

Iakovos D. Michailidis – Giorgos Antoniou

Institution Building and Research under Foreign Domination

Europe and the Black Sea Region
(early 19th – early 20th centuries)

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Iakovos D. Michailidis, Giorgos Antoniou

Preface

This volume represents the second collective product of the Horizon 2020 Research Project on *Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in the Humanities. Europe and the Black Sea Region*. The contributions included herein were initially presented and discussed at a two-day conference held in 2018 at the International Hellenic University of Thessaloniki, and updated for the purposes of this publication. In 2018, Dominik Gutmeyr and Karl Kaser published a first volume on *Europe and the Black Sea Region. A History of Early Knowledge Exchange (1750-1850)*. The contents of that first volume discussed the initial stages of the European “expedition” in the Black Sea, a period which may be largely characterized by superficial perceptions of this area not yet considered part of Europe.

The authors of this volume focus on the second phase of the European intervention in the Black Sea Region (BSR), mainly during the 19th century, when the exchange of knowledge between the East and the West became more intense as a result of the opposing political interests of the Great Powers in their effort to penetrate the Ottoman Empire. This was the era of the *Eastern Question*, the gradual decline of the Ottoman Empire and the transformation of the Black Sea from a “Turkish lake” to an international trade area. The title of this book is “Institution Building and Research under Foreign Domination”. With the term “domination” we mean both the supremacy of two two great Empires in the BSR, the Russian and the Ottoman, but also the cultural infiltration by the Great Power in the same area.

The authors deal with the two dominant Empires around the Black Sea during the “era of Modernity”, the Ottoman and the Russian. The history of both Empires highlights aspects of the process of institution building, especially in the fields of religion and education, at a period when ethnic groups and minorities strove for national emancipation. It is clear that the ideas of the Enlightenment deeply influenced this region and caused fundamental changes, which led to a destabilization of the Empires and the creation of new nation states. It is also true that the intervention of the Great Powers proved to be decisive in this direction. The Western perceptions of the Black Sea during the 19th century were a part of the so-called “Orientalism”, i.e. the impression that the peoples of this region were less civilized in comparison to the West. However, we believe that the peoples of the BSR actually followed similar paths

in their national movements, and much like those observed in Western Europe. It is beyond the scope of this work to discuss if the aforementioned paths have been successful or not. Our aim is only to provide a wide-ranging evaluation of the various mechanisms and factors, which influenced such developments.

Iakovos Michailidis examines the reform initiatives taken by the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century, a period known as the *Tanzimat*. He argues that during this period, many institutional innovations were introduced, particularly in the fields of education, justice and bureaucracy, generally in favour of the various minorities of the Empire. The goal was to transform a religious empire into a multiethnic society, and promote a secular Ottoman identity. This experiment failed during the first quarter of the 20th century due to various reasons; the current Turkish state was created from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, and many thousands of people belonging to minority groups were exterminated.

Dominik Gutmeyr explores the development and the evolution of the British perception of the Caucasus region throughout the 19th century and against the backdrop of the Russian Empire's production of institutionalised knowledge in and on the region. He argues that the British-Russian struggle for political supremacy in the Caucasus and Central Asia created a general socio-political framework, where the British conceptualisations of the Caucasus were projected. Romanticism, savagery and inferiority were reflected on the majority of narratives by British travellers on this region, and transmitted to the West.

Stavris Parastatov investigates the Greek migration flows to the Russian Empire in the 19th century. He argues that most of the emigrants belonged to lower social classes; yet among them there were many intellectuals, who had pursued studies in leading educational institutions of Europe. The Greek settlers in the Russian Empire created their own communities and significantly contributed to the economic and cultural development of the Black Sea. They also actively took part in the Greek War of Independence.

Anastasiya Pashova and Petar Vodenicharov examine the “new” social group of women who emerged in Russia in the middle of 19th century. These liberal figures contributed to the modernization of the Russian society. Their first priority was the right to work, not only as a significant economic issue, but also as a crucial moral factor for the women's emancipation.

Milena Angelova discusses the issue of the “agricultural enlightenment” among the Bulgarians of the Danube Province, in the second half of the 19th century. She argues that this development belonged to a general reformist policy adopted by the Ottoman Empire – but could also be related to the “Bulgarian Revival”. Agricultural schools in other countries, where many Bulgarians studied, contributed to the emergence of a new generation of Bulgarian agronomists, who transmitted knowledge from the West to their motherland.

Dragos Jipa focuses on the life history of Pompiliu Eliade; educated in France, Eliade collaborated with a lot of eminent French scholars. He then returned to Romania and contributed to the expansion of French knowledge and influence in the Balkans. He was probably the most well-known enthusiast of the French influence in Romania. As a result of his ideas, Eliade entered into an intense confrontation with the famous Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga, who supported a national revival movement focusing on Romanian peasants, and considered the French model as a symbol of modern corruption.

In the next article, **Adrian Stoicescu** also explores the topic of the Western influence among Romanian intellectuals. It is argued that the transfer of knowledge proved to be both a theoretical and a practical challenge for the Romanian Principalities. The author discusses the possibility of adapting Basalla’s model –on the dissemination of science from a focal Western European centre to the rest of the world– to the Romanian territories in the middle of the 19th century, when this area was in a process of national unification. He argues that Basalla’s theory could not be implemented in the Romanian principalities because the introduction of western knowledge was not only a process of implementation, but also of negotiation and interactive relationship.

Ion Gumenâi highlights the role of the Church in preserving the ethnic and religious identity in Bessarabia in the 19th century. He mainly focuses on the parochial schools, which were a preferred way for providing education to the young generation among religious minority communities. At the same time, parochial schools worked as a means for the preservation of the national identity.

Greta Nikoghosyan examines the role of the Armenian schools during the 19th century. She mainly focuses on the Murad Rafaelian College, which was established by the Mekhitarist Congregation, and its activities toward the transfer of knowledge from Europe to the Armenian territories.

Nargiz F. Akhundova highlights the contribution of Azerbaijani enlighteners in the field of Oriental Studies, on the eve of the 19th century. Through an examination of relevant ancient manuscripts that circulated in Europe, the author evaluates their contribution to the European educational system.

Shamil Rahmazade analyzes the architectural changes in the socio-cultural sphere, caused by the inclusion of Azerbaijan in the Russian Empire at the beginning of the 19th century. He argues that these changes emerged as the starting point for the transformation of a traditional to a modern society. But he approached these changes not as a part of the European Enlightenment, but mainly as a local movement in the context of the Muslim Enlightenment, which functioned as a response to the Western domination.

Irada Baghirova focuses on the Educational Movement in Azerbaijan in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. When the Caucasus generally became a part of the Russian Empire, this was a very crucial period since the area faced the East-West dilemma. The West was associated with progress, modernization, and liberation from the traditional way of life. On the other hand, the Eastern civilization rested on a rich cultural heritage, such as philosophical mechanisms for social self-organization based on ancient national traditions, natural resources and a multi-million Muslim population.

