

## ELEMENTS OF MODERNIZING THE TYPOGRAPHICAL PRINTING PROCESS IN BESSARABIA IN THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

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**Abstract** In the present study, we presented aspects of the modernization of the typographic printing process in Bessarabia during the period of domination by the Russian Empire (1812-1918). We used previously unpublished documents regarding printing houses and the installation of lithographs, rapid typewriters and hectographs in the cities of Bessarabia. The equipment and parts were brought from Western Europe to the urban centres of the empire, from where they reached Chişinău. By introducing new techniques and technologies, the process of Russification of Bessarabia population was encouraged. Administrative documents and advertisements were elaborated and multiplied with greater zeal in Russian. There was also resistance against this scourge. This is the case of the intention to print the newspaper *Românul* in Chişinău and to open a “Moldovan Printing House” by the boyar Constantin Cristea. The regional administration of Bessarabia opposed the appearance of newspapers in Romanian and the printing house of the boyar Constantin Cristea, who would have printed in Romanian.

**Keywords** Modernization, typography, lithography, hectograph, Achim Popov Nicanor Dezideriev, Bessarabia.

Following the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812 and the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest on May 16<sup>th</sup>/28<sup>th</sup>, 1812, the territory of Moldova between the Prut and the Dniester was annexed by Tsarist Russia. After the annexation, secular and religious structures were established, the theological seminary in Chişinău and the diocesan printing house, with the contribution of Metropolitan and Exarch Gavriil Bănulescu-Bodoni (1812-1821). The printing house functioned until the 1880s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and then it reopened in 1906. The printing house was the prerogative of the Church and the printed religious and didactic books for the theological seminary in Chişinău. The books printed in the printing house of the diocese were mostly in

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Romanian and only some of them were in Russian intended for believers in certain urban centres with a Russian-speaking population on the left bank of the Dniester and in several cities of Bessarabia.

The regional administration of Bessarabia, established after the annexation, organized its own structures. For efficient activity and the preparation of documents, a printing house was needed, which was established, according to some documents at the same time as the establishment of the regional administration, and according to others in 1834. Since the regional administration was excessively bureaucratized, the forms, circulars, various printed documents were not enough for the administrative apparatus. Due to excessive use, the printing presses deteriorated and other sets of letters were needed. The printing houses in Odessa were often called upon to print the documents necessary for the chancellery in Chişinău.

The research on the history of printing in Bessarabia during the tsarist rule is limited to the period of Metropolitan Gavriil Bănulescu-Bodoni (1812-1821) and that of Archbishop Dimitrie Sulima (1821-1844). There are references to the period of restoration of printing activity at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, book catalogues,<sup>1</sup> but the evolution of secular printing in Bessarabia is not known well enough. This is the reason why I approached the subject of history, the evolution of printing and printing houses, the circumstances that contributed to the modernization of the printing process in Bessarabia.

### **The establishment and activity of the eparchial printing house in Chişinău**

The intention to establish a printing house in the annexed territory is stipulated in the metropolitan's request of September 25<sup>th</sup>, 1813 to the Russian synod, in which he reasons that in Moldova there is a printing house in Iaşi, but in a defective state and is not able to provide the Orthodox with religious literature. This letter states that the churches in Bessarabia lacked spiritual literature, especially that for religious services. Until the annexation, a large part of this territory was under the canonical jurisdiction of Huşi Diocese, where there was no printing house.<sup>2</sup> Religious literature was purchased from Iaşi and other urban centres in Moldova on the right bank of the Prut, where there were others printed in Bucharest, Râmnic, but also in printing

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<sup>1</sup> I addressed the issue of the history of book and print research in Bessarabia in: *From the history of book and print research in Bessarabia*, in *Culture and politics in Southeast Europe (15<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, coord. acad. Andrei Eşanu and prof. dr. Constantin Iordan (Chişinău: CEP USM, 2011), 108-118; "Research on the Romanian book and print in Bessarabia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century," *Scientific Bulletin. Journal of Ethnography, Natural Sciences and Museology* 35, no.48 (2021): 21-30.

