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First Encounter of Two Nations in Balkans in the History of Relations between Finland and Turkey; “Finnish Soldiers and War Reports During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78”

Host Institute: University of Eastern Finland/Joensuu Campus,
Karelian Institute, VERA – Centre for Russian and Border Studies.





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Explanation: This paper is based on a post-graduate research supervised by Prof. Dr. Jeremy Smith and fulfilled by Aytac Yurukcu. The author's research hosted at the University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu Campus during the winter and spring semesters of the academic year 2019/20 made an invaluable contribution to this project. The research has been sent to the Finnish National Agency for Education as a Final Report of the 9 months scholarship. The scholarship granted by the EDUFI originally for the period of 09.09.2019-06.06.2020. However, this period had to be stopped because of the Cov-19 restrictions all over the world. The author informed the EDUFI and returned to the Turkey 15th of March 2020 to work remotely, after that came back to the Finland in 1st of October 2021 and the rest of the scholarship research fulfilled between 01.10.2021 - 31.12.2021. I declare that my report consists of 11121 words and 34 pages. Contact: ayurukcu@uef.fi / + 358 046 540 12 42.

First Encounter of Two Nations in Balkans in the History of Relations between Finland and Turkey; “Finnish Soldiers and War Reports During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78”

Aytac Yurukcu*

Abstract

The study was based on Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, which lasted for about eleven months in Eastern Europe and Caucasus in late 19th century, also which made a radical change in the Balkans in late 19th century. The proposed research could be more specifically focuses on the Balkan Peninsula part of the war. This study was intended to present the information, documents, diaries and memoirs of the Finnish soldiers. The research aims to describe the first encounter of Finnish and Turkish soldiers in the Balkan Peninsula by sharing memories and diaries of the Finnish soldiers and officers who described war-time conditions and their observations on the war in their writings. Even though they are small in numbers, the diaries and memoirs in the study are very important since they show how some members of Finnish soldiers and military personnel perceived the war and the Turks. Besides, to open a window, even though a narrow one, to scholarly studies on the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. The study includes first-hand sources and secondary publications which gives an account of the war.

Most of the members of The Imperial Guard’s 3rd Finnish Sharpshooter Battalion were caused by epidemics and starvation in the Balkans, especially in Gornidubnik. According to archival resources and publications the research explores how scholars positioned the diaries of Finns, what did Finns write, where and when the writings published, how many Finnish soldiers and officers participated the war under the Russian Imperial Army, how many of them were sick, recovered, died, wounded, killed and missed during the war, is there any remains and remembrance about Finnish soldiers. In order to give an account of the importance of Finns and their memoirs about the war, research aims to share not only the main powers, Turkish soldiers’ and Russian soldiers’ diaries, writings but also other actors’, correspondents, journalists and diplomats, diaries regarding the war of 1877-78.

Key Words:Diaries, Finnish Sharpshooter Battalion, Communication, Public Opinion.

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1. Introduction

“There has been no doubt that Finns, Turks and Samoyeds lived together in brotherly harmony” claims Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813-1852).¹ This means that many scholars focused on the relations between Finns and Turks until today, also most importantly Finns and Turks have a huge background related to historical, geographical, cultural, and linguistic relations as well as kinship. Formal relations between Finns and Turks have a much longer tradition behind. Finland formed an organic part of the kingdom of Sweden for about 600 years and was an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire for another century.² After the Russian revolution in 1917, France, Sweden, Germany, Austria-Hungary were among the first states to recognize Finland's independence on 4th January 1917; so, did Norway and Denmark on 10th January, Switzerland on 11th of January, and the Ottoman Empire on 21st of February 1917.³ The first contact between Turkish and Finnish soldiers started dramatically: during the Russo-Turkish War 1877-1878, that 900-1114 Finnish volunteers and the 3rd Finnish Infantry Battalion Lifeguard participated in the Russo-Turkish War.⁴ The war of 1877-78, which lasted for almost eleven months, was fought in two fronts, the Balkans and Caucasus, is an important war that changed the international equilibrium and gave rise to universal consequences are still felt today.

¹ For more information and claims: Jouni Suistola, “The Finnish National Awakening and the Question of Relationship between Turkish and Finnish People”, *Faravid*, 6, 1982, pp.222–229.; Matthias Alexander Castrén, *Ethnologiska Föreläsningar Öfver Altaiska Folken Samt Samojediska Och Tatariska Sagor*, Helsinki 1957.

² Klaus Castrén, “The First Official Contact Between the Independent Finland and Turkey”, *Faravid*, 10, 1986, p.315. Klaus Castrén (13 April 1923, Suomenlinna – 17 January 2011, Helsinki) was a Finnish diplomat, He was the Finnish Ambassador to Ankara from 1983 to 1986. For more information please see: Access date: 24.12.2021. <http://www.kolumbus.fi/leo.mirala/Castren/In%20memoriam.htm>

³ Evren Küçük, *Türkiye-Finlandiya İlişkileri 1917-1980*, [Relations of Turkey-Finland 1917-1980], Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara, 2017, p.10. According to resources, A delegation (Professor Jooseppi Julius Mikkola and Professor Jalo Lahja Kalima delegation) was sent from Helsinki to Istanbul to declare Finland's independence and demand its official recognition. Evren Küçük, *Türkiye-Finlandiya İlişkileri 1917-1980*, [Relations of Turkey-Finland 1917-1980], Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara, 2017, p.1. However, according to Klaus Castrén, Turkey was one of the earliest countries to recognize Finnish independence, becoming the 12th on 21st February in 1918 and Sultan introduced Finns as “the beloved northern cousins of the Turkish people”. Klaus Castrén, “The First Official Contact Between the Independent Finland and Turkey”, *Faravid*, 10, 1986, p.315.

⁴ During the war Russian army military units recruited from various ethnic groups like Finns, Prussians/Polish, Daghestani (Lezghins), the Chechens, Circassians (Cherkesses), the Karapapakhs, Siberians, Volga, Don, Ural, Caucasian and Terek and Kuban Cossacks and volunteers of Bulgarians, Serbians, Montenegrins, Vlachs etc. Björn Forsen & Konstantin A. Zhukov, “War and Peace: Some Rarely Used Russian and Finnish Sources for the History of Russo-Turkish Relations in the 19th Century”, Evgeniy I. Zelenev, (Ed.) *St. Petersburg Annual of Asia and African Studies*, Volume I, Ergon-Verlag Publication Würzburg, 2012, p.99. Bulgarian militia began to form from Bulgarian volunteers before the declaration of war, in February-March 1877 in Chisinau, then in Ploiesti and consisting of six squads under the command Major General N.G. Stoletov (1831-1912). see, M.M., Frolova, “Peredovoi ...” p.23.

Apart from the socio-cultural, demographic, economic and political depression brought upon the Ottoman Empire, the war also resulted in reshaping the Caucasus and the Balkans to a great extent, resulting in the foundation of new states where today nearly 60 million people live.⁵ On behalf of the Russian Imperial army, Finland was the one of the military circumscriptions of 14, known as those of St. Petersburg, Vilna, Warsaw, Kiev, Odessa, Kharkof, Moscow, Kazan, the Caucasus, Orenburg, Turkestan, West Siberia, and East Siberia.⁶ Finnish soldiers and the Russian troops met each other only during very rare joint reviews and church parades for official calendar holidays.⁷ For the detailed map of the military circumscriptions, see appendix 1.

