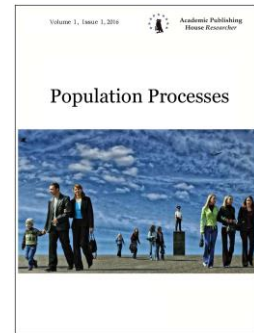


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## Gypsies in the Russian Empire (during the 18th and first half of the 19th century)

Vladimir N. Shaidurov <sup>a, b, \*</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Saint-Petersburg Mining University (Mining University), Russian Federation

<sup>b</sup> East European Historical Society, Russian Federation

### Abstract

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, historians continued to focus much attention on the history of minor ethnic groups, but the state of this body of knowledge is quite varied. Russian historical gypsology is in its early stages of development. Progress is being slowed by limits of known written archives. So, one of the key objectives is to identify archival documents that will make it possible to set and address research goals. In this paper, we will introduce the options that were put forward for acting on and reacting to the situation of the Gypsies during the Russian Empire, both theorized on as well as put into practice between the 1780s and the 1850s. The situation of the Gypsies here refers to the relations between the Russian Empire, represented by the emperor and his bureaucratic organization, and the Gypsies who found themselves in its territory. The solution for the issues from the Gypsies' point of view involved their rejection of traditional lifestyles and of integration into economic and social institutions during a particular historical period. Our study makes use of various legal acts issued in the 1780s-1850s. The region-specific variants of the scenarios which addressed the situation of the Gypsies are described from written archival sources from the central and regional archives of the Russian Federation, uncovered by the author during archival investigation and introduced for the first time. The integrated use of various research methods enabled a reconstruction of previously unknown pages in the history of the Gypsies in Russia.

**Keywords:** the Gypsies of Russia, migration of the Gypsies, integration of the Gypsies, state policy, the situation of the Gypsies, Russian Empire.

### 1. Introduction

As part of the European community of nations, Russia encountered Gypsies and started to develop policies towards them later than did other countries. Ukraine, which became part of Russia in the mid-17th century, saw the Gypsies in its territory as early as 1428 (Crowe, 2007: 151). With the accession of the Polish Ukraine in the late 17th century, Russia received a permanent Gypsy population (the Servi group). The number of the Gypsies grew in the Russian Empire as a result of the inclusion of new territories in the second half of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century. In addition, territories in the Caucasus and Central Asia, which became part of Russia, were historically inhabited by authentic Gypsy groups, such as the Boshia in Armenia, the Karachi in Azerbaijan, and the Lyuli (Djugi) and Mazang in Central Asia. Nomadic practices contributed to the formation of local Gypsy groups in different regions across the Russian Empire.

\* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: [s-w-n@mail.ru](mailto:s-w-n@mail.ru) (V.N. Shaidurov)

By the end of the 19th century, the Gypsy population in Russia numbered 44.5 thousand people. It is likely that the actual figure was even higher.

Between the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, the Russian Empire went through the process of shaping its state policy towards the Gypsies. Unlike other European countries, Russia pursued a policy aimed to integrate the Gypsies into its national organism. By that time, the Russian bureaucratic organization had already gained some experience with the nomadic peoples of the Volga and Siberia, who had shifted to semi-nomadic or sedentary lifestyles by the mid-19th century. Authorities were able to influence stockbreeders through economic incentives, by limiting access to grazing lands. At its heart, the Gypsy economy was based on various handicrafts and trades, which did not tie them to a permanent place of residence. This type of economy pre-set the conditions for governing the length of the program set to stop vagrancy among the Gypsy population and bring it into a sedentary way of life in Russia.

## **2. Sources and Methods**

In this paper, we aim to introduce the activities of the Tsarist administration designed to integrate the Gypsies into the Russian Empire between the 1780s and 1850s. These activities implied that the Gypsies should abandon their traditional life practices by further integration into the economic and social institutions of a particular historical period. To deliver a solution for the research problem, we need to compare Russian legislation, which was in force for the different periods of rule of the Russian emperors, in regard to all groups of the Gypsy population as well as the practical enforcement of this legislation in regions where Gypsies lived. This will make it possible to trace the development of these issues in terms of regulatory and legal dimensions, as well as reveal the mechanisms of state policies devised to address the situation in which the Gypsies lived in the Russian Empire, during the periods under consideration. It will also make possible the determination of how effectively they were put into operation for specific historical conditions.

One of the key issues faced by a researcher of the history of the Gypsy people is the lack of written archival sources. The value of the documents that are uncovered is enhanced and makes it possible to restore various aspects of the past of the Gypsies in Russia and in certain specific Russian regions.

In the course of our research, a range of published and written archival sources became available. The former comprise the legal acts and codes of laws, adopted in the 1730-1850s, included in the first and second editions of the Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire and the Code of Laws of the Russian Empire. They are instrumental in reconstructing the vision outlined by Russia's political elite for ideal solutions for issues related to the Gypsies.

Significant importance for studying the history of the Gypsies can be attached to documents stored in central and regional archives. They are essential in understanding the practice of applying various legal norms of the Tsar's manifestos and edicts in specific historical contexts. For example, some archival fonds of the Russian State Historical Archives managed to preserve documents that are relevant to the history of the Russian Gypsies. The fonds of the Binding (State) Council (1801–1810) preserved materials that preceded the issue of some decrees and edicts concerning the Gypsies. By comparing the drafts and the final text of the manifesto, it is possible to identify trends prevailing in the government regarding ways of dealing with issues related to the Gypsies.

For example, the orders passed by the Committee of Ministers in the early 19th century repeatedly highlight information on the resettlement of Gypsies in Siberia. The Governing Senate also addressed the topic of the Gypsies. In particular, its fonds still possesses a number of documents describing efforts to ensure the adoption of sedentary lifestyles by the Gypsies in 1808-1809. The documents also mention the draft edict prepared by the Ministry of Justice in 1809 on sentencing Gypsies to exile to Siberia for vicious behaviour. Individual references to the Gypsies in the Russian regions are found in the documents executed by the Office of the Prosecutor General of the Senate, the First Siberian Committee and other state institutions.

The files of the fonds managed by the Police Department accountable to the Ministry of Internal Affairs contain documents on the Gypsies residing in various governorates of the Russian Empire in the first half of the 19th century. They permit us to reveal the position taken by the governorate authorities towards the Gypsies, and identify the areas where Gypsy communities lived, their sizes and, in some cases, the list of names of family members.

The most valuable demographic and economic information on the Gypsy population in specific Russian regions is stored in the fonds of the Ministry of State Property, which launched a package of measures starting in 1839 aiming at shifting all Gypsies to sedentary lifestyles and integrating them into rural and urban communities. Reports submitted by the governorate treasury chambers in 1840–1841 provide data on the Gypsy population, including the total number of Gypsies, registered name (family) lists of sedentary Gypsies, and places of residence and economic activities. Some documents supply information on Gypsies in different governorates in the late 18th and early 19th century.