Lela Tavdgiridze and Ia Khasaia explore the field of education during the late 19th and early 20th century in Georgia. The authors examine the curriculums, and the theoretical and practical training courses of the various institutions during this period, in an effort to describe the process of teachers' pedagogical-methodical development, and present the influences and impact of the teaching schools of this area.

Manuchar Loria and Zurab Bezhanovi study the development of ethnographic thinking and the field of visual anthropology in Georgia in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The authors provide ample information on the foreign scholars who contributed to the development of ethnographic thinking in this country.

The fourteen chapters of this volume contribute to our understanding of the exchange of knowledge between the West and the East, and the process of institution building within the Russian and the Ottoman Empires. These studies allow us to observe the various routes followed by different of ethno-religious

groups and the coexistence of different cultures in the BSR for many centuries. This perspective may also be helpful in order to understand the current developments in this area.

The publication of this volume has been achieved through a joint effort of scholars and colleagues. We would like to thank Associate Professor Nikolaos Zaikos for the general editing, and his high professionalism. Mrs. Sofia Voutsidou was responsible for the linguistic check, while our MA student Giorgos Argiantopoulos helped in managing the whole project. We are indebted to Dr. Petros Papasarrantopoulos, director of the “Epikentro” press, for this meticulous publication.

Modernizing the Empire: The Ottoman Empire after the Tanzimat Period. Aspects of a failed experiment

Abstract: This article deals with the reformistic initiatives in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. It tries to present them both as an effort to stop the decline of the empire and as a response to the pressure of the Great Powers of the time. During the *Tanzimat*, as it has been known the period of the Ottoman Reforms, a lot of changes had been introduced, particularly in education, justice and the bureaucracy, in favour of the various minorities living in the empire. The stated goal was to transform a religious into a multiethnic empire and to promote a secular Ottoman identity. But for a series of reasons that experiment failed during the first quarter of the 20th century, when from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire the current Turkish state was born and thousands of people belonging to minority groups were exterminated.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Tanzimat, Hatt-i Sharif of Gülhane, Hatt-i Humayun, millets.

November 3rd, 1839: In the gardens between the Topkapi Palace and the walls of the Golden Horn in Constantinople, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, during an official ceremony attended by high ranking officials, foreign diplomats and hundreds of visitors and people, the Ottoman Foreign Minister Mustafa Reşit Paşa, later known as the “father of the Tanzimat”, announced the Edict of the Hatt-i Sharif of Gülhane. It was the beginning of a new chapter of the Ottoman history, the starting point of an effort to transform the Ottoman Empire from a religious into a multiethnic empire. This effort, known as the “Ottomanization” process, should be described as an initiative to introduce a new identity, the Ottoman, to all subjects of the empire and to establish a secular nation state like those of Europe.

The proclamation of the Hatt-i Sharif of Gülhane also marked the end of a long period of Ottoman expansion in Europe. It was followed by a desperate effort to stop the decline of the empire. But during the next decades, this unique

experiment would prove to be a failure; after Second World War, the Ottoman Empire -at least the parts which survived from progressive losses of territory- would be transformed into a secular, nationalist state, Turkey, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. In this article I will discuss some aspects of the policy of modernization of the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century, mainly connected to the emergence or reform of institutions linked with the Christian Orthodox community.

The 19th century found Eastern Europe, and especially the Black Sea region, dominated by the Ottoman and the Russian Empires. In the northeast, the vast Russian Empire covered the current territories of the Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Toward the southwest, the Ottoman Empire dominated the area of the Balkans and the Near East. The dawn of the Age of Modernity, after the Enlightenment, found both empires plagued by economic decline, administrative failure and social inequality. The Ottoman Empire now had almost nothing in common with its former status, when it reached the gates of Central Europe near Vienna. Persistent problems had transformed this empire into the “Big Patient” of the European diplomacy.

Throughout the examined period, the relationship between the two empires had been tense, almost hostile. They both claimed the same area, the Black Sea. The issue of controlling the Straits had been a traditional point of bilateral friction, since this was the only passage of the Russian fleet to the Mediterranean Sea. Another issue of controversy was related to the situation of the Christians of the Ottoman Empire. According to the provisions of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), Russia possessed the right to intervene in favor of the Christians of the Ottoman Empire.

The ideas of Modernity spread mainly among the ethnic and religious minorities of the Ottoman Empire. The national awakening of these minorities triggered a series of national revolts against the Ottoman domination. In 1804, the Serbian revolution broke out, followed in 1821 by the Greek Revolution which led to the creation of the first independent Greek state – and the first official territorial amputation of the empire. Within a few decades, the Serbian and Greek examples were followed by other subordinate ethnicities: Romanians, Bulgarians, Montenegrins and Albanians. The Treaty of Berlin (1878) was the first multilateral international treaty to endorse the loss of territory for the Ottomans.

The progressive weakening of the Ottoman Empire pressed the Sublime Porte to introduce a series of reforms to avoid dissolution. Some early attempts to introduce reforms, particularly in education, justice and the military, took place during the rule of Sultan Selim III (1789-1807), but failed after strong reactions, mainly from the Janissaries. A few years later, general conditions were more

favorable. In 1839, the so-called Tanzimat period began, and finished in 1876 when the first Ottoman constitution was enacted. The aforementioned Hatt-i Sharif of Gülhane was issued; according to this, the Sublime Porte undertook to reform its juridical system in order to protect not only the Muslim, but also the Christian and the Jewish nationals, and to establish a fair tax and recruiting system.¹ So the three basic Ottoman institutions, administration, justice and taxation, introduced changes in favor of non-Muslims. Administrative changes became more pronounced in the following years. The result of the Crimean War (1853-1856) contributed to this development.² Although invited in the meetings of the Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire was nevertheless obliged to introduce a series of reforms in favor of its minorities. On February 18th, 1856, the declaration of the Hatt-i Humayun enhanced reforms which were introduced nearly two decades earlier. The most remarkable provision of this new Edict, and a step forward in comparison with the Hatt-i Sharif of Gülhane, was the legal equation of Muslims and non-Muslims of the empire. Generally, the Hatt-i Humayun's provisions tried to promote a secular Ottoman identity, gradually diminishing the role of the Shari'a in the public sphere.