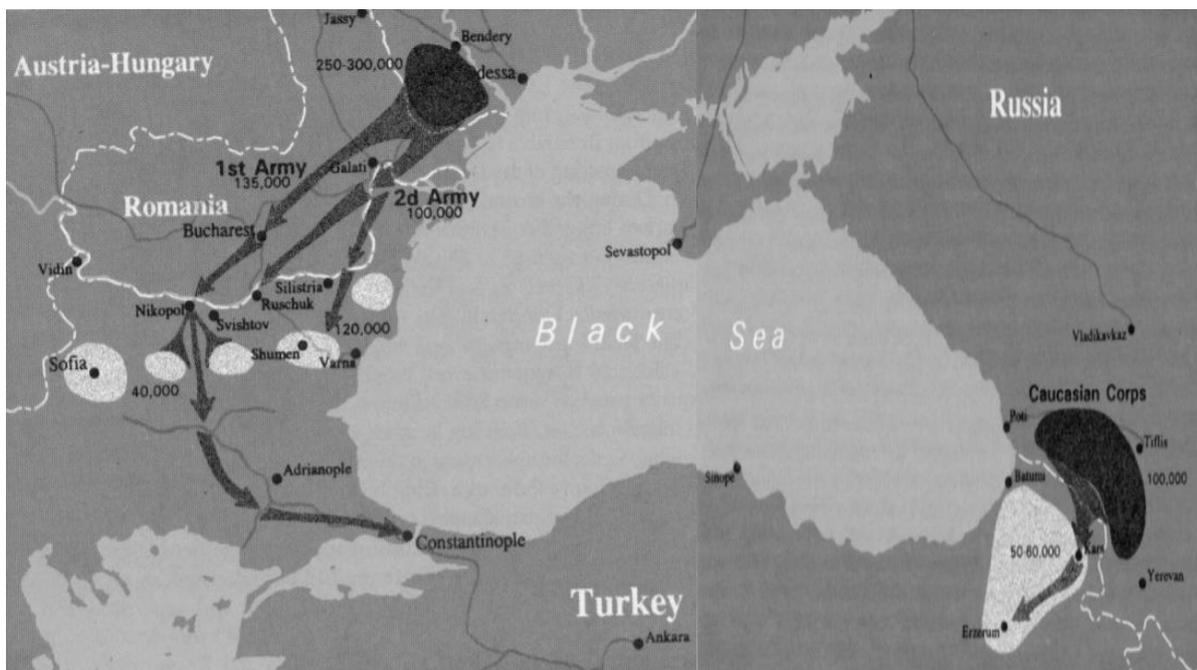


Figure 1: 1877-78 War Plans Map.⁸



Turkish Troops



Russian Troops

⁵ More details about the war, John Henry, Anderson, *Russo-Turkish War 1877-78 in Europe*, London: H. Rees, 1910.; P.K., Fortunatov, *Voyna 1877-1878 gg. i osvobozhdenie Bolgarii* [The war of 1877-1878 and the liberation of Bulgaria], Moscow, 1950.; N. I. Belyayev, *Russko-Turetskaya Voyna 1877-1878 gg.* [Russo-Turkish War 1877-1878], Moscow, 1956.; V.A. Zolotarev, *Rossiia i Turtsiya. Voyna 1877-1878 gg.*, [Russia and Turkey. The War of 1877-1878], Moskva: Nauka, 1983.; Ömer Turan, (Ed.) *The Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78*, METU History Department-Meiji University, Ankara, Turkey, 2007.; Charles Snodgrass Ryan & Sandes John, *Under the red crescent: adventures of an English surgeon with the Turkish army at Plevna and Erzeroum, 1877-1878*, New York, 1897.; M. Hakan Yavuz & Peter Sluglett, (Ed.) *War and Diplomacy, The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and the Treaty of Berlin*, (War and Diplomacy documents the proceedings of the first of three conferences: 1878 Treaty of Berlin in 2010), Utah University Press, 2011.

⁶ F. V. Greene, *The Russian Army and Its Campaign in Turkey in 1877-1878*, New York: D. Appleton, 1879, p.88.

⁷ Л. Л. Драке, *Из жизни русских войск в Финляндии в 70-х и 80-х годах*, [From the Life of Russian Troops in Finland in the 70s and 80s], *Русская Старина*, 1909, Vol. 137, January-March, p.590.

⁸ Bruce W. Menning, *Bayonets before Bullets: The Imperial Russian Army, 1861-1914*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1993, p.54-55.

In this Finnish units, most of the recruits and volunteers were young farmhands, unskilled workers, or craftsmen not yet having completed their training. According to Russian resources 3rd Finnish Infantry Battalion was including 24 officers, 1090 soldiers and total was 1114 soldiers.⁹ According to Hiisivaara, the battalion's total force on departure was 1047, with 21 officers, 4 civilian soldiers, 72 non-commissioned officers, 719 guardsmen (sharpshooters), 54 musicians, 85 unarmed, 92 cavalry soldiers-jackman¹⁰. However, according to Laitila, the whole wartime strength was 964, including 30 officers, 46 musicians, 76 NCOs, two doctors, a chaplain, a musical director, the battalion's and the companies' clerks, dressers, stretcher-bearers, and the service corps divided into four companies¹¹. Finnish soldiers departed from Helsinki to Vyborg, St. Petersburg, Bucharest, Svistov, Gornik-Dubnik, Pravets, Dolno Kamartsi, Orhanie, Vratsa (they spent days in the front line in the village of Vratsa, where the mountain it guarded was called the "mountain of the Finns"¹²), Sofia, Vrajdebna, Philippopolis (Plovdiv), Adrianople, Constantinople and San Stefano.¹³

After the war, they crossed the Black Sea by ship and went from Odessa (via Brest) to St. Petersburg and Helsinki by train.¹⁴ They readily published their diaries and memoirs, whose main point was that "we" were at war "there".¹⁵ For example, Akseli Lindfors, Anton Reinhold von Alftan, Carl Fredrik Immanuel Wahlberg, Didrik Wilhelm Palander, Karl Magnus Hugo Schulman, J. Janne Jernvall, O.W. Fennander, S. Wallin, Anton Wilhelm Lindgren, Jacob Ahamäki, Gustaf Ranta, Matti

⁹ Фон-Вендт, *Хронологический очерк участия Лейб-гвардии 3-го стрелкового Финского батальона в кампании против Турок 1877-78 гг.* [Chronological Sketch of the Participation of the Life Guards of the 3rd Finnish Infantry Battalion in the Campaign Against the Turks 1877-78], 1881, p.77.

¹⁰ Tapio Hiisivaara, *Tuhannenpa verran poikia läksi. Suomen kaarti Balkanin sodassa 1877-1878*, Werner Söderström Osakeyhtion kirjapaino, Porvoo 1968, p.35.