The fonds of regional archives have accumulated documents that are helpful in defining local practices used to handle the situation of the Gypsies. For example, records of the early 1790s, kept by the Tobolsk vicegeral government, enable the restoration of one of the earliest episodes in the history of the Siberian Gypsies, associated with their migration from European Russia, including lists of names of camp members. Materials from the first half of the 19th century from the Tobolsk and Tomsk Prikazes (administrative departments in the 18th century Russia) for Exiles provide some idea of whom the Gypsies were who moved to Siberia within the penitentiary system (previous places of residence, natures of offenses, terms of punishment and locations of the correctional facilities).

The published sources include accounts provided by foreigners, which mention the Gypsies in different regions. For example, the Gypsies in Siberia were seen by John Bell in the Tobolsk governorate in the 1720s, about which he made a corresponding entry (Bell, 1763: 157-158). In the late 19th century, Siberian Gypsies caught the eye of an Englishman, Martin Sauer, when members of the Billings-Sarychev expedition passed through Tobolsk (Sauer, 1802: 396). These sources, written by contemporaries, are important for dating the appearance of Gypsies in the Russian governorate.

The Russian archives preserved numerous record keeping and statistical sources. The integrated use of archival and published documents allow for an objective review of the history of the Gypsies in Russia.

The methodological foundation for this study is provided through an integrated approach. We can explore the history of the Gypsies using several theoretical approaches. For example, the theory of modernization can assist in analysing the process of “modernizing” Gypsies over the first half of the 19th century. The theory of adaptation delivers tools for determining the ability of the Gypsy people to adapt to new environmental, climatic, social and economic conditions while preserving or losing their own identity.

Our study makes use of a variety of methods. The comparative method was utilized as a tool for finding out about general regularities and distinctive features of the group’s social and economic development. The chronological technique is instrumental in breaking down the subject into a number of specific issues to be dealt with in chronological order. The statistical analysis makes it possible to locate required information and generalize data from statistical sources. Methods of historical geography help link historical, economic and demographic phenomena with a specific area.

### **3. Discussion**

A specific feature characterizing historiography is the fact that it lacks consistency in the study of the Gypsy population in Russia. A review of the few bibliographic indexes (German, 1930) shows that pre-revolutionary Gypsy studies prioritized ethnographic, linguistic and cultural aspects. As for works on historical subjects, they were like gold dust, pieces few and far between and extremely difficult to find.

Regarding the Russian pre-revolutionary historiography, a reference should be made to the article by a prominent lawyer, I.N. Danilovich, titled “Historical and ethnographic newsletter on the Gypsies” (Istoricheskoye i etnograficheskoye izvestiye o tsyganakh) published by the Severny Arkhiv journal in a series of issues for 1826 (Danilovich, 1826). After delivering an overview of the history of the Gypsies in Europe, Danilovich dedicated one of the sections in his article to a brief review of the Russian laws on the Gypsies (from 1784 to 1811). According to Danilovich, “the Russian legislation will forever leave a mark in the history because it never oppressed the Gypsies by persecution, but from the very beginning it was committed to making them useful citizens of the state” (Danilovich, 1826: 184). Fragmentary historical references to the Gypsies can be found in

works on the history of Novorossia<sup>1</sup> and Bessarabia, written in the period between the 19th and early 20th century (Skalkovsky, 1850).

A historical and ethnographic essay on the Gypsies in Ukraine is presented in the monograph by M.M. Plokhinsky “Foreigners in Old Malorossiia” (Inozemtsy v Staroy Malorossii) (1905), which was created on basis of the dissertation. The author can be praised for the wide use of materials from the Kharkov Historical Archive of the Collegium of Little Russia. Comparing the situation of the Gypsies in Western Europe and Russia, Plokhinsky, along with his predecessors, stressed the absence of discriminatory regulations in Russian laws and the government's failure to “merge them with other inhabitants and turn them into farmers” (Plokhinsky, 1905: 202-203).

In the USSR in the second half of the 20th century, Gypsy studies progressed in the ethnographic framework. Few academic papers on Gypsy-related subjects also focus on historical aspects. We should specifically highlight articles by V.I. Sanarov, published in Soviet and foreign journals, which feature the Siberian Gypsies (Sanarov, 1970: 126-136). The author introduces into research a number of documents from the Tobolsk archives as well as the notes of foreign travellers, which enable him to pinpoint the dates of the first reference to Siberian Gypsies in written sources – in 1721 (Sanarov, 1970: 126).

The end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century is characterized in Russian historiography by a large number of new studies on the history of individuals living in the Russian Empire (Ukrainians, Jews, Germans, Poles, Finns, Estonians, etc.) both at the national and regional levels (Gorizontov, 1999; Engman, 2008; Shaidurov, 2016).

It seems that a major advancement in historiography was to be achieved by a collective monograph “History of the Gypsies: a New Look” (Bessonov et al., 2000), which devotes one of the chapters to Russia in the 19th and 20th centuries. However, it practically contains no history, but mainly presents ethnographic sketches and the history of the Gypsy culture. This fact can be explained by the sources used. The basis for the study is mainly formed by newspaper material and journalistic magazine articles that are of a subjective nature. We can fully attribute the critical statement expressed in the study to these materials: the authors were extremely biased and only dimly aware of the actual situation and could not separate those matters that were seeming from those that were real (Bessonov et al., 2000).

Most researchers of Gypsy history in the Russian Empire ignore archival sources. This is confirmed more than once by some of the papers by M.V. Smirnova-Seslavinskaya (Smirnova-Seslavinskaya 2013, 2014, 2016, 2017). Neglecting archival sources prevents the author from fully elaborating on the subject. Thus, a researcher who turned to the analysis of Russian law-making practices with regard to Gypsy-related issues, examines only the texts of decrees taken from the Complete Code of Laws of the Russian Empire (Smirnova-Seslavinskaya, 2017: 1-21). But their study only allows us to reconstruct a vision of the problem and ways to deal with it that were put to paper. Without resorting to the documents stored in central and regional archives, it is impossible to develop an understanding of the procedure for implementing a particular legal regulation.

Academic significance is attached to the paper by D.N. Denisov – “Orenburg Gypsies in the 60s of the 18th – early 20th century” (Denisov, 2013), which considered an episode in the regional history of the Gypsy community. The author can be praised as he employed not published materials but actively used materials from the regional archive.

One study made in the early 21st century that is worth spotlighting is a monograph by David M. Crowe titled “A history of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia,” which ran through several editions. The part of the work of particular interest is dedicated to the history of the Gypsies in the Russian Empire (Crowe, 2007: 151-161). Like the overwhelming majority of researchers, this author looks at the problem through the legal prism, confining himself to a superficial and fragmentary review of Russian laws of the 18th and 19th centuries. The published documents he uses cannot give a complete and objective picture of the life of the Gypsies in Imperial Russia.