The provisions of the Hatt-i Sharif of Gülhane were received with mixed feelings. Cevdet Paşa (1822-1895), a high-ranking government official, wrote about the reactions:³

“Many Muslims began to grumble: “Today we have lost our sacred national rights, won by the blood of our fathers and forefathers. At a time when the Islamic millet was the ruling millet, it was deprived of this sacred right. This is a day of weeping and mourning for the people of Islam”. As for the non-Muslims, this day, when they left the status of raya and gained equality with the ruling millet, was a day of rejoicing. But the patriarchs and other spiritual chiefs were displeased, because their appointments were incorporated in the ferman. Another point was that whereas in former times, in the Ottoman state, the communities were ranked, with the Muslims first, then the Greeks, then the Armenians, then the Jews,

¹ For a fair analysis of the Hatt-i Sharif of Gülhane see R. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); S. Akcun, “The Emergence of Tanzimat in the Ottoman Empire”, *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi, Otam*, 2 (1991), pp. 1-14. <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/19/834/10541.pdf> (accessed 15.02.2019). See also J. Mazanec, “The Ottoman Empire at the Beginning of Tanzimat Reforms”, *Prague Papers on the History of International Relations*, 2 (2016), pp. 21-45. file:///C:/Users/Iakovos/Downloads/jakub_mazanec_21-45.pdf (accessed 15.02.2019).

² C. Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

³ B. Braude (ed.), “Introduction” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Abridged Edition* (Boulder Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc, 2014), pp. 45-46.

now all of them were put on the same level. Some Greeks objected to this, saying: “The government has put us together with the Jews. We were content with the supremacy of Islam”.

The reformistic attitude resulted in the adoption of the first Ottoman Constitution (1876). Its author, Midhat Pasha, dreamt of transforming the empire to a parliamentary democracy and ensuring the legal equality of all citizens in the context of an Ottoman patriotism. According to articles 8 and 17 of the Constitution, “all Osmanli are equal before the law [...] without distinction as to religion”.⁴

But the new Sultan Abdulhamid II took advantage of the Russian-Ottoman war of 1877-1878 to gain power and practically cancel the spirit of the Constitution. His most horrible action probably was the deportation of the Armenians in 1894-1894. Abdulhamid II, known as “the red Sultan” due to massacre of the Armenians, governed through a vast network of spies and gendarmes. During his reign, the Ottoman Empire was modernized mainly through the establishment of an efficient railway system. But the monopolization of power increased dissatisfaction, mainly among the military, which tried to maintain its rights. Generally, the doctrine of equality was not well perceived by many Muslims who traditionally enjoyed a superior status over the Christians. These fermentations led to the outbreak of the Young Turks Revolution in 1908, when Abdulhamid II lost his throne and was replaced by the Sultan Mehmed V. The ensuing turbulent years, and the defeat of the Ottoman Army in many wars, led to the increase of power of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), a group of Turks opposed to the idea of transforming the empire into a multiethnic state and acting for the domination of the Turks. Their triumph marked the end of the idea of “Ottomanism”.

Institutionalizing the “millets”

Traditionally, the non-Muslims (dhimmi) of the Ottoman Empire were organized in “millets”, which were confessional religious units recognized by the Sultan. Until the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire, the Greek orthodox Patriarch in Fanar was the leader of the Greek Orthodox “millet” and responsible for it. The Armenians and the Jews had also formed their own “millets”. But until the 19th century, the existence of “millets” was not institutionally regulated by the Sultan. They were perceived

⁴ R. H. Davison, “Turkish Attitudes Concerning Christian-Muslim Equality in the Nineteenth Century”, *The American Historical Review*, 59/4 (1954), p. 848.

mainly as elements of a customary tradition since the period of the domination of the Ottomans in the Balkans (15th century). But as a result of the Tanzimat reforms, these traditional religious communities were reorganized by the ottoman state as ethno-religious and were institutionalized.⁵ They were also responsible for the religious and educational issues of their members.

The Tanzimat period was also marked by significant administrative reforms in the Ottoman Empire. A new Vilayet Law passed in 1864, under which the whole empire was reorganized on the concept of the local self-governments (communities). This was a clear evidence that the empire was unable to secure its control over its whole territory, so it passed some of its powers to local entities in order to efficiently protect its sovereignty and collect the taxes. In any case, the transfer of responsibilities in local communities should not be perceived as an indication of democratization, but as an instrument used by the Sultan to achieve his goals. So, the legal integration of the local communities within the Ottoman administrative system finally resulted in the limitation of their autonomy since there were subjected to the jurisdiction of the Ottoman Empire. It was also an efficient way for the Sublime Porte to control any secessionist intentions of the minorities.

According to the Tanzimat provisions, in 1860, the Greek orthodox millet prepared its “General Regulations” concerning its operation. The Holy Synod, consisting of 12 metropolitans and a “Permanent National Mixed Council” with 12 members -of whom 8 were not priests- emerged as the leading entity of the Ottoman Greeks. These two bodies undertook the obligation to protect the Ottoman Greeks and to take care of schools and hospitals. They also dealt with family and inheritance disputes, but they did not have jurisdiction over cases of property law which were subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Ottoman courts.

The “golden age” for the minorities within the Ottoman Empire lasted until the beginning of the 20th century. By then, the winds of nationalism caused heavy reversals in the Balkan Peninsula. As a result of the Balkans Wars in 1912-1913 and First World War, the Ottoman Empire lost almost all of its European land. Moreover, thousands of Muslim refugees were obliged to abandon Europe and move to Anatolia under difficult circumstances. It was clear that the Christian Balkan states were built through ingredients of “racial, linguistic and religious” purity, and the Muslims were regarded as undesirable “Others” who

⁵ R. Davison, “The Millets as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The functioning of a plural society, Vol. 1*, eds. B. Braude and B. Lewis (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), p. 320.

were responsible for their sufferings during the previous centuries. It is not surprising then that any liberal ideas for the transformation of the empire into a multiethnic state were denigrated and put on the sidelines. The Ottoman experiment proved to be a complete failure.

Institutionalising education

Until the 19th century, the Ottoman State did not generally regard education as a public service; that is why it did not show any intention to control the related initiatives of its religious communities. For centuries, the main task of the Ottoman educational process was to disseminate the principles of Islam to the students. The Islamic charitable endowments, the waqfs, were responsible for the syllabuses and the methods used in the schools.⁶ Until the middle of the 19th century, the Ottoman educational system consisted of the Madrasahs, the Sibyan schools and the Enderun schools. Madrasahs served as centres of higher education, while the Sibyan schools of the elementary education. The Enderun schools were used for the education of those who would work as civil servants. The Ahi associations, the tekkes and the mosques were also used as institutions for the vocational (common) education.⁷

During the Tanzimat period, the schools of the Ottoman Empire were also reorganized. The basic intention was to secularise education and transfer relevant control from the religious institutions to the central government. In 1845, the Ministry of Education was established in order to deal with the related issues.⁸ Moreover, in 1856, the Reform Edict changed the bases of the ottoman educational system in an effort to improve its picture to the West.⁹ Furthermore, according to the General Educational Charter (1869), the educational institutions of the empire were divided between state and community schools.¹⁰

⁶ F. Gokce and N. Oguz, "Minority and Foreign Schools on the Ottoman Education System," *e-International Journal of Educational Research*, 1/1 (2010), p. 42.

