

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE:
BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC

OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

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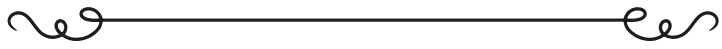
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“Igri ferroque” Shaping Early Modern Ukraine History Through Lens of Armenian Sources

ABSTRACT

Early Modern Era historical sources, dating back to sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are crucial for understanding the dynamics of narrative changes between the late Middle Ages and Enlightenment period. Perceived through various lens, they determine (by means of interpretation of myths and symbols) our perception of history till today. This paper could be understood as an attempt to narrate history in a variety of ways inextricably linked to continuous present. The article based on textual analysis of Early Modern Armenian chronicles and colophons originating from Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) should help us to better understand the multifaceted phenomenon of “Orient” and “Europe” constructions, especially the concept of frontier Orientalism as well as *antemurale* myth. Analysed sources offer a glimpse into interpretive “reading” the history of Black Sea region and neighbouring areas from multiple perspectives – through lens of Armenian chroniclers.

Keywords: Armenia, Diaspora, chronicles, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, seventeenth century

Introduction

The article deals with the specificity of sixteenth–seventeenth century Armenian sources originating from “border” regions of Black Sea and their significance within the frame of Central-European *histoire polyphonique*. From the methodology point of view, the accent will be placed on specificity of past-present entangled memories,¹ global microhistory approach (as de-

¹ Smith, Anthony D., *Myths and Memories of the Nation*. Oxford, 1999. 15. Azoulay, Ariella Aïsha, *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism*. London, 2019.

finied by S. Aslanian).² This approach was originally based on *Annales* school of history interpretations and further developed by Italian school of *micro-historia*, by textual analysis of primary sources as well as the “mirror reading” technique focused on history of mentalities and emotions. Besides polyphonic history, the acentric approach of vast and intertwined Black Sea region from the point of view of Armenian historical sources should be highlighted, as well as interpretive history approach. This approach consists in “translating” history through (till yet unedited and understudied) sources containing data from interpersonal to inter-communal relations as well as first-person narratives with certain degree of personal touch.³

We will discuss the notion of border identity, contested cultural spaces, hybrid identities, competing identities, elusive border, captive narratives, so-called frontier Orientalism imagery as well as its evolution in time and space. Phenomena such as borders, construction of diasporic identity and its preservation, its relationship to the past, etc., have clear connotations even in the present day. Analysed texts help us to better understand the vulnerability of religious minorities of that period as well as limits of community resilience and various ways how to maintain their identity. These texts – each of them considered unique testimony and firsthand eyewitness of the past – also reflect the great paradigm shift of seventeenth century, which has strongly affected many nationalist narratives, ethnic myth constructions etc.

The emphasis placed on the textual analysis of this type of sources enables the perception of an individual story in its social, historical and cultural context, trying to reveal the meta-cognitive paradigm built on the network of micro-stories. Thus, tracing the reception of Armenian Diaspora sources from late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could give us an insight into the history of mentalities and emotions in *longue durée*. Specific position within Europe and its proximity to the Black Sea and Balkans have predestined Central Europe to be a kind of borderland or “threshold” area. According to historian A. Gingrich’s thesis, a particular type of so-called frontier Orientalism developed here as a basis serving for the emergence of various stereotypi-

² Aslanian, Sebouh, “Life Lived Across Continents: The Global Microhistory of an Armenian Agent of the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* 1666–1688”, = *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 73:1, 2018, 19–54. Berg, Maxine, “Global Microhistory of the Local and the Global”, = *Journal of Early Modern History* 27:1–2, 2023, 1–5.

³ Contin, Benedetta, “Ascetics, Missionaries, Lovers: Interconfessional Confrontation and Interaction in Seventeenth Century Ottoman Armenian Eyewitness Narratives”, = *Scrinium* 21:1, 2025, 244–273.

cal images.⁴ Thus, Black Sea region could be understood as a network node, underlined by its geostrategic position, history and culture. It requires very specific approach regarding the widely known category of the Orient and its shifting borders as defined by E. Said.⁵

Regarding Armenian sources from this region, their significant role should be stressed – especially because they are not usually considered to represent a common knowledge of seventeenth century master narratives or metanarratives. On the one hand, classical *antemurale christianitatis* myth is accentuated here, emphasizing particularly the role of Polish *szlachta* (winged hussars). On the other hand, unusually shifting borders between distinct categories (Us and Them) could be discussed in these types of ego-documents, as they strongly affected Central-European nation-building narratives as well as ethnic myth constructions. Moreover, detailed textual analysis reveals the significance of all types of historical sources as cultural artifacts – even non-elite, “low”, popular literature or orally transmitted tradition could be comparable in meaning with “high literature” and should be “read” (as N. Zemon Davis stated).⁶ Minor chroniclers and scribes also appear here as guardians of historical collective memory: “May my work bring you great wisdom.”⁷

Methodology: Interpretive History and Minor Chronicles

Textual analysis is based on Armenian historical sources from today’s western Ukraine, northern Romania and eastern Poland territories. Armenian chroniclers usually refer to metanarrative of seventeenth century, evoking “bitter times full of sorrow” (*dar, vstašat žamanak* in Armenian). Within subsequent interpretation of “God’s Chosen People” destiny, these “dark times” have es-

⁴ Gingrich, Andre, “La frontière proche: analyses structurales des mythes orientalistes”, = *Diogène: Hommage à Claude Lévi-Strauss* 238:2, 2012, 77–87.

⁵ Said, Edward, “Orientalism Reconsidered”, In: Sullivan, Earl – Ismael, Jacqueline (eds.), *The Contemporary Study of the Arab World*. Edmonton, 1991. 36. Said, Edward, *L’orientalisme: L’Orient créé par l’occident*. Paris, 1980. 13–15.

⁶ Zemon Davis, Natalie, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*. Redwood City, 1975.