A review paper “Gypsies as a litmus test for rational, tolerant rule: Fin-de-siècle Russian ethnographers confront the comparative history of the Gypsies in Europe” by O’Keeffe introduces studies by Russian ethnographers in the late 19th and early 20th century. According to the author,

<sup>1</sup> Novorossia (New Russia) is a historical and cultural region in the Northern Black Sea coastal area, included in the Russian Empire following the Russo-Turkish wars in the second half of the 18th century.

these works can have a significant role in the discussion on the ways of integrating Gypsies in different countries (O’Keeffe, 2014: 109-131).

These works, as well as several other publications, can be regarded as an attempt to stir up interest within the academic community for Gypsy history in Russia. We agree with the opinion of V.I. Sanarov, which was expressed back in 1971, that “the study of the Gypsies is interesting not only in terms of the discovery of the ethnic history of the people but also from the point of view of the general problem of relations built and influences caused by vagrant foreign groups and local settled population” (Sanarov, 1971: 67). The few studies introduced above made it possible to identify the range of sources that have already been reviewed by scholars and the topics that were highlighted by authors. The existing gaps in historiography create a range of promising research topics, such as identifying sources on the history of the Gypsies in Russia, their analysis and introduction into research; the Gypsies of the Russian Empire from the perspective of effective legislation at the time and existing practices of law enforcement at the national and regional levels; the dynamics of Gypsy migrations and the position of central and local authorities regarding the process, with confirmations from official statistics; government policies encouraging Gypsies to adopt sedentary lifestyles; the place and role of Gypsies in the economic life of Russian regions.

#### 4. Legislative measures for Gypsy sedentarization

The lands, which became part of the Russian Empire in the 18th century, saw Gypsies arriving between the 16th and first half of the 17th century as a result of migration. They migrated to the lands of the Polish Ukraine from the interior regions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or from Wallachia (Plokhinsky, 1905: 165-196).

Already by the first half of the 18th century, Ukrainian lands, which went to Russia under the Treaty of Perpetual Peace in 1686, witnessed nomadic Gypsies at their marketplaces and fairs. On the other hand, Plokhinsky noted that some sotnias<sup>1</sup> were inhabited by sedentary Gypsies who acted as guarantors for their fellow tribesmen (Plokhinsky, 1905: 196). In the first half of the 18th century, the number of sedentary Gypsies officially increased because many of them were registered on census lists and assigned to settlements.

First references to Gypsies in the legal acts of the Russian Empire date back to the reign of Empress Anna Ioannovna (1730-1740). Active foreign policies in the mid-1730s required creating new regiments. Since the era of Peter the Great, regiment recruitment and maintenance was a responsibility of the population in the governorates to which the regiments were assigned. In 1733, five new regiments were formed from Ukrainian Cossacks. The edict dated June 7, 1733, ordered that funds, which were collected from the Gypsies in Little Russia (the Hetmanate territory) and Sloboda Ukraine<sup>2</sup>, should be spent for stationary expenses in 5 new sloboda regiments (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 9. No. 6430). It also speaks of both the registered and unregistered (stray) Gypsies. The challenging task of collecting taxes from the Gypsies was mentioned by Prince Shakhovskiy in his report to Empress Anna Ioannovna, pointing out that “Gypsies are not recorded in the census, and it is impossible to record them as they do not live in households” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 9. No. 6454).

An important milestone was the year 1733, when the personal free status of the Gypsies in Russia was actually acknowledged. By a Senate decree dated September 13, the Gypsies were recognized as people born in Ingermanland<sup>3</sup> (it refers to the Finnish Gypsies who were evicted to these lands by the Swedish authorities in the period of repression against the Gypsies). They were granted a right to live in the St. Petersburg governorate and trade horses “until further orders.” At the same time, they were included in the system of general taxation: The St. Petersburg Chief of Police's Office was to include them in the poll tax list at the next census and take them into account in payment expenses for the horse guards regiment. At the same time, the decree allowed the

<sup>1</sup> Sotnia is an administrative and military unit of Hetman Ukraine in the 17th and first half of the 18th century.

<sup>2</sup> Sloboda Ukraine is a historical region that was partially located on the territories of the modern Russian Belgorod, Kursk, Voronezh, Orel and Lipetsk regions and Ukrainian Kharkov, Sumy, Poltava, Donetsk and Lugansk regions.

<sup>3</sup> Ingermanland is a historical region in modern north-western Russia. From the 12th century to the 1580s, it belonged to the Novgorod Republic and Muscovite State, and from the late 16th century to 1721 was part of Sweden. After the signing of the Treaty of Nystad, it became part of the St. Petersburg Governorate.

Gypsies to reside in the places “in which they wish to live” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 9. No. 6481). With their legal status, they were positioned closely to state peasants and lower middle class commoners.

In the reign of Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (1741-1761), the overwhelming majority of the Gypsies lived in Sloboda Ukraine. The surviving principles of the particular law, which were in force on the Ukrainian lands, were automatically extended to the Gypsies. Granting privileges to colonels of Sloboda regiments and to the Cossack Starshina (administrative and military office of the Zaporozhian Host) in 1743, Empress Elizaveta retained the Gypsy tax, introduced by Anna Ioannovna, to pay to regimental offices (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 11. No. 8809). But as part of the customs reform of 1754-1755, it was cancelled along with other internal charges in Little Russia (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 14. No. 10386).

In 1759, Empress Elizaveta had to deal with the Gypsies in St. Petersburg suburbs. This was followed by a written ban on Gypsies living and temporarily staying in St. Petersburg and its surrounding neighbourhoods, such as Peterhof, Oranienbaum and Tsarskoe Selo. Violation of the ban was regarded as an administrative offense that entailed the “irrevocable fine” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 15. No. 10981). This measure affected, above all, the Ingermanland Gypsies. We should point out an essential aspect: this ban had a limited scope and did not apply to other settlements in the St. Petersburg governorate. This fact suggests the repeated recognition of the Ingermanland Gypsies as the indigenous population of these areas. In comparison, we can point to Empress Elizaveta’s position regarding Jews: in 1742, she ordered them sent away from the Russian Empire (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 11. No. 8673), and in 1744, prohibited their short visits to Russia, even on business matters (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 12. No. 8867).

Hence, the position of the Gypsies in Russia until the mid-18th century was regulated from the standpoint of the particular law, which was effective in the territory where they predominantly lived – Sloboda Ukraine. Unlike Jews, they attracted no specific attention from the ruling monarchs. Special decrees and edicts on the Gypsies were sporadic and were not an element of policy towards this ethnic minority. But their nomadic and semi-nomadic lifestyle caused the government to adopt various special regulations, some of which were restrictive.