⁷ S. Sonmez, "Primary Education System in Ottoman Empire", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3/5 (2013), p. 163.

⁸ A. Kazamias, *Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1996), p. 59.

⁹ A. M. Nurdoğan, "A Comparative Analysis of Educational Reforms in Ottoman and British Empires: Schooling and Curricular Issues (1870-1908)", *Educational Administration: Theory and Practice*, 49 (2007), p. 35.

¹⁰ F. Gokce and N. Oguz, "Minority and Foreign Schools on the Ottoman Education System", pp. 42-57. The Educational Charter remained in use till 1911.

Minority schools also benefited by the Tanzimat reforms and gradually multiplied. Although no reliable statistical data are available, it is known that only in the geographical Macedonia at the beginning of the 20th century, the Greek orthodox schools were more than a thousand. According to other estimations, there were a total of 36,000 schools in the Ottoman Empire (1914), among them approximately 1,800 Greek and 800 Armenian schools.¹¹ Religious minorities were granted the right to found and run their own schools, but they were also responsible for their operation. During the first decades of the Tanzimat reforms, the Ottoman State dealt with the educational issues of its religious communities, mainly upon receiving demands for the establishment of new buildings. Gradually, in the late 19th century, the Ottoman Ministry of Education showed a great interest for the content of the textbooks used and the curricula followed in its minority schools, and in many cases intervened to change these. The Ottoman censorship Committee was responsible for the monitoring of the minority education.

The situation concerning the educational operation within the ethno-religious minorities of the Ottoman Empire started worsen after 1908, when the triumph of the nationalist wing of the Young Turks introduced a discriminatory policy against the minorities. Then the whole educational structure would be controlled by the national Turks, who openly disagreed with the rights given to the minorities. As a result, the curricula of the minority schools had to change in order to serve the central Ottoman priorities, while a lot of textbooks were withdrawn. It was this policy which, at its final stage, after the Balkan Wars until the emergence of Modern Turkey in 1923, led to the extermination of the Christian minorities of the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman History during the 19th century has been marked by the Tanzimat reforms, a liberal effort to westernize the Ottoman Empire through the adoption of institutions associated with the West. The transformation of a traditional religious society to a secular society would not be a simple process. It was not easy to introduce liberal reforms in a period when the empire was in decline and was challenged by various ethnic revolts, at least in its Balkan territories. The “Ottoman” experiment, the intention to cultivate a common Ottoman identity for all subjects was a great challenge both for the dominant Muslims and for all the minority groups of the empire. While it would be attractive to many, those who rejected it were proved to be more effective. We will never know what would happen if the challenge of “Ottomanism” had been

¹¹ <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ottoman-Empire/The-empire-from-1807-to-1920> (accessed 15.02.2019).

a success. But what we are sure about is that the predominant idea of creating a state solely for the Turks would be the death certificate for the minorities of the Ottoman Empire.

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Institutionalising Knowledge and Circulating Imagery: 19th-century Britain's Encounter with the Russian Empire's Borderlands

Abstract: This article explores the development of the British perception of the Caucasus region throughout the 19th century against the backdrop of the Russian Empire's production of institutionalised knowledge in and on the region. Russian scholars made use of Russia's imperial authority over the borderlands and created a corresponding discourse, while the growing institutionalisation of Caucasiology in the Russian Empire correlated with an increasing interest in researching or travelling the region. Within a polycentric communications network, Western European researchers as well as travellers employed this produced knowledge as the basis for their studies and reports. I argue that the representation of the Caucasus was subjected to the dynamics of imperial interests for which the accounts of British travellers in the region cannot be separated from both the British-Russian struggle for political supremacy in the Caucasus and Central Asia as well as from the Russian representation of its own borderlands. This article shows that the British conceptualisation of the Caucasus was generated in close connection with the Russian discourse on the region based on imagery that oscillated between romanticising imagination and imputed savagery and inferiority.

Keywords: Caucasus, Orientalism, institutionalisation, knowledge, travel, James S. Bell, William G. Palgrave, Douglas W. Freshfield.

Introduction

After most of the major peaks in the Alps had been reached in the 1850s and 1860s, Western European alpinists looked for new challenges and found them in the Caucasus Mountains, where more than ten summits tower higher than the 4,810 metres of Mont Blanc. On July 28th, 1874 the British mountaineers Florence Crauford Grove, Horace Walker and Frederick Gardiner, together with their Swiss and Balkar guides Peter Knubel and Akhiia Sottaev, made the first ascent to the taller western summit (5,642 metres) of Mount El'brus. Upon their

return, Grove presented his readers with the book *'The Frosty Caucasus'*¹ in which he not only described the expedition to the mountain peak but also lengthily explored the question of where to draw the line between Europe and Asia. After the team's return to England, Grove lost no time in writing a letter to the *Times* in which he described Mount El'brus "as being undoubtedly in Europe" and dismissed his critics "whose letters showed so slight a knowledge of eastern geography as not to require any answer".² Favouring the Caucasus watershed as the continental boundary conveniently made him and his party the first to have made the ascent to Europe's highest summit, but it also supported the concept of a 'Greater Europe' that extended into the eastern Black Sea region.

Furthermore, Grove provided his readership with an imagination of the region as an "earthly paradise inhabited by the most barbarous of the Caucasian tribes".³ He was confident in his descriptions, remarking that "much of the ground thus to be traversed was, to the best of our knowledge, new to Englishmen" and that the Caucasus was "very little explored by travellers of other countries, and in parts rarely visited by the Russians"⁴ who had provided them with "often inaccurate, sometimes altogether wrong" maps.⁵ If the Caucasus was as unknown as the adventurer presented it to his audience, almost a *terra incognita* in its high altitude fringe areas, did this mean that the region was a blank canvas onto which British travellers could project their ideas when they flocked to the mountains in the 19th century? What did they know about the region before going there and how was this knowledge produced and brought into circulation?

In order to examine these questions, I will firstly analyse knowledge exchange about the Caucasus region by bringing British travellers into dialogue with the "Russian Caucasus". I will do so against the backdrop of the earliest institutionalised knowledge production in and on the region. Secondly, I will look at cultural exchange, arguing that British travellers were well aware of the highly ambiguous image of the Russian Caucasus, which effectively biased them in their own perception of the region. I will look for similarities as well as

¹ For the title of his book, Grove drew on William Shakespeare's late 16th-century *Richard II*: "O, who can hold a fire in his hand / By thinking on the frosty Caucasus, / Or cloy the hungry edge of appetite / By bare imagination of a feast, / Or wallow naked in December snow / By thinking on fantastic summer's heat?". Cited in W. Shakespeare, *The Complete Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 374.