<sup>2</sup> *National Archives Agency of the Republic of Moldova* (hereinafter referred to as: ANARM), F. 205, inv. 1, d. 404, f. 1; Ştefan Ciobanu, *Romanian Culture in Bessarabia under Russian Rule* (Chişinău: Encyclopedic Publishing House "Gheorghe Asachi", 1992), 35-36; Nicolae, 67-68; Nicolae Popovschi, *History of the Church in Bessarabia in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century under the Russians* (Chişinău: Museum, 2000), 67-68; Maria Danilov, *Synodal Censorship and the Religious Book in Bessarabia. 1812-1918 (between tradition and Tsarist politics)* (Chisinau: Bibl. Tyragetia, 2007), 31-38; Igor Cereteu, *The Old Romanian Book in Bessarabia ; History, Circulation, Documentary Value* (Bucharest-Brăila: Romanian Academy Publishing House – Istros Publishing House, 2019), 126-127.

houses inside the Carpathian arc. The monastic settlements of Moldavia played an important role in the dissemination of religious literature in Romanian among the believers on the left bank of the Prut, the mediators being the monks and nunneries, the abbots of the monasteries, and in other cases the hierarchs of the Moldavian church.

The inventory for the new printing house was brought from the Neamț monastery starting with the spring of 1813 and consisted of old-fashioned printing equipment, made in the Romanian space. The letters and other parts necessary for the printing process were also purchased. Following the several interventions of Gavriil Bănulescu-Bodoni to the imperial ecclesiastical authorities, on May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1814, the decision of the Russian Synod no. 848 regarding the organization of the printing house in Chișinău was approved, received by the Moldavian hierarch on May 27<sup>th</sup>, 1814. It results from these steps that Gavriil Bănulescu-Bodoni had begun to build a special building in which the printing presses were to be installed. It is also specified that the “printing tools” were already prepared and “the necessary material was purchased,” there was also “Moldavian and Slavonic lettering from the Neamțu monastery in Moldova,” a printer was also received, the monk Ignatie, according to his own wish, who by birth was from Great Russia, and besides his own language, he perfectly knows the Moldavian language from there.”<sup>3</sup>

Regarding the statement in this case, we are not completely certain that the “typographic tools” were ready, because from the information we have, the inventory purchased before the opening of the printing house did not allow the start of the book printing activity. At this time, the printing house did not have presses, or they were purchased later, more than a month after the official opening of the Exarchate printing house.<sup>4</sup>

The printing house began operating in the summer of 1814 with three printing presses, after which two more were purchased, so that in the spring of 1815 the printing house had five printing presses. Work was initially carried out in *Bucoavne*, later the work was interrupted and the printing of the *Missal*, which lasted until August 1815. It can be admitted, with some reservations, that the first *Bucoavne* were printed towards the end of 1814, and most of them in the following year. During the pastorate of Metropolitan and Exarch Gavriil Bănulescu-Bodoni (1812-1821), books in Romanian of religious and didactic nature were printed. The printings from this period preserved the old Romanian tradition and had the same appearance as the books printed in other Romanian offices from this period or previously. Only the title pages were similar to those printed in the Russian Empire, especially those in Kiev and Lviv. It contributed to the standardization of the church service, by adapting parts of the liturgy to conform to that in the empire.<sup>5</sup> It is known that the liturgy was printed “on Galața paper” and “on poor quality paper.”<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Const. N. Tomescu, “The Exarchial Ecclesiastical Printing House of Bessarabia,” in *the Archives of Bessarabia* III, No. 4 (1931): 265-266.

<sup>4</sup> Igor Cereteu, *The Old Romanian Book in Bessarabia...*, 120.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>6</sup> *ANARM*, F. 205, inv. 1, d. 5296, f. 11.

According to some sources, Metropolitan Gavriil Bănulescu-Bodoni was responsible for the translation of books and smaller works, and the church books for divine services were translated by the vicar of the metropolity Dimitrie Sulima.<sup>7</sup> It is worth mentioning the contribution of Metropolitan Gavriil Bănulescu-Bodoni to the printing of *the New Testament* (1817, 1819) and the *Bible* (1819), published in Romanian in Saint Petersburg, the latter being a copy, with some minor interventions, of the *Bible* printed in Blaj in 1795.<sup>8</sup>