In the reign of Empress Catherine II (1762-1796), many issues were approached using the conceptual framework of enlightened absolutism and pragmatism. This can fully describe activities related to the Gypsies. In October 1767, as part of the effort to implement the Senate Decree on “Including the Raznochintsy of the Sloboda Ukraine Governorate into the Poll Taxation,” the authorities continued a campaign for abolishing remaining Cossack liberties and extending the national Russian tax system to the Ukrainian lands. The local Gypsy population was first mentioned as belonging to the Raznochintsy (literally, people of miscellaneous ranks) (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 18. No. 12987). The same decree exempted the Gypsies from the poll tax, but the Chief of Police’s Office had to submit information on their number to the Senate. Such steps were to lead to the adoption of new legal norms.

The matter of the situation in which the Gypsies lived, was raised in the address of Orenburg Governor Prince A. Putyatin dated December 10, 1767, at a meeting of the Ulozheniye Commission<sup>1</sup> in Moscow. In his speech, he asked for the adoption of appropriate laws whereby “they [the Gypsies – V.Sh.] would live in one and the same place and moving from place to place was not allowed both with their families and alone” (Putyatin, 1871: 431). At the same time, the address also put forward a proposal to restrict their economic activities by denying them access to fairs and auctions. However, these suggestions were not taken into account by the Empress and senior officials in the 1760s – 1770s.

In the first half of the 1780s, the ruling elite looked at the situation of the Gypsies in the Russian Empire from a new angle. Starting in 1783, the government defined measures for handling the situation of the Gypsies, which entailed, first of all, a campaign to combat Gypsy vagrancy. Its start was marked by the Senate’s decree addressed to the Voronezh Treasury Chamber<sup>2</sup> dated December 31, which stipulated that Gypsies should be endowed with land and “did not loiter idly” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 21. No. 15898). By the same act, legislators equalized Gypsies in terms of fiscal

<sup>1</sup> The Ulozheniye Commission of 1767-1768 was convened by Empress Catherine II to create a new Code of Laws of the Russian Empire. Deputies representing various social estates took part in its work. At the Commission meetings, the deputies presented mandates that reflected local issues and ways of dealing with them.

<sup>2</sup> The Governorate Treasury Chamber is a collegiate body managing state property and construction projects.

rights with state peasants, entrusting the decision of all related issues to the director of household management in the provincial Treasury Chamber. Thus, legal regulations determined the legal status of the majority of Gypsies in the Russian Empire, recognizing them as personally free subjects, on whom the corresponding duties were imposed.

The consistency in the implementation of the policy adopted by the Senate to bind the Gypsies to the land was embodied in a decree “On the expulsion of the Gypsies from Livonia” dated January 24, 1784 (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 22. No. 15912). The pretext for its issue was provided by complaints from the local governor-general, Count Yu. Browne to the Senate on the influx of Gypsies from neighbouring provinces. The Senate ordered treating them according to the law, which meant delivering the Gypsies found in Livonia, under police escort, to the provinces where they were registered for taxation and transferring them to the care of local authorities. Whether the execution of this decree by Browne was successful is unknown.

In November 1784, another step was made to end the semi-nomadic lifestyle of the Gypsies in Russia. The attempt was initiated by Moscow Governor-General Count James Bruce (1732-1791). On his order, which was confirmed by a Senate decree, all Gypsies who stayed in Moscow and the Moscow governorate, should surrender their passports and be evicted to the places where they were registered in the last census (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 22. No. 16088). By this time, officials realized the need to introduce administrative supervision over the constant presence of the Gypsies in places of registration. To this end, further control over the Gypsies was given to town governors and Zemstvo police chiefs throughout the country.

However, the measures taken failed to put an end to the Gypsy migrations in Russia. For example, in 1792, in the Tobolsk governorate<sup>1</sup>, local authorities found a 113-strong Gypsy camp led by elder Eustathy Martynov, aged 84 (GUTO GAT. F. I341. Op. 1. D. 145. L. 8-9 ob.). Based on the investigation's findings, it became clear that these families of “Belarus Gypsies” were registered for the Colonel of the Ingermanland Regiment, Aleksey Melgunov (GUTO GAT. F. I341. Op. 1. D. 145. L. 20). Over many years, they roamed across the Novgorod governorate, engaged in the exchange of horses and other small goods (GUTO GAT. F. I341. Op. 1. D. 145. L. 27 ob.). It was also found out that as they had no permanent place of residence, they were not included in the census list and therefore paid no taxes and duties. Initially, it was planned to deport Gypsies to the Kostroma governorate. The reason for this was the initiative of the Kostroma Treasury Chamber to track down fugitive Gypsies. However, Martynov managed to prove that they were not runaways. The Tobolsk authorities decided to settle the Gypsies in the Tarski okrug, which was enacted through the appropriate order to the Turin Lower Zemstvo Court<sup>2</sup>. The entire procedure was carried out in accordance with the provisions of the decree dated November 4, 1784. According to the accounts by M. Sauer, who was in Tobolsk for a short visit, Governor A.V. Alyabyev planned to found a special settlement for them, but he had to lodge them with separate families. No success was achieved by his attempt to turn the Gypsies into farmers either. The Gypsies did not cultivate the land they received but led their traditional lives. Their basic activities still included begging, blacksmithing and veterinary medicine (Sauer, 1802: 331).

As we can see, the prohibitive regulations against the vagrant Gypsy practices failed to lead to the desired results. The Gypsies could easily travel from the Novgorod governorate to Siberia, never having any documents on them. A small cash bribe to the local manager allowed them to move on. Similar cases were not probably uncommon. This suggestion is offered by the content of the decree issued by the Senate on July 16, 1800, which summed up the disappointing results of the years-long campaign to bind the Gypsies to the land. The text, in particular, points out that “many of the Gypsies... have not come to their governorates, and those who came to the places, assigned to them, have not accepted the land for further cultivation due to the lack of knowledge and habit, and soon

<sup>1</sup> The Tobolsk governorate in the late 18th century included part of the Northern Urals, and Western and Central Siberia.

<sup>2</sup> The Lower Zemstvo Court is a judicial and administrative body in the Russian Empire (1775-1862). The powers of the Lower Zemstvo Court included the duty of controlling orders in an uezd (district), monitoring the condition of roads and bridges, and enforcing orders of the governmental authorities. In addition, the Lower Zemstvo Court functioned as the trade police, took measures to prevent against epidemics, considered cases related to the performance of duties, took fire precautions, dealt with food security issues, monitored beggars, conducted trials on petty crimes and took decisions on minor claims.

they again left for unknown places” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 26. No. 19,484). Most of the Gypsies “are idly loitering everywhere, and according to the checks done, turned out to have been registered nowhere” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 26. No. 19484). The main culprits of the failure of the action undertaken were announced to the landlords who sold Gypsies temporary tickets which enabled them to move within the borders of the uezd or governorate for a year. In the context of military and police absolutism in the reign of Emperor Paul I (1796-1801), this situation was tolerated. As a result, it was prescribed that the identified idle Gypsies should be immediately registered for the poll tax and allocated land in the governorate in which they would be caught without documents.