¹¹ Teuvo Laitila, *Soldier, Structure and the Other. Social Relations and Cultural Categorization in the Memoirs of Finnish Guardsmen Taking Part in the Russo-Turkish War 1877-1878*, University of Helsinki 2001, p.52. Teuvo underlines that the Finnish Guard considered itself as part of the imperial elite forces, the Life Guard, not of the (ordinary) Russian army.

¹² Gunnar Rosén, *Sata sodan ja rauhan vuotta. Suomen Punainen Risti 1877 – 1977*, Suomen Punainen Risti, 1977, p.59-60. Especially in the last months of the war in Balkans, the 3rd Finnish Infantry Battalion was severely burdened by typhoid and other communicable diseases.

¹³ Åke Backström, "Liikekannallepanosta kotiutukseen. Suomen Kaartin päällystö 1877-1878", *Genos*, 67, 1996, s. 68-77, 96. For the locations of the Finnish Soldiers in the Balkan Peninsula, please see: Фон-Вендт, *Хронологический очерк участия Лейб-гвардии 3-го стрелкового Финского батальона в кампании против Турок 1877-78 гг.*, 1881, appendix 1-7.

¹⁴ *The National Archives of Finland, PK.473 D8 1854-1878. Henkikaartin 3. Suomen Tarrkanmpujapataljoonan*, 115 pages. Förteckningar öfver 2. Kompaniet Från Kriget 1877-78 (Lists of the 2nd Company from the War 1877-78) Transport date 19 May 1878, Transport No 25: 24 soldiers departed from Odessa, 5 soldiers departed from St. Petersburg, 8 soldiers departed from Brest, 4 soldiers departed from unreadable place and St. San Stefano.

¹⁵ Jouni Suistola, "The Picture of Russo-Turkish War 1877-1878 in Finnish Broadsheet Ballads", *İ.Ü. Beşinci Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi Bidirileri*, (23-28 Eylül 1985), C II, İstanbul, 1989, s. 600-605.

Kuula, and Wilhelm Lindman wrote their diaries and (most of them written by Finns stem from members of the lower or middle classes) published them after the war or during the last century.

2.Finnish Soldiers' Diaries about the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878.

Table 1: Finnish Soldiers' Diaries

Name and surname of the soldiers	Publication of Diaries Date-Place	Language
O.W. Fennander	1878 - Mikkeli	Finnish
Carl Fredrik Immanuel Wahlberg (1847-1920)	1878 - Helsinki	Swedish
Anton Reinhold von Alftan (1858-1925)	1879 - Helsinki	Swedish
Anton Wilhelm Lindgren	1880 - Viipuri	Finnish
Didrik Wilhelm Palander ¹⁶ (1857-1925)	1881 - Pori	Finnish
Akseli Lindfors (1853-1915)	1883 - Vaasa	Finnish
Johan I. Varen ¹⁷	1895 - Porvoo	Finnish
Janne Johannes Jernvall (1851-1909)	1881 - Helsinki	Finnish
Wilhelm Lindman	1879 - 1880 - Viipuri	Finnish
Karl Magnus Hugo Schulman (1850-1919)	1955 - Helsinki	Swedish
Sten Anders Wallin ¹⁸ (1853-1937)	2005 - Helsinki	Finnish
Victor Tuderus ¹⁹	2009 - Helsinki	Swedish
Jacob Ahamäki ²⁰ (Published in an article)	1891 - Helsinki	Finnish
Gustaf Ranta ²¹ (Published in an article)	1890 - Helsinki	Finnish
Matti Kuula ²² (Published in an article)	1903 - Vaasa	Finnish

The memoirs have been thoroughly discussed in the doctoral dissertation of Teuvo Laitila (University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu Campus.) in 2003.²³ Although there is

¹⁶ With Arvo Liljestrand.

<https://www.betterworldbooks.com/product/detail/9781279245514?shipto=US&curcode=USD>

¹⁷ Johan I. Varén, *Upseerin muistelmia sotaretkeltä v. 1877–78–79*. [Officer's Memoirs from the War Campaign 1877-78-79], WSOY, Porvoo, 1895 & 1898.

¹⁸ Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen, *Tunlematon sotilas Turkin sodassa: Sten Anders Wallin* (The Unknown Soldier in the Turkish War: Sten Anders Wallin). Helsinki 2005, pp.129-281.

¹⁹ Ed. By Eva Gadda, "Vad jag sett och upplevat under det rysk-turkiska falttaget 1877 och 1878, "(What I saw and experienced during the Russo-Turkish war trip). Militär och malare. En skildring fran rysk-turkiska kriget 1877-1878 (Soldier and painter. A Recollection from Russo-Turkish War), pp.77-320.

²⁰ Published in an article, *Lukemisia Suomen Sotamiehille*, 1891 pp.351-373.

²¹ Published in an article, *Lukemisia Suomen Sotamiehille*, VII, 1890, pp.293-321.

²² Kuula, Matti, *Henkivartijan muistelmia*. Antti Hautalan kirjapaino, Nikolainkaupunki (Vaasa) 1903. Julkaistu aiemmin: *Henkivartijan muistelmia*. *Lukemisia Suomen sotamiehille* V/1897, 149–168.

²³ Teuvo Laitila, *Soldier, Structure and the Other. Social Relations and Cultural Categorization in the Memoirs of Finnish Guardsmen Taking Part in the Russo-Turkish War 1877-1878*, University of Helsinki, 2001.

not any publication in Turkey related to Finnish participation in the war, except Suistola's study in 1985.²⁴ There are some sources, in Bulgaria and Romania, such as books and articles that were published about Finnish soldiers' diaries respectively by Georgi Vilchev.²⁵ and by Raoul V. Bossy.²⁶

The Finnish Guard was practically a line infantry quality fighting force that had to face battle-hardened Ottoman troops, just for the sake of yet another Russian megalomaniac obsessive Pan-Slav Imperialist reverie of conquering Constantinople and re-establishing a new Orthodox Byzantine Empire. Also, the Russian Imperial Army needed that Finnish Sharpshooter Battalions because of the geographical conditions of the war zone, the Balkans.

The Finnish heroes faced various wartime difficulties, such as hunger, epidemics, war horrors, mental trauma, exhaustion. As an officer of the Finnish guards recalled, "The open sky above our heads was our roof, snowdrifts were our beds".²⁷ Most of the Finnish casualties were caused by epidemics and starvation and not by actual combat in the Balkan Peninsula, in this mountainous terrain Finnish Sharpshooter played an important role and by the same token, Finnish media focused on the current affairs of war and soldiers' heroes. During the war, Finnish soldiers aimed to show their honour and loyalty to the tsar and had to show or prove that they were his faithful servants. According to Russians, the Finnish Third Battalion was only a small unit in the Imperial Russian Army among the multicultural and multinational different units.²⁸

²⁴ Jouni Suistola, "The Picture of Russo-Turkish War 1877-1878 in Finnish Broadsheet Ballads", *İ.Ü. Beşinci Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi*, (23-28 Eylül 1985), İstanbul, 1989, II, p.600-605.

