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REPRESENTATION OF THE ROMANIAN POPULATION AND OF THE CO-INHABITING ETHNICITIES OF BASARABIA ON THE MAPS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE (XIX – BEGINNING OF XX CENTURY)

Rezumat

Reprezentarea populației românești și a etniilor conlocuitoare din Basarabia în hărțile din Imperiul Rus (sec. al XIX-lea – înc. sec. XX)

Prezentul articol este dedicat studierii documentelor cartografice elaborate și publicate în Imperiul Rus în sec. al XIX-lea – începutul sec. XX și în care este reprezentată populația și teritoriul Basarabiei (1812–1918). Hărțile au fost elaborate în realitățile istorice ale perioadei sub controlul nemijlocit al cenzurii și reflectă viziunea cartografilor contemporani epocii. Sursele cartografice analizate atestă și localizează în spațiul dintre Prut și Nistru în calitate de populație majoritară *românii* (numiți uneori valahi, moldoveni (valahi)), moldoveni cu explicația ulterioară că moldovenii sunt români). Documentele cartografice atestă și prezintă etniile conlocuitoare cu românii: *ucraineni (maloruși, uneori rusini), ruși (velicoruși), bulgari, germani, țigani* și alte etnii, care aveau o pondere mai mică și doar în unele surse și hărți erau menționați: *polonezii, elvețienii, armenii*. Concluzionăm că hărțile etnice elaborate în sec. al XIX-lea – înc. sec. XX reprezintă un izvor valoros pentru cercetarea istoriei etnice a populației Basarabiei (1812–1918); servesc la localizarea cartografică a etniilor în spațiul geografic, contribuie la o mai bună înțelegere a proceselor etno-demografice care au avut loc, inclusiv a politicilor imperiale de colonizare.

Cuvinte-cheie: Imperiul Rus, Basarabia, etnii, populație majoritară, hărți etnografice, hărți etnice.

Резюме

Румынское население и этнические меньшинства Бессарабии на картах Российской империи (XIX – начала XX вв.)

Статья посвящена изучению картографических документов, разработанных и изданных в Российской империи в XIX – начале XX вв., в которых представлены население и территория Бессарабии. Карты были разработаны, исходя из исторических реалий того периода, под непосредственным контролем цензуры и отражают видение картографов той эпохи. В данных картографических источниках, в пространстве между Прутом и Днестром, мажоритарным народом указываются румыны (иногда называемые валахами, молдаванами (валахами)), с последующим объяснением, что молдаване являются румынами). Картографические документы свидетельствуют и представляют этнические меньшинства, проживающие рядом с румынами: украинцы (малоросы, иногда русины), рус-

ские (великоросы), болгары, немцы, цыгане и другие этнические группы. На некоторых картах обозначены и поляки, швейцарцы, армяне. Этнические карты, разработанные в XIX – начале XX вв., являются ценным источником для исследования этнической истории населения Бессарабии (1812–1918); служат в качестве картографического указателя местоположения этнических меньшинств в данном географическом и историческом регионе, способствуют лучшему пониманию происходящих этнодемографических процессов, в том числе имперской политики колонизации.

Ключевые слова: Российская империя, Бессарабия, этносы, мажоритарный народ, этнографические карты, этнические карты.

Summary

Representation of the Romanian population and of the co-inhabiting ethnicities of Bessarabia on the maps of the Russian Empire (XIX – beginning of XX century)

This article is dedicated to the study of cartographic documents elaborated and published in the Russian Empire in the XIX century – beginning of the XX century and on which the population and the territory of Bessarabia (1812–1918) are represented. The maps were drawn in the historical realities of the period under the direct control of censorship and reflect the vision of the cartographic contemporaries of the era. The analysed cartographic sources attest and locate the *Romanians* (called sometimes Wallachians, Moldavians (Walachians)) as the majority population in the space between the Prut and the Nistru with the subsequent explanation that Moldovans are Romanians. The cartographic documents attest and present the ethnicities co-inhabiting with the Romanians: *the Ukrainians (Malorussians, sometimes Rusins), the Russians (Velicorussians), Bulgarians, Germans, Gypsies* and other ethnicities, which had a smaller share. *The Poles, the Swiss, the Armenians* are mentioned only in some sources and maps. We conclude that the ethnic maps elaborated in the XIX–XX centuries represent a valuable source for the research of the ethnic history of the population of Bessarabia (1812–1918). They serve for the geographical mapping of ethnicities; contribute to a better understanding of the ethno-demographic processes that have taken place, including of the imperial colonization policies.