Considering the dreadful financial hardships of most Gypsies, the many thousands of debts for the payment of the poll tax and other levies and future expenses required to settle in a new place of residence, the authorities decided to write off the arrears of cash taxes for them. It should be stressed that such a step was a novelty in the government's activity. For example, since the second half of the 1760s, foreign colonists already received various tax preferences from the authorities, including the exemption from conscription “in perpetuity,” when settling in rural areas<sup>1</sup>.

At the turn of the 19th century, the issues related to the situation of the Gypsies attracted the attention of not just Russian officials. Private individuals also expressed their proposals. For example, on February 9, 1801, the Senate Prosecutor General Petr Obolyaninov, a favourite of Emperor Paul I, was approached by Count von der Pahlen, who proposed a radical project to address the situation of the Gypsies. According to him, the Gypsies of the male gender, fit for military service, should be “taken to soldiers, assigned to regiments located in remote areas and others should be sent to the south of Siberia to settle there on available empty land, which is in abundance there, where it could be possible by holding them under supervision to set them to work and payment of taxes to the treasury” (RGIA. F. 1347. Op. 4. L. 58. L. 2). The practical implementation of such a project under the conditions of that time, was only viable for the first part (the military service of the Gypsies), while the resettlement of several thousand Gypsies in Siberia was unrealistic for a number of reasons. First, to fulfil this, it was necessary to allocate travel and meal allowances from the Treasury and provide police escort (deportation) of the Gypsies. At the place of new residence, the settlers were to be provided with working livestock, implements, seeds, timber to construct housing and farm buildings and, to ensure that they did not scatter throughout the steppe, it was necessary to arrange for the local police to provide continuous controls over the settlers. The Treasury had no available money for this, and local authorities did not have this large a police force. Realization of the first, quite realistic part of Pahlen's proposal was impeded by the coup d'état of March 1801, and the elimination of the political elite of Paul I's era.

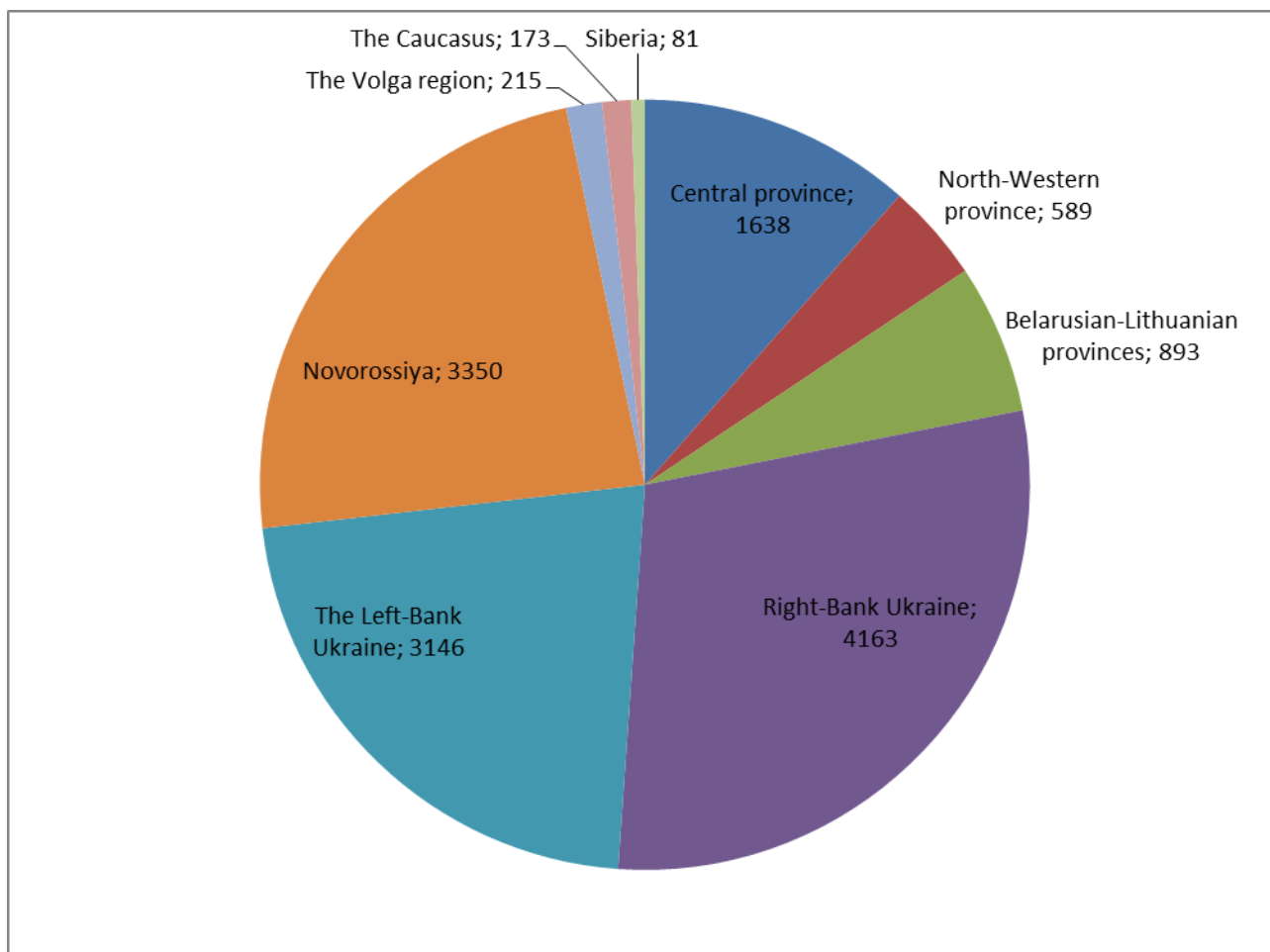
Starting in 1767, the authorities tried to register the existing Gypsy population. This challenging job was assigned to governorate administrations. To date, we have no accurate information on the number and distribution of the Gypsies across the governorates of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 18th century. The first incomplete statistical data refers to the early 19th century.