⁷ Anasyan, Hakob Sedraki (ed.), *Hovhannes Kamenac’i: Patmu’iin paterazmin Xot’inu* [Hovhannes of Kamianets: The History of Khotyn War]. Yerevan, 1964. [hereinafter Hovhannes of Kamianets: The History of Khotyn War] 70. For transliteration of Armenian language, Hübschmann-Meillet transliteration system from 1913 is used (for more details, see Alpi, Federico – Meyer, Robin – Tinti, Irene – Zakarian, David, *Armenia Through the Lens of Time*. Leiden, 2022.)

pecially touched Armenian people persecuted “through centuries” by disasters (*atets*) and destroyed by “iron and fire” (*srov u hrov*). The Armenian expression “srov u hrov” is probably a direct reflection of the Latin *igni ferroque*, later popularized by Henryk Sienkiewicz’s historical novel entitled *Ogniem i mieczem* (With Fire and Sword). This idiom could be translated as “scorched earth” within the connotation of an immediate threat, omnipresent fear and stress caused by the outbreak of conflict as well as increased suffering of the civilian population. Armenian chronicles of these “dark times” are written in Early Modern Era Armenian language (Nor-Nakhichevan dialect)⁸ or Armeno-Kipchak language (armeno-coumane langue in French).⁹ The discourse analysis will be dealing especially with minor chronicles and colophons from Lviv (Simeon of Poland), chronicles from Kamianets Podilskyi (Oksent and Hovhannes of Kamianets) and Crimean Kaffa (Khatchatur of Kaffa/Xaç’atur Łimec i).¹⁰

Historical accounts written in Armenian language by Simeon Lehač’i (Simeon of Poland) in twenties and thirties of seventeenth century depict Ottoman campaigns against *Rzeczpospolita* during the reign of Sultan Osman II. Genç (battle of Khotyn) and Sultan Murad IV., Crimean and Budjak Tatar incursions on Polish and Ukrainian countryside as well as the role of Polish magnates, Cossack hetmans etc. War memories of Oksent and Hovhannes of Kamianets written in Armeno-Kipchak include detailed description of Moldavian Magnate wars, battle of Cecora and battle of Khotyn, *lieu de mémoire* of Polish *szlachta* and a place of similar importance as the successful defence of Vienna against the Turks (1683)¹¹. On the background

⁸ Dachkévytch, Yaroslav, “Matériaux pour l’histoire des colonies arméniennes en Ukraine, se trouvant dans les bibliothèques de Cracovie et de Wrocław”, = *Revue des études arméniennes* 7:1, 1970, 451–470.

⁹ North-Western Kipchak branch of Turkish, while Tatar dialects are mostly preserved in oral form and Turkish Kipchak language (Black Sea variant) in written form.

¹⁰ Akinean, Nerses (ed.), *Simeon dpri Lehač’ioc’ Ulegručiin, taregručiin ev jišatakarakn’*. Vienna. 1936. [hereinafter Simeon of Poland, Travel Accounts]. Hovhannes of Kamianets, The History of Khotyn War. Kchatchatur of Kaffa, In. Hakobyan, Vazgen (ed.), *Manr žamanakagrutjunner XIII.–XVIII daveri*. Yerevan, 1951. 205–236.

¹¹ Vasáry, István, “Armeno-Kipchak Parts from the Kamenets Chronicle”, = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22, 1969, 139–189. Schütz, Edmond, “An Armeno-Kipchak Print from Lvov”, = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 13:1–2, 1961. 123–130. Schütz, Edmond, “Armeno-Kipchak Texts from Lvov (A.D. 1618)”, = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15:1–3, 1962, 291–309. Schütz, Edmond, “An Armenian-Kiptchak Chronicle on the Polish-Turkish Wars”, = *Revue des études arméniennes*

of war clash between Ottoman forces and *Rzeczpospolita* armies near Khotyn fortress on the right bank of the Dniester River, the myth of *antemurale christianitatis* was reinterpreted and further “updated”. Armenian accounts will be compared with contemporary Polish chronicles from battle of Khotyn.¹²

Armenian Sources from Ukraine and Poland during “Great Flight” Period

“It is my constant duty to write, being a mediator of thoughts and a witness to our hearts, as well as a witness to the sacred oath we have taken. For whatever a man may be, death is his companion.”¹³

As stated before, Armenian historical sources from Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth could offer the reader unique insight into the everyday life of Armenian Diaspora in cities as Lviv/Lemberg, Kamianets Podilskyi, Zamość or today’s Ivano-Frankivsk.¹⁴ These sources are numerous, including not only manuscript and printed versions of historical accounts, but also various official and non-official documents as testaments, prenuptial agreements, scribal complaints, merchant contracts and others.¹⁵ The high level of personal touch in these primary documents (especially in minor chronicles, colophons, travelogues and merchant books narrated in form of first-person account) allows us to have more open understanding of mentality of that time, feelings of people, their fears and hopes.

Armenian chronicles and colophons together with glosses in the margins describe especially the position of Polish Armenians (*Lebahayers*), once

5, 1968, 455–457. Schütz, Edmond, *Armeno-Turcica: Selected Studies*. (Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, 164.) Bloomington, 1998. 12–420.

¹² Żegota, Pauli, *Pamiętniki o wyprawie chocimskiej 1621 Jana hrabi z Ostroroga, Prokopa Zbigniewskiego, Stanisława Lubomirskiego i Jakóba Sobieskiego*. Krakow, 1853.

¹³ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 79–80.

¹⁴ For more details, see: Barącz, Sadok W. F., *Żywoty sławnych Ormian w Polsce*. Lviv, 1856. Stopka, Krzysztof, *Ormianie w Polsce dawnej i dzisiejszej*. Kraków, 2000. Wasyl, Franciszek, *Armenians in Old Poland and Austrian Galicia*. Leiden, 2021.

