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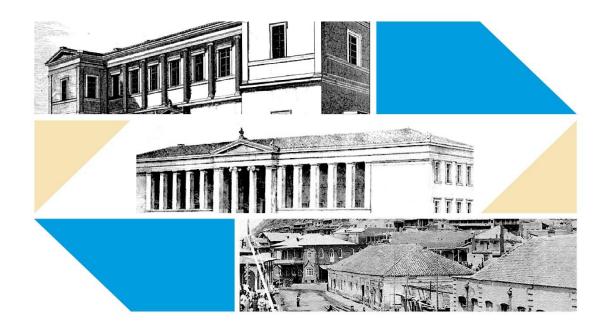


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Europe and the Black Sea Region, early 19th - early 20th Centuries



Friday

09:00-18:45

International Hellenic University

The conference is part of the project "Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in the Humanities: Europe and the Black Sea Region, late 18^{th} - 21^{st} Centuries." This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No. 734645.

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Immaterial Circulations.

French Cultural Influence in 19th Century Black Sea Region (1800–1854)

The paper aims to give insights into the French cultural influence in the Black Sea region and its role in the process of "westernization" of the area as seen by French local consuls.

Consuls have been since the Early Modern Time a relevant institution, playing a key role in building international networks, collecting information, supporting the interests of fellow nationals abroad, facilitating trade, and, last but not least, enhancing the "image" of the country among local ruling classes. This last aspect involved a wide range of activities including public lectures, private meetings, but also the support and control of French schools, as, for example, the renowned *Lycée Richelieu* of Odessa, created in 1816 by the Jesuit Dominique Charles Nicolle.

From the 16th century onwards French consuls were normally supported by a "chancellery", an office administered by the consul's personal secretary, the chancellor, who registered facts, letters, official acts. This way, we have at disposal a vast documentation all diverse aspects as the consuls' activity, including cultural ones, the daily life of French and local residents, cultural interchanges. This wide range of sources, mainly preserved at the *Archives Nationales* in Paris, has been, as recently noted (see e.g. the conference "Consuls, figures de l'intermédiation marchande", University of Nice, FR, April 2014) only partially exploited, mainly focusing on diplomatic, but only occasionally going deeper into the daily-life, not to say cultural issues.

The paper starts from these premises to exploit the potentialities of the diplomatic documents to go deeper into the manifold cultural aspects (formation of cultural élites, cultural activities at academic level, "vision" of France by local academicians, local élites and their social environment, cultural interchange, education and "westernization" processes, relation between local, Russia and French cultures,...) of French diplomatic network in 19th century Black Sea Region.

Sources, along with scientific literature, encompass the analysis of French diplomatic and economic documents preserved in the *Archives Nationales* in the series Marine A5, Marine A5, B1, B2, B3, B7; Affaires Etrangères B I, B III; F12; AD XIX et AQ 65. The paper presents results of an on-going project on cultural circulations in South-Eastern Europe developed by the NEC (Bucharest, RO).

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The Negotiation of Foreign Models in Modern Romanian Culture (1840–1900)

The middle of the 19th century marked for the Romanian provinces too the rise of national state and the process of building a new identity both by cultural and political interventions. Promotors of such changes were those schooled at the Wester universities who tried to import not only the Western knowledge but also the facets of culture they had been exposed to while studying abroad. The envisaged result of such transfer of knowledge and cultures was the 'making' of the modern Romanian culture or 'the invention' of its new traditions. But such a daunting attempt was the result of an intricate process of positioning among *propensity to imports*, struggles in *adapting such imports* and strong *opposition against them* when they appeared to be only shallow forms.

The image of this negotiation is well captured in and preserved by the literature of time — mainly in its satirical forms — and the polemics launched in the newspapers which set the stage for a very sharp and deep critique of modes and models. Yet, such critique was not simply the observation of the heavy-handed tendency to copy, but rather a coherent system of offering replacement solution in crafting a national culture.

My paper will investigate such text, both fictional and non-fictional, aiming at unveiling the levels of acceptance and rejection of, first, the institutions as depository of Wester knowledge and, second, the life styles as repositories of Western culture and of compromises made between the two distinct tendencies of importing and naturalization of such knowledge and cultures.

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Pompiliu Eliade and the French Influence in Romania in the early 20th Century

After completing his PhD studies at the *École Normale Supérieure* (Paris) in 1895, the young Romanian scholar Pompiliu Eliade returns to his country where he is named professor of French literature at the University of Bucharest, the most important university of the country. He is in fact the first Romanian scholar to have held this important chair that existed since the creation of the University, in 1864. He is known today for the book *De l'influence française sur l'esprit public en Roumanie* (Paris, Leroux, 1898) where he discusses the French influence in the Romanian Principalities during the 18th century. However, in order to understand the stakes of his texts, one must place them in conversation with the moment when they were written.

Firstly, his perspective upon the importance of the French model for the development of the Principalities, a model that should be continued in the times of the independent Romanian Kingdom, is in contradiction with his master Titu Maiorescu's critical views of "imitation" as a dangerous process that creates "forms without content" (forme fără fond). Eliade's work, as a professor of French, cannot be separated from the place of the French model in the public discourse of the epoch, which was regarded both in a positive manner (as proof of modernization) and in a negative way (in the context of an emerging nationalism and nation-building).

Secondly, his place at the university is contested by a young generation of historians led by Nicolae lorga who called themselves "the critical school" and who transformed their German intellectual background into a scientifically critical and neutral posture that paradoxically went hand in hand with a new form of nationalism. lorga's attack on Eliade reproduces in Bucharest the debate that was taking place in France at that time, between two ways of doing research about literature (Jules Lemaitre's impressionistic approach versus Gustave Lanson's literary history, a debate that was described by Antoine Compagnon in *La Troisième République des Lettres*).

Thirdly, as a member of the Liberal Party who was appointed manager of the National Theatre in Bucharest, Eliade, sparks controversy by staging plays in French that are met with protests among his students. In 1906, it is probably the only case in Romanian history when the audience rebelled against the so-called "Gallomania" and the Police had to intervene and use force against the students.

Thus, Eliade's example complicates the discussion of "colonial science" in several ways. As Romania was ruled by a German King, and was never a French colony, but had strong linguistic and political connections with the world of *Romania* (mainly Italy and France), the French model is a controversial reference point that leaves its mark in a world were universities were not autonomous from the other institutions of the young state and where the scholars were at the same time holding cultural and political offices.

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From Gabrovo to Odessa and Back...

(The Role of Bulgarian Emigrants in Odessa for the Establishment of Modern Bulgarian Education)

My paper is dedicated to the activities and the impact of the Odessa' Bulgarian community, that played a crucial role for the establishment of the modern Bulgarian education since the 1830s. Couple of emigres led by the brothers Racheev from the town of Gabrovo, Bulgaria, joint by Nikolai Tochkovich and others, sponsored the publication of multiple textbooks, instituted fellowships for successful Bulgarian pupils and created the first Bulgarian High School (Aprilov' Gymnasium), named after the notorious Bulgarian-Russian intellectual and philanthropist, also based in Odessa -- Vasil Aprilov. This was possible because of the considerable wealth of these Bulgarian immigrants, most of whom were successful traders and businessmen. Some of them became also public figures and entered the local administration in the so-called Novorussian region, (Ukraine between the Black Sea and the Azov sea) - like Spiridon Palauzov. Later on a political organization was created under the name of Odessa' Bulgarian Board (Odesko Bulgarsko Nastojatelstvo) in 1854. The major political line of the Board was the belief that Bulgarian Independent Principality should be achieved only via Russia and a future tight relations with the Russian Empire were seen as a grantee for the success of the Bulgarian people. The Board was very instrumental in organizing Bulgarian groups to fight during the Crimean War, but they rejected any claims for sponsorship that were made to them by the radical revolutionary wing of the Internal National Liberation Organization.

The leaders of the Bulgarian immigrant community in Odessa succeed in making a real transfer of knowledge between Odessa and Gabrovo. Subsequently, the influence of the Gabrovo educational projects spread across Bulgarian society as a whole. Gabrovo became the champion in modern Bulgarian education, and the town with the greatest number of college graduates until 1878. Several are the most important achievements of these patriots in exile: the management of the schools in Gabrovo, including the one for girls, the remarkable success in fundraising, and the careful choice of teachers. My study is also focused on examination of the content of the school programs, the study the list of the books and manuals in the library collections, the comparison between the number of the titles and authors from Bulgaria, Russia, Greece, France, Germany.

One specific characteristic of this process of building modern Bulgarian education, is the ardent local patriotism that motivated these man, as well as the tight family connections that were a must for the acceptance as a member of the governance of the school board.

My paper also deals with the fate of the descendants of the families of the Odessa' Bulgarian community that left Odessa after the Bolshevik revolution and re-established themselves in Gabrovo. Several of them further developed the modern textile industry, which gave Gabrovo the title "Bulgarian Manchester". Yet they never neglected their public duty. Members of these families are making donations to the *Aprilov Gymnazium* in town until today.