Key words: Russian Empire, Bessarabia, ethnic groups, majority population, ethnographic maps, ethnic maps.

The contemporary sources of the epoch have an important role in the elucidation of various problems in the history of Bessarabia (1812–1918); maps having a special role.

Since their appearance, ethnic maps were a means of giving a new understanding of the composition of the country's population and its geographical location. These maps not only demonstrate the diversity of peoples but also illustrate their geographical location based on statistical, ethnographic, linguistic and other data of the time. One of the important factors in the cartographic representation is the human factor, the subjectivity of the cartographer and his reaction to the external factors [13, p. 308], which in some cases could lead to distortion of the information. In the Russian Empire, cartographers, researchers, and often officials of the Russian state, represented both the state of affairs they had perceived in the territory and the official position regarding the ethnic composition of the population. At the same time, we will remark that no publications, including maps, appeared without the censorship review in the Russian Empire. Beginning with the middle of the XIX century, ethnographic research and ethnic cartography have become an important tool through which the knowledge of the Russian Empire and the peoples living in the Empire were elucidated. Thus, ethnic maps could serve as an indicator that would allow appreciating both the quality of scientific research and the tendencies of the national policy of the Government in a given period [13, p. 309].

The ethnic maps elaborated in the XIX – beginning of the XX century in the Russian Empire provide important information on the ethnic composition of the population in each separate gubernia and region, including Bessarabia. At the same time, the ethnic maps illustrate the perception of ethnicities by ethnographers and cartographers, often representatives of the imperial administration, who developed the maps based on collected field material, accessible statistical data, and at the request or directive of the authorities. The ethnic maps that include the territory of Bessarabia are particularly precious for understanding how the Bessarabian population was perceived by the Tsarist authorities, but also by the cartographic and ethnographic researchers, ultimately by the public opinion in the empire.

The history of cartography, including the ethnic one of the Russian Empire, or the work of cartographers and of the organizations that have developed ethnic maps has been the subject of research of a number of authors. The first work that serves as a major source in cartographic research in general, but also in representing given aspects of certain peo-

ples on ethnic maps, is the book, in three volumes, drafted by the vice-president of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society (1873), P. Semyonov – *Half a Century History of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society* [22]. The work is a chronological presentation of the activity of the society, of the cartographers and the ethnographers who worked under its aegis. The author highlights the activity of a number of personalities, some of whom we analyse in this study, such as P. Köppen and A. Rittikh.

Researcher A.V. Psyanchin wrote a number of articles and carried out studies on this topic: *Ethnic maps of the XVIII–XIX centuries in the central archive funds (aspects of native ethnic cartography)*; *From the history of native ethnic cartography (based on the materials of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society and the Committee on the Study of Russia's Ethnic Composition)*; *Alexandr Fiodorovici Rittikh – ethno-cartographer*; *Sketches on the history of ethnic cartography in Russia in the XVIII–XIX centuries* [15; 16; 17; 18]. A. Psyanchin's studies and articles are based on the thorough study of the archive and literature documents of the XIX and XX centuries on the issue. The researcher pays particular attention to the reconstruction of the history of Russian cartography as a scientific discipline.

A particularly interesting and precious study is *Divide and Master: the Mutual Influence of Ethnic Cartography and National Politics in Late Imperial Russia (Second Half of the XIX Century* [13, p. 308–329] elaborated by V. Petronis. The author analyses the activity of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society and the ethnic maps elaborated by P. Köppen, R. von Erckert and A. Rittikh. The researcher perceives the ideological and political subordination of cartographers, who have drawn ethnic maps as a manifestation of imperial politics.

A work as useful in researching the proposed subject and understanding the role of ethnography as a science in the Russian Empire, especially of ethnographic maps, is that of the American researcher S. Seegel *Mapping Europe's Borderlands: Russian Cartography in the Age of Empire* [3]. S. Seegel analyses the role of maps and cartographers in the border areas of Central and Eastern Europe from the Enlightenment to the Treaty of Versailles, showing their use for political purposes. For example, S. Seegel explains how Russia used cartography after the Napoleonic Wars, and later formed the Imperial Russian Geographic Society as a cover to collect information. The researcher also explains the importance of maps for the formation of identities and institutions in Poland, Ukraine and Lithuania, as well as in Russia. S. Seegel notes a major impact of cartographers and

of their products on the educational, economic, cultural environments of societies, but also on the generations that followed.