¹⁵ Dachkévytch, Yaroslav, “L’établissement des Arméniens en Ukraine”, = *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 5, 1968, 329–366. Dachkévytch, Yaroslav, “Matériaux pour l’histoire des colonies arméniennes en Ukraine, se trouvant dans les bibliothèques de Cracovie et de Wrocław”, = *Revue des études arméniennes* 7:1, 1970, 451–470. Dachkévytch, Yaroslav, “Les Arméniens à Kiev”, = *Revue des études arméniennes* 10, 1973–1974, 306–358.

one of the most influent Armenian diasporic communities living within the frame of Poland-Lithuania urban centres (today's western Ukraine, eastern Poland, parts of Moldova, Romania, Lithuania). Historical sources are depicting *Lehahayers'* struggle for ancient privileges and their collaboration (as well as competition) with other minorities (Jewish, Greek) and majority (mostly Polish, German).¹⁶ These sources, analysed through careful and multi-level mirror reading, create a colourful mosaic composed of single stories full of miracles, voluntary and forced religious conversions, appearance of werewolves, ecstatic behaviour cases, lists of criminal sentences, witch trials etc. Despite descriptive character of chroniclers' texts, all significant meta-stories of that period are highlighted:¹⁷ f. ex. Armenians fighting side by side with *Rzeczpospolita* according to *antemurale* myth, mass conversion of Apostolic Armenians to Catholicism (corresponding with the renewal of Ruthenian Orthodoxy and with formation of Ukrainian nationhood) and gradual disappearance and dissolution of Armenian identity as well as the adoption of Latin and Polish language.¹⁸

Textual analysis of historical sources corresponding to 'Thirty Years' War, Russian *Smuta* and Ottoman "Great Flight" period (as described in Ottoman historiography) reveals codified *loci communes*. They are focusing on community resilience and on the other hand on its vulnerability; they narrate stories of their extreme fragility as well as about permeability of their borders (geographical, linguistic, ethnic, religious etc.). At the center of this symbolic construction oscillating between omnipresent threat and identity maintenance stands a myth of *antemurale*, which will be discussed in more detail in the next subchapter. Within the context of seventeenth century and so-called Little Ice Age period, "dark times" were symbolically portrayed as the period of extremely harsh winters, poor harvests, recurring famines and epidemics, resulting in a relatively dramatic decline in the rural population and mass migration to cities.¹⁹ Along with the decline of irrigation systems and

¹⁶ Nadel-Golobič, Eleonora, "Armenians and Jews in medieval Lviv: Their role in oriental trade, 1400–1600", = *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 20, 1979, 345–388.

¹⁷ Especially with regard to meta-chronicle of 17th century as the Chronicle of Arakel of Tabriz. Xanlaryan, Levon (ed.), *Arak'el Davriječi: Girk' Patmut'eanc'*. Yerevan, 1990.

¹⁸ Nagy, Kornél, *The Church-Union of the Armenians in Transylvania (1685–1715)*. Göttingen, 2021.

¹⁹ Blom, Phillip, *Nature's Mutiny: How the Little Ice Age Transformed the West and Shaped the Present*. New York, 2019. Fagan, Brian, *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History 1300–1850*. New York, 2002.

the gradual conversion of agricultural land into pasture, rural exodus led to the depopulation of the countryside and further decline of arable land, as well as significantly lower tax revenues. Hand in hand with precarious position of displaced farmers came a decline in their social status, the emergence of so-called second serfdom as well as a decline in the value of human life in general. Paradoxically, growing demand for grain comes at a time when the exodus of rural populations is further exacerbated by recurring epidemics and crop failures. We can observe here a causal link between climate change and societal collapse (a theory which goes far beyond the period of ancient civilizations).²⁰

“Scorched earth” implies here the depopulation of large parts of Central and Eastern Anatolia; this migration flow is known as the Great Flight (*büyük kaçgün* in Ottoman Turkish).²¹ The massive influx of immigrants from the heart of historical Armenia (known as *Yergir*) was caused not only by deterioration of their everyday life because of climate changes during Little Ice Age, but also by series of social uprisings (*djelâli* rebellions) and the scorched earth policy pursued by the Ottoman sultans and Persian shahs.²² Thus, these “dark times” or “bitter times full of sorrow” reflect the historical experience of forced deportations (*sürgüns*), forced conversions, *djelâli* revolts and mass rural exodus. Accompanied by large waves of refugees, “dark times” had a strong impact on Armenian localities situated in the hearth of *hayoc’ ašxarh* (Armenian land), provoking a “flight” especially towards Constantinople, Crimea and cities of Poland-Lithuania. Armenian exiles (*panduxts*) arriving in Kaffa/Theodosia, Constantinople/Bolis, Lviv/Lemberg, Kamianets or New Julfa (in the suburbs of present-day Isfahan) formed several *galtōjaks* (centres of exile); some of which were to become centres of *Zart’onk’* (Enlightenment) in the future. Due to mass migrations, Armenian terms *ekac’i* (newcomers) and *tetac’i* (natives) acquired their specific meaning within the context of historical demographic studies. Both communities living within the frame of diasporic space witnessed significant transformations during “dark times” period (as conversion to Catholicism, reaction to the shift in the direction of caravan routes and their subsequent decline, quasi-forced departure from second homeland,

²⁰ Weiss, Harvey, *Megadrought and Collapse: From Early Agriculture to Angkor*. Oxford, 2017. 7.

²¹ Kunt I., Metin, *The Sultan’s Servants. The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government 1550–1650*. New York, 1983. 14.

²² White, Sam, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge, 2011. 223.

longing for lost homeland, *Ani topos*,²³ exile as a curse etc.). Through invisible art of memory²⁴ and by means of evoking symbols and myths brought from ancestral homeland, Armenian Diaspora authors largely contributed to multifaceted Black Sea history-writing, using *antemurale* as a shield against fall into oblivion and loss of honour.

Antemurale Narrative: Defense of Borders of Christianity

“God and all the saints were on their side and the Poles prepared for battle with great hope and faith.”²⁵

The Early Modern Era and gradual emergence of “pre-national” states after Thirty Years’ War did not in the least diminish the importance of religious “demarcation line” between Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Lutheranism in *Rzeczpospolita*, or (more visibly) between Christianity and Islam. Although extended permeability, even porosity of religious borders in Central Europe and Black Sea region should be taken into account²⁶ (together with easy and fast conversions to Islam, existence of sworn brotherhood between Christians and Muslims etc.), confessional identity as well as the experience of interreligious encounters have still represented one of key aspects of community belonging. Within the context of confessional identity, the myth called *antemurale christianitatis* was coined to represent a real barrier or gap between categories of Believers and Unbelievers. Together with frontier Orientalism imagery, it gave rise to a specific form of meta-story that further contributed to the emergence of national narratives codes (as Sarmatian myth, Kresy-borderlands myth etc.).