²⁵ Georgi Vilchev, *Финландски дневници и мемоари от 1877-1878 г.* [Finnish Diaries and Memoirs from 1877-1878], Izdatelstvo na Otechestvenia Front, Sofia, 1978.; Georgi Vilchev, *Финландците за Нас и Ние за Тях*, [The Finns for Us and We for Them], Sofia, 1978. Georgi Vilchev, "От Хелзинки до Грони Дъбник, Записки на бойци от Финландски гвардейски батальон от времето на Освободителната война", [From Helsinki to Gorni Dubnik, Memoirs of Fighters from the 3rd Finnish Infantry Battalion since the Liberation War], *За Буквите*, 27 May 2008, pp.12-13.; Georgi Vilchev, "Фински гробове на Балкана. Из писмата и дневниците на бойците от финландския гвардейски батальон в Освободителната война" [Finnish Graves on the Balkans. From the Letters and Diaries of the Warriors of Finnish Guards Battalion in the Liberation War], *Антену Journal*, 11, Sofia, 15 March 1978, pp. 3-5.

²⁶ Raoul V. Bossy, *Mărturii finlandeze despre România*, Bucureşti: Cartea Românească, [Finnish Testimonies about Romania], 1937. (The second edition was published by Silviu Miloiu, under the title R.V. Bossy, *Mărturii finlandeze și alte scrieri nordice despre români* (Târgoviște: Valahia University Press, 2008). Bossy (1894–1975) was Romanian diplomat and ambassador to Finland between 1934-36, his book is about on memoirs of Finnish officers in the Russian armies occupied Romania in the 19th century, between 1828-29 and 1877-78.

²⁷ Teuvo Laitila, *The Finnish Guard in the Balkans: Heroism, Imperial Loyalty and Finnishness in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 as Recollected in the Memoirs of Finnish Guardsmen*, Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 2003, pp. 266, 282.

²⁸ Jyrki Outinen, "Stories of Otherness? : the War-memoirs of the Finnish Soldiers of the Russo-Turkish War, 1877-1878", *Faravid*, 41, 2016, p.127-128.

Essentially, before that war, the Finnish soldiers fought against the Ottoman army in three different times under the Russian Imperial army, first one was the 1828-29 Russian-Ottoman War²⁹ and the second was the Crimean War of 1853-1856 (named in Finland as the Åland Islands War), additionally Finnish volunteers fought in the Montenegrin/Serbian - Turkish war in 1876 with thousands of the Russian volunteers.³⁰

After that the Russian Empire began to prepare for its military participation in the war of 1877-78 in the fall of 1877. The war was the first and the last kind in which a Finnish Military groups commonly joined under the Russian Imperial army rule and experienced important actions. Apart from these the Finnish Guard was sent to the Poland in 1831³¹, to Hungary 1849, again to the Poland in 1863 to control the minor local revolts.³² But the war of 1877-78 was different for Finns and for the Finnish media, because the war, with its photographers, telegraphers, and correspondents, was the first media war in Europe. Events about the war were watched more closely than ever before in Finland, therefore, the war deserves a broader perspective for the Finns. In 1877, inside the Russian Empire, the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland was a country that could best be described as a minority and the population was only two million, spoke mainly Finnish, and lived in towns, mostly in the countryside.

Some Finnish soldiers and officers sent their several memoirs and articles to the Finnish press during the war and influenced the Finnish public opinion. Also, the Eastern Question and the war were a huge media event not only for Finnish press but also for European media and journalism as well, because it was the first war extensively reported in the many newspapers and magazines. When the Balkan crisis

²⁹ Raoul Bossy's research, *Mărturii finlandeze despre România*, revealed the existence of 36 Finnish officers who were part of the Russian army and who fought against Turkey between 1828-1829. Three of them, col. Gustav-Adolf Ramsay, col. Frederik G. Nyberg and cpt. Berndt Johan Rosenström have described their experience in the Principalities, the people and the places here, in the form of journals or written memoirs in correspondence.

³⁰ Bruce W. Menning, *Bayonets before Bullets: The Imperial Russian Army, 1861-1914*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1993, p.52. General Cherniaev, "Lion of Tashkent", commanded the Serbian army, however Serbian powers quickly collapsed, forcing Russia in October 1876 to impose an armistice on Ottoman Empire. For two articles related to the Finnish participation please see: Åke Backström, "Finska officerare i serbisk-turkiska kriget 1876", *Genos*, 1992, pp.23-25. Harri Pirkkalainen, "Hinkkalan Eerik - Djunisin Sven Tuuva, Suomalaisia vapaaehtoisia Serbian - Turkin sodassa 1876", *Konneveden Joululehti*, 2014, pp.59-62. <http://www.polarpost.ru/forum/viewtopic.php?f=39&t=4918>

³¹ For more information for the Finnish participation to the Battlefields of Poland please see: Jussi Jalonen, *On Behalf of the Emperor, On Behalf of the Fatherland, Finnish Officers and Soldiers of the Russian Imperial Life-Guard on the Battlefields of Poland, 1831*, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis in History, University of Tampere, 2014.

³² Jyrki Outinen, "Stories of Otherness? : the War-memoirs of the Finnish Soldiers of the Russo-Turkish War, 1877-1878", *Faravid*, 41, 2016, p.118.

erupted in 1875–1876, various publications³³ appeared in Europe, translated into several languages, all pointing to Russian expansionism on Pan-Slavic grounds (especially on Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro).³⁴



Figure 2: Announcement of the declaration of war in St. Petersburg.³⁵

The press increasingly played an important role in the visualization of the war around Europe, and empowering Russian War propaganda in the Balkans. As a part of my research project, I had the opportunity to visit some museums and archives, especially the National Archives of Finland (Kansallisarkisto), that includes unique resources and funds for the Finnish soldier's participation to the 1877-78 Russo-Turkish War. I also visited the archives in many different times and places National Archives of Turkey, Kaisa House Helsinki University Library, The Finnish Literature Society (SKS) Library, National Defence University Library, National Library, Slavonic Library, Russian State Library in Moscow, National Library of Turkey, Turkish Historical Society Library, Bilkent University Library and benefited from them by taking manuscripts and document related to the war.

³³ In my article in 2018, I have listed and examined the European newspapers and also Journalists who joined to the war, Aytaç Yürükçü, "How South Eastern Europe Map is Changing by Russian Propaganda and Deeds of European War Correspondents During the 1877-78 Turkish-Russian War", Eds.Yücel Öztürk & Nuri Kavak, 403-431. *Proceedings of the 1st Congress of International Eastern European Studies (CIEES, 2018)*, "Concepts, Sources and Methodology in Eastern European Studies", Kyiv, Ukraine, 2018.

³⁴ In my master's thesis, in 2018, I used qualitative content analysis to analyse the diary of a Russian journalist who took part in the Russian-Ottoman War 1877-78 as a member of the Russian Imperial Army, and tried find other journalists, and their related newspapers and magazines, not only in Tsarist Russia but also in Europe.

³⁵ V. N. Aksakov, A.P. Borbasov, V.I. Vinogradov, İ. Mitev, I.I. Rostunov, *Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78*, The Red Banner of Labor Military Publishing House of the USSR Ministry, 1977, p.97.

3. Archival Resources and Findings about Finnish Soldiers.³⁶

National Archives of Finland

PK.473 D8 1854-1878 *Förteckningar öfver 2. Kompaniet Från Kriget 1877-78*

Lists of the 2nd Company from the War 1877-78

Henkikaartin 3. Suomen Tarrkanmpujapataljoonan, 115 pages.