In the reign of Emperor Alexander I (1801-1825), the measures targeted at the situation of the Gypsies became part of the general imperial policy towards ethnic minorities. In June 1803, the authorities once again endeavoured to handle the issue of vagrancy of both personally free Gypsies and those who were registered with landlords by the census. To achieve this, in the summer of 1803, civil governors were ordered “to immediately submit the information to the Senate on how many [Gypsies] are registered, with which landowners or in which state-owned settlements they are registered, [and] whether they carry on any economic activities” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 27. No. 20802). By the spring of 1805, this information was sent to the Senate by most of the governorates. Many governors indicated in their reports that the Gypsies were not present in the territory of the

<sup>1</sup> Since 1764, foreign colonists (Germans, Swedes, Swiss, Mennonites, etc.) began to come to Russia to create exemplary agricultural businesses, invited by Catherine II. The immigrants were offered to find special settlements (colonies) in the Volga region, Novorossia, St. Petersburg, Voronezh and Novgorod governorates. The colonists received free land, construction timber, money loans to purchase equipment and seeds. The government introduced different grace periods for different groups of colonists to pay taxes. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 19th centuries, the colonists accumulated debts to the state on overdue loans and current taxes. Occasionally, the government wrote off, in part or in full, these debts to the colonists.



governorates entrusted to them. We discovered that the reports, submitted by 27 governors (in the late 18th century, Russia was divided into 50 governorates-general and governorates, and one oblast), contain inconsistent information on the numbers of the Gypsies. It is helpful in roughly reconstructing the geography of the Gypsy resettlement and their approximate numbers in the early 19th century (RGIA. F. 1285. Op. 3. D. 41).



**Fig. 1.** The number and distribution of the Gypsies in the Russian Empire in 1803–1805

Unfortunately, the documents provide no information on the Pskov, Novgorod, Irkutsk and other governorates in which the Gypsies also lived. Based on the above data, we can determine that the approximate size of the Gypsy population in the Russian Empire at the beginning of Alexander I's reign amounted to 14.5 thousand people. Importantly, we speak only of those Gypsies who were already registered in state-owned settlements or with landlords.

Based on the obtained statistical data, we can say that in the early 19th century, 3/4 of the Gypsies lived in the territory of Ukraine and Novorossia. The largest Gypsy communities were recorded in the Poltava and Podolsk governorates, with the percentage reaching almost 40 % of the registered Gypsies. Since the time of the Crimean Khanate, the Gypsy community preserved its significant size in Novorossia, including the Crimea (almost 30 % of the registered Gypsies). The abundance of the Gypsies in these regions is explained by the history of their settlement in Eastern Europe and in the Black Sea region. For example, the Left-Bank Ukraine turned out to become home for the Gypsies who fled from persecution in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Northern Black Sea region was inhabited by the Gypsies who moved there in the 15th century from the territory of the former Byzantine Empire. Continuous migration of the Gypsies across the Russian Empire in the 18th century contributed to their official registration in more than half of the governorates-general and governorates.

Data, collected by civil governors, show that the Gypsies belonged to various estates in the early 19th century. The largest share of the Gypsy population was assigned to the peasant class in the Russian Empire. About 20 % of the Gypsies were listed with landlords. In the Poltava governorate, 2,559 Gypsies (more than 80 % of the Gypsies in the governorate or almost 18 % of the Empire's registered Gypsies) lived in landowner lands (RGIA. F. 1285. Op. 3. D. 41. L. 80-85 ob.). The overwhelming share of Gypsies were registered as state peasants.

In the early 19th century, registering them in merchant guilds became a widespread practice. We should say that the registration in the merchant class (as a rule, in the third guild) became commonplace for the Gypsies. The legislation, which was in force during the reign of Emperor Alexander I, retained a simplified entry procedure into the merchant class. Paying a small guild fee allowed the Gypsies to receive a third guild certificate that gave its holder greater freedom to move around the governorate. For example, out of 69 Gypsies in the Ryazan governorate, 13 were registered as merchants (RGIA. F. 1285. Op. 3. D. 41. L. 17 ob.). According to information provided by the Moscow civil governor dated August 10, 1803, 208 Gypsies with family members were registered in Moscow in merchant guilds (RGIA. F. 1285. Op. 3. D. 41. L. 26-26 ob.). The Gypsy merchants were in the Tambov (Lebedyan), Voronezh (Boguchar), Vitebsk (Gorodets) governorates and other provinces.

The small number of lower middle class Gypsies (Meshchane) is explained by the difficulties of registering in urban societies. Harsher police controls over the urban population discouraged the Gypsies from becoming part of this estate. For example, of the Moscow Gypsies, only 10 were registered as Meshchane (RGIA. F. 1285. Op. 3. D. 41. L. 26-26 ob.).

There were also cases of registering Gypsies as Cossacks. For example, the Poltava governorate reported 354 Gypsies registered in Cossack ranks (RGIA. F. 1285. Op. 3. D. 41. L. 80-85 ob.).

A new step towards integrating Gypsies in Russia was the edict of His Imperial Majesty Emperor Alexander I, dated April 20, 1809 (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 30. No. 23597). Until 1809, authorities struggled to turn Gypsies into an agricultural population by giving them land. But these actions failed to bring the desired result, and this fact was indicated in Paul I's edict dated July 16, 1800 (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 26. No. 19484). The 1809 edict outlined a new vision of the Gypsies' place in Russia (RGIA. F. 1146. Op. 1. D. 29. L. 114). On the one hand, it confirmed the government's commitment to sedentarize the Gypsies. It was the first time when specific penalties were imposed on landowners and town/rural communities which provided Gypsies with passports: for each Gypsy man or woman who was away from their family, it was specified that one ruble was to be collected from the persons who issued the tickets and money was to be handed to local Orders for Public Charity (governorate institutions responsible for public schools, hospitals, shelters, orphanages). It was at the expense of the same landlords and communities that the Gypsies were returned to their initial place of residence.

Seeing the futile attempts to engage Gypsies in agricultural production, in 1809, the Tsarist administration mounted a bid for the resettlement of the personally free Gypsies in cities and towns by giving them an opportunity to be ranked among the lower classes or townspeople (Meshchane) as craftsmen and workers. According to the law, they were to carry on "legitimate business," such as trade, crafts and other economic activities. Governorate officials were given one year to enforce the Tsarist edict.

A significant aspect should be highlighted regarding the 1809 edict, namely its clause 5, in which the authorities turned to the problem of Gypsy serfs for the first time. Here, the authorities proposed landowners "to return freedom to all the Gypsies registered against them, whom they wished," or "alternatively assign them... to towns" (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 30. No. 23597). This approach to the issue was explained by the fact that landlords, according to the authorities, not only benefited from the Gypsies, but were also burdened with state taxes that they had to pay to the state. "It is unlikely that this would have been the case. Landlords had an unstable source of income in the Gypsies, yet it was till a source. For example, the Gypsies paid for passports required for search of work and they paid their landlords a quitrent.