The Bessarabia printing activity continued during the time of Archbishop of Chişinău and Khotin Dimitrie Sulima (1821-1844), who took over the helm of the diocese after the death of his predecessor, Metropolitan Gavriil Bănulescu-Bodoni, in the spring of 1821. During and through the contribution of this hierarchy, several books were printed in Chişinău, but the editorial activity during his time is less fruitful than that of Gavriil Bănulescu-Bodoni. If during the latter's time liturgical books of great historical and theological value were printed, inspired or reproduced after Romanian editions, during the time of Dimitrie Sulima, books translated after some Slavonic editions, edited in centres in Russia, were printed.<sup>9</sup>

The diocesan printing house stopped printing Romanian books after August 7<sup>th</sup>, 1880, during the reign of Archbishop Pavel Lebedev (1871-1882), a promoter of the Russification of Bessarabia. It was permanently closed by synodal decision on January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1883. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, during the national liberation movement, the printing house was reopened, at the initiative of several Bessarabian priests and parishioners, who felt the lack of Romanian books in the churches and monasteries of Bessarabia. The diocesan printing house was opened in 1906, and in the following years, with the support of *the Brotherhood of the Nativity of Christ*, several service and patristic books in Romanian appeared.<sup>10</sup>

In the diocesan printing house, the old printing processes were used, used in the printing offices throughout the Romanian space. Until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the printing houses of the Diocese of Chişinău and Khotin used printing presses, the equipment mostly purchased from across the Prut or from the centres of the Russian Empire. Even during the operation of the printing house of Gavriil Bănulescu-Bodoni, letterpress cutters appeared in Chişinău, but they were not sufficient for the printing process in the exarchate printing house. For this reason, the letters were brought from Iaşi or from the Neamţ monastery, and later from Odessa, Kiev, Saint Petersburg and Moscow. The printing craft and the first printers were brought from the Neamţ monastery. Later, the craft was perfected, and documents mention that there were many people interested, especially among the monks, in learning this craft, especially since printing was initially the prerogative of the church. The diocesan printing house in Chişinău preserved the old tradition of printing books and was not susceptible to new modernization processes, as was the case in secular printing.

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<sup>7</sup> Nicolae Popovschi, 69.

<sup>8</sup>Igor Cereteu, "The Russian Biblical Society and the Printing of the Holy Scripture in Romanian in Saint Petersburg," *Acta Musei Apulensis. Apulum* LXI, series Historia & Patrimonium Supplementum, Alba Iulia, (2024): 147-168.

<sup>9</sup> See details in Igor Cereteu, *Romanian Literature in Bessarabia ...*, 137.

<sup>10</sup> Maria Danilov, 95 et seq.

### Modernization trends of the printing process in Bessarabia

In the 1830s, the first trends of modernization of the printing process in Bessarabia appeared. If the diocesan printing house preserved the old traditions, using the presses and equipment used for centuries, in terms of secular printing, important progress was made. The printing house in Bessarabia acquired new values, especially through the introduction of lithography, one of the most complex printing processes in the artistic field. The lithographed images were characterised by exceptional quality and were appreciated among the elites of Bessarabia.

This invention spread quite quickly after 1796 in the urban centres of Europe. It penetrated the Russian Empire a few decades later, especially in the more important centres that had trade links with Western Europe, such as: Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, Nikolaev. The regional administration of Bessarabia had a printing house, in which it printed office documents, announcements, circulars, etc., but it was not able to print all the orders. As it was used excessively, the printing presses deteriorated in a short time, and the letters wore out and it was necessary to complete the reserve with other sets of letters. To remedy the situation, in 1836, the military governor of Bessarabia Pavel I. Feodorov (1834-1854) decided to install a lithography in the headquarters of the regional administration's printing house. The goal was to simplify the printing house's work by lithographing the documents necessary for the state institutions in Chişinău. It is known that when the printing house of the regional administration of Bessarabia was unable to print the forms and documents of the chancellery, lithographers from Odessa or Nikolaev were called upon. This lack of forms is noted in the archive files, in which requests or other demands without the institution's letterhead are quite frequently encountered, and in some cases they were copied manually.