Includes many manuscripts and handwritings, most of them are list of soldiers who transported from St. Petersburg on 7th of May in 1878, their names and information about their transport.

Transport No 31: 61 Soldiers

Transport No 70: 45 Soldiers

Transport No 109: 41 Soldiers

Transport No 132: 7 Soldiers

Total: 153 soldiers in the first 10 pages.

The following 2 pages explains which soldiers went to the where on 19th of May 1878.

For example: there were 43 soldiers under the Transport No 25: some of them were going to the Brest, St. Petersburg, Odessa, unreadable place and St. San Stefano (by ship to Odessa).

24 soldiers departed from Odessa

5 soldiers departed from St. Petersburg

8 soldiers departed from Brest

4 soldiers departed from unreadable place and St. San Stefano (by ship to Odessa).

Other 18 soldiers joined to group the Transport No: 25

Förteckningar öfver 2. Kompaniet Från Kriget 1877-78

Lists of the 2nd Company from the War 1877-78

As a result, that catalogue includes the list of soldiers who were coming back from the war zone, especially from Istanbul, Odessa, Brest to St. Petersburg with the Transport numbers, 20, 125, etc. And the other pages, there is list of the 140 Finnish Soldiers for the 3. Finska Skarpskytte bataljonerna 6th of December 1876.

³⁶ PK.473 D8 1854-1878 *Förteckningar öfver 2. Kompaniet Från Kriget 1877-78*.

PK.1710 *Turkin sotaan liittyvat asiakirjat (1877-1879)*.

M-70/3 D7/20-3 Laatikko, *Suomen Kaarti Lifgardets 3. Finska Skarpskyttebataljon*.

National Archives of Finland

PK.1710 *Turkin sotaan liittyvät asiakirjat (1877-1879)*

Documents related to the Turkish war (1877-1879)

Lifgardets 3. Finska Skarpskytte bataljon That catalogue includes some documents about 3rd Finnish Defence Forces Battalion and Paulus Nygren's Diary for 6 pages handwriting and typewriter versions of Päiväkirja Turkin Sotareissusta v.1877.

National Archives of Finland

M-70/3 D7/20-3 Laatikko

Suomen Kaarti Lifgardets 3. Finska Skarpskyttebataljon 3. Defence Forces Battalion

Diverse handlingar rörande turkiska kriget

Various documents concerning the Turkish war

That catalog includes lots of orders about 80 pages with Finnish and Russian handwritings for 1876, 1877, 1878, and 1879. Last letter of the catalog includes 14 Finnish songs and military cadences.

National Defence University Library of Finland (Santahaminantie)

Фон-Вендт, *Хронологический очерк участия Лейб-гвардии 3-го стрелкового Финского батальона в кампании против Турок 1877-78 гг.* [Chronological Sketch of the Participation of the Life Guards of the 3rd Finnish Infantry Battalion in the Campaign Against the Turks 1877-78], 1881. (98 pages.)

Table 2: Turkish Soldiers' Diaries about the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878.³⁷

Name and entitle of the soldiers	1st Publication of Diaries Date-Place	Language
Hikmet	1294 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Ahmet Midhat	1295 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Talat ³⁸	1296 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Mehmed Tahir ³⁹	1316 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Ahmed Cemal	1316 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Mehmed Cemil	1324 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Abdülkerim	1324 - Istanbul	Old Turkish

³⁷ Totally 26 diaries have been written by Turkish soldiers in Old Turkish Language, (called Osmanlı Türkçesi)

³⁸ Also in French, Mouzaffer Pacha, and Talaat. Bey, 1878, *Défense de Plevna d'après les documents officiels et privés (2 Vols)*, [Defense of Plevna According to Official and Private Documents], Paris: Librairie Militaire de L. Baudoin et Co., 1889.

³⁹ Translated from Goltz Pasha.

Süleyman Hüsnü Pasha ⁴⁰ (1838-1892)	1324 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Keçecizade İzzet Fuad Pasha ⁴¹	1325 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Yakup Şevki Subaşı ⁴²	1326 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Ali Fuad Erden	1326 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Mehmet Hulisi Cönk	1910 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Kolağası Reşid Efendi	1326 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Manastırlı Mehmet Rifat (1851-1907)	1907/1908 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Mehmed Cemil ⁴³	1326 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Ahmed Saib (1859-1920)	1327 - Cairo	Old Turkish
Ali Şükri	1333 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Nazmi	1339 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Ali Fuad Erden	1921 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Ali Rıza	1341 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Mahmud Talat	1927 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Ali Fuad Cebesoy	1327 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Mehmet Arif (1845-1897)	1903 - Egypt, 1910 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha (1839-1919)	1328 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Ahmet Halil	1321 - Istanbul	Old Turkish
Hüseyin Raci Efendi ⁴⁴	1326 - Istanbul	Old Turkish

According to the Russian sources the war has three different periods for the Finnish Battalion.⁴⁵ But the general schedule of the Campaign was different for the Russian Army.

1. First Period, from 20th of June to 24th of September 1877.
2. Second Period, from 24th of September 1877 to 19th January 1878.
3. Third Period, from 19 January to 21st of May 1878.

⁴⁰ Necmi Raci, *1293 Türk-Rus Muharebesi Hakayıkından Hulasa-i Vukuat-ı Harbiye*, Zelliç Mat., Istanbul, 1906.

⁴¹ Translated also in Russian, Иззет Фуад Паша, *Упущенные благоприятные случаи. Стратегическо-тактический этюд русско-турецкой кампании 1877-1878 гг.*, [Missed Opportunities], Пер. М.А. Росийского, СПб., 1901.

⁴² Translated.

⁴³ Translated from Rudolf Ashloga.

⁴⁴ The diary has been published by artillery major Necmi Râci, the son of the real author Hüseyin Raci Efendi its name called *Zağra Müftüsünüñ Hatıratları*, [Memories of the Mufti of Zagra], in Turkish.

⁴⁵ Фон-Вендт, *Хронологический очерк участия Лейб-гвардии 3-го стрелкового Финского батальона в кампании против Турок 1877-78 гг.* [Chronological Sketch of the Participation of the Life Guards of the 3rd Finnish Infantry Battalion in the Campaign Against the Turks 1877-78], 1881, p.1-13, 64.