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The Transfer of Modern Agricultural Knowledge among the Bulgarian Society in the Danube Province (60s – 70s of the 19th Century)

The paper presents problems concerning the spread and attempts for realization of modern ideas of "agricultural enlightenment" among the Bulgarian society in the second half of the 19th century. Several levels of analysis will be presented:

The European experience of the Physiocrats and the following publications, constructing the popular image of "enlightened peasant" which have been object of translation in different languages for decades: "The rural Socrates; or an account of a Celebrated Philosophical Farmer" (1761) of Hans Caspar Hirzel (1725–1803), "A Little Book of Needful Help, or Instructive Tales of Joy and Sorrow in the Village of Mildheim" (1787) of Rudolph Zacharias Becker and especially "The Goldmakers' village" (1817) of Heinrich Zschokke.

Organizing of the first "model farms" (fermes modèles) in France and the enlargement of the network of agricultural schools in Western Europe after the middle of the 19th century.

A specific analysis is done in the frame of the wide reformist program of the governor Midhat pasha aiming at agrarian modernization of the Danube Province (Tuna Vilayeti) of the Ottoman empire after $1864 \, \text{r}$:

- The establishment of state founding "model farm" (1866) following French example. Later, immediately after the creation of the Bulgarian state, on its place the first Agricultural school opened in the country.
- Introduction of the system of agricultural credits by organization of the agricultural cooperative funds on Prussian example after 1864. Later on the basis of the network of the cooperative funds the system of the agricultural crediting and the Bulgarian Agricultural bank (1902) were established.
- Government scholarships (from the budget of Danube Province) for students to study in Austro Hungary in the Czech Agriculture School in Tábor (Bohemia) and Croatian Agriculture School in Križevci.

The research follows the influences in the formation of the first generation of Bulgarians with agricultural education as part of the process of formation of Bulgarian intelligentsia.

The first publications on "modern agriculture" in Bulgarian language – translated and original ones – have been analyzed. Two specific cases have been presented: the first book in Bulgarian language on agriculture "Agriculture" (1853) of Nikola Ikonomov and the adapted translation of "The Goldmakers'village" of Heinrich Zschokke (1870). The birth of the specialized agricultural periodicals in Bulgarian language has been followed – the journal "Stupan" (1874–1876).

The reasons for the unsuccessful attempts for the establishment of Bulgarian agricultural schools up to 1879 have been analyzed. Only in the beginning of the 1870s in the curriculum of three Bulgarian schools (in the towns of Shumen, Razgrad and Bolgrad) practical agricultural skills and "modern agriculture" have been taught.

The specific educational mobility of Bulgarian students in the agricultural schools in Tábor and Križevci financed by the Bulgarian community and student agronomists in the universities of Prague, Vienna and Berlin have been followed. It should be noted that, while Russian universities were popular for humanitarian studies, agriculture was studied mainly in Austria-Hungary and Germany.

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Jewish Education in Macedonian Cities (1860 – 1912)

During the Ottoman period, the basic Jewish schools in the European part of the Ottoman Empire were traditional religious schools "Talmud Torah". With the foundation of section of "Alliance Israelite Universelle" in Thessaloniki in 1864, the Jewish community in European part of the Ottoman Empire started a new chapter in their educational development. From 1873 a modern Jewish schools started to work in Macedonian cities. Wealthy industrialists and their firms donated in secular education and established modern Jewish schools. One of these modern schools was opened in Thessaloniki in 1875 from Alatini family, with a capacity of 500 children.

In 1895, the Jewish – French school was opened in Bitola. This school was financially supported by the wealthy parents of the students, the Jewish community of Bitola and by the Alliance. The majority of the teachers were French citizens, who were sent by the Alliance. In this school were educated children from different nationalities. The Jewish – French school in Bitola was active until 1916.

In 1895, the primary school for boys was opened in Skopje. In 1902, the primary school for girls was opened. With this, the Jewish girls became a part of the educational process. The lectures in these schools were held on French language. Also, there were classes on Hebrew, Turkish and Greek language. Among other subjects were Jewish history, explanation of the Tanach etc. In 1910, the Alliance opened primary school in Shtip. In the first year, there were educated 87 boys and girls. Also, "La skola Djudea" (previous Jewish school in Shtip) remained active.

Thanks to activity of these schools, the illiteracy of the Jewish population was put to an end. Compared with Christian and Muslim population, the level of illiteracy among the Jewish population was very small. These new schools had a secular education, with the promotion of French language and culture. With this educational activity of the Jewish diaspora from France, Judeo-Spanish language began to lose its importance in the life of the Jewish society in the Ottoman Empire, while in everyday affairs the elite began to speak and write in French.

This paper will explain the historical process of emancipation and secularization of the Jewish community in Macedonian cities from 1860 until the end of the Ottoman rule in 1912.

Teacher Training Courses in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries

The future of the country greatly depends on teacher's professional maturity and pedagogic skills. In the second half of the 19th century, primary schools were opened in Georgia, which required having qualified teachers. The existing situation made it necessary to establish a teaching seminar. The preparation of teachers started in the 60s of the 19th century. In this period the first such institution was opened in Tbilisi in 1866. In 1872, Tbilisi Alexandre teaching college was converted into an institution. In the first year, they admitted 23 young students. They taught: Divine law, Russian language, history, geography, arithmetic, geometry, natural science, hygiene, pedagogy and methodology. The curriculum also included facultative teaching of Georgian language. Until 1917, up to 800 teachers were trained here. It played a significant role in preparing primary education teachers in the Caucasus. From the 1870s, teachers' seminary started to function in Georgia. In this institution they admitted male students since the age of 16. The course of the seminar lasted 4 years, preparing teachers for primary schools. Along with the other disciplines, the history of world, orthography, gymnastics, drawing, pedagogy and didactics were taught.

In the same period, Gori and Khoni teaching seminaries were established. They prepared more than 1500 teachers. There was a primary school consisting of three departments: junior, middle and senior departments. The future teachers were taught teaching methods and lesson plans. The lessons were observed and experimental lessons were delivered. At the primary school, both boys and girls were admitted. Special attention was paid to Georgian and Russian languages. They considered teacher being physically strong and educated in all aspects, respected and trusted in society. Therefore, the school's physical training and musical education was at the highest level and the seminar offered the future teacher a multi-faceted education. In 1894 in Kutaisi there was established a seminary, which prepared teachers. Pedagogic staff were also prepared by additional gymnasiums in different regions. The students having desire and appropriate skills to become primary school teachers could attend these classes. During one year, they conducted lessons and attended pedagogy and methodology courses. After graduation they were sent for teaching at the primary schools.

In the second half of the 19th century, several societies were created in Georgia, which were aware of the role of education. "The Society of Literacy Distribution among Georgians" opened and funded Georgian schools, libraries and students. The society was established by Georgian intellectuals: I. Chavchavadze, G. Kazbegi, D. Kipiani, etc. In this period hundreds of schools were founded in Kutaisi, Senaki, Caucasus, Batumi and Martvili. The significance of this society was invaluable. In 1879, a school for the nobility was founded in Tbilisi, which later became a gymnasium. Based on this gymnasium, the first building of the Tbilisi State University was founded in 1918.

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Attempting to Fight Epidemics Autonomously: Examples from the Ottoman Empire and the Black Sea Region

In the first half of the 19th century the European Great Powers perceived the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea Region hotbeds of epidemic diseases, namely of plague and of cholera. A crucial role thereby played the Ottoman Empire which in the late 1830s finally established a permanent system of maritime and terrestrial quarantine stations alongside its coasts and in the interior of Asia Minor and of the Balkan Peninsula. In order to operate a network of quarantines, you must have a skilled staff of physicians with the respective technological knowledge, a fast system of communication and a steering body which disposes of the respective expertise and knowledge horizon to decide whether the imposition of quarantines in certain regions of the Empire is necessary or not.

This paper will discuss the circumstances under which the introduction of quarantines as a special, materialized form of Western knowledge was implanted into the Ottoman Empire, thereby surmounting resistance from Muslim scholars and clerics. In the beginning the Ottoman Empire had to resort to foreign physicians whom the fate had brought to the Ottoman Empire in order to operate the quarantines. But also Christian subjects of the Sultan, so-called Levantines, who had studied medicine at European Universities, were increasingly engaged for the quarantine service. But it was a long way, until graduates from the Military Medical School in Constantinople, which had been established roughly at the same time as the quarantine system, would form a thin layer of domestic Muslim physicians which would assess itself next to the foreign and domestic Christian medical staff.

Even if the quarantine system had been established by the will of Sultan Mahmut II, its ruling body, the International Sanitary Council in Constantinople, despite the fact that its was always chaired by a high Ottoman official, by its majority consisted of both diplomatic and medical representatives of the European Great Powers: while the diplomats took care for European commercial interests, the physicians (mainly the personal doctors of the embassies) were to ascertain, if plague or cholera was at stake, so that maritime or terrestrial quarantines had to be imposed. This was the situation until the end of this council by the onset of the First World War. In the meantime, several conflicts took place between the Sublime Porte and the European Great Powers, whereby the Ottoman side in vain tried to implant its physicians into this body, in order to change the power relations and to introduce a more harsh quarantine policy in favor of the interest of the Sultan.

A third focus will be on the dispute between the Ottoman Empire and its tributary Bulgarian Principality about the quarantines of Burgas and Varna. To have control of the own nation state, means to have control of the necessary technology in order to fight epidemics autonomously. Therefore, the Bulgarian authorities tried to take over these quarantines, while the Ottoman Empire declared that they fell into the suzerainty of the Sultan. Actually, the dispute would last until the Bulgarian declaration of independence of 1908.

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The Institutions of Knowledge Production in 19th Century Ottoman Macedonia.