Antemurale christianitatis means literally (translated from Latin) the “bulwark of Christianity”,²⁷ thus the last line of defence against non-Christians

²³ Narrative about the origin of Armenian Diaspora from a city named Ani, destroyed because of the sins of its inhabitants, more details in: Kovács, Bálint, *Changing Communities – Changing Identities – Armenians in the Carpathian Basin from the 17th up to the 20th Centur.* Collegium Carpathicum, online conference. 2021. Kovács, Bálint – Pál, Emese (eds.), *Far Away from Mount Ararat: Armenian Culture in the Carpathian Basin.* Budapest, 2013.

²⁴ Yates, Frances Amelia, *Art of Memory.* New York, 2013.

²⁵ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 10.

²⁶ Bracewell, Wendy – Drace-Francis, Alex, *Under Eastern Eyes: A Comparative Introduction to East-European Travel Writing.* Budapest, 2008. 51.

²⁷ Pilat, Liviu – Cristea, Ovidiu, *The Ottoman Threat and Crusading on the Eastern Border of Christendom.* Leiden, 2017. 18.

(in this case, in the sense of Ottoman Turks). *Antemurale* or “behind the walls of Christianity” could be interpreted also as the last outpost of European civilization (in Said’s words, the last outpost of Occident). The term *antemurale* was coined already in Middle Ages (in the case of kingdom of Hungary)²⁸ and later re-used for Croatia and Polish-Lithuania.²⁹ Polish language describes *murus* (wall) also as bulwark, fence, watchtower or bastion.³⁰ The core of the myth is based on idea that members of Polish nobility risk their own lives to defend the Christianity against category of Unbelievers, Pagans and Barbarians. The victory should be on Polish side, as they are fighting “in the name of God”. In Polish language *przedmurze chrześcijaństwa*, this myth creates the wall not only against “Turks and Tatars”, but also against Orthodoxy, Protestantism or “soft version” of Western European Catholicism perceived as spoiled and *a priori* non-belligerent. As old *Rzeczpospolita* motto states: *Si Deus nobiscum quis contra nos*, translated from Latin: “If God is with us, then who is against us?” Fighting in the sense of God’s victory over the enemies of faith became the basis of the Polish myth of *antemurale*.

“And as the Polish king said: This battle is not being fought against us or against mortals, but against the invincible power of God. The Sultan has become puffed up with pride like a wineskin, he has begun to slander and speak against the living God and the Holy Cross, and he even calls himself the ruler of heavens! For this, God will crush him, as well as all his blood, and will deprive him of his goods.”

Thus, the Poles praised God and the holy Cross, put their trust in them, and their courage grew: “Behold, the day of salvation has come, today many will look towards death and sacrifice themselves for the holy faith,” writes Armenian chronicler Simeon of Poland in his colophon dating from mid-twenties of seventeenth century.³¹ Simeon uses here the word *martiros* (in Armenian մարտիրոս), borrowed from Greek (μάρτυρας). It means a martyr, witness of the religious truth (in the sense of orthodoxy). Armenian language knows also term *nahatak*, նահաճակ and verb նահաճակել, to become a mar-

²⁸ Tańkowski, Piotr, “Hungary and Poland: Two Antemurales in the Late Fifteenth Century”, = *Renaissance and Reformation* 46:2, 2023, 9–34.

²⁹ Berend, Nora, “Défense de la chrétienté et naissance d’une identité”, = *Annales. Histoire Sciences sociales* 5, 2003, 1009–1027.

³⁰ Davies, Norman, *A God’s Playground: History of Poland*, vol. I. Oxford, 2005. 125.

³¹ “Sultan Osman campaign against Poland” entitled colophon by Simeon of Poland. Simeon of Poland, *Travel Accounts*, 356–368.

tyr, or word *vka*, վկա (witness of the truth). As *nor vka*, new martyrs, were primarily referred Armenian martyrs for the faith, who refused to convert to Islam during seventeenth century and were subsequently martyred, executed. Martyrs are, however, *a priori* invincible. In chroniclers' accounts, the whole army fighting within the frame of *antemurale* is considered invincible too: "The [Rzeczpospolita] army was vast and innumerable, covering the face of the earth and the steppe. The men of his people are of pure iron and fire."³²

Antemurale myth is of course inseparably linked with the notion of border. Within *Rzeczpospolita* context, it consists of idealized depiction of eastern margins of empire called *Kresy* (probably originating from German *Kreis*, *Landkreis*). The narrative of *antemurale* is embedded with nostalgia for the eastern *Rzeczpospolita* provinces, forming during seventeenth century the *Rzeczpospolita* defence line against external threat. *Kresy* line built against "the danger from steppes" includes localities in today's Lithuania, Belarus or western Ukraine. As we can see, the border region is perceived within *antemurale* myth in a purely positive light (completely unlike in the case of Czech perception of the Sudetenland as an uprooted periphery populated by losers rather than heroes). *Kresy* becomes also contested landscape *par excellence*; as they become the object of intersecting and often conflicting vectors of collective memory, featuring in various national narratives (Polish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Belarus, Galician, Ruthenian or Yidish).³³ Within this context, the war (together with omnipresent fear of a sudden outbreak of conflict in borderlands) appears to be a formative experience of life. Central-European imagery concerning Borderlands was oscillating between idyllic image (home of heroes, fatherland of poets etc.) and imminent catastrophe and danger, emphasizing – in Polish view – the *Rzeczpospolita* superiority, appropriation of territory as well as the aspect of "naturally claimed" territory. Heroic figures fighting for their land could be understood as martyrs, symbolically falling "at

³² Simeon of Poland, *Travel Accounts*, 358. Full version in Czech translation, Košťálová, Petra (ed.), *Putování: Šimon Polský*. Prague, 2016. 339–346.