The 3rd Finnish Infantry Battalion guard departed from Helsinki on 6th September 1877 and arrived on the 7th at St. Petersburg via Vyborg (Viipuri). In the evening they arrived at Vyborg, where an 'enormous' mass of people welcomed them and put on a feast in their honour. In Vyborg the locals showed the Guard lavish hospitality. After the war, it was the same when they returned in 1878, on 7-8th of May in St. Petersburg, and 9-10th of May from Vyborg to Helsinki. The celebrations of this march at Vyborg reveal aspects of local regional pride in the military efforts. According to National Archive materials, one-third of Finnish soldiers serving in the war from the different cities of Finland, for instance, from Hamina, Hämeenlinna, Kuopio, Lieksa, Mikkeli, Porvoo, Rovaniemi, Turku, and Vyborg.⁴⁶

At the same time, during this war, The Finnish Red Cross was founded in Helsinki City Hall on 7th of May in 1877, to care for the wounded and sick soldiers of the Finnish Guard in the Russo-Turkish War. The Finnish Red Cross left for the war in Turkey in 1877, only two months after the association was established. The foundation sent the first field hospital (which was sent to the relatively peaceful front of the Caucasus, east of the Black Sea) which had 50 hospital beds, all led by Dr. Leopold August Krohn.⁴⁷ The reason for the choice of the Caucasus front was that the Balkan war scene was reportedly already crowded with hospitals and ambulances, and there was no information about the departure of the 3rd Finnish Infantry Battalion at that time.⁴⁸ Although, at first, the outbreak of war in the Balkans and Caucasus had almost no effect on the Finnish district and exercises in military units, however, it was different with the beginning of the spring of 1878.

The strained relations with Great Britain and the possibility of her intervention in the war (like the Crimean War in 1854-56), despite the Treaty of San Stefano already concluded, caused a number of urgent measures to defend the Finnish southern

⁴⁶ For example, Pehr Alfred Bäckvall, (1848-1896), was born in Rovaniemi, Finland and died in 1896, in Jämsä. A[nton] Reinhold von Alfthan, (1858-1925), was born in St Petersburg. He was an artillery officer (second lieutenant 1881, lieutenant 1883). Juho Sarén, (1854-1931) and his brother, Aadolf Sarenin, (1857-1878) they were born Vanaja Idänpää Kulola, died of disease in Bulgaria 1878, in Russian military hospital in Gorni Studen. Karl Magnus Hugo Schulman, (1850-1919) was born in Hamina, in 1876 he was promoted to lieutenant. From 1881, onwards he was the commander of the Finnish Cadet Corps until the school was closed in 1902. After that he was employed as the director of a local museum at Porvoo (near Helsinki) and wrote historical studies of the Finnish war of 1808-9 and the events of the Crimean War in Finland. His recollections of the 1877-8 war were written in the late 1910s based on his diary entries. Also, Karl Ferdinand Sundberg, who lived in Lieksa long time.

⁴⁷ Gunnar Rosén, *Sata sodan ja rauhan vuotta. Suomen Punainen Risti 1877–1977*, [One Hundred Years of the War and Peace. The Finnish Red Cross 1877-1977], Suomen Punainen Risti, 1977, p.52-53. At the end of the year, the number of members was 793 and 7 subdivisions had been established - in Hämeenlinna, Savonlinna, Kuopio, Sortavala, Nurmes, Pielisjärvi and Vyborg.

⁴⁸ Gunnar Rosén, *Sata sodan ja rauhan vuotta. Suomen Punainen Risti 1877–1977*, [One Hundred Years of the War and Peace. The Finnish Red Cross 1877-1977], Suomen Punainen Risti, 1977, p.54.

coastal area, by strengthening the fortress defenses of Sveaborg (Suomenlinna) and Vyborg, strengthening positions near the Helsinki, set up an optical telegraph along the coast for communication, and harvest bottom mines for defending.⁴⁹



Figure 3: The Finnish Red Cross ambulances from the period of the autonomy, for the transport of the sick and wounded in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78.⁵⁰

Archival resources, manuscripts, Finnish, and Russian publications helped me to make a table about 3rd Finnish Infantry Battalion to notice that how many soldiers joined the war, how many of them were sick, died, recovered, wounded, killed, and missed during the war of 1877-78.

Table 3: 3rd Finnish Battalion, with marching teams performed at the theater of war.⁵¹

3rd Finnish Battalion	Officers	Soldiers (at least)
Participated in the war	24	900 - 1114
Sick	12	500
Recovered	10	354
Died	2	146

⁴⁹ Л. Л. Драке, *Из жизни русских войск в Финляндии в 70-х и 80-х годах*, [From the Life of Russian Troops in Finland in the 70s and 80s], *Русская Старина*, 1909, Vol. 137, January-March, p.597.

⁵⁰ Organisation: Finnish Heritage Agency, Collection: Historian kuvakokoelma, Resource ID 845480.

⁵¹ Фон-Вендт, *Хронологический очерк участия Лейб-гвардии 3-го стрелкового Финского батальона в кампании против Турок 1877-78 гг.* [Chronological Sketch of the Participation of the Life Guards of the 3rd Finnish Infantry Battalion in the Campaign Against the Turks 1877-78], 1881, p.77-78.

Wounded	6 ⁵²	94
Died	-	16
Killed in action	-	24
Missed	-	3
Total Lost	2	181

The battalion was accompanied by its own field outpatient clinic, consisting of 2 doctors, 3 battalion and 4 company ambassadors, and 6 medics, in addition to which 6 men in each company formed a group of pairs to carry out their sightings on the battlefield. The chief physician was Doctor Georg Gustav Winter (1825-1901), the state councillor, and the deputy physician was Doctor Carl Fredrik Immanuel Wahlberg (1847-1920). The battalion was commanded by its founder, Colonel Georg Edvard Ramsay (1834-1918).⁵³ According to F. V. Greene, at the Gornidubnik attack, 106 soldiers and 3 officers killed, 328 soldiers and 14 officers wounded.⁵⁴ Greene claims, first period of the campaign was from the declaration of the war on 24th of April to the crossing of the Danube River on 27th of June 1877. Second period; from the crossing of the Danube on 27th of June to the fall of the Plevna on 10th of December 1877. Last period; from the fall of Plevna on 10th of December to the conclusion of peace at San Stefano on 3rd of March 1878.⁵⁵ After the armistice and treaty, the Finnish soldiers meet with the Turkish soldiers and civilians, although their language were not same, they eat, drink, joke, play and talk together without any difficulties. Also, according to diaries during the war, the Finnis soldiers gave much more positive image about the Turk than Bulgarians and Jews. Although, the image of the Turk was negative at the beginning of the war, the image of Turks in the Finnish soldiers' mind totally changed after these relations. On the other hand, the negative imaginary was mainly about the Bashi-bozuks and Circassians. Finnish soldiers have opportunity and time to understand the socio-cultural identity of the Ottoman Empire with these war experiences.⁵⁶

⁵² Including 52 soldiers about from those sent to hospitals, which no information is available. Including the adjutant wing Captain Tsrokope, who, during the night service in the lodgements, suffered a severe bruise with a fractured femur, and still suffers from pain in his leg. Including Lieutenant Lode, who suffers from a pain in the leg on which the wound is forced to open.

⁵³ Gunnar Rosén, *Sata sodan ja rauhan vuotta. Suomen Punainen Risti 1877 – 1977*, Suomen Punainen Risti, 1977, p.59-60. According to Gunnar Rosén, Fallen, wounded, and missing, it lost 43 men in the Turkish war, 148 dead in disease, for a total of 191 men dead.