A Trans-Imperial Perspective

The paper aims at presenting the biograms of Slav-speaking elites of Ottoman Macedonia active in building educational institutions from early until late 19th century. The analysis would reveal their function as both subjects and objects of trans-imperial, politicized intellectual exchange between the Russian and the Ottoman empire (and within the latter), which has developed through a system of educational institutions. The choice of exchange agents (i.e. Partenija Zografski, Gjorgija Pulevski, Rajko Zhinzifov, Grigor Prlichev, brothers Miladinov) might prove informative and contribute to a more generalized discussion on the issues of locality, center-periphery relations, "small" vs. "big" imperialism of knowledge production, or channels of disseminating ideas and propagandas by the rivaling empire[s] through institution building.

The paths of knowledge exchange varied depending on the type of institution (i.e. Saint Sava Society in Serbia, Greek Gymnasium, Russian Pan-Slavic institutions in Odessa and Petersburg, educational institutions of Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople, and Moscow ecclesiastic ones). The authors chosen for the presentation can be ascribed to at least one of them, accordingly.

The biograms of the aforementioned authors, who were writers, educators, teachers, journalists, poets, and a priest, are revealed through their official and private writings. Their personal correspondence, diaries, letters are often written in several languages (Russian, Bulgarian, Greek, Turkish), sometimes interchangeably, and the moments of transgression between the languages shows the tension between the public and the private sphere of knowledge production and dissemination. Furthermore, their official writings, together with the sources of knowledge used for the textbooks and dictionaries, reveal how the cultural production of a particular educational center of influence would shape choices of self-perception for elites, and subsequently, their students.

What is important, the chosen agents represent an area perceived by both empires (Ottoman and Russian) as useful (or not), but still – a periphery. Furthermore, the Slavic elites of Ottoman Macedonia functioned as double subjects: of Christian Greek Patriarchate with its ecclesiastical power over them, and of Muslim Ottoman state with its political one. Being Slavs denied the right to education in maternal language, some sought for opportunities through Slavic ties in Tsarist Russian institutions, while others acquired knowledge in Ottoman facilities led by Greeks, or in modern Greek schools of the Kingdom of Greece. The choices of the chain of intellectual and political transmission were hence limited to Prussian influenced, modern Greek schools disseminating the "small" imperial propaganda of Megali Idea mirroring the "big" imperial propagandas, the old fashioned ecclesiastic schools sustaining the Ottoman status quo, and Russian institutions proliferating anti-Turkish and anti-Muslim imagery while promoting the Tsar as the Redeemer of Slavs. On the top of this, the Ottoman Tanzimat did successfully create a rivaling image of Sultan as the savior.

The essential aim of the paper would therefore be to show and explain reasons behind the identitarian-cum-political choices of one or several imperial propagandas with their centers of cultural and knowledge production, and their subsequent dissemination through journalist and educational activity of the chosen agents.

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Gjorgji Pulevski (1822/23-1893): From Bricklayer and Soldier to Writer and National Ideologue

Gjorgji Pulevski (1822/23, Galichnik, today Republic of Macedonia – 1893, Sofia) was a revolutionary and publicist from Macedonia and one of the first Macedonian authors who openly advocated a separate Macedonian nation and a separate Macedonian language. He was a bricklayer by profession and as a migrant worker he often worked in neighboring Balkan countries. After the migration to Romania, in the early 1860s he went to Belgrade where he participated in the fighting with the Turkish garrison in 1862-63. He continued his lifetime by participating in all the major uprisings and wars in the Balkans in the second half of the 19th century for the liberation from Ottoman domination.

At the same time he collected lexical and other materials in northwest Macedonia and published his first dictionary of four languages (Serbian, Albanian, Turkish and Greek), in Belgrade, in 1873. Two years later, in 1875 he also published the second dictionary, known as the Dictionary of Three Languages (Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish) where he first presented the idea of a separate Macedonian nation and Macedonian language. In the following years, he published several more scientific and literary works, and in 1892, he completed the huge manuscript "Slavo-Macedonian General History" on about 1,700 pages, which is the first history of the Macedonian people and language. He died in Sofia on February 13, 1893.

In this paper will be analyzed the ideas of Gjorgji Pulevski expressed in his papers, as well as his self-identification and understanding of belonging to a certain community. The focus will be on the written sources of Pulevski, such as the mentioned dictionaries and the general history and his poems and grammars. Examining his ideas expressed in the above-mentioned works that model his self-identification, the basic identification markers will be explored: language, faith, tradition. Of course, clothing and personal qualities, such as courage and love for independence, will be also explore as an important element in self-identification as the part of the image that Gjorgji Pulevski left for himself.

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The Economic Penetration of Great Britain in the Area of Trebizond in the First Half of the 19th C.

The presence of Europeans was of seminal importance for the economic development of Pontus (southern shore of the Black Sea). Although commercial relations between the domains of the Ottoman Empire and Europe had been initiated as early as the 16th century, no crucial economic penetration occurred before the last quarter of the 18th century, with the signing of the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774).

Especially after the treaty of Adrianople (1829), when Russian – and European navigation in general – became free from the restrictions of the Porte that turned Trebizond and her port into a "road and gate" of European states to Anatolia, the Caucasus, Southern Russia and Persia. Thus, as Trebizond was expanding into a center of global degree and interest, Europeans founded consulates – especially after 1830 – precisely in order to secure privileged access to world trade.

Based mainly on the commercial reports of the British consulate of Trebizond (founded in 1830), the proposed announcement examines British economic penetration in the area. It was predominantly the Anglo-Ottoman commercial treaty of 1838 that gradually bequeathed British trade (especially exports to the Ottoman market) with significant impulse, thereby setting the foundations for Great Britain's economic dominance in the southern shore of the Black Sea in mid-19th century.

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The Contribution of Azerbaijani Enlighteners to Oriental Studies in the 19th Century

The scientific field of Oriental Studies appeared in 16–17th centuries in the Western countries that had embarked upon the path of colonial conquests. However, formation of Oriental Studies as a separate academic discipline relates to the 19th century. One of the consequences of entry of the Europeans into the Eastern countries on the edge of 18–19th centuries was the exportation of ancient writings from those countries. The richest stocks of ancient manuscripts came into existence in the main book depositories in Europe and particularly in such cities as Leiden, London, Paris, St. Petersburg etc. Nevertheless, many writings still needed more professional translation and much knowledge was incomplete and required better understanding.

By this time, a galaxy of prominent Azerbaijani enlighteners became relatively well integrated in the academic Oriental Studies. Having acquired deep knowledge in oriental philosophy, literature, history and languages based on Islamic theology, they, however, from the first quarter of 19th century brightly integrated into the academic heritage of the European educational school. At the same time, European science also benefited from native speakers of Eastern languages, Sufi culture and Islamic traditions.

Nineteenth century was a fateful century for Azerbaijan. As a result of the Russian-Kajar wars, the territory of Azerbaijan which until 19th century was historically a united centuries-old ethno-cultural region and a single geopolitical space was divided into two parts: "Northern" and "Southern" Azerbaijan. However, historical events, as a common rule, cannot be treated unilaterally. In spite of the dramatic character of this situation the fact of being a part of Imperial Russia has nevertheless had some beneficial outcomes. Azerbaijani enlighteners used to become honorary members of high academic institutions in Russia, Britain and France and interacted with the European science. At the same time, they continued to work closely with representatives of the North-Caucasus, Moldova, Georgia and Russia.

For instance, that was the same time that historiography began to emerge in Azerbaijan. It was founded by Abbasgulu Bakikhanov, an author of many valuable works on history, literature and geography of the East and the West and some of those works were translated into European languages. Mirza-Jafar Topchibashev and Mirza Kazim-beg were also amongst honorary members of the British Royal Asiatic Society in London and in Paris. New academic work "Derbend-nameh or the history of Derbend" was published in English in 1851 under edition of the prominent Azerbaijani enlightener Mirza Kazim-beg. According to Vladimir Minorsky this work was "a much more meritorious work on the Darbend-nameh published in English". The Grammar of Turkish-Tatar language of Kazim-beg published in 1839 was a notable event in Turcology and became a first experience of presentation of Turkic grammar in the world. That work was translated into German by Zenker in 1848. The relevant researches of Azerbaijani enlighteners in fields of the Safavid history and religion will also be presented in the article.

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The Influence of Western European Ideas on the Modernization of Social Thought in 19th Century Azerbaijan

The first half of the 19th century was a time in the history of Azerbaijan full of symbolic events. The Russian Empire incorporated the whole region with a special socio-cultural and spiritual-moral complex. Because of the inclusion of the Caucasus in the Russian imperial space, the peoples of the region had an opportunity to learn more advanced culture, scientific and educational achievements in the field of science, as well as socio-political doctrines of Europe. As for Azerbaijan, it should also be noted that due to the contact of two civilizations – the European one, represented by Russia, and the traditional Islamic one – an entirely new social stratum – the Azerbaijani intelligentsia was born.

Azerbaijan's Enlightenment is of scientific interest to us for two reasons. Firstly, it appears as an ideological trend in Azerbaijani public thought, which in its own way reflects the qualitative social changes in the 19th and early 20th centuries. These changes can be designated as the process of transforming traditional society into modern society. Secondly, somewhere in the 30–40s of the 19th century, shifts in the worldview sphere are gradually emerging. In this perspective, the "Enlightenment project" appears as a spiritual and practical activity, as a movement and a campaign to change minds and institutions.