There were in Bessarabia no such installations and they had to resort to the help of lithographers from Nikolaev city, where there were qualified specialists. Such a centre was located at the Black Sea Hydrographic Depot of this city. On March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1836, Pavel Feodorov sent an informative note to the head of this institution, Nicolai Kumani, accompanied by a request to be helped in purchasing a lithographic device. The governor also requested that he forms for the chancellery be lithographed and be made plates and letters for the regional administration printing house. Nikolai Kumani informed the governor that his intention to install a lithographic device in Chişinău was welcome and that he had received a lithographic device from St. Petersburg, which was too small for his needs, and was suitable for the documents and forms intended for the chancellery of the governor of Bessarabia.<sup>11</sup>

As there were no lithographers in Chişinău, the head of the Black Sea Hydrographic Depot in Nikolaev proposed sending two cantonists to learn the profession of lithographer.<sup>12</sup> He proposed that one of them learn cutting and writing on stone, and the second to learn how

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<sup>11</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 1, d. 2662, f. 1-2.

<sup>12</sup> Cantonists – sons of soldiers, who from the day of birth were included in a military department and later prepared for military service in a lower military school.

to handle the lithographic device and be able to reproduce forms or images. According to Kumani, the courses were to be free of charge and last 12 months. After completing the courses, he would take care of preparing the pieces for lithography in Chişinău, even though in Russia these machines are found in the two largest cities: St. Petersburg and Moscow and in several provincial cities.<sup>13</sup>

The military governor of Bessarabia proposed G. Pavlovski, who showed interest in learning the profession and knew drawing and calligraphy very well, and an official from the governor's office, named Ceaplin, who was concerned with handling the lithographic apparatus. After completing the courses, they brought the lithographic device and the necessary equipment to Chişinău.<sup>14</sup> Within a few months, they acquired skills in cutting letters, learned drawing on stone, reproducing drawings from paper on stone, printing, the action of the lithographic installation, the composition of colours, inks, etc. It results from the correspondence of N. Kumani with P. Feodorov they had in summer of 1836, that lithography has been practiced in the empire for 15 years, and this art required improvement, or all the materials and equipment were brought from abroad.<sup>15</sup>

In the autumn of 1836, a lithographic machine, together with the related equipment, was shipped to Chişinău,<sup>16</sup> which was installed in the regional administration's printing house, so that starting with January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1837, it began to operate at a rapid pace. The documents show that Chişinău lithography executed all the orders of the administration, as well as those of other institutions or private individuals.<sup>17</sup> Both the printing press and the lithographic machine were put into operation.

In a short time, lithographic machines were spread in several administrative institutions in Bessarabia. On November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1836, the Zemstvo of Soroca, and on December 6<sup>th</sup>, 1836, the one in Orhei received two lithographic machines each. From the documents of the time, it appears that the first-class official. On June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1837, Nikolski bought five lithographic stones, special pencils and letters with the intention of opening a private lithography in Chişinău.<sup>18</sup>

If at first lithographs were placed only in the headquarters of state institutions, a few years later private printing houses and lithographies were created. Achim Popov, an Armenian from Grigoriopol, learned the profession of lithographer in Odessa, in the workshop of Alexandr Braun.<sup>19</sup> According to his testimonies, during his time in Odessa he mastered everything from the simplest to the most complex techniques of lithographic art. In the file he submitted to the

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<sup>13</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 1, d. 2662, f. 10-11.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 12-13.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 18, 23.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 21, 29.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 30-41.

<sup>19</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 3, d. 2879, f. 1; Efim Levit, *A luminous figure: Achim Popov*, in Idem, Unknown old files. *Scientific and documentary contributions to the history of Moldovan literature and culture*. Under the editorship of C. Ciocanu (Chişinău, 1981), 162-221.

military governor of Bessarabia, three lithographic images were preserved, which are quite complex, but skilfully made, proof that Achim Popov knew the secrets of lithography in detail.<sup>20</sup>

After several years of apprenticeship in Braun's workshop in Odessa, he obtained a certificate confirming his knowledge of lithography. With this document, he submitted on April 15<sup>th</sup>, 1838, an informative note addressed to the military governor of Bessarabia requesting permission to open a lithographic workshop in the city of Izmail on the Danube. He was advised to insist on obtaining a certificate to establish a lithography in this city by Alexandr Braun, who knew the situation of printing houses and lithographies in the region.<sup>21</sup>

Finally, in September 1838, Achim Popov's request to establish a lithography in Izmail was rejected.<sup>22</sup> After his failed efforts, he turned his attention to the capital of Bessarabia, an urban centre, where the regional administration and other local state institutions were located. Being persistent and experienced in dealing with local bureaucracy, on October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1838, Achim Popov wrote a request to open a private lithographic workshop in Chişinău.<sup>23</sup>