The mentioned works contain particularly valuable information for understanding the interdependence between ethnic cartography of the XIX century and the national policy of the Russian Empire, as a whole, with reference to certain geographic areas, the research of cartographers, scientific societies. These studies, however, do not include all the ethnic maps developed since the middle of the XIX century – beginning of the XX century, and none of them refers to how Bessarabia's ethnic composition was represented cartographically.

During the occupation by the Russian Empire, the province of Bessarabia was presented cartographically in several works of historical-geographic and demographic value.

In the present study, only the ethnic maps including the territory between the Prut and the Dniester, developed in the Russian Empire or by representatives of the Empire, will be analysed.

We intend to identify the maps in which the ethnic composition of the population of Bessarabia was represented or at least tangentially refer to this theme. In this respect, 12 cartographic documents from the XIX–XX century were analysed. Three maps of the first half of the XIX century are not ethnic maps, being more of an economic nature, but they represent the location of colonists in southern Bessarabia and/or represent Bessarabia in the context of the Romanian space in Southeastern Europe. Ethnic maps (called at the time ethnographic) have been developed in the Russian Empire since 1848 under the aegis of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society.

The Geographic Atlas of the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Finland [19], compiled and engraved by Colonel V. P. Pyadyshév¹, was finalized in 1821. The original pages were executed by the lithography method, hand-coloured. Legends and place-names are in Russian and French. The Atlas includes a general map of the Russian Empire, 60 maps of gubernias and regions, the Map of the Kingdom of Poland and of the Grand Duchy of Finland. Map no. 15 refers to Bessarabia, it presents the monasteries, communities, post offices, roads, the borders of the regions (gubernias) and the borders of the lands. Distances are indicated in versti (a Russian measure, now no longer used, equal to 1.07 kilometres). Although the map provides valuable insights into the territorial-administrative division, cities and fairs of the region, the cartographic document also provides important information on the “German and Polish colonies” as they are marked on the map.

It is important to note that the map does not provide any information regarding the native population of Bessarabia, nor does it mention the Southern Danube colonies. This fact leads us to conclude that at the time when the map was drawn up the problems of interest to the imperial administration were the ways of communication (in a possible orientation towards the Balkans). At a time of peace after the Vienna Congress, the cartographers returned to their usual work and began to correct the maps that existed. They completed them with new information necessary from the military point of view and to a lesser extent from the economic one. At that stage, greater attention was paid to the colonies of the Germans and Poles, which are represented in all the gubernias of the Russian Empire, established in order to create a social support base in the region where they lived, including the Bessarabia region.

Another map of Bessarabia is found in the work of the famous journalist Ignatii Yakovenko – *The Current Situation of the Principalities of Moldavia and Walachia subjected to Turkey and the Bessarabia Oblasti of the Russian Empire* (1828) [28], which is a journalistic description of Wallachia, Moldova and the territory of Bessarabia. Emphasis is put on the Christian unity of the Russian Empire and the population on the given territories. Being written as travel letters, the book abounds in descriptions of nature, ethnographic details and insights into the history and legends of the visited countries.

At the end of the book, there is a map compiled by the author. This map is intended to serve as a geographic orientation in the territories where the author of the book travelled, contains information on administrative division, draws roughly the boundaries of the southern provinces and southern borders. The ethnographic descriptions are the most important in this work. Ignatii Yakovenko implicitly includes Bessarabia in the Romanian space, even in the title of the book, and mentions, first of all, the pre-emption in the Romanian spiritual life of the ancient Dacian beliefs, thus admitting the Dacian-Roman origins of the Romanians from the entire area presented. As in the previous map, the author notes the German colonies, avoiding presenting the others and focusing on the unique religious identity of the population of the Romanian Principalities and Bessarabia.

In 1843, the atlas *Maps of the Gubernias Subordinated to the Direction of the First Department of State Property with the annexation of short statistical data. Gribovski's Atlas* was published in St. Petersburg, 1843 [9]. It contained 33 maps of gubernias and regions, including *Map of Bessarabia Oblasti*. Trans-

port routes, forest and hay fields are illustrated on this map along with the geographical details. It is the third map that remarked the space occupied by the colonisers. According to the surface, we state that the territories inhabited by the German and Bulgarian colonisers are indicated without being differentiated.

With the establishment of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society, ethnographic research in Russia began to be organized and separated as a distinct scientific discipline. By the direct involvement of this scientific society, the first ethnographic map of the Russian Empire was developed by P. Köppen². Based on the data of the Ninth Revision conducted under the direction of P. Köppen, in 1848, he produced and published only three copies of the *Ethnographic Atlas of the European Russian Empire* (a copy was owned by the Geographic Society, the second by the Academy of Sciences and the third by P. Köppen). As a result of the generalization of the maps of this atlas, at the request of the Geographic Society, an *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* [26] was published by the Geographic Society in 1851 and republished twice. In the legend of the map, the language families were listed and 36 indicators of different peoples were presented. The places inhabited by Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian population remained unmarked on the map.

