑه برقاچ جسیم صالون وتوتون اوطه سی وقراتخانه وطعامخانه وکتبخانه وتنفس اوطه سندن عبارتدر اعضالر اوتوروب محبت ایده جکلر ایسه صالونلرده وچیوق ایچه جك ایسه توتون اوطه سنده وهر نوع وهرلسان اوزره یولتان غزته لری مطالعه ایتمك استیانلر مطالعه خانه ده وکتب قرائت ایده جکلر کتبخانه ده اوتوروب اشتغال ایدرلر بوجمعیته خارجدن آدم داخل اولمق احتمالی یوقدر مسافرة اولدقده یولتان برذاتی اعضادن برقاچ کشی جمعیته تقدیم ایتدیکی حالده کیره یلور

قولیلره چیقان اطعمه غایت تمیز ونفیس اولوب اوقاطه زده کی طعاملردن اوجوزدر اعضا هر توقت کیده جك اولسه بکرمی اوتوز قدر اقراننه آدم بولور والی یوزی دوزکون ایش وسوزا کلار خدمتکار زدجی بولنور

اشته اهالیدن غایت غریب برآدم کندوسنه مخصوص اولان قولهه کیدوب کیجه یارینه قدر وقت کجورور

بوراده (جوکه قولب) دیدکاری جمعیت بش الی یوزقدر مالدار اعضادن عبارت اولوب سرمایه سنك حسابی نامعلومدر بو جمعیتده کیره یتك ملت مجلسنه اعضا اولمقدن ویلمکه بریوك مأموریت المقدن دها کوجدر زیرا اعضا اولهجق ذوات هم زادکاندن وهمده جیبتلی وزنکین اولیدر

مهندسلرك وتجارك دخی قولیلری وار در مجموعه کوره اولدیغه ده برقولب اولوب بورایه میرالایدن یوقاری رتبه ده بولنان ذوات داخل اولوب بو درجه دن اشاغیده اولانلر قبول اولنز مؤخرا بونك عکسی اولق ومیرالایدن یوقاری آدم قبول اولنامق اوزره برقولب کشاد اولوب کیجه لری اوقاتکذاز اولورلر بحریه طاقمی دخی بونلره باقه رق جمعیتلر اچمشلردر

بوراده پرسیاحت قولهی واردرکه اورایه نهایت اوجیك ساعتلك محل کرمش وهیچ اولمرسه هند وچینه کتمش آدملری اعضا قبول ایدرلر قنبورلرك وتفیل حریفلرك یله قولیلری واردرکه همجنسلرندن بشقه سنی داڑهٔ اتفاقیه لریله المزلر

اشبو یوقاریده عرض وافاده ایلدیکم وجهله شمدیلك درسعادتده دخی اویله جمعیت اجلسه واصحاب نفوذ وحیثیتدن بعض ذوات عالیه تصاحب ایلسه کله جك قیمتقدر وجوده کلور اشو قولب انجمن استانبولك برمناسب محلنده کوزل برداڑه تدارك وتفریش اولسه برکمی یك غروشه یك نفس یولنه یلور ومهاجه انجق بشیك غروش وسنوی بکرمی یك غروش سائر غروش مصارفله لوازماتی اکمال اولنورظن ایدرم بو تقدیرده یوزیك غروش سنوی مصارفی اوله جق اولسه ویوز اعضاسی بولنسه آدم باشنه آیده سکسان غروش اصابت ایدرویونی کیسه ده یکیز مأمول ایلرم دائما صندقده برمقدار پاره بولنه رق مراد اولنور ایسه اولا جمعیته داخل اوله جق ذواتدن اوچر بشر یوز غروش اخذ اولنسه بودخی حاصل اولور اکر کیرادن برذات عالی بونك ریاسته رغبت بیوروب انجاب ایدن تشویقاتی دخی ایده جك اولور ایسه یقین وقتده بوایشك حصولیذیر اوله جغی محرز ومدر بوخصوصك محسناتی دها دیکر صورتله تعریف وتوصیفه حاجت اولمیوب کون کبی آشکار در

یازه لری درسعادتده ایکن قاله کیجه وقت کجورمکدن لقردی اجیلوب حتی بشسقه صوردنه برجمیت اجلسی مذاکره اولنمشیدی اوجهتله شمدی بو کا موافقت اولنه جغنده شبهه یوقدر بورالرده جمعیتلرك برنجی مشغولیتلری قومار اولوب انجق مقداری محدود در درسعادتده بونك وجودی تجویز اولنسه مز بو مقوله محسنات وفوائدی عقلا آشکار اولان شیلری میدان فعله قویوب عکسنده بولنانلری یه فرانسزلره رد ایتملر

کله جك ۱۸۶۷ سنه سنده بارسده کشادی مقرر اولان سرکی عمومیده هردرلو اشیا بولنه جغندن ماعدا نوع بنی بشرك اجناس مختلفه سندن الك زیاده وحتی بولانلرندن بتون بتون مدنی اولملرینه وارنجه صره سیله برر آدم دخی بولندیریله جغندن سیاه وبیاض وباقر رنکنده قرمزی وصاری یله بولونرك اچیقلو وقوبولو هردرلو سندن آدملر صره سیله برر ده کوریله جك وبو قدر مخلوقات متنوعه تك مملکتلرنده کی امتعه واشیا دخی موجود ایدیله جك اولدیغندن ایشته اشتخاص مخلفهٔ مرقومه تك کندیلرینه مخصوص اشیا وادواتله برر برده کورملرینی حقیقة تماشایه شایان برشی اولهجغی درکار در

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اعلانات

سلوبلی پاپا نجوتك ایسلاو لسانندن اصل بلغارجه یه ترجمه ایتدیکی انجیل شریفك بانغار کتابلرینه مخصوص واوقوتاقلی ویوك حرفلرایله ولایت مطبعه سنده طبعه مباشرت اولنمش اولدیغندن طالب اولانلرك کندوسنه مراجعت ایلمرینی مومی الیه اعلان ایدر

خطه (سواحلده اولان اسکله لرده دخاڑك فیاتی)

اسامی مواقع	روغن چرویش	روغن ساده	قوقوروز	شعیر	ادنا	اوسط	اعلا
	قیه	قیه	قیه	قیه	قیه	قیه	قیه
	۱	۱	۱	۱	۱	۱	۱
	پاره	پاره	پاره	پاره	پاره	پاره	پاره
روسیحق	۳۶۰	۴۴۰	۲۰	۱۸	۲۴	۲۸	۳۲
ودین	۳۶۰	۴۸۰	۱۴	۱۴	۲۲	۲۵	۲۸
وارنه	۳۶۰	۵۲۰	۲۰	۲۰	۲۷	۲۹	۳۳
طولجی	۴۰۰	۶۲۰	۱۸	۱۰	۲۳	۳۰	۳۳
کوستنجه	۴۰۰	۵۸۰	۰۰	۱۱	۲۸	۳۲	۴۰
صوفیه	۲۴۰	۱۶۰	۱۲	۱۰	۱۴	۱۵	۱۸