He requested to establish a private lithography from his own financial means. The Governor of Bessarabia was receptive to Popov's request and on September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1839, he addressed the Governor-General of Novorossia and Bessarabia, requesting permission for Achim Popov to open a lithography on his own in Chişinău. He motivated this by the fact that there were no such workshops in Chişinău and that their establishment would facilitate the process of printing forms and in this situation it would not be necessary to turn to Odessa or other cities in the region, where there were lithographies.<sup>24</sup>

The certificate of establishment of Achim Popov's lithography in Chişinău was signed on January 17<sup>th</sup>, 1841, by the head of the city administration Sinadino. Achim Popov took the oath, by which he obliged himself to strictly comply with all regulations and laws issued by the central and local authorities. The opening of the lithography was a great victory for Achim Popov, who became the first private owner of a lithography in Bessarabia.<sup>25</sup>

Achim Popov's printing and lithographic activity in Chişinău had begun to take shape. He had many orders, or there were no other lithographic workshops in Chişinău. Achim Popov became an important competitor to the lithographic workshops in Odessa. Proof of this is the attempt of the lithographer Braun from Odessa to take over his business. The governor of Bessarabia was informed about this intention on June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1842,<sup>26</sup> who got involved in settling this dispute and offered Achim Popov the opportunity to continue working in his private lithography.

The desire to be active in this field and the fact that the business was thriving, led Achim Popov to expand the workshop by organizing a private printing house. Thus, on July 27<sup>th</sup>, 1842, he addressed an informative note to the governor of Bessarabia on social issues, in which he

<sup>20</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 3, d. 2879, f. 2-4.

<sup>21</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 3, d. 8853, f. 13; F. 6, inv. 10, d. 334, f. 102.

<sup>22</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 3, d. 2879, f. 14.

<sup>23</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 1, d. 3078, f. 3.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>25</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 1, d. 8539, f. 281; F. 6, inv. 2, d. 1, f. 1; F. 6, inv. 10, d. 334, f. 102.

<sup>26</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 1, d. 3078, f. 20.

requested permission to open a printing house in addition to his lithography, which would print in Russian, French and partly Armenian and Moldavian letters,<sup>27</sup> and by the end of the year, on December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1842, he obtained permission to establish a private printing house,<sup>28</sup> and on May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1843, the printing house was officially opened.<sup>29</sup>

Achim Popov's private printing house was equipped with printing equipment. The lithography had the best quality blue stone plates imported from abroad and white ones purchased from Bessarabia. The lithography workshop operated without interruption and executed images, drawings, maps, etc. for state institutions and private individuals. The lithography had four presses and six printers. Achim Popov executed the artistic works. The printing house had three presses, a main printer and two type setters, and other works were executed by lithography workers, having the most varied characters, purchased from St. Petersburg and having the possibility of printing in Russian, French, Romanian and Armenian. Achim Popov employed two young orphans in the printing house and trained them in the art of printing. The first learned the art of lithography and the second the craft of printing.<sup>30</sup>

Achim Popov was a prominent figure in the cultural life of Chişinău in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but his contribution to the modernization of typographic art in Bessarabia is not fully appreciated in Romanian and foreign written culture. He was appreciated in the high circles of Bessarabian society and made an important contribution to the promotion of the Romanian language and literature, by printing secular books during a difficult period in the history of Bessarabia. On October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1847, Achim Popov requests the military governor of Bessarabia the permission to publish the newspaper *Românul* in Chişinău and to print the *Regional Bulletin* as an annex. The request was examined by the Ministry of Public Education and the governor. The decision is unknown, and this newspaper was not published in Chişinău.<sup>31</sup>

In the same coordinates of the resistance of the Bessarabian Romanians against Russification, the attempt of the boyar Constantin Cristea to establish a lithographic printing house in the 1960s, in which books in the Romanian language would be printed,<sup>32</sup> is included. According

<sup>27</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 3, d. 13, f. 1.

<sup>28</sup> ANARM. F. 6, inv. 2, d. 1, f. 28.

<sup>29</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 3, d. 13; F. 6, inv. 10, d. 334, f. 102.