Typically, data on nationalities were determined by ethnic identity or by the mother tongue, and sometimes based on religious affiliation. Although in the revisions of the XIX century data on the ethnicity of the population lack, yet, data on religious affiliation and the social structure of the population are presented.

In the work *Mapping Europe's Borderlands: Russian Cartography in the Age of Empire* [3], S. Seegel also refers to the ethnic maps developed by P. Köppen. S. Seegel points out that P. Köppen was a servant of power and represented Russia cartographically under an imperialist aspect. P. Köppen was more interested in elucidating the spread of small peoples and small ethnic and linguistic groups, so only non-native peoples are represented on his map. The Russian Empire territories populated by the Russians remained unmarked, although a number of Slavic peoples, for example the Poles and the Serbs, were included due to the fact that P. Köppen was able to obtain data on their number and geographical location [13, p. 312]. Shortly after the founding of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society, in 1845, P. Köppen became head of the Department of Statistics. This function allowed him to spend more time organizing expeditions, collecting statistical data through correspondence with representatives of the

society in the regions, local and central authorities, etc. [22, p. 42].

In order to identify concrete data on the ethnic composition of the population in the regions, gubernias and the communities of the empire, researchers of the XIX century had to address directly the local administrative institutions, which registered the ethnic composition in the central administrative institutions, the army institutions, etc. P. Köppen reports in the publication *About the Ethnographic Map of European Russia* that at the request of the Russian Geographic Society, the military were involved in the elaboration of the *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* [10, p. 4-6]. In May 1847, the Ministry of Internal Affairs was addressed a request to ask the governors of Northwest Russia for the list of localities where the Lithuanians (zhmudiny) live; the request was sent and an answer was received. At the direction of Alexander II, the Department of Military Settlements collected data on Volohi and Serbs [22, p. 43]; data on other peoples from other regions and gubernias of the Russian Empire were also collected.

Peter Köppen's ethnic map was a remarkable event in the cartographic evolution, being the first ethnic map published in a large number of copies. The author used the method of space and of qualitative background. The ethnicities inhabiting the territory were marked with appropriate colours. Thirty-eight peoples of European Russia were highlighted, including the Wallachians (located by P. Köppen in Bessarabia, along with the Germans and Bulgarians; the territories inhabited by Malorussians and Velicorussians were not marked). P. Köppen understood the imperfection of the qualitative background method: in the illustration of a territory inhabited by mixed population, only the majority ethnicity was reflected. He tried to improve the method, so in the areas populated with the majority ethnicity he pointed out minority ethnicities with figures and circles of different colours.

Referring to the territory of Bessarabia, the map illustrates the majority population of Bessarabia, called *Walachians* – occupying most of the territory, then the Bulgarians and Germans located on the territories of southern Bessarabia. On the territory of Bessarabia, the figures 3, 6, 8 are indicated, which correspond to the ethnic groups: Bulgarians, Germans, Volohi [26]. Referring to 1857, the map does not include the territory returned to the Principality of Moldavia under the Paris Peace Treaty (1856).

In 1857 is published the third, and in 1860 the fourth edition of the *Educational Atlas of the Russian Empire*, where the ethnic composition of the population of Bessarabia is represented. The difference be-

tween the editions of 1848 and 1851 and the editions of 1857 and 1860 [11] of the ethnic map produced by P. Köppen is that the last two editions did not represent the territory returned to the Principality of Moldavia according to the Paris Peace Congress of 1856 [25]. Otherwise, the map repeats the data and the parameters of the first two editions.