Such universals of the Enlightenment as freedom, equality, justice, rationality, rationalism, progress, etc., penetrating into non-European areas, including Azerbaijan, underwent significant changes, correlating with the local civilization environment. It is appropriate to talk about the Muslim Enlightenment (one of the forms of which was the Azerbaijani Enlightenment), as a kind of response to the challenge of the West the same time, the most relevant means of an answer were socio-political, economic, cultural, ethical and aesthetic ideas and teachings of Western origin. This was, in our view, the ambivalence of the perception of the "West" as an image and phenomenon by the Eastern Progressive (in this case, Russian-Muslim) consciousness: the West faced both the oppressor and the colonizer and, as the only source of progress, for development, the model of optimal life.

In the 19th century, when virtually all Muslim (and not only) peoples and countries found themselves in colonial or semi-colonial dependence on European powers, there was a deep decline and a huge backwardness of the eastern countries from the Western countries. The advanced intellectuals of the East, reflecting this state, generated the ideology of transformation and modernization of the traditional society of their countries. This set of ideas and ideological trends was designated as the Muslim Enlightenment. Under the influence of the ideas of the European origin, the Azerbaijani enlighteners were engaged in what later became known as the "disenchantment of the world", i.e. the destruction of the myths of traditionalism (including the myths of religious consciousness) and the overthrow of the imagination through knowledge. In our case, the outstanding Azerbaijani writer and thinker M.F. Akhundov particularly succeeded in "shattering" the symbolic world of Azerbaijani traditionalism.

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The Educational Movement in Azerbaijan in the Early 20th Century

The Russian colonization of the Caucasus in the 19th century disrupted the traditional development of this region, forcing it to face the East-West dilemma. Within this dilemma, the West was associated with progress, which implied liberation from centuries-old religious dogmas and traditional way of life historically prevalent in the East. Meanwhile, Eastern civilization rested on a rich cultural heritage and possessed enormous mobilizing resources, such as philosophical rationalism regulating the capacity of the philosophical law, mechanisms of social self-organisation based on the ancient national traditions, natural resources and a multi-million population. The emotional qualities brought up by the Eastern culture, such as mutual assistance, aspiration for unity and flexibility, prevailed in the East instead of the European pragmatism and vigour.

The Caucasian regions bordering on Iran, Turkey and Russia, could not stay uninfluenced by process of modernization, especially after they entered the political and cultural space of the Russian Empire. Progressive ideas, including those of enlightenment, were born in the context of struggle between opposite cultures and different religions and mentalities, and were, at the same time, a kind of dialogue-bridge between the West and the East. The ideas and achievements were mediated through Russia. In this very period, in the mid-19th—early 20th centuries, social transformation occurred in the Muslim regions of the Russian Empire, i.e. in Central Asia, the Crimea and the Azerbaijanies of South Caucasus. This transformation is characterised by the emergence of the artistic and scientific intelligentsia, which in its role of the generator and disseminator of ideas of social modernization, regards the reformation of education as its primary goal.

No doubt, the progressive reformation in Central Asia and the Caucasus played the same role as the Age of the Enlightenment did in Europe; only it took place several centuries later, changing the century old lifestyle and mentality in a whole generation of people belonging to various social classes. The ideas of enlightenment as it was conceived in the West supported every person regardless of their social representation.

The traditions of enlightenment established by the great reformers of the 19th century in Azerbaijan – A. Bakikhanov and M.F. Axundov were carried on in the early 20th century by their followers J. Mamedkulizade, G. Mahmudbekov, A. Agayev, U. Gajibeyli, F. Kocharli, M.E. Rasulzade etc. Many of these intellectuals studied in the best educational institutions in Russia and in Western Europe. In particular, the well-known Azerbaijani publicist and public figure Ahmed bey Agayev was a pupil of the famous French philosopher and orientalist Ernest Renan.

Returning to their homeland, they tried to implement reforms in the field of education, created new schools, gymnasiums and schools on the European model. Great efforts were made by Azerbaijani and Georgian intellectuals to establish higher educational institutions in the Caucasus – the Pedagogical Institute and the Transcaucasus University. However, their efforts were unsuccessful, despite the numerous promises of the tsarist administration. And only after independence in 1918, all three republics of the South Caucasus were able to establish their universities. Nevertheless, the scientific connections that existed between Western, Russian and local scientists as far back as the 19th century were not interrupted in the early 20th century.

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Visualizing the Balkans: The Balkan Wars and WWI

Film and photography did not only impact the visual emotions of the inhabitants of the Balkan countries; the two media shared an important dimension, namely their worldwide distribution: the photograph as photo postcard and the film by film distributors. In the first decade of the twentieth century, short newsreels about events around the world began to appear in Europe and also in places, where the lower and middle classes were looking for entertainment, and more importantly, for information outside their immediate environment. For these initial filmgoers, the screen became the preferred public sphere.

This visual revolution had insofar consequences for the reputation of the Balkans as the pioneer media of photography and film became important instruments for the establishment of asymmetric visual power relations between 'the West' and 'the Balkans'. The western media and film producers had sent their own photo reporters and film teams to the war theatres in the Balkans. Presumably, much more foreigners than locals acted in the visual business. As consequence 'the West' came into the position to construct its own and specific image of 'the bellicose Balkans'.

The Bulgarian-US-American historian Maria Todorova coined the term 'Balkanism' in order to describe the pejorative western discourse about the Balkans that had emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century in the eyes of Todorova the term 'Balkanization' became a new invective in Europe.

Interestingly, Todorova focuses exclusively on textual discourses and disregards the visual ones, which is reasonable since the work with visual material differs from the analysis of textual documents. My assumption is that the written narratives Todorova refers to, played a minor role in the construction of the negative image of the Balkans compared to the pictures and films that were produced and distributed in the course of the three wars. However, this is only a hypothesis, which has not yet been proven.

My observations try to open up new perspectives to new and previously untouched research fields, which are related to the amalgamation of western visual modernity and local (Balkan) visual modernities. This kind of research would be badly advised, if it would be based on the traditional dichotomy of a visual modernity, exclusively formulated in the west, and backward Balkan societies, which eagerly have copied the Western blueprint. On the contrary, such kind of research has to be based on agent-centred and exchange-oriented approaches, which do not intend to 'prove' the visual domination of 'the West' over its 'Balkan periphery' but targets on open modes of amalgamation processes.

My paper will, firstly, warm-up Maria Todorova's Balkanism thesis. Its second section will point at the dynamics of photo reportages and its third section will analyse the role newsreels played in the visual representation business.

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Формирование этнологии как научного направления и тенденции развития визуальной антропологии: грузинская реалтность и зарубежный опыт

(вторая половина девятнадцатого века – первая половина двадцатого века)

Процесс становления этнографии как независимого исследовательского направления осуществлялся в Грузии со второй половины девятнадцатого века до 1925 года. Периодическая пресса, работы чиновников-исследователей царистского административного аппарата, статистические и демографические данные и реестры, связанные с социальными и культурными особенностями грузинского и кавказских народов представляют собой довольно интересные этнографические данные, такие как этнографическое наследие, связанное с новой грузинской историографией Платона Иоселиани и Димитрия Бакрадзе, первые шаги в основании музеев (Рафиел Эристави), полевые этнографические исследования, первые этнографические публикации, исследование юридических аспектов традиций горного населения Грузии (Николоз Хизанишвили); первые шаги в определении теоретических и практических направлений исследований Кавказа в работах иностранных путешественников — исследователей начала девятнадцатого и двадцатого веков.

Наследие Димитрия Ермакова представляет особенный интерес с точки зрения визуальной антропологии, в частности с точки зрения развития этнографической фотографии в Грузии. Ермаков, заинтересованный фиксацией этнографических образов и географических мест, много путешествовал по Кавказу, посетил Турцию, Иран, Центральную Азию и Россию, его фотоархив содержит не только его собственные фотографии, но, возможно, работы его учеников и других фотографов. Ермаков был профессиональным фотографом, коллекционером и исследователем. Его работы включают в себя виды горной Сванетии, архитектурные памятники Абхазии, Бакинские нефтепромыслы, архитектуру, этнические образы Турции. Помимо Грузии, России и стран Европы, Ермаков был признан и в Иране, где Шах Ирана назначил его придворным фотографом.

Не меньший интерес вызывают фотографии архитектурных памятников, на которых Ермаков не только зафиксировал архитектурные виды, но также передал значение и характер запечатленных памятников. Уникальными в этом смысле являются фотографии Тбилиси. Ермаков был одним из пионеров, создавших историю Тбилиси, являясь фактическим создателем фотоистории Тбилиси.

В статье так же рассматривается визуальное антропологическое наследие болгарского этнографа Димитрия Маринова, проводившего исследования в Руссе (район Болгарии) в январефеврале 1892 года. Этот период связан с праздничными обрядами — свадьбами и театрализованными маскарадами. Альбом включает в себя 46 фотографий, ярко демонстрирующих профессионализм автора. Местное сельское население выбрано в

интересной и совершенной манере. Профессионализм автора также подтверждается фактом визуальной беспрерывности процессов отснятых традиций, дающей возможность видеть их в комплексном ракурсе, ярким примером чего являются фотографии свадебной церемонии в деревне Басарбово, главными персонажами которой являются крестный отец, члены его семьи и сама по себе свадебная церемония, представленная женихом, его родственниками, праздничным столом, танцами и свадебной процессией. Фотографии ярко отображают иерархию членов семьи. Фотографии праздничного стола, за которым мужчины и женщины сидят по разные стороны стола и фиксация одежды представляют особый интерес. В то же время не меньший интерес вызывают фотографии ритуального хлеба.