It should be noted that the final version of the decree was somewhat different from the draft submitted by the Senate and the Ministry of Interior to the Binding (State) Council for consideration. In particular, it reflected the above proposal of Von der Pahlen. For example, the Senate offered to take into custody and deport the Gypsies if "they will live in vagrancy..." for a

certain period of time: those who were healthy and fit for service should be conscripted with entrance trials, those who were physically unfit for military service should be sent to mining plants; women, widows and girls should be sent to Siberia for resettlement, and the cripples, elderly and children should be provided with shelter at institutions of the Chambers of Public Charity” (RGIA. F. 1146. Op. 1. D. 29. L. 115). It prescribed sending those Gypsies to Siberia for settlement, who were deemed “unfit for” cities and towns (RGIA. F. 1146. Op. 1. D. 29. L. 115 ob.). However, these measures were not included in the final version. The punishment for violating this decree was to proceed “according to general state laws” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 30. No. 23597).

Hence, in 1809, the government endeavoured to put into operation a new approach to the issues related to the Gypsies, by focusing on their resettlement in cities and engaging Gypsies in more familiar economic activities: crafts and trade. However, as the history of the early 19th century shows, this step could lead to an even greater impoverishment of Gypsy families. A sufficient reminder is the campaign to relocate Jews from towns to cities in the Pale of Settlement; in the end it brought about the oversupply of offers in the economic sphere traditional for Jews in Belarus and Lithuanian cities, which led to further ruin of the Jews (Shaidurov, 2015: 209).

Practice showed that the 1809 edict was not put into operation. This is confirmed by the subsequent legal acts on the Gypsies. As early as September 28, 1811, His Imperial Majesty’s edict was issued to once again register Gypsies in towns and villages (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 31. No. 24795). The preamble acknowledges the fact that previous regulatory acts were implemented without due efficiency, which was confirmed by reports from governors.

The new edict not only affirmed the intention of the authorities to settle the Gypsies in cities and towns, but also detailed the procedure itself. From this point, the inclusion of Gypsies in urban communities was carried out by the decision of the governor and took place without the consent of the city community (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 31. No. 24795). However, some Gypsies retained the right to live in villages. But this only applied to those “who, according to the last census, were assigned to state-owned settlements and had a farming business” (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 31. No. 24795).

Earlier documents primarily made the Gypsies themselves responsible for putting the newly introduced regulations into practice. In rare cases, they determined Zemstvo and city police as controlling authorities. The legislator placed direct responsibility for enforcing the edict throughout the Russian Empire on the Minister of Police and on governors in governorates that were entrusted to them (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 31. No. 24795).

The challenging assignment of implementing the next campaign to end vagrancy was given by Alexander I to the Minister of Police to be carried out in the shortest possible term – in the European part of the Empire by January 1, 1812 and in Siberia by July 1, 1812 (PSZ RI-I. Vol. 31. No. 24795). However, the completion of the campaign activities took several years. So, the Simbirsk governorate accomplished them only by 1814, and as a result, 12 Gypsy families were registered in 11 local cities (RGIA. F. 1286. Op. 2. 1812. D. 241. L. 5-7). In the Crimea, this process lasted until 1819.

In 1812, according to the Treaty of Bucharest, Bessarabia was included into Russia, where state (crown) and landlord Gypsies lived. According to Soviet historians, only the number of state Gypsies is known – approx. 1,700 people (Zelenchuk, 1979: 60).

The first years of the reign of Emperor Nicholas I (1825 – 1855) saw new territories included in the Russian Empire. This led to a serious growth in the Gypsy population in the Russia. Before 1839, authorities focused their attention on the Gypsies in this region.

Another campaign to settle the Gypsies in cities or state settlements for permanent residence was implemented in the late 1820s. It was initiated by Emperor Nicholas I, who “personally saw roaming Gypsy caravans” in his trip across South Russia (RGIA. F. 381. Op. 46. D. 6. L. 61 ob.). This fact provided the basis for the order to Governor General of Novorossia and Bessarabian Count Vorontsov to settle the affairs of the landlords and personally free Gypsies.

In 1828, Vorontsov submitted to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Finance his proposed solution for the issues related to the situation of the Gypsies in the governorate entrusted to him. The first part dealt with landlord Gypsies. According to Vorontsov, it was necessary “to impose a moderate tax on them” (RGIA. F. 1152. Op. 1. 1828. D. 140. L. 9 ob.). However, he did not write what tax amount he considered to be “moderate.” Landlords were to be responsible “for keeping these people at their homes and for installing unnecessary ones on their

lands, but to not let them roam at will” (RGIA. F. 1152. Op. 1. 1828. D. 140. L. 9 ob.). A progressive proposal was to prohibit the separation of Gypsy families in sale.

The second part of the project contained proposals to settle the matters of the personally free Gypsies in Novorossia and Bessarabia. There is little doubt that officials, who prepared documents for Vorontsov, reviewed the unsuccessful local efforts undertaken in previous years. Based upon these, they formulated compromise solutions for the State Council. The dominating idea of sedentary life was retained, but it was offered in place of abandoning the plan to settle the Gypsies only in state settlements or cities. In addition, Gypsies were enabled to found a new settlement on free lands (RGIA. F. 1152. Op. 1. 1828. D. 140. L. 9 ob.). To add attractiveness to this process, Vorontsov proposed to exempt them from taxes and duties for 15 years (RGIA. F. 1152. Op. 1. 1828. D. 140. L. 9 ob. – 10).

Proposals put forward by Vorontsov, comments by Minister of Finance Kankrin and the view expressed by Minister of Internal Affairs Zakrevsky provide a foundation for the opinion of the State Council, which was made law February 8, 1829. Its content suggests that the government implemented a “pilot project,” and its outcome would seal the fate of Gypsies in Russia.

We can see a change in rhetoric as early as in the preamble, which indicated a turn in the government's policy. Law-makers used new wording to determine the solution for issues related to the situation of the Gypsies, such as “encourage,” “take care,” or “provide some benefits” (PSZ RI-II. Vol. 4. No. 2665). This confirms that to achieve its goal, the bureaucracy rejected the forceful police measures that had been applied in previous years, and employed “soft power.” This shift was linked, among other things, to the fact that new officials came to power who had completed training, including rhetoric courses, in Russian institutions of higher education (Shchukina et al., 2017, 376-384).

The 1829 law was primarily focused on the foundation of rural Gypsy settlements. Each family was to be given a 30-dessiatine land plot. It was the first time that the government declared the allocation of funds from the state budget in the amount of 23 rubles 50 kopecks per family to construct houses (PSZ RI-II. Vol. 4. No. 2665). The same sum was given to Russian peasants who moved to the Bessarabian oblast from interior governorates. To sow their plots, the Gypsies were supplied gratuitously by the state with “2 chetverts<sup>1</sup> of various kinds of grain,” such as wheat, barley and oats (PSZ RI-II. Vol. 4. No. 2665).