In 1860, cartographer N. Zuev³ published the *Detailed Atlas of the Russian Empire* [7]. The Atlas contains Russia's orographic and hydrographic maps, general political maps of the Asian and European parts of the Russian Empire, maps of the gubernias (with the representation of the coats-of-arms) and regions, a map of the Kirghiz Steppe, etc., providing a complete picture of the territorial-administrative structure of the Russian Empire, etc. In the Atlas, there are two maps with the same name: *Map of Herson, Ekaterinoslav, Tavria and Bessarabian Gubernias* [8]: the first is a map of the administrative division of the mentioned regions, indicating the most important localities, the main roads, lakes and rivers. The second is an ethnic map and represents the location of the ethnicities in Bessarabia. Thus, according to the map, the majority population in Bessarabia in the years 1859–1860 were the *Wallachians* (covering most of the territory of the region). The co-inhabiting ethnics were Bulgarians, Germans, Jews and Gypsies. The map does not include the Malorussians and the Velicorussians, having as purpose to represent other peoples inhabiting the territory of the Russian Empire. The unmarked spaces make it clear that other peoples lived, who were the majority in other neighbouring regions, and who were also left unmarked, therefore, these were the Velicorussians and the Malorussians. By comparing the maps compiled by P. Köppen and the one by N. Zuev, we conclude that N. Zuev used the statistical data collected by P. Köppen. Thus, we have practically the same representation of ethnicities in the south-west space of the Russian Empire (on the territory of the Herson, Tavria, Ekaterinoslav and Bessarabia regions).

On the two maps elaborated by N. Zuev that include Bessarabia region, we identify an original graphic representation of that period of the Bessarabian coat-of-arms approved in 1826; its area is of 855 square miles, the number of the inhabitants of the region – 874,004, the capital Chisinau with 12,613 inhabitants is 1,663 versti away from St. Petersburg and 1,371 versti from Moscow [8].

Another ethnographic cartographic source of the Russian Empire was incorporated in the French illustrated edition *The Ethnographic Description of the Peoples of Russia* by T. de Pauly, a member of the Imperial Geographical Society of Russia, which con-

tains succinct ethnographic descriptions of the peoples of the Russian Empire. The work was published in 1862 in Sankt-Petersburg, dedicated to his *Highness Emperor Alexander II*, and it had the permission of censorship [1]. The ethnic map was elaborated by Roderich von Erckert⁴, but the graphic design was done by H. Kiepert in Berlin and it was eventually included in the book by T. de Pauly. In 1863, Roderich von Erckert publishes the *Ethnographic Atlas of Western Russian Gubernias and Neighbouring Regions* [27] in the book *View on the History and Ethnography of the Western Russian Gubernias* [24]. The ethnic maps published in these editions include geographically the territory between the Prut and the Dniester. They identify the following ethnic groups in Bessarabia: Wallachians (as the majority population), Bulgarians, Malorussians, Velicorussians, and Cossacks. In his atlases, Roderich von Erckert attaches more attention to the Northwest Gubernias of the Russian Empire, representing the location of the Russians, Germans and Poles, Lithuanians and other peoples.

In the periphery gubernias of the empire, but also among statisticians, politicians and intellectuals, there was a polemic about the ethnic composition of the periphery of the gubernias. This polemic was more pronounced with regard to the ethnic composition of the Northwest Gubernias. In the context of the affirmation of national peoples' ideas and in the context of the policy of russification of the territories populated by Poles, Germans, and Baltic peoples, Russian ethnographers and cartographers, in the service of the Russian state, represented statistically and cartographically the preponderance of the Russian element. R. von Erckert qualified all Slavic Orthodox people in the Gubernia as Russians, although he understood that it was not a fair, but a "fairly correct" approach [24, p. 6]. In the introductory part, R. von Erckert claims to objectivity, noting that he is not of the same ethnicity or confession with the population of the region, nor does he claim to any state function in the respective gubernia [24, p. 2], but at the same time he represented the official position of the state. In the context of the said polemic, Erckert was positioned as an adept for the de-polonization of the western regions and their russification; therefore, the Orthodox Slavic peoples were presented as Russians. [13, p. 318]. We understand that in practice, R. von Erckert allowed the manipulation of statistical data for certain purposes. In the paper "*View on the History and Ethnography of the Western Russian Gubernias*", the author makes certain statements, which in our view confirm the manipulation: "...in general, we have little data for a more detailed discussion of

the subject, we could only present approximate figures. At such times, when passions are agitated, it is unlikely that it will be possible to collect useful materials on this subject. In this sense, speaking in general terms, we can only mention that *the one who will look for the Russian element at any cost between the inhabitants of the West will find too many Russians and the one who will seek to find the Polish element will find too many Poles*" [24, p. 9].

Referring to the representation of the ethnics of Bessarabia on the ethnical map elaborated by R. von Erckert, we will mention that Wallachians are represented as ethnic majority; Bulgarians, Malorussians and Velicorussians are identified as minorities present on the territory.