Таким образом, в заключение, мы можем уверенно заявить, что Димитрий Ермаков и Димитрий Маринов являются выдающимися фотографами и исследователями, внесшими огромный вклад в развитие этнографической фотографии Черноморского региона.

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Establishing Ethnology and Developing Visual Anthropology. Georgian Reality and Foreign Experience (1850–1925)

The process of establishing ethnography as an independent field was implemented in Georgia from the second half of the 19th century to 1925. Periodic press, works of officials-researchers of Tsarism administrative apparatus, statistical-demographic collections and registries, related with social and cultural peculiriaties of Georgian and Caucasian people present interesting ethnographic data. The following activities also should be noted: ethnographical heritage, related with a new Georgian historiography establishement of Platon Ioseliani and Dimitri Bakradze, Raphiel Eristavi; the first steps of establishing museums; field-ethnographical and cameralistic researches; the first ethnographic publications; Nikoloz Khizanishvili's research of legal aspects of traditions of Georgian mountain population; the first steps of defining theoretical and practical directions of Caucasus ethnology in the works of foreign travellers-researchers from the beginning of the 19th century until the early 20th century.

Dimitry Ermakov's activity is significantly interesting in the sense of visual anthropology, particularly concerning the development of ethnographic photography in Georgia. Aimed at ethnographic images and fixating geographic places, Ermakov travelled a lot through Caucasia, visited Turkey, Iran, Central Asia and Russia, His photographic archive includes not only his, but possible his pupils and other photographers' photos. Ermakov was a professional photographer, a professional collector and a researcher. He made series of photos of Svaneti mountain views, Abkhazian architectural monuments, Baku's oil fields, architecture, ethnic groups, Ottoman cities, etc. Besides Georgia, Russia and European countries, Ermakov was also renowned in Iran. He was appointed the court photographer by the Shah of Iran and was a teacher of Sevruguin, a prominent photographer in Iran. Ermakov photos of architectural monuments are of no lesser interest, for they are not only photo documents fixating pure architectural view of the monuments, but also display the importance and the character of the monuments. The photos of Tbilisi, taken by Ermakov are unique. He was one of the first persons, who created Tbilisi history, actually he was the creator Tbilisi photo history.

The paper also discusses the visual anthropologic activities of the Bulgarian ethnographer Dimitri Marinov. He implemented his research in the Bulgarian Ruse region in January and February, 1892. He took photos of weddings as well as of theatrical activities with mask activities. The album includes 46 pictures. The album clearly displays the proficiency of its author. The local population is selected in a very interesting manner. The professionalism of photos is proven by the fact that all the processes of traditions are visually uninterrupted and the viewer sees them in complex. The clear example of the above said is the wedding ceremony shots, taken in village Basarbovo. The major characters of these photos are the Godfather and his family as well the whole wedding ceremony participated by the bridegroom and his relatives and the Godfather, the feast table, dances and wedding procession are also presented. The photo also clearly presents the hierarchy of the family

members. The feast table shot is also interesting, where women sit in a row separated from the men. Clothes documentation shown by Dimitri Marinov is also interesting. He took photos of the persons with both front and back views. Ritual bread design and respect towards it are also significantly interesting, which fully shows traditions, characterizing the local population.

Thus, as the conclusion, we may declare that Dimitri Ermakov and Dimitri Marinov are outstanding photographers/researchers of the period and they greatly contributed to the development of Black Sea Region ethnographic photography. The proficiency of the authors is proven by the continuity and depth of traditional shots, giving the researchers possibility to perceive visual material presented in the albums in a very easy manner providing a basis for further researches.

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Romanian Women at the Beginning of 19th Century as Seen by Foreign Travelers. Patterns of Representation

If we are to believe Freud, poets and artists in general, woman is one of the mysteries of this world. She is an ideal, she is representation, need, aspiration, covenant, damnation and grief. Beyond all these attributes, a WOMAN is first and foremost a product of the imaginary — which is usually male — of a society at any given moment. The representations of the Romanian woman have also been subjected to these rules of engagement established by the dominant male imagination.

This paper aims to unveil the archetypes of the male imagination with regard to Romanian women in the (pre)modern age. These archetypes are doubly dominant: on the one hand, they are representative for the male imaginary; on the other hand, they stem from the imaginary of Western men, who happened to pass by the "Gates of the Orient" as diplomats, missionaries, officers, intellectuals, merchants and so on, or who were there to stay, as teachers, physicians, engineers, architects etc.

My paper's aim is twofold: on the one hand, I will deal with the typical portrait of the Romanian woman, as it emerges from the writings of Western travellers at the beginning of the 19th century; and, on the other, I will track the differences between women from upper classes and peasantry as well as from women of Moldavia and Wallachia.

My presentation will be guided by a series of questions, such as: is the Romanian woman a symbol of the West-East alterity? Is she portrayed in a negative or positive light? Can we identify any relevant changes at the beginning of the 19th century and, if so, should these be attributed to the societal changes in the Romanian principalities or to a transforming male perspective on women? What are the differences between women belonging to the two principalities? What about class differences? Is there a single typology of Romanian women or are there several types?

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The "New Women" - the First Professional Intellectual Organization of Women in Russia

The object of our research is the "new" social group of women which appeared at the end of the 1850s and marked the beginning of the women's movement in Russia. Namely this category of women — most of them of aristocratic origin, educated, sharing liberal Western ideas, on one hand, and with new female identity, on the other hand, contributed for the modernization of the Russian society by institutionalization of women's movement in the so-called "artels of translators". For the "new" women the right of labor is important task not only because of economic considerations but of moral ones as an acknowledged frame of women's freedom. As their other important task, they formulated and initiated the struggle for university education of women. Being educated, knowing foreign languages, having free time and financial resources for most of them, allowed them to organize many women's initiatives at the end of the 1850s and the beginning of the1860s.

Our research aims at considering the initiative of the founding and the activities of the Society of the female translators in Russia in the context of the beginning of women liberal movement from the 1860s i.e. to analyze the "artel" as part of the wider movement of women. We analyzed the reasons and the conditions for establishing the Society and the age, social and economic statute of the women participating in it.

The theme of this first professional female union in Russia hasn't been object of special monography research. It is shortly mentioned in wider researches on the history of the female movement and feminism in Russia in the middle of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

We analyzed the socio-political context of the first professional women's union. It was the time when several ideological centers were formed – liberal, nihilist, revolutionary. The Russian liberalism outlined its main tasks – the avoidance of serfdom, introductions of laws guaranteeing civil rights, equality of all classes to the law, independent court and local self-government. This was the basis of the establishment and functioning of the women's society.

The social profile of the women included in the Society have been analyzed. The group of the activists (45 women) started their activity in 1863. The aim of the Society was double – on one hand, to improve the material condition of the women belonging to the Society by providing intellectually prestigious work as translation, proofreading, publication and, on the other hand, by translation of Western literature to provide to society "nice and useful models to be followed" and to change the domineering patriarchal values.

We researched in details the specific translation policy of the Society, its publishing and distribution activities. In 1879, the Society closed because of withdrawal of its leaders for family reasons. Since the society depended too much on the personal qualities of its leaders we followed the biographical trajectories of the three most important figures: Maria Vasilevna Trubnikova (1835–1897); Nadezhda Vasilievna Stasova (1822–1895); Anna Pavlovna Filosofova (1837–1912), their publicistic and publishing activity and their connection with prominent figures of women's movement in France, Britain, Switzerland and North America.

These women turned into translators of the European feminist movement since they have both intensive relations with European representatives of women's movement and possibility to select and publish textbooks and literature and thus introducing new scientific ideas and European pedagogical achievements in the Russian reality.

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Connections between Migration Flows and Knowledge Exchange in the 19th Century: Mobility and Space. Tbilisi as a Hub of Flowing Ideas.

This paper will examine the emerging intellectual life in Tbilisi – a city that was home to various ethnicities and later became one of the most increasingly developing center in the Black Sea Region. The principal purpose of this paper is to look deep into the intellectual life in Tbilisi during the late decades of the 19th century with a particular focus on how the West European Ideas were percived by the new group of local intellectuals who represented hybridized version of both Western and Eastern intellectual traditions.

Due to its importance both as cultural and administrative center of the Caucasus region, Tbilisi after the Russian invasion, took a rapid development path and had become a cultural center of the Caucasus. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the Russian Empire invaded the Caucasus, Tabriz was the center for the Muslim intellectuals of the region, whereas starting from the early decades of the nineteenth century this function was transformed to Tbilisi. With the transformation of Tbilisi into a political, commercial and cultural center of the Caucasus region, the city has become a frequent visiting place for travelers, writers, and even politicians. As a matter of fact, Tbilisi, in generally the whole Caucasus region was the destination of political exiles and final stop for almost all unwanted groups who fled the Russian Empire. This group of "unruled" members of society had, in fact, considerable impact on the life of Caucasian people. After the failed revolt by "Decembrists" which took place in 1825, members of the movements were suppressed, and many revolutionaries were deported to far away peripheries of the Empire such as Siberia and the Caucasus. In Tbilisi, there was a fascinating synthesis of political atmosphere filled with revolutionaries, libertarian constitutionalists, reactionaries and several other members of various inclinations. This unique environment deeply affected the various group of ethnicities in Tbilisi and the milieu of intellectuals who lived in Tbilisi. In other word, the intellectuals in Tbilisi were indirectly connected to Europe and any ideas and innovations took place in Europe, or Russia spread rapidly and soon reached the doors of Tbilisi. The new generation of intellectuals learning Russian began to recognize and learn European civilization with the help of literary circles in Tbilisi. Above all, the ideas of liberty, democracy, and populism that emerged in Europe after the French Revolution had a greater influence on these young intellectuals.