³³ Zarycki, Tomas, *Ideologies of Eastness in Central and Eastern Europe*. Milton Park, 2014. Savchenko, Andrew, *Belarus: A Perpetual Borderland*. Leiden, 2009. 102.

the ramparts” for the salvation of others.³⁴ However, from actual Ukrainian point of view, *Kresy* are perceived through lens of colonizing discourse.³⁵

Antemurale narrative is usually built of several parts, which form together a characteristic narrative arc, following a typical pattern of “key stages”. The first part (introduction, exposition) starts with the narrative of unjustified aggression of invaders *vis-à-vis* defenders of borderlands. Invaders come always in superior numbers; they arrive suddenly and well-armed, behaving as “barbarians.” They could be represented – and often within the *antemurale* myth are – by “Turks and Tatars”; generalized category of frontier Orientalism enemy and transferable term, which oscillated starting from Huns, Avars through Muslims in Crusader period to late Crusade Ottoman Turks.³⁶

According to Hovhannes, Armenian chronicler from Kamianets city, Ottoman Sultan Osman II. used in his letter to Polish king Sigismund III. Vasa such expressions as following:

“So be prepared I strike at you. I will burn the land in which you live with fire, I will make ruins of your churches, and I will cut down your famous wooden crosses all over the land, I will put a slave yoke on your priests, and I will take everyone from your army into captivity, just as my people did to the Christian nations before”.³⁷

The imagery is based on negative image of Ottoman Turks, inspired by general “fear of Turk” (*Türkefurcht* in German) widely spread in seventeenth century Central Europe.³⁸ This fear has been instrumentalized not only during sixteenth or seventeenth centuries (reaching its symbolical peak in 1683 siege of Vienna),³⁹ but it finds its strong reflection even today (especially in right-

³⁴ Kolstø, Pål, “Antemurale Thinking as Historical Myth and Ethnic Boundary Mechanism”, In. Berezhnaya, Liliya – Hein-Kircher, Heidi (eds.), *Rampart Nations: Bulwark Myths of East European Multiconfessional Societies in the Age of Nationalism*. New York, 2019. 347–373.

³⁵ Bakula, Bogusław, “Colonial and Postcolonial Aspects of Polish Borderlands Studies: An Outline”, = *Teksty Drugie* 1, 2014, 96–123.

³⁶ Sanchez-Mazas, Margareta – Licata, Laurent, *L'autre: regards psychosociaux*. Grenoble, 2004. 180. Sénac, Philippe, *L'Occident médiéval face à l'islam (l'image de l'autre)*. Paris, 2000. 149.

³⁷ Hovhannes of Kamianets, The History of Khotyn War, 39.

³⁸ Berman, Nina, *German Literature on the Middle East: Discourses and Practises*. Ann Arbor, 2011. 71.

³⁹ Theilig, Stephan, “The Change of Imagining the Ottomans in the Context of the Turkish Wars from the 16th–18th Century”, = *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 83, 2011, 61–68.

wing populist circles).⁴⁰ Frontier Orientalist concept works with the core idea of imminent and increasing danger depending on permanent geographical proximity of the Enemy figure (personified in the form of Ottoman Turk).⁴¹ Thus, the fragility of the border between *Rzeczpospolita* and Ottoman vassal tributary states as Moldavia and Wallachia – even accentuated by impossibility of fortification in the steppe zone, where the only natural geographical border is formed by the flows of large rivers – contributed to the emergence of a stereotypical image of an omnipresent aggressive enemy, attacking and invading the Borderlands. Moreover, the very act of mapping reveals the practice of impeding threat and enemy-making, while referring to the steppes as a vast “empty and silent” landscape.⁴² For example on seventeenth century map of Guillaume de Beauplan, the region concerned in our sources was called *Petite Tartarie/Little Tartaria* – somewhat in the style of the medieval *hic sunt leones* or *hic sunt dracones*, emphasizing the unknown, unexplored, different, potentially dangerous.⁴³ Wandering term of *Tartaria* and Tatars evokes the stereotypical image of wild, uncontrollable enemy as a metaphor of Chaos and Anti-Civilization.

Central-European imagery usually includes two main types of Turk image; an elite image (accentuating “Oriental luxury” through *grand seigneur Turc* image)⁴⁴ and a kind of folk or popular image based on local historical experiences.⁴⁵ These images are oscillating between obvious fascination and openly displayed fear, between certain domestication and exoticizing techniques on the other hand.⁴⁶ Popular images were based on anti-Turkish pamphlets and secular broadside ballads telling stories about “abducting Turks”, their “cruelty” etc.⁴⁷ Due to *antemurale* narrative, the elite image

⁴⁰ Fodor, Pál (ed). *The Battle for Central Europe: The Siege of Szigetvár and the Death of Süleyman Magnificent and Nicholas Zrínyi*. Leiden, 2019. 220–221.

⁴¹ Gingrich, Andre, “The Nearby Frontier: Structural Analysis of Myths of Orientalism”, = *Diogenes* 60:2, 2015, 60–66.

⁴² Harley, J. B., “Deconstructing the Map”, = *Cartographica* 26:2, 1989, 1–20.

⁴³ Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan, *La Description d’Ukraine*. Rouen, 1660.

⁴⁴ Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *Ambassades et Voyages en Turquie et Amasie de m. Busbecquis*. Paris, 1646. 276–277.

⁴⁵ Jezernik, Božidar, *Imagining the “Turk”*. Cambridge, 2009. 150.

⁴⁶ Grajter, Małgorzata, *The Orient in Music: Music of the Orient*. Cambridge, 2018. 10. Wolff, Larry, *The Singing Turk: Ottoman Power and Operatic Emotions on the European Stage from the Siege of Vienna to the Age of Napoleon*. Bloomington, 2016.