² F. C. Grove, *'The Frosty Caucasus'. An Account of a Walk through Part of the Range and of an Ascent of Elbruz in the Summer of 1874* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1875), p. 34.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

differences in narrative structures and arguments employed in British and Russian portrayals of the region and its populations. Thirdly, I will investigate the cognitive inclusion of the Caucasus region into the British sphere of influence during the era of Russian-British imperial rivalry in Central Asia. Moreover, British engagement in the Caucasus and its perception of the region provide a window into the entangled networks and flows of ideas in 19th-century imperialism.

With these aims in mind, the article follows three British travellers of varying backgrounds into the imperial borderlands of the Russian Empire. I argue that the British conceptualisation of the Caucasus was generated in close connection with the Russian discourse based on imagery that oscillated between romanticising imagination and imputed savagery and inferiority.

The British-Russian Conflict of Interests

By ending the quest of Napoleonic France for continental domination, Russia cemented its status as one of Europe's Great Powers. With most of Poland as well as Finland absorbed by 1815, Russia's territorial ambitions toward the West had, however, already reached their limits. The empire's European borders were kept unchanged for the last century of its existence and 19th-century tsarist diplomacy remained essentially conservative.⁶ A very different picture presented itself in relation to the Russian Empire's southern and eastern borders. With the power balance very much in favour of the Romanovs and against the ruling dynasties of the Ottoman and Persian Empires, as well as of China, Russia was in a strong position to consider expanding its territory in the Caucasus region and Central Asia.

Already in 1763, the Russian Empire had begun to build the first fortress of several more to be erected along its border with the Caucasus region. The completion of the fortress of Mozdok became the starting signal for the establishment of the "Caucasus Military Line" that effectively put the Northwest Caucasus under siege and pushed the native population gradually southward and into the highlands. In 1784, the aptly named fortress of Vladikavkaz was founded – reflecting the Russian Empire's ambition to rule the Caucasus. By the year 1817, i.e. only two years after the Congress of Vienna, Russian troops had proceeded with the systematic conquest of the region, following individual expeditions. When the military line was completed in 1832, the Black Sea

⁶ D. Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, "Russian foreign policy: 1815-1917" in *The Cambridge History of Russia. Vol. 2. Imperial Russia 1689-1917*, ed. Dominic Lieven (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 554-555.

coastal line was raised to the west, cutting off the native population from the sea and from contact to the Ottoman Empire.⁷ Russia's military encroachment was met with guerrilla warfare, culminating in the movement of Imam Shamil' and his proclamation of a *ġazawāt*, a holy war (1834-1859).⁸ Only in 1864 was the Caucasus euphemistically declared "pacified" and fully incorporated into Russian administration. Subjugation by Russia was therefore more than a mere military conquest – constituted a frontier process that involved the migration of hundreds of thousands of people, changing the social composition of the region permanently.⁹

Russian expansion was, however, not limited to its southern borderlands. China's defeat in the Second Opium War (1856-1860) with France and Great Britain allowed St. Petersburg to negotiate vast annexations in the Far East. The Treaties of Aigun (1858) and Beijing (1860) gave the Russians control over the territories north of the Amur River and east of the Ussuri River and furthermore allowed the capture of the Pacific outpost of Häishēnwāi, which would become known by another apt name: Vladivostok.¹⁰ The vast landmasses of Central Asia promised similar territorial gains. The wide plains collectively referred to as "Turkestan" in Russia were then divided between the khanates of Khiva and Kokand, and the emirate of Bukhara. Although the three khanates ruled by Uzbek dynasties had lost their former global importance due to the decline of the Silk Road, until the 1850s and the annexation of the Kazakh steppe the occasional Russian military expedition into Central Asia had utterly failed.¹¹ Now with a direct border to the khanates and the fronts on the Crimea and in the Caucasus easing, the time had come for an advance into the heart of the

⁷ T. M. Barrett, "Lines of Uncertainty: The Frontiers of the North Caucasus", *Slavic Review*, 54/3 (1995), pp. 578-579.

⁸ M. Gammer, *Muslim Resistance to the Tsar: Shamil and the Conquest of Chechnia and Daghestan* (Abington: Frank Cass, 1994).

⁹ Barrett, "Lines of Uncertainty", p. 579.

¹⁰ J. Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia. Russia's North Asian Colony 1581-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 204-206.

¹¹ On Russia's advance in Central Asia cf. S. Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), pp. 2-98; H. Carrère d'Encausse, *Islam and the Russian Empire. Reform and Revolution in Central Asia* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2009), pp. 7-53; D. Geyer, *Der russische Imperialismus. Studien über den Zusammenhang von innerer und auswärtiger Politik 1860-1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), pp. 71-82; S. Gorshenina, *Explorateurs en Asie Centrale. Voyageurs et aventuriers de Marco Polo à Ella Maillart* (Geneva: Editions Olizane, 2003), pp. 37-57; A. Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich. Entstehung – Geschichte – Zerfall* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1992), pp. 155-168; A. Malikov, "The Russian Conquest of the Bukharan Emirate: Military and Diplomatic Aspects", *Central Asian Survey*, 33/2 (2014).

Eurasian landmasses. Driven by economic, strategic and political motives, wide territories were quickly conquered in the 1860s and 1870s. Furthermore, Russian troops took on the Turkmens at Gökdepe (1881) and Merw (1884), expanding Russia's borders - either directly or via its dominant influence over the protectorates that Bukhara and Khiva had become - so far to the south that this increasingly worried another party interested in the region: Great Britain. The British were particularly concerned about the Russian advance because they considered it a threat to their own position in India¹² – a conflict of interest that would become known as the “Great Game”¹³

The geopolitical interests of London and St. Petersburg repeatedly collided throughout the 19th century, not only in Central Asia, but mostly over the future of the Ottoman Empire in Southeast Europe and Russia's ambitions to widen its influence in the Balkans and the Caucasus region.¹⁴ This naturally brought the borderlands of the Russian Empire into the direct focus of British foreign policy, or as Charles King put it in 2007, this was “a time when the borderlands of the Russian Empire were as much a part of Western discourse and political activism as Kosovo and Bosnia became in our own time”¹⁵

Orientalising Russia's Borderlands

The 19th century was, moreover, an era of British colonial rule and Western European intellectual mastery over the “East”, for which the American literary theorist of Palestinian origin, Edward W. Said, coined the term “Orientalism”.¹⁶ According to Said, since antiquity the “Orient” had been “a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences”, and

¹² On the 19th-century debate on Russia being a threat for British India, cf. G. N. Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1889).

¹³ M. Ewans (ed.), *The Great Game. Britain and Russia in Central Asia* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), pp. 1-16; P. Hopkirk, *The Great Game. The Struggle for Empire in Central Asia* (New York: Kodansha, 1994).