<sup>30</sup> [Д. М. Княжевич], *Город Кишинев в 1843 году*, in *Записки Бессарабского статистического комитета*, т. 3 (Chişinău, 1868), 94-95; *Юбилейный сборник города Кишинева. 1812-1912* (Chişinău, 1914), 140; *История Кишинева*. Кишиневский Государственный Университет. Издательство "Карта Молдовеняскэ," Кишинев (1966), 79

<sup>31</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 1, d. 5187, f. 1; Gheorghe Bezviconi, "Armenians in Basarabia," in *Din trecutul nostru*, no. 3-4, (Chişinău, 1934): 41, note 1; Gheorghe Negru, "The Romanian language press in Bessarabia and the Kingdom of Romania under the impact of tsarist censorship. Documents from the archives of Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Chişinău, Bucharest," in *Destin românesc, Revistă de istorie şi cultură*, no. 5-6, Chişinău (2008): 23-31; I. Varta, "Romanian typography and writing in Bessarabia," in *Magazin istoric*, No. 5 (542) (2012): 10-13; I. Varta, "Romanian printing and writing in Bessarabia," in *Magazin istoric*, No. 5 (542) (2012): 10-13.

<sup>32</sup> ANARM, F. 2, inv. 3, d. 7462, f. 1-16; Gheorghe Negru, "An unsuccessful attempt to organize a 'Moldovan printing house' in Bessarabia," in *the History Magazine of Moldova*, no. 1-2 (1997): 90-100.



to the boyar's testimonies, the equipment for printing and lithography was purchased, which he stored in the Herța house in Chișinău. The police sealed the equipment until the final decision was issued, so that the owner would not start the printing process without permission. The subject was discussed in the Bessarabian administration, and in the end, Constantin Cristea's request was rejected, and the equipment was sold in Iași, after April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1866.<sup>33</sup>

According to the decision of the Russian Senate of April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1858, the establishment of private printing houses in the empire was allowed. Thus, numerous requests were submitted to the higher courts to allow the establishment of private printing houses in various cities of Bessarabia. Among the first requests, after the appearance of this decision, it was that of Nicanor Illarionov Dezideriev, who, following the requests submitted to the military governor of Bessarabia and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, obtained permission to open the second private printing house in Bessarabia on May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1858, after Achim Popov's, opened on May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1843.<sup>34</sup> If Achim Popov's typolithography operated based on the decision of the local administration, Dezideriev one's was established based on the decision of the Russian Senate of April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1858. Nicanor's typographical activity Dezideriev operated within legal parameters and had lower capacities and, respectively, fewer clients, compared to the other three printing houses existing in Bessarabia.

Since the lithography craft was not sufficiently advanced in Bessarabia, the work of the teacher of the *Richelieu Lyceum* in Odessa, N. Murzakevici, was carried out in the workshops of this city.<sup>35</sup> He visited Bessarabia in the autumn of 1842, accompanied by the painter Bassoli, who reproduced 15 historical and picturesque views. These images were lithographed by Bassoli in Odessa and included in the work in which the monasteries of Bessarabia were described.<sup>36</sup>

In the 1880s, hectographs appeared in Bessarabia, invented in Russia by M.I. Alisov. It was used for fast and low-quality printing of various images or texts with short messages, up to 100 copies. It featured a flat box with a uniform layer of glycerine, gelatine and frozen water on the surface of the mixture. It is known that such a device was purchased and used by Timenev, a sector inspector of railways in southwestern Russia, who on November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1886 addressed the head of the Bender-Galați sector of the gendarmerie directorate to allow him to purchase and use a hectograph and a printing press for his office. On June 12<sup>th</sup>, 1887, the governor of Bessarabia allowed Timenev to purchase and use such a device and a printing press.<sup>37</sup> As a large number of such small businesses appeared in the cities of Bessarabia, competition became unfair. In early February 1887, the merchant from Bender, Moisei Osipovici Natenzon writes a request to the governor, in which he states that for over 12 years he has owned a typolithography

<sup>33</sup> ANARM. F. 6, inv. 10, d. 334, f. 67; See also: Gheorghe Negru, "The National Movement in Bessarabia (1812-1905)," in *The History Magazine of Moldova*, No. 1 (113) (2018): 42.