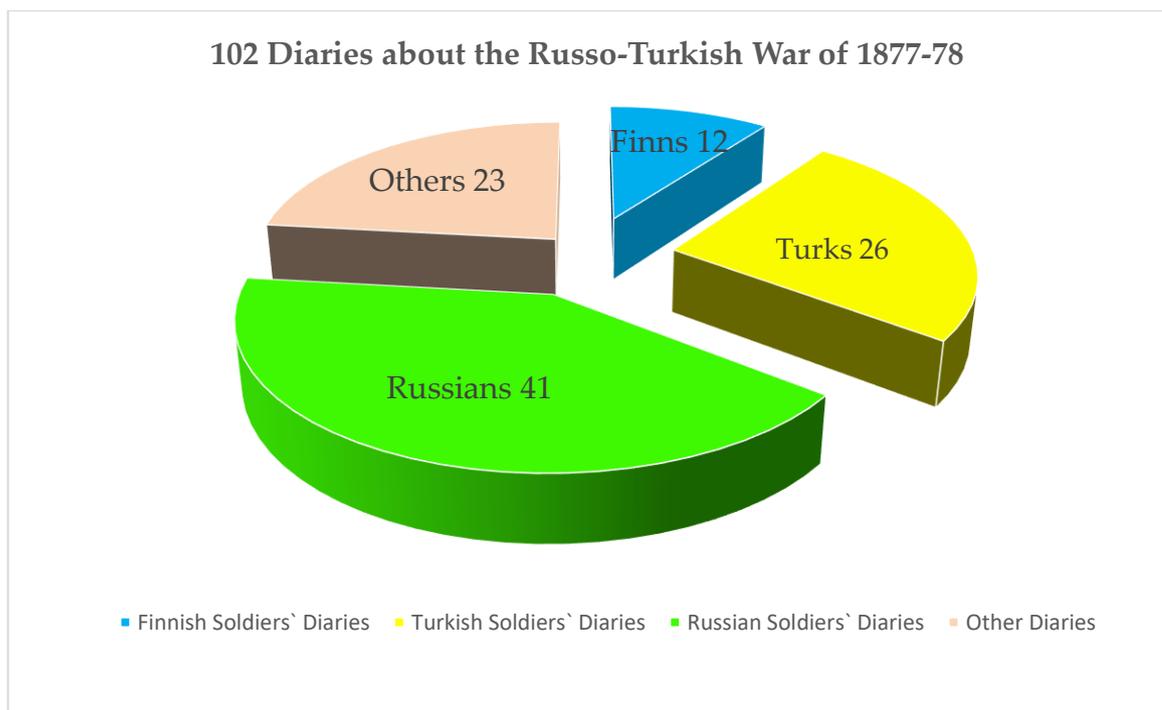
⁵⁴ F. V. Greene, *The Russian Army and Its Campaign in Turkey in 1877-1878*, New York: D. Appleton, 1879, p.277.

⁵⁵ Progress map no 1; plate 4, map no 2; plate 5 and map no 3; plate 6. F. V. Greene, *The Russian Army and Its Campaign in Turkey in 1877-1878 Atlas*, New York: D. Appleton, 1879, pp.20-22.

⁵⁶ Jyrki Outinen, "Negotiating Others: The Image of the Turk in the Finnish Soldiers' War Memoirs of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-1878", Edited by Kari Alenius, Olavi K. Fält, Markus Mertaniemi (toim.),

At the end of the war, many Finnish soldiers visited the former capital city of the Ottoman Empire, Adrianople, the Mosque of Selimiye, the bazar of Ali Pasha, the old palace called Eski Saray), San Stefano and the latter capital city Constantinople, by visiting Galata Tower, Golden Horn, Pera, sanctuaries such as the Hagia Sophia, Blue Mosque. Some soldiers visited the Byzantine Hippodrom, the Bosphorus, the Princes' Islands, the Büyük Ada (where they had a great feast with an abundance of food and drinks, fireworks and dancing), theatres, bazaars, restaurants, museums, café performances, Turkish baths, they also stayed in hotels and bought souvenirs.⁵⁷ Also, the Finnish soldiers wrote about the Russians army, especially related to staff and staff officers, fighting hungry and with old-fashioned rifles, mostly by von Alfthan, Schulman, Tuderus and Wallin mentioned the critique of the military strategy, functionality and the Russian commanders' strategic shortcomings resulting in unexpected losses of troops at the battle of the Gorni Dubnik.⁵⁸ Although many soldiers published their diaries at the end of the 19th century, some soldiers did not publish their memories after the war because of the moral reasons.

Table 4: Diaries about the Russo-Turkish War (for detailed info, see Appendix 2,3,4.)



Imagology And Cross-Cultural Encounters In History, Pohjois-Suomen Historiallinen Yhdistys Societas Historica Finlandiae Septentrionalis, Rovaniemi, 2008, pp.196-201.

⁵⁷ Laitila, 2001, pp.239-245. After a couple of months Finnish soldiers departed from San Stefano to Odessa by ship and continued their travel by train from Odessa to Brest, St. Petersburg, Vyborg and to the Helsinki.

⁵⁸ Björn Forsen & Konstantin A. Zhukov, "War and Peace: Some Rarely Used Russian and Finnish Sources for the History of Russo-Turkish Relations in the 19th Century", Evgeniy I. Zelenev, (Ed.) *St. Petersburg Annual of Asia and African Studies*, Volume I, Ergon-Verlag Publication Würzburg, 2012, p.105.

During my research project, I have also spent time to find some souvenirs and remembrance about Finnish soldiers, for this reason I visited many museums, historical houses, castles and took photographs. For example, there was an old wooden chest that belonged to August Mäki who participated in the war.



Figure 4: The Finnish Sharpshooter, August Mäki's wooden chest, joined to the 1877-78 Russian- Ottoman War, in Liedon Vanhalinna Old Castle Museum, Turku.

Also, there were many different objects about Finnish soldiers and their remembrance, for example this medal was at the Finnish War Museum in Helsinki, Suomenlinna.



Figure 5: On the left, given by the Russian Emperor to the Finnish soldiers, on the right, given by the Romanian King to the soldiers who crossed the Danube.

As B. Forsen & K. A. Zhukov mentioned in the last sentence of their significant article, a more detailed comparison between Finnish and Russian war memoirs and analysis of their differences and similarities definitely constitutes a desideratum for future research. I aim to constitute my Ph.D. thesis with comparing Finnish, Ottoman and Russian soldiers' memoirs about the war of 1877-1878 and also by using Finnish, Ottoman and Russian popular newspapers.

4. Network and Presentations

Thanks to EDUFI Project scholarship, I have established connections with *The Finnish Association for Russian and East European Studies*, *FAREES*, and *International Network in Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies*, *INREES*, research groups and joined their events⁵⁹ related to my studies at the Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki, specifically thank you to Professor Markku Kangaspuro, Dr. Ira-Janis Isakangas and the Aleksanteri Institute. Also, I had a chance to meet on *Digital Humanities and Social Data Sciences, DARIAH-FI and DARIAH-EU data management groups event*⁶⁰. Besides, during the scholarship period I was a member of the Doctoral Students Association at the University of Eastern Finland, and I was a cultural reporter of the Doctoral Students Association Newspaper in 2020.