¹⁴ B. Jelavich, *Russia's Balkan Entanglements 1806-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); C. Jelavich and B. Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1820* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2000), pp. 141-157; A. Jersild, *Orientalism and Empire. North Caucasus Mountain Peoples and the Georgian Frontier, 1845-1917* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), pp. 12-37; M. Khodarkovsky, “The Great Game in the North Caucasus”, *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, 49 (2015); D. Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, “Russian foreign policy: 1815-1917”, pp. 557-560.

¹⁵ C. King, “Imagining Circassia: David Urquhart and the Making of North Caucasus Nationalism”, *The Russian Review*, 66 (2007), p. 255.

¹⁶ E. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003).

in this sense had become one of Europe's "deepest and most recurring images of the Other" that helped Europe, or the "West", to define itself as its counterpart.¹⁷ "Orientalism", thus, is the expression and representation of the Other, not only culturally but also ideologically, i.e. discursively, with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, colonial bureaucracies, and colonial styles.¹⁸ According to Said, until Second World War "Orientalism" was a mainly British and French cultural enterprise,¹⁹ taking in disparate realms, but until the early 19th century "had really meant only India and the Bible lands".²⁰

However, not only the "Orient" was subjected to intellectual mastery by Great Britain, part of the "West". In his 1994 work *Inventing Eastern Europe*, American historian Larry Wolff argued that the division of Europe into "East" and "West" was not a 20th-century post-war phenomenon, but a project of philosophical and geographical synthesis carried out by men and women of the Enlightenment.²¹ The Russian Empire was included in this idea of Europe being divided along a West-East axis, which meant that it was identified and described within that dichotomy of civilisation and barbarism, i.e. of Europe and Asia.²²

While Said mostly neglected Russia in his work, a broad scholarly discussion on Russia's contribution to "Orientalism" has proven a fruitful element of the four decades of the book's reception.²³ A scholarly consensus has formed on "Russian Orientalism" being a fluid concept not applicable to one particular region, but closely and strongly linked to stages of imperial expansion. Russia's "Orient" has

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ An observation which Said mitigated in later editions and has inspired critics to prove him wrong in relation to other colonial contexts. For example, cf. A. Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus. Regeln deutsch-morgenländischer Imagination im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin and New York: DeGruyter, 2004); B. Lewis, *Islam and the West* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 108-109.

²⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 4.

²¹ L. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 356.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²³ D. Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Russian Orientalism: Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); N. Knight, "Grigor'ev in Orenburg, 1851-1862: Russian Orientalism in the Service of the Empire?", *Slavic Review*, 59/1 (2000a); A. Khalid, "Russian History and the Debate over Orientalism", *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 1/4 (2000); N. Knight, "On Russian Orientalism: A Response to Adeeb Khalid", *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 1/4 (2000b); M. Todorova, "Does Russian Orientalism Have a Russian Soul? A Contribution to the Debate between Nathaniel Knight and Adeeb Khalid", *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 1/4 (2000).

therefore, for instance, been located on the Crimea,²⁴ in Siberia,²⁵ and in Central Asia.²⁶ While the Russian mental map included new orientalised realms as Russian troops marched further into the borderlands, the Russian perception of the regions *per se* was subjected to alterations depending on each stage of the empire's expansion. Against the backdrop of Russia's perception of the Caucasus region throughout the 19th century, I have argued that the "Borderlands Orientalism" specific to Russia described the transition of a region's framing from an idealised *terra incognita* with a predominantly romantic image to an "in-between region" perceived as a semi-civilised "Other" within.²⁷

The Caucasus region assumed a very special place in Russia's imperial project and imaginative geography from the early 19th century. Thus, given the rich Russian literature on its southern borderlands, the "Russian Caucasus" has become a popular subject of research.²⁸ Based on the elaborations of Said and

²⁴ S. Dickinson, "Russia's First 'Orient'. Characterizing the Crimea in 1787" in *Orientalism and Empire in Russia*, eds. Michael David-Fox, Peter Holquist and Alexander Martin (Bloomington: Slavica, 2006); K. S. Jobst, "Die Taurische Reise von 1787 als Beginn der Mythisierung der Krim. Bemerkungen zum europäischen Krim-Diskurs des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 83 (2001); K. S. Jobst, *Die Perle des Imperiums. Der russische Krim-Diskurs im Zarenreich* (Konstanz: UVK, 2007).

²⁵ M. Bassin, "Inventing Siberia: Visions of the Russian East in the Early Nineteenth Century", *The American Historical Review*, 96/3 (1991); M. Bassin, *Imperial Visions. Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); V. Kivelson, *Cartographies of Tsardom. The Land and its Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Russia* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 117-193.

²⁶ B. Parker, "Turkestanskii Al'bom": Portrait of a Faraway Place and Another Time", *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, 60/4 (1983); M. Dikovitskaya, "Central Asia in Early Photographs: Russian Colonial Attitudes and Visual Culture", *Slavic Eurasian Studies*, 14 (2007); K. Sahni, *Crucifying the Orient. Russian Orientalism and the Colonization of Caucasus and Central Asia* (Bangkok: White Orchid Press, 1997).

²⁷ D. Gutmeyr, *Borderlands Orientalism or How the Savage Lost His Nobility. The Russian Perception of the Caucasus between 1817 and 1878* (Vienna: LIT, 2017).

²⁸ Among the many works, cf. for instance D. Burkhart, "Der Orient-Diskurs in Lev Tolstoj's Kaukasus-Erzählung *Chadži-Murat*" in *Der Osten des Ostens. Orientalismen in slavischen Kulturen und Literaturen*, ed. Wolfgang Stephan Kissel (Frankfurt and Main: Peter Lang, 2012); S. Frank, "Gefangen in der russischen Kultur: Zur Spezifik der Aneignung des Kaukasus in der russischen Literatur", *Die Welt der Slawen*, XLIII/1 (1998); M. Frenkel Greenleaf, "Pushkin's 'Journey to Arzrum': The Poet at the Border", *Slavic Review*, 50/4 (1991); R. Gould, "Topographies of Anticolonialism: The Ecopoetical Sublime in the Caucasus from Tolstoy to Mamakae'ev", *Comparative Literature Studies*, 50/1 (2013); K. Hokanson, *Writing at Russia's Border* (Buffalo, London and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); S. Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire. Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); P. A. Michaels, "Prisoners of the Caucasus. From Colonial to Postcolonial Narrative", *Russian Studies in Literature*, 40/2 (2004); G. M. Michaleva, "'Der böse Tschetschene kriecht ans Ufer und wetzt sein Messer'. Die Konstruktion eines Feindbildes im

Wolff, as well as on the discourse of “Russian Orientalism”, three parties - Great Britain as part of the “West”, the Russian Empire as part of the “East”, and the Caucasus as part of a “Russian Orient” - can be seen to have constituted a triangle of power and authority. While the manifestations of cultural power struggles between Britain and Russia as well as between Russia and the Caucasus region have been frequently addressed, the question of how to localise the Caucasus in 19th-century British mental maps remains unclear. How and on what basis was the Caucasus constructed in Western European discourse? Was it considered part of the Russian Empire and therefore as “Eastern Europe”? Was the Caucasus considered part of the “Orient”?