The arguments mentioned above are currently developing into more detailed analysis and will constitute a separate chapter in the doctoral project that is under preparation.

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The Role of the Murad Rafaelian College (1836–1998) in Venice and the Samvel Muradyan (1846–1985) Lyceum in Paris in the Development of Armenian Studies

The Murad Rafaelian College is one of the educational establishments founded by the Mekhitarist Congregation outside Armenia. As far as the preservation of the Armenian language was one of the concerns of the Mekhitarist Congregation, they opened schools, colleges and lyceums in Italy, Iran, Crimea, Hungary, Turkey and some other countries, thus contributing to knowledge and culture exchange within and beyond the BSR from the mid-19th century, when the emerging scientific institutions were dominated by "European" researchers. In 1834, according to the testament of Rafael and Murad, two Armenian wealthy merchants from India, the Muradian School named after Murad was founded in Padua, Italy, and in 1836, the Rafaelian College was founded in Venice. Avoiding the pressures of the Austrian Empire in Italy, Muradian College was soon moved to Paris where it remained until 1870. Because of the Franco-Prussian War, the school was again moved to Venice and united with the Rafaelian College, thus taking the name of Rafaelian College.

The Murad Rafaelian College was one of the educational and scientific centers of the Congregation of Venice. It played a significant role in the history of Armenian culture. The school was following the traditions of Mekhitarist Armenians, namely to preserve Armenian language and culture in foreign countries and to develop Armenology. The pupils studied Armenian, grammar, Armenian literature, history, geography, as well as foreign languages: Italian, French and English.

At the outset, the Murad Rafaelian College was guided by gymnasium programs: the education here lasted six years, but in 1867 the French Government licensed it with lyceum rights, and the Italian Government did the same in 1879. Many prominent Armenian figures of the time lectured in this college, such as Ghevont Alishan (Armenologist, philologist, historian), Vardan Hatsouni (philologist, ethnographer), Arsen Ghazikyan (bibliographer, translator). The students of the college were not only Armenians, many European students got education here and some of them later got engaged in Armenian studies, thus contributing to the development of Armenology in Europe.

Among the renowned Armenologists, Johann Heinrich Hübschmann, Marie-Félicité Brosset, Victor Langlois, Édouard Dulaurier and others have been in constant contact with Mekhitarists and the Armenologists of Murad Rafaelian College.

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«ДИССИДЕНТЫ ИНДОЕВРОПЕИЗМА»: Г.ШУХАРДТ И Н.МАРР

Лингвистика как наука формировалась на протяжении столетий, лингвистические школы и направления сменяли друг друга - в многочисленных дискуссиях рождались «зерна истины». Одним из важнейших направлений европейского языкознания 19-го века был младограмматизм, представители которого (Г.Пауль, Г.Остхоф, К.Бругман, Б.Дельбрюк и др.) внесли большой вклад в развитие сравнительно-исторического языкознания.

Но к началу 20-го века обнаружились слабые стороны младограмматизма: несостоятельность субъективно-психологического понимания природы языка, недооценка изучения его связей с обществом, поверхностный характер историзма, без учёта реальных общественных условий, в которых эти изменения происходили. Поднимается волна критики, направленной на опровержение основных принципов младограмматизма, представителями которой были австрийский ученый Гуго Шухардт – один из первых основоположников социологического направления лингвистике. «Диссидентом индоевропеизма» стал также грузинский лингвист, историк и археолог Нико Марр.

Многочисленные исследования Гуго Шухардта касаются, по преимуществу, основных проблем в науке о языке: вопрос о происхождении языка и связанной с ним проблемы языкового смешения и языкового родства, отношения вещи к слову и истории языка к истории культуры, так называемые «звуковые законы».

Шухардт одним из первых в западно-европейской лингвистике теоретически и практически доказывал необходимость приобщения науки о языке к разряду социологических наук, увязывания истории языка с историей материальной культуры, исследования вопроса о происхождения языка в связи с историей человеческого общества. Он изучал контакты славянских диалектов с немецкими и итальянскими, благо Грац как раз находился на стыке германского, романского и славянского языковых ареалов. Первым среди теоретиков лингвистики Шухардт обратил внимание на креольские языки: Креольские исследования (Kreolische Studien, 1882–1890). Он подробно изучил так называемое явление субстрата, которое связано с тем, что многие народы в ходе своей истории сменили язык, либо смешавшись с другим народом, либо переняв какой-либо язык, оказавшийся более престижным; при этом какие-то черты прежнего языка сохраняются.

Влияние идей Шухардта на развитие лингвистической мысли было огромным как на Западе, так и на Кавказе, в России, некоторые из них (особенно о смешении языков) повлияли на Н.Я.Марра. Он выдвинул идею особой яфетической семьи языков, современными представителями которой являются грузинский и некоторые другие языки на Кавказе. К яфетическим языкам он отнес многие языки древнего Средиземноморья с неясными родственными связями, включая и те, от которых до нас ничего не дошло. Другая его идея была основана на том, что все языки хотя и развиваются независимо друг от друга, но подчиняются одним и тем же законам и проходят, хотя и с разной скоростью, одни и те же стадии. В ходе

стадиального развития языки усложняются и совершенствуются начиная от стадии «диффузных выкриков» и кончая флективной стадией, которую Н. Я. Марр, как и лингвисты XIX в., считал высшей. Переход от одной стадии к другой происходит через революционный скачок, меняющий язык до неузнаваемости, каждый такой скачок отражает революционные скачки в развитии общества. Областью специальных научных интересов Н. Я. Марра была «лингвистическая палеонтология» — выявление в языках реликтов прежних стадий, прежде всего яфетической.

Позже Николай Марр увлёкся исследованием языков и культуры грузинского и других народов Кавказа. Этому он посвятил свою жизнь. Неустанно трудившийся над изучением грузинского языка и литературы, Марр написал такие ценные труды, как «Грамматика чанского (лазского) языка с хрестоматией и словарём» (1910 г.), «Грамматика древнелитературного грузинского языка» (1925 г.). Концепция Н. Я. Марра была реакцией на кризис младограмматического языкознания и, шире, всей лингвистической парадигмы XIX в. и позитивистской науки.

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Dissidents of Indo-Europism: H. Schuchardt and N. Marr

Linguistics had been developing as a science for centuries, linguistic schools and movements replaced one another, endless discussions gave birth to 'true discoveries'. One of the principal directions in the European linguistics of the 19th century was theory of Neogrammarians whose representatives (H. Paul, H. Osthoff, K. Brugmann, B. Delbrück, etc.) made a significant contribution to the development of the comparative-historical linguistics.

The weak points in the Neogrammarian hypothesis were highlighted by the beginning of the 20th century: groundlessness of the subjective-psychological understanding of the nature of language, underestimation of its connection to the society, superficial nature of historical approach without consideration of the real social context that conditioned the changes. The criticism aimed at debunking the fundamental principles of the Neogrammarian theory represented by an Austrian scientist H. Schuchardt, one of the first founders of the social branch in linguistics. A Georgian linguist, historian, and archaeologist Niko Marr also became "an Indo-European Dissident".

Multiple researches by H. Schuchardt mainly focus on the principal problems in the science about language: origin of language and the related problems of mix of languages and the language families, relation of an object to a word and the language history to the culture history, the so called 'sound laws".

Schuchardt became one of the first in the Western European linguistics who theoretically and practically claimed the necessity of affiliating the science of language to the social studies, relating the history of the language to the history of the material culture, study of the origin of language in relation to the history of the society. He studied the contacts of the Slavonic dialects with the German and Italian, and Graz was on the edge of the German, Romanian, and Slavonic linguistic areas. A pioneer among the theoretical linguists, Schuchardt drew the focus towards Creole languages: Creole Researches (*Kreolische Studien*, 1882–1890). He detailed the so called notion of the substrate which is related to the assumption that lots of nations changed their languages throughout their history either by mingling with the other nation or by taking their language as the more prestigious one, and retaining some features of the previous language at the same time.

The influence of Schuchardt's ideas on the development of the linguistic understanding was enormous in the West as well as in the Caucasus and Russia, and some of the ideas (especially mingling of languages) affected N. Marr. He came forward with the theory of the special Japhetic language family whose modern representatives are the Georgian and some other Caucasian languages. He allocated lots of languages of the ancient Mediterranean of vague 'family ties' to the Japhetic languages, including the ones that are extinct. The other assumption of his was that although all languages develop their own way, they follow the same laws and undergo the same stages of development though with different pace though. Languages improve and enhance through the phase-wise development from the 'diffused shouts'-stage ending in the inflectional stage which N. Marr as well as

the linguists in the 19th century considered to be the highest form of a language. The shift from one stage to the other happens via the revolutionary shift changing the language beyond recognition, every one of such shifts reflecting the revolutionary changes in the society. The field of special scientific interest of N. Marr was the 'linguistic palaeontology', identifying the linguistic relicts of the previous stages, Japhetic, first of all.