In the analysed maps of the second half of the XIX – the beginning of the XX century, we remark the decreasing number of Wallachians and the increasing share of the Russians (the Malorussians and the Velicorussians) on the territory of Bessarabia. The russification policy, promoted by the state and found on the maps, was based, on the one hand, on the assimilation of some ethnicities and the colonization of the territory with populations from other regions of the Russian Empire. On the other hand, the maps intentionally represented the increase in the share of non-native populations to justify the full integration of Bessarabia into the empire, the liquidation of autonomy and of differences. However, we note that the ethnic maps represented the majority population of Bessarabia, although in obvious decrease, as Wallachians (Romanians) without any difference from the Wallachians in Romania.

Alexey Ilyin⁵ had an important role in the compilation and publication of "ethnographic maps" and of knowledge about the peoples who lived in the Russian Empire and in the neighbouring countries. [23, p. 945]. In 1869, he founded the "A. Ilyin's Cartographic Enterprise" based on the workshop obtained from Colonel of the General Headquarters V. A. Polotarsky [23, p. 945]. Since the 1870s, the enterprise expanded its activity and began to publish special fiction and journalistic literature, besides numerous atlases and geographic, scientific, statistical maps for different ministries, departments and services.

In 1871, A. Ilyin's Cartographic Enterprise published the *Detailed Atlas of the Russian Empire with the Plans of the Main Cities* [14]. This atlas contains geographic maps of the gubernias, regions, and the plans of the gubernia centres. The maps of this atlas, 70 in number, were the most accurate and detailed maps of the Russian Empire's gubernias for a long time. Besides these, the atlas included several themed maps of Russia, including an ethnographic map.

The third map of the atlas is the *Ethnographic Map of the European part of the Russian Empire*. According to the legend, the atlas makers do not provide additional information on the data used to compile the ethnographic map. On the territory of Bessarabia, the following ethnic groups are represented: Volohi, Bulgarians, Germans, Jews, Gypsies, and the rest of the territory marked green, which is identical to most of the territory of the Empire, represents the territory populated by the Russians (without any distinction between Malorussians and Velicorussians) [14, p. 3]. We note that the proportion of the allogeneic ethnic element is higher than in the previously published maps. In this sense, the atlas and the ethnographic map contributed to the strengthening of the preponderance of the Russian nation and of the imperial space. Ethnography, as a scientific discipline that was establishing itself, served at that stage as an instrument for the consolidation of the empire and of the Russian nation, which accompanied the russification policy promoted in the non-Russian gubernias.

The ethnographic researches of A. F. Rittikh, a German ethnic, who recommended himself as an innovative researcher, but also a pervasive Russo-centric, pan-Slavist and adept of the russification of the non-Russian peoples of the Russian Empire, follow the same direction [13, p. 320]. Rittikh sees ethnography as a practical science, a tool for pursuing a certain policy in relation to other ethnic groups.

In general, ethnographic cartographers, directly or indirectly serving the Russian Empire, had the same purpose as R. von Erckert and A. Rittikh – the representation of only one Russian state and one Russian nation.

In 1875, at the initiative of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society and under the supervision of a special commission, A. F. Rittikh⁶ drew up the *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* [21]. The map was printed in St. Petersburg in Alexey Ilyin's cartographic institution. In drawing up the map, A. Rittikh used the materials of the X Revised Edition (1858), the lists of the Russian Empire's localities compiled by the Ministry of Internal Affairs at the beginning of 1860s and various statistical materials, 46 peoples being presented, including Bessarabian. The *Ethnographic Map of European Russia*, developed by A. Rittikh, differs from that elaborated by P. Köppen, as far as the represented peoples are concerned; it represents the geographic location of the Velicorussians, the Malorussians and the Belarusians.

It was for the first time in the Russian Empire that the peoples were classified according to the linguistic principle and the peoples with related

languages were marked with a colour range. In the legend, peoples are grouped by the spoken language. The Greek-Roman family includes Greeks and Romanians. We will mention that this map represents the majority population on the territory of Bessarabia as “Romanians”. The area inhabited by Romanians in Bessarabia on the map of A. Rittikh is smaller than on the maps previously elaborated, while the area inhabited by the Russians is larger.

A. Rittikh's conception of the construction of the Russian national state was similar to that of R. von Erckert: a single Russian national state – a single Russian nation. Their vision was represented by cartography, in particular by illustrating the spread of the Russians in the gubernias and the tendency to assimilate the non-Russian peoples. R. von Erckert even proposed as a solution to resolving interethnic conflicts in the regions populated by Poles their rapid assimilation [13, p. 319].

After printing, the ethnographic map was sent to the International Geography Congress, where it was decorated with the highest distinction. Until the beginning of the XX century, the map developed by A. Rittikh was considered the main research of its kind [13, p. 322].