⁴⁷ Křížová, Markéta – Malečková, Jitka (eds.), *Central Europe and the Non-European World in the Long 19th Century*. Berlin, 2022. 201. Malečková, Jitka, “The Turk” in the Czech

of Turk can in some cases even approach the construction of *noble adversary*, whom it is an honour to face in open combat. Nevertheless, the accentuated dominance of “wild troops” and “attacking hordes” could be used as an explanation of so-called Sarmatian theory (Sarmatism), postulating the exclusive mission of the Polish nobility derived from Polish Catholicism, from *antemurale* (the concept of defending the faith) and, last but not least, from the perception of specific steppe heritage characterised by freedom-loving, combativeness, belligerence, military valours and self-sacrifice, summarized by words of Jan Sobieski after siege of Vienna: *Venimus, Vidimus, Deus vicit*.⁴⁸

The second point of the narrative consists in Polish response to Ottoman threat, described as self-defence against an unprovoked attack, thus in the sense of very peaceful reaction (but persistent and resolute) together with careful preparation of weapons as well as trust in God: “Thus the Poles praised God and the Holy Cross, placed their trust in them, and their courage grew: Behold, the day of salvation has come, today many will look towards death and sacrifice themselves for the holy faith!” let us remember emotions expressed by Simeon of Poland in one of his preserved colophons dealing with Sultan Osman II war campaign against Poland in 1621.⁴⁹

Armenian chroniclers emphasize the invincible power of an army on whose side God stands – at least from their point of view. They highlight the role of iconic Polish elite troops known as winged hussars: “The Poles inspired fear and terror in the army of the infidels, for they were clad in shining sky-blue and iron. Their steel armour stood firm before them like an unshakable mountain or the walls of a fortress, inspiring wonder, fear, and awe”,⁵⁰ writes Hovhannes of Kamianets, while Simeon of Poland asks: “[Poles] were all in iron [...] Who can stand against them?”⁵¹

Besides the accent on the role of Polish knights and their glorification, Armenian texts frequently mention an important role of Cossack regiments (unlike contemporary Polish sources), even though they admit that Cossacks were difficult to manage (as they were governed too autonomously).

Imagination (1870–1923). Leiden, 2020. 68.

⁴⁸ Paraphrase of Caesar: *Veni, vidi, vici*; Trojanowska, Tamara et al. *Being Poland: A New History of Polish Literature and Culture*. Toronto, 2018. 4. Pasięka, Agnieszka – Rodak, Paweł, *Rethinking Modern Polish Identities: Transnational Encounters*. New York, 2023. 264.

⁴⁹ Simeon of Poland, *Travel Accounts*, 358.

⁵⁰ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 54–55.

⁵¹ Simeon of Poland, *Travel Accounts*, 375–376.

ly by elected *hetmans*). The dispute between Borodavka and Konashevych-Sahaidachny serves here as an example to illustrate this point. Without regard to the certain unpredictability and uncontrollability of the Cossack forces (which is, after all, a result of the liminality of the steppe region itself), Armenian sources usually attribute success in the war not only to the Polish elite, but also to the Cossacks.

The *antemurale* narrative further graduates by description of decisive battle ultimately interpreted as God's victory on the side of Christians. The culmination of the story is dramatically portrayed as the final confrontation between Believers and Unbelievers at the very moment when the side "chosen by God" is almost defeated (because of the obvious superiority of enemy). According to Hovhannes of Kamianets, the whole Polish-Lithuanian country turns to God, asking Him (by means of supplications, regular worship, church services, songs etc.) to help:

"They ordered holy masses to be celebrated throughout the country of Poles. They forbade all to sing aloud and to make music, to play on lutes and drums, to sing songs, to perform juggling arts, until the wrath of God had passed over the earth [...] They called for help and begged for mercy, and there were so many of them that throughout the night and throughout the day listened only the sound of bells, cries and noises, pleading songs, prayers and supplications, services and masses; the light of lanterns did not cease."⁵²

Within the frame of Armenian historical sources, to fight on the right side means to fulfill *uxt* (ուխտ in Armenian), God's sacred duty, sacred vow, translated also as Covenant.⁵³ *Uxt* as "solemn oath of the clergy and people to defend their religion"⁵⁴ is (within seventeenth century context) understood as a fight against Islam in the defense of Apostolic Christianity. Here, on the borders of *Rzeczpospolita*, the narrative of *antemurale* is reflecting a joint Armenian-Polish-Ukrainian-German-Lithuanian effort to defend all of Christendom (on behalf of the rest of Europe).

⁵² Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 46.

⁵³ Garsoïan, Nina, *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion and Society*. New York, 1998. 39. Dédéyan, Gérard (ed.), *Histoire du peuple arménien*. Toulouse, 2007. 414.

⁵⁴ Thomson, Robert W., *History of the Armenians by Agat'angeghos*. New York, 1976. 56.

“See what strength, what courage, what victories [our ancestors] won over numerous enemies, against a foreign or familiar enemy such as Crusaders or Swedes, against Saracens and a nation of archers! Thus, they obtained forever indelible names on the seal of their wills, which shine bright with an immortal memory until our days. Therefore, you, sons and loved ones, follow now this great line of men and warriors and do not fear superiority of pagans, for they are like a drop in the sea, they are not even a tongue in the balance before the eyes of the Lord. None of the mortals will flee from His power, and he who does so will not be chosen before the judgment of the Lord, especially not the one who has broken the holy oath, the *uxt*, and who failed to live up to his honour. Because the Lord through the sultan’s pride and arrogancy will do the opposite, he will give the grace and humility to the true believers [...] Fortified by manly valour, driven by the desire to fight, [*Rzeczpospolita* soldiers] went to war. They took their terrible weapons, dressed their shining armour of steel, adorned their steeds with golden harnesses, and took splendid expensive carriages, variegated robes of the best fabrics. They looked like the flowers of the blooming spring, until the eyes of the spectators passed over all the splendour.”⁵⁵

In these previous lines, Hovhannes of Kamianets evokes the traditional *an-temurale* distinction between Us category and Them (as religious enemies or enemies of Civilization, as f. ex. thirteenth century Teutonic Order, Mongols or seventeenth century Swedes or Ottoman Turks).