<sup>34</sup> ANARM. F. 6, inv. 10, d. 334, f. 102.

<sup>35</sup> Н. Мурзакевич, *Сведения о некоторых православных монастырях епархий Херсонской и Кишиневской*, in *Записки Одесского Общества Истории и Древностей*. Томъ второй. Одесса, В городской типографии, 1848.

<sup>36</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 3, d. 3963, f. 1-10.

<sup>37</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 1, d. 8747, f. 63-66.

in Bender city, for which he bought three speed typewriters, letters and other printing equipment, amounting to 9000 roubles. As another typolitography of Goldenshtein, C<sup>o</sup> and Gruzintsev was allowed to open in Bender, the activity of his typolitography was considerably reduced, so that two parts of devices were not working. Natenzon requested to transfer his presses, along with all the equipment, to Chişinău to open a new typolitography, a request rejected by the governor because there were several such workshops in Chişinău.<sup>38</sup>

On June 9<sup>th</sup>, 1887, the starost of Corneşti volost asked the steward of Bălţi to intervene with the governor of Bessarabia to allow the purchase of a hectograph from the printing equipment shop of de- Spiller in Odessa, necessary for the volost administration. On July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1887, the steward accepted that the starost buy the device.<sup>39</sup> The typographer from Soroca, Gdal Vaisman, purchased from the same shop a high-speed typewriter produced by the Goldberg factory in Saint Petersburg.<sup>40</sup>

The merchant Elea Yakovlev Braunştein from Chişinău requested the governor of Bessarabia on July 11<sup>th</sup>, 1888, to install a hectograph in his grocery and pharmaceutical store in Chişinău to copy invoices and price lists. Because he did not have a large enterprise, the governor rejected the request and forbade him from using the hectograph.<sup>41</sup>

Such a request was sent on behalf of the governor of Bessarabia on August 18<sup>th</sup>, 1888 by the nobleman Felix Stanislavovici. Iasenetski -Voina, established in Chişinău, to allow him to copy with the help of the hectograph directives, circulars that were to be sent to the Agency of "Nadejda" Company in St. Petersburg, subordinated to him and being the inspector and main agent of this company and in connection with its commercial affairs. Following the investigation of the case, on August 31<sup>st</sup>, he obtained the certificate of operation.<sup>42</sup>

On November 17<sup>th</sup>, 1888, Julius Frenel Lodzinski, head of the warehouse of the Manufactory Joint Stock Company Jirardovsky Gille and Ditrich, requested permission from the governor of Bessarabia to purchase a hectograph to simplify commercial correspondence and secretarial work, a request accepted towards the end of the same month of 1888.<sup>43</sup>

Nicanor Dezideriev first brought to Bessarabia before October 12<sup>th</sup>, 1859 a fast typewriter, a cast iron press and printing letters, which were confiscated by Nicolai Konceakovski, who established a printing house in Chişinău, using Dezideriev's equipment.<sup>44</sup> The process of modernization of the printing house also included other urban centers of Bessarabia. The notary in reserve Otton Emerikov Baranetsky and the noble Tit Osipov Kulikovski, both Roman Catholics, requested on October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1871, to open a printing house in Khotin, in Baranetski's house, with two printing presses and two rapid typewriters, a request approved by

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 25-29.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 138-139.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 172.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 53-56.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 112-114.

<sup>44</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 1, d. 7032, f. 5-6.

the governor of Bessarabia two weeks later.<sup>45</sup> On September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1872, Ehiel Ruvvinov Ghelerter, who had worked in his father's printing house in Odessa, requested permission from the governor of Bessarabia to open a printing and lithography shop in the house of Hristofor Ivanov Zaikin (Kincio) in Akkerman, where he installed two rapid typewriters, two printing presses and two lithographic machines.<sup>46</sup> On January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1873, the official Pavel Mikhailovich Atanasievich requested to be issued a certificate to open a printing and lithography in Akkerman. The following were installed in the workshop: a rapid typewriter with a simplified form of table-top paint removal device; a state-of-the-art manual metal printing press with a regular metal lever; a mechanical lithographic device with a metal lever.<sup>47</sup>