The 1829 campaign is reminiscent of the efforts of Alexander I and his officials to relocate Jews from overpopulated cities and villages in the Pale of Settlement to South Russia to set up agricultural colonies. As was the case in the early 19th century, measures regarding the state Gypsies in Bessarabia ended in total failure.

In the 1830s, Emperor Nicholas I paid much attention to the issue of ethnic minorities. For example, he initiated another attempt to handle issues related to the Jews between 1835 and 1837. It envisioned a plan to start numerous Jewish agricultural colonies in Siberia (Shaidurov 2014: 240).

The core of the campaign, which was launched March 13, 1839, was again formed by military and police methods. This evidence is revealed by a phrase, which defines the nature of the events in many ways: “to take decisive steps to eradicate this disorder” (RGIA. F. 381. Op. 46. D. 6. L. 61 ob.). The task of dealing with the challenge was assigned to the Ministry of State Property and its head Count P.D. Kiselyov.

By January 27, 1841, Kiselyov submitted a report to Nicholas I on the work that had been done. According to the partial information provided by the governorates, more than 11 thousand Gypsies were registered in urban and rural communities, but only 3 thousand of them had led a sedentary lifestyle and were engaged in agriculture, crafts or trade by that time (RGIA. F. 383. Op. 2. D. 1413-30. L. 164 ob.).

The most significant concern for officials on site were Gypsies who were registered in this or that locality but were away someplace else; local authorities identified more than 8 thousand such absentees. Of these, approx. 3 thousand were found in different governorates, while more than 5 thousand Gypsies “have gone away to unknown places without passports,” Kiselyov wrote (RGIA. F. 383. Op. 2. D. 1413-30. L. 165).

<sup>1</sup> Chetvert is a Russian measure of granular materials, ≈ 57.3 kg

Throughout the 1840s, officials unsuccessfully tried to find solutions for the challenges posed to them. On October 7, 1842, the decision of the Senate empowered the Minister of the Internal Affairs to impose administrative punishments up to exile to Siberia on the Gypsies, who continued to live as nomads after registration (RGIA. F. 1263. Op. 1. D. 1799. L. 509 ob. – 510). But this was also not harsh enough to compel the Gypsies to refuse their traditional lifestyle. The minutes of the State Council's meetings in 1846 said that “vagabond Gypsies do not cease to turn up in various governorates, calling themselves natives of Poland and Prussia” (RGIA. F. 1263. Op. 1. D. 1799. L. 510 ob.).

The failure to address the issues related to the situation of the Gypsies in the 1840s and 1850s should be explained only by the government's inability to ensure total control over the Gypsies. A marked effect was exerted by disagreements between departments that were involved in project implementation.

The Ministry of State Property, represented by its head, Count Pavel Kiselyov, took a hard-line stance on this issue, which was voiced, for example, at a meeting of the State Council in 1846. He believed, “the vagrancy of the Gypsies will never cease to exist if they continue trying to settle them, regardless on the expired term” (RGIA. F. 1263. Op. 1. D. 1799. L. 510 ob.). Practical adoption of this approach would mean the end of the campaign and the shift to repression against the unregistered Gypsies.

A different position in this dispute was taken by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Count Lev Perovsky, who insisted on extending the time of the campaign and, simultaneously, recognized as vagrants and prosecuted under law only those Gypsies who were already assigned to some community, but were outside their places of registration and had no passports on them (RGIA. F. 1263. Op. 1. D. 1799. L. 511 ob.).

In this situation, the State Council sided with the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This approach was also supported by Nicholas I. As a result, the campaign continued for another year.

In 1854, the State Council again had to review the issue of Gypsies. The reason was a presentation by the Minister of Justice, Viktor Panin, which reported the appearance of 39 Gypsies in the Arkhangelsk governorate. Again, a dispute between the ministries took a turn for the worse. For example, Kiselyov said that a proposal by the Minister of Internal Affairs to extend the term of registration for another year was unlikely to produce the desired result, because a similar measure was adopted in 1846 and failed to achieve the desired result (RGIA. F. 1330. Op. 6. D. 1237. L. 10). It was the introduction of repressive measures, in his opinion, that would do away with the situation of the Gypsies. Repressive measures were defined as prosecuting persons who lodged vagabonds and punishing police authorities that failed to prosecute those who had no passport; stimulating the detention of Gypsies who had no documents, and submitting their files to local chiefs; sentencing to penal settlements in Siberia. But this approach did not show the desired results either.

Nevertheless, the government managed to take a step forward in resolving this issue in the reign of Nicholas I. The positive effect can be clearly seen in statistical data. For example, according to incomplete information from the Ministry of State Property, more than 1,600 families with a total number of over 11 thousand Gypsies lived in state villages in 31 governorates by 1866 (RGIA. F. 1291. Op. 66. 1866. D. 97. L. 3 ob. – 14).

## 5. Conclusion

The Russian Empire in the first half of the 19th century had a small Gypsy community accounting for approx. 0.4 % of the country's population. It was unevenly distributed in the governorates, a fact resulting from the history of the Gypsy resettlement in Eastern Europe. Yet, Gypsies lived almost everywhere. Personal freedom and the liberal laws of Catherine II, which were in force at the time, allowed Gypsies to be included in the unprivileged (lower middle class, state peasants) and semi-privileged estates (merchants, Cossacks). The early period of the 19th century, saw the integration of Gypsies into the economic life of the Russian Empire, where they occupied traditional professional niches (metal processing, footwear manufacture, trade).

Starting in the 18th century, the Russian Empire's governmental bodies faced the need to adopt an approach to the Gypsy population which had grown in the second half of the 18th century – the first quarter of the 19th century, following the accession of new territories (Crimea, Bessarabia, former territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth).

Until the middle of the 18th century, the position of the Gypsies in Russia was regulated from the standpoint of particular law, which was effective in the territory where they predominantly lived – Sloboda, Ukraine. Unlike Jews, they attracted no specific attention of the ruling monarchs. Special decrees and edicts concerning the Gypsies were sporadic and were not an element of the policy towards the ethnic minority. But their nomadic and semi-nomadic lifestyles made the government adopt various special regulations, some of which were restrictive.

The Russian government tried to handle the issues related to the Gypsies, using principles of enlightened absolutism, as early as the 1780s. From this starting point, repeated efforts were made in the 1780s – in the 1810s to encourage Gypsies to engage in farming, handicrafts and trade, by settling them in cities and state-owned settlements and by providing tax preferences. There were also severe punishments imposed for vagrancy, the harshest of which might be exile to Siberia. The campaigns, which were carried out in the reign of Alexander I and Nicholas I, were not very effective. The surviving statistics show that only few Gypsy families abandoned their traditional lifestyles and switched to a sedentary life. The overwhelming majority of Gypsies continued to maintain nomadic or semi-nomadic practices throughout the 19th and early 20th century.

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