The clash itself is illustrated by visualization of scenes taken from the Old Testament. “Unbelievers” (represented by category of Saracens, Ishmaelites, Hagarenes, pagans, unbelievers, infidels) are described as “incalculable”, “countless”, “immeasurable huge”; the mere sight of them inspires the fear and horror. They are depicted in totally “barbarian form” – they represent the opposite of the category of Civilization: naked, disheveled, loudly shouting incomprehensible words. They seem invincible and chroniclers carefully form their narrative in order to dramatize and escalate the story: “The next day the infidels gathered in immense numbers: horsemen of all sorts of nations, some of them with naked bodies, others disheveled like women, Arabs who had come from Babylon and Egypt, shouting in terrible voices: “lu lu lu”, horrible to look at and with impudence written on their faces. They all rushed forward and struck at the head of the Polish army, where

⁵⁵ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 43, 45–46.

our little *hetman* was standing.”⁵⁶ The Polish army stands here as one united line facing the “wild raging mobs of barbarians”.⁵⁷ The unity of Civilization (Europe) stands here in direct opposition to anti-Civilization category perceived through prism of Orient construction.⁵⁸ Let us to quote once again from Hovhannes of Kamianets chronicle: “Then the [true] believers in their entire number strengthened themselves, bowed their heads, crossed themselves with the sign of the cross, calling the name of Christ for help. They all repeated it three times, as is the custom of Christians, and attacked in one line with great force the huge and innumerable army of the Ishmaelites. They passed to the other side like lightning splitting a bush, until their spears had no one to bite into. And when the spears were exhausted, they became holy spears, *getards*, and the Polish knights began to slash with their double-edged swords, and others shot from their crossbows, until flames flashed and everything burned, until the earth shook as if it were lifeless. The battlefield was so full of fighters that those who fought could not even see their friends.”⁵⁹ The emphasised role of winged hussars and their holy lances (in Armenian *getard*) piercing the enemy could be symbolically interpreted within the frame of the whole country involved in the battle, perceived as sacred land, that carries on its shoulders the responsibility for the entire fate of Christendom. During the battle, this land finds itself just a stone’s throw from defeat, threatened “by fire and sword.”

As already stated, Armenian chronicles generally support the Polish point of view, the “elite” narrative of the Polish nobility. However, as opposed to Polish chronicles of the time,⁶⁰ Armenian authors emphasize and even praise the role of Zaporozhian Cossacks as allies of the Polish king (let’s not forget that it concerns a period preceding Bohdan Khmelnytsky’s uprising). The Cossacks are responsible for defeating the main attack of the Muslim army led by the pasha of Buda. “Unbeliever *pasha* Karakash ordered the trumpets and all the marching instruments to be sounded. At mealtime, they began to shout with all their might: “Allah, Allah” and all together, they rushed upon the Christians, threatening them with all the strength of their arms.”⁶¹

⁵⁶ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 50.

⁵⁷ Lorenzi-Cioldi, Fabio, *Les représentations des groupes dominants et dominés*. Grenoble, 2002. 97.

⁵⁸ Said, Edward, *L’orientalisme: L’Orient créé par l’occident*. Paris, 1980. 15.

⁵⁹ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 52.

⁶⁰ Żegota, *Pamiętniki o wyprawie chocimskiej*, 1853.

⁶¹ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 57–58.

The role of music as one of “sounds of war” was crucial in the atmosphere of fear of the approaching conflict. Ottoman army came as: “Storm or a flock of jays thundered in the air”.⁶² Sonic landscape was formed (among others) also by *mehter* music, based on wind instruments and percussions, and performed mostly as military marching songs. Seventeenth century Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi writes about “royal kettle drums” carried by camels during Ottoman war campaigns towards North.⁶³

“Now I feel weak as I recount what I had heard, that terrible and terrifying scene, especially the thunder and roar of fiery missiles, the rumble of cannons and guns, the flashes of swords and sabers drawn from their scabbards, the trampling and neighing of horses seized with fear, until the whole plain has trembled, until the mountains trembled.”⁶⁴

The music managed to evoke both: an immense fear of the approaching danger and (on the other hand) an enormous relief at the victory of one’s own side. Thus, it served as a mediator of hopes and fears of that time, mirroring the atmosphere of the moment:

“On Friday, great joy broke out among the entire Christian army. All soldiers and commanders rejoiced. They began firing cannons and guns and sounding trumpets, other instruments and drums, shouting so loudly that the *Tajik* [Ottoman] army was amazed at how terribly the mountains and rocks shook with the joyful cries of the Christians.”⁶⁵

Conclusion: Armenian Chronicles “in-between” West and East

“It is necessary to know that the destruction of the unbelievers was done not only by sword and weapons, but that the invisible right hand of God also fell upon them every day, punishing and destroying them.”⁶⁶

Textual analysis of abovementioned Armenian sources provides a scope for understanding the turbulent period of Thirty Years’ War, Ottoman

⁶² Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 42.

⁶³ Çelebi, Evliya, *Narrative of Travels in Europe Asia and Africa in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge, 2012. 128.

⁶⁴ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 58.

⁶⁵ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 68.

⁶⁶ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 12.

campaigns against *Rzeczpospolita* (Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) as well as later Swedish interventions in Central-European regions, known as Second Northern Wars. This time frame widely corresponds with *Smuta* period in Russia and with *Büyük kaçgün*/Great Flight period in Ottoman Empire; underlined by iconic battles of Thirty Years' War, Moldavian and Ottoman wars (Çeçora, Khotyn) or Swedish (Kirchholm). More generally, these “dark times” “full of sorrow, sadness, anger, anxiety (even rage)” (as mentioned by contemporaries) could be understood in close connection with seventeenth century climate changes, epidemics, increasing frequency of slave raids, half-destruction of community village life because of plundering, looting, scorched earth policy, bad harvest periods etc. All these factors – especially the *leitmotiv* of the omnipresent war threat and infidel/heretic/unbeliever image construction – represented a serious challenge within the frame of everyday life conditions of people living in endangered areas or in their proximity. Neverending story of subsequent waves of violence transformed the demographic landscape in such a great extent, that during the second half of seventeenth century, Central-European population has been reaching approximately less than two thirds of estimated number of former inhabitants.

Armenian chronicles and colophons from Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) territory could give the reader an insight into the everyday life of Armenian communities in cities as Lviv/Lemberg, Kamianets Podilskyi, Suceava, Tchernivtsi, Kutu, Zamość, Ivano-Frankivsk/Stanisławów, Luck, Lublin, Yarosław, Yazlovets or Brody. Armenian merchant Diaspora members, mostly believers of Apostolic Church, lived in their own quarters according to autonomous status given by Polish kings.⁶⁷ As stated before, these north-western Armenian *lieux de mémoire* represent (above all) a contested area with “difficult heritage” burden till today. During seventeenth century, some of these locations represented the moveable and fluid border between Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Habsburg Austria and principalities of Moldova, Wallachia and Transylvania (as vassal states under the Ottoman influence). At the end of nineteenth century, regions known as Bukovina, Galicia, Podolie or Bessarabia (with their overlapping borders) were perceived through lens of national revival movements as key factors of new emerging states and their further consolidation.