The Academic Designation of Orientalism

Said stressed that he understood “Orientalism” to span several phenomena, all of them interdependent. One of these is an academic designation and includes any scholar conducting research, teaching, or writing about the “Orient”.²⁹ The discourse on “Russian Orientalism”, however, predominantly draws on texts produced outside a scholarly context. The fame of the poems by Aleksandr Pushkin or Mikhail Lermontov - or as Susan Layton³⁰ put it, “[y]oung Pushkin’s illimitable aesthetic ascendance over the natural scientist” - overshadowed the growing number of (proto-)academic works by Russian scholars on the region. Against the backdrop of the productive academic field of “Balkanism”, based on Maria Todorova’s seminal *Imagining the Balkans* (1997), Diana Mishkova observed a similar blank for the “Western” imagination of Southeast Europe. “[T]he almost complete exclusion of ‘academic balkanism’ [...] stands in stark contrast to studies of orientalism”, she argues, and raises the question of “whether or to what extent a narrative built around the relation of knowledge to power can dispense with scientific discourse and institutions generating *épistèmes* and ‘regimes of truth.’”³¹ Katherine Fleming’s explanation for the omission of scientific

russischen Massenbewusstsein” in *Der Osten des Ostens. Orientalismen in slavischen Kulturen und Literaturen*, ed. Wolfgang Stephan Kissel (Frankfurt and Main: Peter Lang, 2012); H. Ram, *The Imperial Sublime. A Russian Poetics of Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003); O. Reisner, “Kaukasien als imaginiertes russischer Raum und imperiale Erfolgsgeschichte. Gefangen zwischen russisch-imperialen und nationalen Zuschreibungen (19./20. Jh.)” in *Kultur in der Geschichte Russlands: Räume, Medien, Identitäten, Lebenswelten*, ed. Bianka Pietrow-Ennker (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007); Sahni, *Crucifying the Orient*.

²⁹ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 2.

³⁰ Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire*, p. 30.

³¹ D. Mishkova, *Beyond Balkanism. The Scholarly Politics of Region Making* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), p. 1.

knowledge from the discourse of Balkanism was that “[t]here is no history or tradition of West European academic interest in the Balkans that is remotely comparable to the history of Western academic study of the colonized Orient”.³² Mishkova points out that this assertion could be accepted for the state of the field in the United States or Great Britain, but neglects the many contributions by Central European scholars at, for instance, universities and academies in Vienna, Munich, Berlin and Leipzig.³³ While she furthermore asserts that “compared to media, travelling and fiction, scholarship plays a lesser role as a channel of disseminating intercultural images”, Mishkova rightfully stresses that “it nevertheless performs the critical function of providing the resources for legitimization and ‘empowering’ political discourses”.³⁴

Here we see several parallels between the Balkans and the Caucasus. Firstly, scholars have hardly addressed the role of academia when analysing the imagination of both regions. Secondly, the institutionalisation of intellectual engagement with either region did not take place before the second half of the 19th century. Thirdly, the institutionalisation of the study of the Balkans and the Caucasus within the respective region unfolded in cooperation with scholars from abroad who came from centres of imperial rule and whose educational background was often anchored in a framework that sought to legitimise and empower a specific political discourse.³⁵ Fourthly, the latter were closely linked to the so-called “Eastern Question”, i.e. the debate on the future of the Ottoman provinces to the empire’s east and west.

Institutionalising the Exploration of the Caucasus Region

The “Eastern Question” was particularly important to the Russian Empire which stood to benefit from gradually pushing back the Ottoman influence on the Balkans, Caucasus and Crimea through a series of Russo-Ottoman wars in the 18th and 19th centuries. Russian knowledge about the Caucasus region had been slim before it became a goal of expansion in the 18th century. The brief information gathered about the empire’s southern borderlands was a by-

³² K. E. Fleming, “Orientalism, the Balkans and Balkan Historiography”, *American Historical Review*, 105/4 (2000), p. 1224.

³³ Mishkova, *Beyond Balkanism*, pp. 1-2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ K. Kaser and D. Gutmeyr, “Introduction: Europe and the Black Sea Region. A History of Early Knowledge Exchange (1750-1850)” in *Europe and the Black Sea Region. A History of Early Knowledge Exchange (1750-1850)*, eds. Dominik Gutmeyr and Karl Kaser (Zurich: LIT, 2018), pp. 14-17; K. Kaser, *Südosteuropäische Geschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), pp. 174-176; Mishkova, *Beyond Balkanism*, pp. 10-11.

product of commercial or diplomatic missions, for instance to the court of the Persian Shah. These early descriptions, however, exclusively concentrated on the coastal regions of the Black and the Caspian Seas since there were no defined routes across the Caucasus highlands.³⁶ The reign of Peter I (1682-1725) strengthened the focus on the lands south of Russia. Foreign policy, however, did not yet crystallise into the institutionalisation of so-called “*vostokovedenie*”, i.e. Oriental studies, in the form of an academic discipline in Russia. The emerging need to broaden communications compelled the Russian rulers to encourage the training of a handful of translators and interpreters, but there was no state support for the establishment of centres and societies in this field.³⁷

First systematic research of the Caucasus region dates back to the era of Ekaterina II (1762-1796). The military expansion of her empire included the annexation of the Crimea in 1783, the Treaty of Georgievsk - making Kartli-Kakheti a protectorate of Russia in the same year - and the building of a line of fortifications in the North Caucasus, including the aptly named base of Vladikavkaz in 1784. In order to legitimise and exploit the newly acquired territories, the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg organised expeditions into the imperial borderlands, thus also into the Caucasus, where scholars would primarily map flora and fauna. These first steps to systematically research the territory were not consolidated into an endeavour to institutionalise Caucasus studies at either the Academy of Sciences or at the other scientific institutions founded until the end of the century, such as the Imperial Moscow University (1755), the re-opened Imperial University of Dorpat (today Tartu, 1802) or the Kazan' Imperial University (1804). In their efforts to establish scientific institutions and exploration in the Russian Empire, both Peter I and Ekaterina II sought the input of scholars from beyond Russia's borders. Peter I, for instance, met with Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, whose ideas had a significant influence on the foundation of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.³⁸ In order to support Ekaterina II's ambitions to determine the economic potential of her empire's borderlands, scholars were recruited from German universities. (Baltic) Germans such as Johann Anton Güldenstädt,

³⁶ C. Sidorko, “Nineteenth century German travelogues as sources on the history of Daghestan and Chechnya”, *Central Asian Survey*, 21/3 (2002), p. 284.