European researchers have appreciated the map developed by A. Rittikh, some of them noted that the map found the tendency towards rapid assimilation: “It (Rittikh's map – a. n.) has amazingly shown the swallowing of small nationalities by the great Russian nation; and has revealed concretely that it is not far the time when this vast empire will be inhabited by only one *people*, who will speak the same language” [2, p. 428]. The map states a trend and illustrates at the same time a promoted russification policy that it legitimizes. Thus, both R. von Erckert and A. Rittikh “planned” the gradual disappearance of several ethnic non-Russian groups from the ethnic maps of the Russian Empire.

This conception was also achieved by the historical-geographical-ethnographical book the *Slavic World* published in 1885. On the maps the *Ethnographic Map of the Slavic Peoples* and the *Detailed Map of the Western and Southern Slavs*, the predominance of the Slavic peoples in the southeast Europe, including the territory of Bessarabia is presented. We observe a greater presence of colonists and especially of Slavic peoples (Russians). On the map regarding the Romanian people, we note that the Romanians on the territory of Bessarabia are represented in the minority [20, p. 16]. We find that A. Rittikh, the author of the book and of the maps, mentions the Romanians as the native population on the territory of Bessarabia, both textually in the book and when marking them

on the map, but he shows them numerically decreasing compared to the maps made previously and to other ethnic groups from this space.

On February 14, 1917, under the politico-military conditions of the period (the First World War, the Russian Bourgeois Revolution), the Commission for Studying the Ethnic Composition of the Border Regions of Russia was created. The Commission's main task was the ethnographic research of the population in border regions for military purposes [12, p. 9-10]. The Commission has set two practical objectives: 1) Developing ethnic maps with explanatory notes; 2) Drawing up sketches about the peoples living in Russia.

One of the first maps published by the Commission was the *Ethnographic Map of the Rural Population of Bessarabia* [6], published in 1920 in Petrograd, already after the establishment of another regime and of the Soviet Russia, in the period when Bessarabia was already a part of Romania.

The Ethnographic Map of the Rural Population of Bessarabia reflects the location of the ethnicities in 1907. It is noted that the data of V. N. Butovich, with reference to the ethnic composition of the Bessarabian villages gathered in 1907, and the Census data of 1897 with reference to cities were taken into consideration. L. Berg used the method of ethnic territories and marked the territories populated by ethnicities that exceeded 10% of the population, trying to encompass the entire population. Other ethnicities could also be found in the marked localities with a given colour. In this case, L. Berg indicates a portion of the territory of the locality proportional to the population of that locality. In the introduction to the *Bessarabian Population. Ethnic Composition and Number (with a 10-versti scale ethnographic map)* L. Berg states that he verified the data used in the scientific literature and the official statistical data which, in his view, were accurate [4, p. 5-6].

According to the author's intention, each territory marked with a certain colour should mean that the territory was inhabited by only one ethnicity. In fact, this did not fully correspond to the true state of affairs, because in the consulted sources the presence of many mixed population localities is indicated. Romanians, Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, Bulgarians and other ethnicities lived in such localities. L. Berg found an original solution. In the localities where the population was mixed, he distributed a share of the village estate for each ethnicity. The territories were divided in proportion to the number of the inhabitants of certain ethnicities.

The legend of the map presents the Moldovans as the majority ethnicity. But in the same book, in

whose annex the map is published, the author mentions: “*The Moldovans are Romanians* living in Moldavia, Bessarabia and some of Podolia and Herson gubernias; in a smaller number, they also live in Ekaterinoslav Gubernia. They are called Moldovan (Moldovans in the plural), and *Romania - Moldova*. They are distinguished from Wallachians or Wallachian Romanians by insignificant dialectical features. In ancient Russia, the Romanians were called *Volohi*” [5, p. 29]. L. Berg revealed these theses in the work published in 1923 in Petrograd *Bessarabian population. Ethnic Composition and Number (with a 10-versti scale ethnographic map)* [4, p. 28-29].

Conclusion

The ethnographic maps in the contemporary sense reflect aspects of the material or spiritual culture of peoples, aspects of everyday, economic, cultural life in a certain period, and the Ethnic Maps illustrate the location of ethnicities, peoples in space.

In the XIX century, there was no clear definition of ethnic and ethnographic maps in the Russian Empire, most of the times these concepts were considered synonymous. This explains the use of ethnographic for a number of ethnic maps.