In the 1980s, the process of modernization of printing houses gained momentum. Rapid typewriters were installed in the existing ones. Deacon Gavriil Nicolaevici Katlaman from Bender requested from the governor of Bessarabia on October 9<sup>th</sup>, 1888 a certificate of establishment of a typoligraphy in "the city of Bolgrad in New Bessarabia," where he would have a rapid typewriter and the necessary equipment for its operation. If the Bender county administrator supported the establishment of the workshop, the Izmail county administrator opposed it, arguing that there were two printing houses in Izmail, and a typoligraphy was not necessary in Bolgrad. However, at the beginning of December, the printing house was established, which had a rapid typewriter with the necessary equipment.<sup>48</sup>

The central and local administration kept strict records of the location, number, type and size of the equipment installed in the typolithographies. Thus, the intentions of some owners of such workshops to print texts with content contrary to imperial legislation were avoided. On February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1888, I. Barshchevsky's request to open a private printing house was rejected because he did not indicate in the request the location, number and size of the speed typewriters,<sup>49</sup> and on March 11<sup>th</sup>, 1888, Srul Shmulevich Paghis from Orhei requested the governor of Bessarabia permission to organize a printing house, in which a small-format rapid typewriter "Liliputa" and a printing press would be installed. On August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1888, he purchased from the former printing house of Iacob Haimov Rubin from Orhei two manual devices, one of which is large and one small, a small-format rapid typewriter.<sup>50</sup> After his death, which occurred on March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1916, his wife Leia Paghis inherited her husband's printing house.<sup>51</sup> The Bender County Administration requested on November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1888, to purchase a "Remington" typewriter from the "Maşevski" store in Odessa for faster document production.<sup>52</sup> The request for the purchase and use of speed typewriters increased significantly in the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when they were quite widespread in other urban centers in

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., F. 8169, pp. 1-3.

<sup>46</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 1, d. 8239, f. 1-4.

<sup>47</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 1, d. 8277, f. 6-9.

<sup>48</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 1, d. 8769, f. 87-92.

<sup>49</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 1, d. 8769, f. 13.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 17-20, 71.

<sup>51</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 1, d. 9764, f. 2-3.

<sup>52</sup> ANARM. F. 2, inv. 1, d. 8769, f. 118.

Bessarabia. In the city of Khotin, on July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1909, the speed typewriter workshop of Zeilik Ovşiev Vainştein was operating.<sup>53</sup> In 1910, the printing workshop, equipped with a fast typewriter of Sura Iosifovna Grobokopatel<sup>54</sup> was operating in Tarutino. Such machines existed in private ownership in Orhei, Soroca, Akkerman, Bolgrad, etc.

## Conclusions

The printing activity in Bessarabia began in 1814, when the first printing house was established, subordinate to Metropolitan and Exarch Gavriil Bănulescu-Bodoni. The printing house printed mostly religious books, intended for the monasteries and churches of Bessarabia and those across the Dniester, with Romanian population. In the 1930s, the printing house of the regional administration of Bessarabia was established, which was in the service of the governor and printed forms, circulars necessary for the regional administration. During this period, the first private lithography appeared in Bessarabia, founded by Achim Popov. The introduction of private lithographies is a clear indication of the modernization of the printing process in Bessarabia. The equipment and parts were purchased from specialized stores in Odessa, important in Western European countries. The regional administration encouraged this process and facilitated the use of other methods of printing texts and images.

By introducing new techniques and technologies, the Russification process of Bessarabia population was encouraged. Lithographies mostly printed various images, but also forms, advertisements, labels in Russian. Hectographs had the same purpose. With the advent of rapid typewriters, the process of Russification intensified. Administrative documents and advertisements were drafted and multiplied with greater zeal in Russian. Rapid typewriters, although they were of European or American production, were adapted to the Russian alphabet. There was also resistance against this scourge. This is the case of typographs Achim Popov and Nicanor Dezideriev, who printed books in Romanian for the elites of Bessarabia. The same coordinates include the attempt to print the newspaper "Românul" in Chişinău, which ultimately did not appear due to the refusal of the local administration. The intention to open a "Moldovan printing house" in Chişinău by the boyar Constantin Cristea was not accepted. The regional administration of Bessarabia opposed the appearance of newspapers in Romanian and the printing house of the boyar Constantin Cristea, which would have printed secular books in Romanian.

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 14, 40, 50.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., f. 17; d. 9087, f. 9.