First of all, I want to thank my supervisor Professor Jeremy Smith, although he went to Zayed University in Abu-Dhabi at the end of my project, he was always approachable, and he encouraged me to read and focus on Finnish military history to understand the position of Finnish services and officers under the Russian Imperial Army. Besides, thanks to his academic network and connections I had the chance to meet many scholars from Russia related to my studies, because Professor Jeremy was leading under the *ERA.Net RUS Plus* program, with funding from the Academy of Finland: "Post-Imperial diversities-majority-minority relations in the transition from empires to nation-states" project and integrated me into the that project activities and events.

Also, I want to thank Jouko Lindstedt (Emeritus Professor from Helsinki University) for his help and hospitality about Bulgarian publications and sharing personal experiences. I started to learn Finnish Language in Finland, but these Bulgarian publications were beneficial for me to read about Finnish soldiers' memories about the war, when I was learning Finnish. Besides, I want to thank Professor Laura Kolbe as she accepted supervising me at the University of Helsinki, however I decided to continue in Joensuu because I thought that it would be advantageous to work at the UEF with Prof. Dr. Jeremy Smith and on behalf of the VERA. I want to thank my current supervisor, Prof. Dr. Jeremy Smith, and co-supervisors, since they always

⁵⁹ I participated to the 2019 of Workshop FRRESS Autumn Seminar, organized by (Finnish-Russian Network for Russian and Eurasian Studies), 23rd -24th of October 2019, University of Helsinki, Finland. And I am going to apply the new research opportunity for Russian studies event to participate The Finnish-Russian Network on Area studies and Methodologies (FRAME) intensive course "Area Studies and Different Disciplinary Approaches" in St. Petersburg, 24rd-29th of April 2022. <https://blogs.helsinki.fi/inrees-research/2021/12/21/call-for-applications-intensive-course-in-st-petersburg-frame/>

⁶⁰ 2019 Workshop Open Science and Social Science and Humanities Research Infrastructures, organized by DARIAH-FI", 23rd of October 2019, University of Helsinki, Finland.

welcome me to discuss about my research project and advised me to visit the National Archives and National Defence University Library. Admittedly, I not only benefited from their books and articles but also from their seminars, lectures, advice and recommendations. Dr. Teuvo encouraged me to focus on media perspective and gave me some microfilms, articles, and books that he gathered when he was writing his Ph.D. thesis in 2003. When I arrived in Joensuu, I also benefited from the Kansalaisopisto courses to learn Finnish language and finished Finnish language courses A.3 and B.1. as I planned that on my research proposal and application in 2019.

In the first period of research, my supervisor Professor Jeremy supported me to participate an important event to present my research findings about “*Communication with Societies and Public Opinion: Comparing Russian and European Periodicals in 1877-78*” at the Research Papers Competition organized by the Centre for German and European Studies (CGES), 28th and 29th November 2019, in St. Petersburg, Russia.⁶¹ That was a good opportunity for me to have feedback about my studies.

Although, I have received an invitation from the University of Cambridge to join the *British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies* (BASEES) Conference, which would be held on 3rd-5th April, it would be hosted at Robinson College, Cambridge, United Kingdom, the conference was postponed to 2022, and I will try to join the conference again if it is possible.⁶² Also, I presented my research findings at the UEF academic community at the VERA Conference of 2020. My presentation was “*Minorities in the Imperial Army: the importance of Finnish Archives and Manuscripts for late 19th century Russian and East European Studies, the Russian-Ottoman War 1877-78*”.⁶³

In 2021, I presented my research findings in many different platforms.

The first one was *WAR-MEM Conference* in Mans, with the presentation of “*Analysing the Finnish and Russian Soldiers’ Diaries During the 1877–1878 Russian-Ottoman War*”, 22-24 June 2021 in France.⁶⁴ The second event was *The Memory Studies Association 5th Annual Conference* in Warsaw, and my presentation title

⁶¹ Centre for German and European Studies, the Sixth Russian-European research papers competition for graduate and postgraduate students in social sciences and humanities. <https://zdes.spbu.ru/en/731-the-sixth-russian-european-research-papers-competition>

⁶² <https://www.baseesconference.org/>

⁶³ Online VERA Conference “Know Your Rights”: Marginalities, Minorities and the Travails of Democracy, 27-28 May 2020 in Joensuu, Finland. <https://www.uef.fi/sites/default/files/2020-05/veraconference.pdf>

⁶⁴ WAR-MEM Conference in Mans, https://warmem2020.sciencesconf.org/data/pages/warmem_2029.pdf, 22-24 June 2021, France.

was *“Journalism and War Reminiscences in the Balkans at the Last Quarter of the 9th Century: “News and Notes from Both Sides of the Danube to Europe”*.⁶⁵

And the last one was *The Council for European Studies (CES) Virtual 27th International Conference of Europeanists Europe’s Past, Present, and Future: Utopias and Dystopias*, 21st-25th June 2021, Columbia University, New York, USA and my presentation was *“Islamophobia in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of Images on European and Russian Periodicals in 1877-78”*.⁶⁶ Beside this, during my research, I have memberships and academic connections regarding my field of study.⁶⁷

Additionally, as a part of my research proposal I have taken many courses related to my studies at the UEF and I have already got 34 credits.

Post-Soviet Russia on the EU's Border	5 cr	Pass 17.12.2019.
Conference English	5 cr	Pass 21.10.2019.
English for Doctoral Students	4 cr	Pass 13.12.2019.
Postgrad. Studies of Comp. Sci. Human-cent. writing	2 cr	Pass 04.12.2019.
How to write a successful research grant proposal	1 cr	Pass 26.10.2021.
Research Ethics	1 cr	Pass 21.12.2021.
Seminar with variable theme Publishing an article	1 cr	Pass 13.03.2020.
Scientific publishing and conferences	7 cr	Pass 18.10.2021.

Special thanks go to the Karelian Institute and director Prof. Petri Kahila, especially to Dr. Minna Piipponen, for their assistance and hospitality during my research project period, without them my research would be poor and vain. Lastly, I should also thank to Dr. Paul Fryer and Dr. Joni Virkkunen for all their efforts and helps regarding my research project. I am glad that UEF arranged all official needs, space to work, computer and IT resources for my studies. Also, the VERA Center created an opportunity for me to stay and work for my PhD. studies.

⁶⁵ Memory Studies Association 5th Annual Conference, 5-9 July 2021, Warsaw, Poland. (Program p.55.)
[https://dryfta-assets.s3.eu-central-](https://dryfta-assets.s3.eu-central-1.amazonaws.com/assets/msaconferencewarsaw/editorimages/1625235609MSA2021Program2.pdf)

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⁶⁶ The Council for European Studies (CES) Virtual 27th International Conference of Europeanists,
<https://councilforeuropeanstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/CES-Final-Conference-Program-2021.pdf>

⁶⁷ FAREES-VIETS Finnish Association for Russian and East European Studies,
<https://vietseura.wordpress.com/> FUURT The Finnish Union of University Researchers and Teachers,
<https://tieteentekijat.fi/en/home/> ISHA International Students of History Association, <https://isha-international.org/> HWB Historians Without Borders in Finland
<https://www.historianswithoutborders.fi/en/>
PHKY-NKHA North Karelia History Association, <https://www.pk-historiallinenyhdistys.com/>

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6. Appendix Appendix

1. Military Circumscriptions of the Russian Imperial Army, except Siberia and Turkestan⁶⁸.



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