The ethnic maps published in the Russian Empire in the XIX century the beginning of the XX century, which were elaborated at the command of the Russian authorities and within the Russian censorship, attest and locate in the space between the Prut and the Nistru the *Romanians* as the majority population (sometimes called Wallachians, Moldavians (Walachians)), Romanians, Moldavians with the subsequent explanation that Moldovans are Romanians. The cartographic documents attest and present the ethnicities co-inhabiting with the Romanians: the Ukrainians (Malorussians, sometimes Rusini), the Russian (Velicorussians), Bulgarians, Germans, Gypsies and other ethnicities, which had a smaller share. The Poles, the Swiss, and the Armenians were mentioned only in some sources and maps.

The significance of the cartographic documents is that they serve as a source namely to enable researchers and / or interested readers to know the significant cartographic documents of the period, which illustrate the representations of contemporary cartographers of that period, as well as to know, understand and reflect on the historical realities of the XIX century – the beginning of the XX century, especially the impact of the Tsarist regime on the territory and on the evolution and preponderance of the population between the Prut and the Dniester.

The cartographic sources published in the XIX century – early XX century in the Russian Em-

pire reflect the vision of the cartographic contemporaries of the epoch; the maps being elaborated in the historical realities of the period under the direct control of censorship.

These maps are starting points for drafting maps today. The maps of the XIX century can contribute, through their valorification, to the development of an early scientific field in the Republic of Moldova – historical cartography and ethnic cartography.

From the above said, we find that the ethnic maps, elaborated in the XIX century – the beginning of the XX century, represent a valuable source for the research of the ethnic history of the population of Bessarabia (1812–1918), which shows that the majority population was made up of Romanians, along with other ethnicities, a fact acknowledged by the cartographic contemporaries. They serve to locate the ethnicities in the geographical space and contribute to a better understanding of the ethno-demographic processes that have taken place, including imperial colonization policies.

Notes

1. Vasilii Petrovich Pyadyshev (1758–1835), colonel, engraver, cartographer. Son of an army captain, he graduated from the school of the military regiment and served military service for about 32 years. He was demobilized in 1809 with the military rank of army major. V. Pyadyshev continued to work in the Map Depot. In 1817, he became sub-colonel and member of the Emperor's council on dislocation issues. In 1830, he became Deputy Chief of the Topography Military Depot Department. In 1818, he published the book *Travel Guide through the Russian Empire and the Kingdom of Poland*, and a number of maps of some gubernias.
2. Peter von Köppen (1793–1864), member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, doctor of philosophy, magistrate in law studies, statistician, explorer, member of numerous scientific societies. He was known in Russia as Pyotr Ivanovich Köppen, one of Russia's most prominent cartographers-ethnographers. For more details see [3 p. 116-119].
3. Zuev Nikita Ivanovich (1823–1890) – a cartographer and writer, founded the magazines «Живописное обозрение» and «Северная звезда». He edited several geographic-encyclopedic and historical atlases of the Russian Empire, and numerous maps. He is the author of several methodological-didactical and study materials on history and geography.
4. Roderich von Erckert was an ethnographer and a Russian officer of German origin, a member of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society. Author of a series of historical and ethnographic works on the Russian Gubernias, a compiler of ethnographic maps. Roderich von Erckert was a member of the team who worked on the book *Description ethnographique des peuples de la Russie*.

5. Alexey Afinoghenovich Ilyin (1832–1889) – general-lieutenant, cartographer. He was born on April 3, 1834 in New-Ladoga County at his father's family estate in Shlisselburg, studied at the Cadets School and the School of Officers. He became an officer in 1852. He followed special studies at the General Headquarters Academy, where, after completing the course, he went to work in the Depot of Maps, then under the Minister of War; he held various positions within the General Headquarters, also being a special mission officer [23, p. 945].
6. Alexandr Fyodorovich Rittikh (1831-ca. 1914). Author of several ethnographic works on the Kingdom of Poland, Kazan Gubernia, the Baltic Sea coast, and others. He studied at the Academy of Engineers (Николаевская инженерная академия) and at the Academy of the General Headquarters; he held various positions in the army and in the administration. He wrote the book "Slavic world" (1885), where he relates the experience of the Slavic world research. The book contains 42 black and white maps and 3 colour maps [20].
9. Карты губерний подведомственных Управлению Первого департамента Государственных Имуществ с приложением кратких статистических ведомостей. Атлас Грибовского рукописный. Санкт-Петербург, 1843 г. / Karty gubernii podvedomstvennykh Upravleniiu Pervogo departamenta Gosudarstvennykh Imushchestv s prilozheniem kratkikh statisticheskikh vedomostei. Atlas Gribovskogo rukopisnyi. Sankt-Peterburg, 1843 g.
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