Later, N. Marr became interested in researching the languages and cultures of the Georgian and other nations in the Caucasus, and dedicated his entire life to this. As a result of his continuous study of the Georgian language and literature, Marr wrote some valuable works such as Grammar of the Laz language with a dictionary (1910), Grammar of the Old Literary Georgian (1925). The concept by N. Marr was a response to the crisis of the Neogrammarian linguistics and in the larger context, the entire linguistic paradigm of the 19th century and positivistic science.

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Парохиальнные школы конфесиональнных меньшинств как инструмент консервации национальной идентичности и культурными связями между диаспорой и исторической родиной

Учреждение приходских школ, также, как и церковь сыграли значительную роль в сохранении религиозной и этнической идентичности, но в той же мере в сохранени связей с митрополиями конфесиональных меньшинств Бессарабии в 19 веке.

Естественно, что значения и внимание даное таким структурам является разной. Так например А.Клаус описывая немецкие колонии лютеранов евангелистов из Российской Империи и включительно из Бессарабии подчеркивал, что в середине XIX века, если католическая община в момент своего возникновения вопервых будет строить церковь, тогда для протестанских общин спецефически является постройка в первую очередь здания школы, а уже потом церкви.

Документальная информация позволяет выявить еще одну важную вещь, а имено что до 70 годов XIX века, учебные материалы и учителя приглашались из регионов, откуда происходили колонисты, такие, как Баден-Вюртенберг или Улм, и посредством данного процесса сохраняясь на значительном отрезке времени культурно-духовные связи с исконными териториями.

Для армянских общин парохиальные школы из Аккермана и Кишинева, в свою очередь имели значительную роль в возрождени и поднятия национального духа и культуры.

Статистические данные доступные нам, говорят о том, что в последней четверти XIX века, большинство армянского населения Бессарабии говорили на турецком, русском или румынском языках, процент армяноговорящих являлся очень малым. Исходя из этого, главной задачей парохиальных школ для данной конфесии, состояла в возрождении и использовании в разговорной речи армянского языка - задача которая являлась культурно-национальным приоритетом.

Именно значение связи между школой и армянской церковью привела к яростной оппозиции Синода Эчмиадзина и лидеров армянского общества, когда в 1884 году, а затем в 1905 году царская администрация попыталась вывести приходские школы из подчинения церкви и исключить из програм преподование языка и истории армянского народа.

Практически такую же ситуацию мы наблюдаем и в приходских школах Римско-католической исповеди. Например, в учебных программах приходской школы в Кишиневе мы найдем например изучение латыни, естествено как язык культа, но и польского языка, потому что подавляющее большинство римско-католического населения было польским. Более того, влияние школы и церкви видно, непосредственно в свете польских событий 1830 и 1868 годов, когда польские священники и интеллектуалы в Бессарабии солидализировались и потдержали события на польских территориях.

Наконец, приходские школы конфессиональных меньшинств были одним из инструментов, которые позволили сохранить национальную подлиность и связи с национальными

историческими территориями, с одной стороны и с другой стороны, теми кто смог противостоять российской образовательной системе, которая была направлена на русификацию населения. В этом отношении статистические данные, показывают нам, что в 1878—1879 учебном году в Губернской гимназии обучалось 420 студентов, которые по национальности распределялись следующим образом: Россияне - 208; Евреи - 103; Молдаване - 31; Поляки - 31; Греки - 15; Болгары - 14; Итальянцы - 2; Армяне - 9; Грузины - 2; другие национальности - 5.

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Parish Schools of Confessional Minorities as a Tool for the Conservation of National Identity and Cultural Connections between Diaspora and State

The Institution of parish schools played a primary role in the preservation of ethnic and religious identities. At the same time, it kept connections with big communion of confessional minorities from Bessarabia in the 19th century. It is obvious that importance and attention given to these places was different. For instance when A. Klaus described German colonies of evangelical Lutherans from the Russian Empire, including Bessarabia, he noticed that at the middle of the 19th century a catholic community would in the moment of formation first of all build a church, while on the other hand, in the moment of formation of a Protestant community, the latter would at first build a parish school, and only after that a church. Documentary sources allow us to ascertain another important fact, that until the 70s of the 19th century, teaching materials and teachers were invited from the areas of origin of the colonists as Baden-Württemberg or Ulm, in this method, they preserved for a long period of time, cultural and spiritual bounds with their countries.

For Armenian communities, parish schools from Chisinau and Akkerman, had played an important role in the revitalization of national spirit and culture. Statistical data available show us that in the last quarter of the century, the majority of the Armenian population from Bessarabia spoke Russian, Turkish or Romanian, while the percentage of Armenians speaking Armenian was extremely low. Due to these facts, the main goal of parish schools of this confession was the revitalization of the use of the Armenian language — a national-cultural priority. Because of the importance of ties between the Armenian church and Armenian schools, this factor had created a strong opposition from the Echmiadzin Synod and the elite of the Armenian society when in 1884 and after that in 1905, the Tsarist administration tried to take away responsibilities for parish schools and the teaching of Armenian language and history from the church.

Practically, the same situation is available for parish schools of Roman-Catholic confession. In study programs of parish schools from Chisinau, for example we will find teaching of the Latin language, it is obvious as the language of the confession, like the Polish language, because a great majority of Roman-Catholic confession was Polish. Influence of school and church in the Polish case is more visible during 1830 and 1868, which was the moment when the Polish clergy and intellectuals from Bessarabia had solidarized with the actions on Polish territories.

Finally, the parish schools of the confessional minorities were one of the tools that allowed the preservation of national authenticity and ties with national historical territories on the one hand, and on the other hand, those who were able to oppose the Russian educational system, which aimed to russify the population. In this aspect, the statistical data which shows us that in the study year 1878–1879 in the Gubernial Gymnasium studied 420 pupils, that were separated based on national criteria: Russians: 208, Jews: 103, Moldovans: 31, Polish: 31, Bulgarians: 15, Italians: 2, Armenians: 9, Georgian: 2, other nationalities: 5.

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Обмен знаниями как незаменимый фактор процесса цивилизации в Юго-Восточной Европе в XIX веке

В своей работе «О процессе цивилизации» Норберт Элиас заметил, что процесс цивилизации по своей сути является результатом социальных взаимосвязях которые определяют направление исторических преобразований. Это не «рациональный» процесс, если под рациональным мы понимаем нечто созданное преднамеренно различными субъектами, а также и не «иррациональный» процесс, если под иррациональным мы понимаем нечто непостижимое.

В Юго-Восточной Европе процесс цивилизации реализуется в течение XIX-го века, когда мы наблюдаем разрыв традиции и усиление интеллектуальной прослойки обшества. Первым фактором, способствующим утверждению интеллектуалов было обучение в европейских университетах, из-за чего они стали той силой, которая изменила образ мышления и менталитет. Расширение интеллектуального горизонта в ущерб преданности богословской рефлексии, вера в инакомыслие через культуру, противоположный подход в вопросах бытия в сравнение с богословским, - это лишь некоторые аспекты нового менталитета.

Безусловно, что и в XVII веке некоторые летописцы также учились в европейских университетах, демонстрируя попытку отделения от оттоманской зависимости и новое отношение с культурными центрами Западной Европы. Важно также, что в начале XVIII века город является центром интеллектуальной деятельности в ущерб монастырским, преобладающие ранее.

В XIX-ом столетии мы наблюдаем исчезновение профессий, которые присутствовали в большинстве случаев раньше: дьяконы, грамматики, летописцы, а также наблюдаем появление большого количества новых профессий для молодежи, которые можно получить в университете. Наиболее популярными стали юридические факультеты. В период с 1827 по 1894 год около 100 студентов получили степень Доктора Права в Париже. Между 1800 и 1880 годами около 200 румынских студентов посещают курсы права в 6 немецких университетах. К их числу мы можем добавить тех, которые обучаються философии и медицине. В период с 1800 по 1900 год около 10000 студентов получили образование в европейских университетах с французским и немецким языком обучением.

Из 3000 интеллектуалов родившихся между 1780 и 1855 годами, процент полученыых профессий распределяется следующим образом: журналисты- 12%, юристы и экономисты - 22%, филологи, философы, фольклористы - 17%, профессора, педагоги - 46% (источник: Siupiur Elena, Современные интеллектуалы, элитные и политические классы в Юго-Восточной Европе, XIX век).

В тоже время цивилизационое влияние европейских культур происходило и через представителей этих культур. Например французские идеи вошли в культурный ареал под влиянием французских секретарей, которые работали на румынских правителей. Кроме того, османы принимали французских советников больше, чем австрийских или русских. Таким образом, европейский цивилизационный процесс был стимулирующей моделью, часто пропагандируемую через посредников, а значит видоизмененную. Например русские, которые

были размещены во время оккупации на румынских территориях, ассимилировали европейскую цивилизацию, но в измененном восприятии.

Модернизация XIX-го века в процессе обмена знаниями осуществлялась не путем ограничения, а путем аккультурации. Мирча Элиаде писал, что каждая этническая группа ассимилирует только то, что близко к собственной психической структуре и духовному уровню. В истории мы наблюдаем идеологические центры и различные поля восприятие культуры а связь между ними основана на культурной и цивилизационной модели. Идеи, которые могут быть либо французскими, либо немецкими, были приняты в румынском пространстве, но вопрос был в том, если национальные культуры полимизируют над этими идеями.