Armenian community living in the territory of *Rzeczpospolita* (known as *Lebahayer*, Polish Armenians) has become both, the subject and object

⁶⁷ Oleş, Marian, *The Armenian Law in the Polish Kingdom 1356–1519*. Rome, 1966. 156.

of constructed as well as re-interpreted stereotypical images. One of these constructions is the established myth known as *antemurale christianitatis*, based on the perception of God's Chosen People defending the borderlands of Christianity. *Antemurale* is inextricably linked with Sarmatian theory, one of unifying narrative themes of Polish National Revival. Armenians living in Polish cities in their segregated quarters, neighbours of Polish, German burghers and the main rivals of Jewish merchants (as well as of a few Greeks) strongly encouraged Polish discourse of *antemurale* but – unlike other contemporary sources and especially later Polish myth-makers – they also emphasized the role of Ukrainian Cossacks. Thus, some significant meta-narratives of seventeenth century became more apparent, stripped of sediments of ethno-romantic idealization (*albeit* not free from any distortion or bias).

Moreover, mirror reading and detailed analysis of sources reveals interesting data concerning religious encounters of that period: the ambivalent position of half-Christians (so called *kes-kes* or *kesuakes* in Armenian) considered to be newly converted "renegades", the status of sworn brothers (across all religious categories), the process of glorification of new martyrs as well as difficult maintenance of confessional identity.⁶⁸ Besides lamentations over the destiny of God's Chosen People, Armenian narrative also depicts the Diaspora space as an indelible bond between the new host country and ancient homeland (*Ani topos*). Both localities (interconnected through network of *galtōjaks*, centres of Diaspora) are described as sacred places, both are depicted as "destroyed by fire and sword" – nevertheless, both can "rise from the ashes". Together with diaries of Jan from Ostrorog, Prokop Zbigniewski, Stanisław Lubomirsky or Jakób Sobiesky written in Polish language,⁶⁹ Armenian and Armeno-Kipchak chronicles help to shape historical narrative of 300-year-old "struggle" defending European Christian culture on the very borders of Europe against "unbelievers".

Seventeenth century Armenian historical sources were mostly written by men of church; therefore, the emphasis on destroyed monasteries, stolen liturgical objects, books that were taken captive and eventually ransomed (as captive people). Nevertheless, scorched earth narrative is determined not only by destruction and omnipresent fear, but it could also be understood as a place

⁶⁸ F. ex. Armenian Apostolic Church, the Archbishopric in Lviv, executive power of religious leaders (council of elders), liturgical role of Classical Armenian (*grabar*) and its contacts with Armeno-Kipchak and Polish (as vernacular languages) etc.

⁶⁹ Żegota, Pamiętniki o wyprawie chocimskiej, 1853.

of encounters, mobilities, dialogues and symbolically overlapping borders full of identity transformations, negotiations as well as exchanges. The historical experience of fear while living on borders, whether on the part of newcomers or locals, could be seen an integral part of the anthropology of mentalities and emotions. It could be concluded that sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries generally emphasise “cultural keywords” (as discussed by A. Wierzbicka)⁷⁰ such as loss, nostalgia, homesickness, exile, mourning and lamentation, and accentuate concepts as Diaspora mobility and spatial liminality. Narrated from the perspective of intimate history written by authors who belonged to long-term endangered communities, becoming extremely vulnerable *vis-à-vis* climate changes, natural catastrophes, wars etc. and expecting the worst (even God’s wrath and punishment) – their testimonies contribute to polyphonic and acentric history of intertwined Black Sea region.

⁷⁰ Wierzbicka, Anna, *Understanding Cultures Through Their Key Words*. Oxford, 1997. 15.

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

Aims and Scope

The East Central Europe: Between the Baltic and the Adriatic (ECE) is a peer-reviewed academic journal published by the Institute of History at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Debrecen. As its title suggests, the journal focuses on the history of Central Europe, covering the region between the Baltic and Adriatic Seas. This region was for centuries a crossroads and meeting point where diverse ethnic groups, religions, traditions, and political entities interacted in unique ways. In addition to studies directly examining the history of the region, the editors welcome methodologically and/or theoretically relevant contributions for the analysis of historical processes.

The journal seeks to create an interdisciplinary platform to facilitate dialogue and disseminate new research on the region, whose findings are often limited in international scholarship due to language barriers and the influence of national narratives. To support this goal, ECE is an open-access journal, published at least once annually, available in both print and online formats.

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Ostmitteleuropa: Zwischen Ostsee und Adria (ECE) ist eine begutachtete wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, die vom Historischen Institut der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Debrecen herausgegeben wird. Wie der Titel schon andeutet, konzentriert sich die Zeitschrift auf die Geschichte Mitteleuropas, insbesondere auf das Gebiet zwischen Ostsee und Adria. Diese Region war über Jahrhunderte ein Schnittpunkt und Begegnungsraum, in dem unterschiedliche ethnische Gruppen, Religionen, Traditionen und politische Einheiten auf einzigartige Weise interagierten. Neben Studien, die Geschichte der Region direkt untersuchen, erwarten die Herausgeber methodisch und/oder theoretisch relevante Beiträge zur Analyse historischer Prozesse.

Die Zeitschrift möchte eine interdisziplinäre Plattform schaffen, um den Dialog zu fördern und neue Forschungsergebnisse über die Region zu verbreiten, deren Ergebnisse aufgrund von Sprachbarrieren und der Prägung durch nationale Narrative international nur begrenzt bekannt sind. Zur Unterstützung dieses Ziels ist ECE eine Open-Access-Zeitschrift, die mindestens einmal jährlich erscheint und sowohl in gedruckter als auch in digitaler Form verfügbar ist.

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