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Knowledge Exchange as an Indispensable Factor for the "Process of Civilization" in 19th Century South-Eastern Europe

In his work "On the Process of Civilization", Norbert Elias noticed that the process of civilization is in his essence the result of a social interrelation and it is determining the direction of historic transformations, his way the author grounds this process. It is not a "rational" process, if through rational we think about an intentioned creation but also not an "irrational", if through irrational we understand something that is incomprehensible.

In South-East Europe, the process of civilization is realized during the 19th century, when we observe a rupture of tradition and a product of intellectuals. The first factor that contributes for the affirmation of the intellectuals was their studies in European universities, because of that they became that force that changed the way of thinking and the mentality. The widening of the intellectual horizon in the detriment of the fidelity to theological reflex, the belief in inobilation through culture, the opposite approach on the questions about existence than the theological one are just some aspects of this new mentality.

It is true that in the 17th century some chroniclers also had their studies in the European universities, demonstrating an attempt of separation from the Ottoman dependence and a new relation of communication with the cultural centers of the West Europe. It is also important that at the beginning of the 18th century, the city is the center of intellectual activities in the detriment of the monastics ones that were until then.

In the 19th century, we observe the disappearing of the professions that were present in the majority of times before: deacons, grammars, chroniclers and we see the appearance of a large number of new professions for youth that can be gained in the university. The Law Faculties are the most required. Between 1827 and 1894, around 100 students obtained their doctor degrees in Law at Paris. Between 1800 and 1880, around 200 Romanian students are attending the courses at six German universities of Law. To their number, we can add the ones that are preparing in philosophy and medicine. Between 1800 and 1900, approximately 10,000 students had obtained their degrees in European universities with studies in French and German language.

From one study with a number of 3,000 of intellectuals born between 1780 and 1855, is numerated an percentage of professions as following: pressman – 12%, lawyers and economists – 22%, philologists, philosophers, folklorists – 17%, professors, educators – 46% (Siupiur Elena, *Modern intellectuals, elite and political classes in Europe of South-East. 19th Century*).

In an opponent way for example, the French ideas, had entered with some French secretaries that were working for the Romanian rulers. Also, the Ottomans were accepting the French advisors more than the Austrian or Russians ones. In this way, the European process of civilization was a stimulating model, but it was frequently promoted through intermediary individuals. For example by

the Russians that were stationed during the occupation in Romanian territories so they assimilated the European civilization, but changed the perception of it after.

The modernization of the 19th century in the process of change of knowledge had been not done through constraint, but through acculturation. Mircea Eliade wrote that every ethnic group is assimilating only what is close to his own mental structure and spiritual level. In history, we observe ideological centers and different areas of reception, and the communication between them is based on a cultural and civilizational model. Ideas, they can be either French or German, were accepted in the Romanian space, but the question is if only a national culture is debating on this ideas.

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The Armenian Constitutional Period: In Search of a Concept

After the collapse of statehood, the Church took a monopoly position in the transformation and development of the Armenians' identity. Starting from the 17th century, the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul became actively involved in the pan-Armenian life, and when the Russian factor grew to be dominant, the Patriarchate was actually ruling the administrative, social and cultural life of Western Armenians independently of the influence of Echmiadzin. This period was marked by cultural and social uplift of the Armenian environment, which was also due to global changes of time: modernization processes of the European continent started to penetrate deeply into the Ottoman Empire. Istanbul was one of the first to catch this wave. The Tanzimat reforms in the Empire gave a new impetus to the Armenian rise. No matter how ultimately they were applied, however, they created a positive backdrop for the adoption of the National Constitution in 1860, the first in the empire. This constitution was based on the constitution of Belgium and was influenced by the ideas of the French Revolution of 1848. Apart from the regulation of the administrative system and individual officials, this constitution also regulated a number of fundamental human rights. The translators of the constitution and the persons who had input the constitution into the Armenian environment of Constantinople were mostly Armenian intellectuals educated in France, fluent in French from the school age. This generation of young people educated at European universities returned to Istanbul with active energy and fresh ideas. The Ottoman program to ensure equality for all the citizens of the empire was not implemented, so those Armenians who had returned from Europe, could not implement their knowledge for the reforms of the empire, but were to a certain extent limited to their community affiliation. However, the Armenian community was not open and warm. Disagreements were inevitable, so different ideological currents were formed, which even appeared in the opposite positions. The tension was mainly between progressive and conservative wings that had different visions of community life and its future. The conservative wing was represented by supporters of the Patriarchate, and the progressive wing was formed of the intellectuals who got European education. The Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul received extensive privileges of internal power over the Ottoman Armenians in accordance with the order of the Sultan. However, the authority of the Patriarchate was not confined to a purely ecclesiastical environment: the content of this power has been substantially edited, mainly because of the increase in the number of Armenian secular capital. Armenian rich and influential people of the city began to take part in community governance. The power created by these two authorities became the target of the struggle of progressive groups. Thus, the constitutional period was marked not only by the creation of the Armenian statute, but also by an active and versatile discourse. It incorporated a variety of cultural and political topics that were used to cover all forms of publicity. The constitution was a period of interrupted, but important public discussions that opened a new page for the penetration of secular thinking and revolutionary values into the Armenian environment in the period of Western Armenian cultural uplift.

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Catholic Missionaries as Intermediate Agents Transferring and Exchanging Knowledge and Culture between East and West. The Case of Pontus during the 19th Century.

For the promotion of Catholicism in the Ottoman Empire in the late 17th century, two important factors played an important role: the bishops appointed by the Propaganda and French ambassadors. Along with them, monastic orders of the West, who worked selflessly in the East, were the main protagonists of promoting the presence and influence of the Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire. While in previous centuries the Catholic presence focused mainly in Istanbul and the coastal cities of the Ottoman Empire, throughout the 19th century missionary stations will be created in the internal cities and among other, in Trebizond.

A key element and an effective way to attract believers on the missions organized by the various monastic orders of the Vatican, was the establishment of schools. For the ottoman authorities, there is no doubt that these missionary Catholic schools apart from persuading people to convert, increased with their existence the foreign influence in the Empire. Although the Ottoman authorities tried to limit their activities, especially from the second half of the 19th century, the missionaries, achieved to transfer knowledge and brought new pedagogical methods and new ideas. Moreover, their influence in the medical treatment of the patient was extremely important.

During this encounter of the West with the East various obstacles appeared and preoccupied even the Pope. One of the major problems that was solved very late was that of ignorance missionaries had for the society and the customs of Anatolia resulting thus to serious misunderstandings. Indeed this was the case even after centuries of Catholic presence in the East.

With this paper, based on the archival material of several Vatican Archives, I will underline the importance of the missionary scholarly network and how the local society was affected by their work. In other words how Catholic missionaries transferred knowledge and culture from West to the Pontus region.

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Greek Migration to the Russian Empire in the 19th Century and its Role in Cultural Exchange in the Black Sea Region

The Greek presence on the Russian land has always been significant. After the Baptism of the Rus', a great number of Greek figures of art and science lived and created in Russia. The Russian state was one of the places of refuge for migrants from Byzantium after the fall of Constantinople. The victory of the pro-Greek party in the middle of the 18th century, expressed in the reforms of Patriarch Nikon, contributed to a new wave of the resettlement of Greeks to the territory of the Russian state. The nineteenth century opened the last page of mass migration of Greeks to Russia, connected with the beginning of the national liberation movement among the Greek population of the Ottoman Empire and the key role of the Russian factor in it.

However, if the previous waves of migration represented a predominantly resettlement of intellectuals from different regions of the Byzantine Empire, the 19th-century Greek migration was, firstly, the migration of peasants, and secondly, from a specific region – Pontus. There was one more difference: the migrant Greeks of the 19th century did not run themselves, but were resettled as a result of the decrees of the Russian authorities, which was part of the settlement program by the Christian population of the new Black Sea and South Caucasian territories of Russia reclaimed from the Ottoman Empire and Iran, as well as the North Caucasus regions, emptied as a result of the mukhajirism (Muhajirun movement) of a significant part of the Muslim population of the North Caucasus to Turkey during the Caucasian War. The settlers received land for use and were exempted from the tax burden and military service for a considerable period.

Despite the fact that the Russian Empire positioned itself as an Orthodox kingdom, that is, it acted as the defender of all Orthodox Christians in the world, the policy of settling the southern borders by Christians was not deprived of a pragmatic component: the Christian settlers had to strengthen the positions of Russian authorities in the region and in case of a new war with the Ottomans or Persians to act as an outpost of confrontation. Such a policy has been practiced for a long time, and for many years the role of the outpost of the southern borders of the Russian state was fulfilled by the Cossacks, who also enjoyed a number of privileges from the government.

The resettlement of the Greeks significantly changed the ethno-confessional picture of the eastern Black Sea and the Caucasus. In addition, the Greeks brought to their new places of residence employment characteristic of their farm in Pontus: vegetable growing, viticulture, gardening, fishing and most importantly – tobacco growing. It was the Pontic Greeks who brought the tobacco culture to the Kuban and were the first to start breeding it in this region. This and many other facts indicate the significant role of the Greek migration of the 19th century in the matter of knowledge sharing in the Black Sea region.