³⁷ V. Tolz, *Russia's Own Orient. The Politics of Identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 7.

³⁸ H. F. Vermeulen, *Early History of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment: Anthropological Discourse in Europe and Asia, 1710-1808* (PhD thesis: Leiden University, 2008), pp. 27-61.

Peter Simon Pallas and Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin, were responsible for the Russian exploration of the empire's south.³⁹

However, the scientists had little to ground their work on and faced an immense lack of knowledge about the Caucasus, resulting in superficial assumptions based on sources dating back to antiquity.⁴⁰ Despite their obvious shortcomings in terms of ethnographic information, the results of these expeditions and their repercussions should not be underestimated. Given the lack of alternative information, these results were translated, widely disseminated and received, thereby becoming the standard works on the Caucasus region for many decades to come, and shaping its image for both Russians and Western Europeans. In addition, romanticised literary works on the Caucasus overshadowed the few publications in early Russian Caucasus studies such as Semën Bronevskii's *A New Geography and History of the Caucasus* (1823).

Nevertheless, by the early 19th century, knowledge had become increasingly institutionalised in the Russian Empire, too. The first studies on the Caucasus region were conducted in the framework of the teaching of "Oriental" languages, which alongside Arabic and Persian encompassed the Armenian language. Moscow's "Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages" was established in 1815 and grew out of a private school primarily for Armenians. While it remained a secondary school with instruction in "Oriental" languages, it not only became the government's main instrument for training officials for service in the southern borderlands – it was also the reason why the establishment of Oriental Studies eventually failed in Moscow University despite its having played a leading role early in the 19th century.⁴¹ Knowledge on the "Orient" or "East", with "*vostok*" a particularly fluid concept in the Russian case, was primarily structured in other imperial centres. The universities of Kazan' and Charkiv, just like Moscow, introduced the teaching of Oriental languages in 1804. The reorganisation of St. Petersburg University in 1819 included the

³⁹ For an overview of the 18th-century exploration of the Russian Empire's borderlands, cf. M. Köhler, *Russische Ethnographie und imperiale Politik im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2012).

⁴⁰ U. Halbach, "Die Bergvölker (*gorcy*) als Gegner und Opfer. Der Kaukasus in der Wahrnehmung Russlands (Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis 1864)" in *Kleine Völker in der Geschichte Osteuropas: Festschrift für Günther Stökl zum 75. Geburtstag*, eds. Manfred Alexander, Frank Kämpfer and Andreas Kappeler (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991), p. 56.

⁴¹ R. N. Frye, "Oriental Studies in Russia" in *Russia and Asia. Essays on the Influence of Russia on the Asian Peoples*, ed. Wayne S. Vucinich (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972), pp. 40-42.

establishment of chairs in Arabic and Persian.⁴² Armenian was again the first Caucasus language to gain entrance into the particularly renowned Department of Oriental Languages at the University of Kazan', while further plans to teach Kalmyk were not realised before the government decided to relocate these studies to St. Petersburg in 1854.⁴³

The course of the Caucasus War (1817-1864) convinced the Ministry of Education that an institution was needed in the imperial capital for the education of representatives of the peoples of the southern borderlands. Furthermore, students residing in St. Petersburg rather than the more peripheral Kazan' would be easier to supervise and control. However, these plans never came to fruition. From this point on, Oriental Studies were dominated by St. Petersburg, where new projects and ambitions were now articulated, while research at Kazan' University would concentrate on the central Volga region.⁴⁴ By the middle of the 19th century, several factors had contributed to an increasing interest in the Russian study of the "East". The debate between Slavophiles and Westernisers about the qualities of Russia as a nation and an empire, but also the defeat in the Crimean War (1853-1856) and subsequent anti-Western sentiments, resulted in a new focus on Oriental studies and represented a welcome opportunity to define Russia as separate from, or even in opposition to, Western Europe.⁴⁵

While the Crimean War constituted a major setback in Russia's foreign policy, it freed resources for a final offensive in the Caucasus region. The tightening Russian grip on the region eventually brought the institutionalisation of research into the southern borderlands and with it a significant upturn in the study of the Caucasus. This upturn was particularly connected to the reign of Viceroy Mikhail S. Vorontsov (1844-1854), who considered Orientalist knowledge and recognition of the empire's diversity as vital aspects that justified Russia's conquest of the Caucasus.⁴⁶ However, universities were founded in the Caucasus region only after the Russian Empire had ceased to exist. Tbilisi University was founded in 1918, the universities of Yerevan and Baku in 1919, and in Vladikavkaz the "Terek Institute of Peoples' Education" was established in 1920. The regional institutionalisation of growing scholarly interest therefore found its manifestation in other organisations. In 1824 the "Nersisian School",

⁴² Tolz, *Russia's Own Orient*, p. 7.

⁴³ R. P. Geraci, *Window on the East. National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 160-163.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-163; Tolz, *Russia's Own Orient*, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁵ Tolz, *Russia's Own Orient*, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁶ Jersild, *Orientalism and Empire*, pp. 63-65.

an Armenian school in Tbilisi, complemented Moscow's "Lazarev Institute". More than fifty years later, the "Transcaucasian Teachers' Seminary" was founded in the Georgian town of Gori in 1876 – a school that became hugely significant for the Georgian and Muslim populations of the Caucasus region. The main motivation behind the establishment of these educational institutions was to control the supply of teachers for the regional schools, as well as to integrate the non-Russian population of the imperial periphery into Tsarist structures by educating a caste of intellectuals loyal to St. Petersburg.⁴⁷

The imperial authorities, however, were not only interested in raising loyal subjects in the borderlands but were also seeking to gain knowledge about the region *per se*. Apart from the educational institutions, and due to the lack of regional universities, new societies were founded that articulated a particular interest in exploring Russia's borderlands. Typically for the 19th century, which encouraged "people of like interests to recognise and organise their fields of study, and ultimately to delineate a territory within the universe of knowledge within which each alone held sway",⁴⁸ the "Russian Geographical Society" (RGO) was established in 1845. The Society had many fathers, among them several Baltic Germans such as naturalist Karl Ernst von Baer (1792-1876), zoologist Alexander Theodor von Middendorff (1815-1894), and admirals Friedrich Benjamin von Lütke (1797-1882) and Ferdinand von Wrangel (1797-1870).⁴⁹ High interest in the exploration of Siberia and the Caucasus region led to the establishment of the first regional branches in Irkutsk and Tbilisi in 1851.

Imperial exploration and its institutionalisation within the periphery itself intensified at a time when nationalist sentiments, closely associated to pan-Slavism, were on the rise in the Russian Empire.⁵⁰ The messianic vision of Russian patronage over Slavic lands and peoples also had an influence on the development of the empire's scientific institutions insofar as its opposition to the West was substituted by a growing focus on its neighbours to the east and south.⁵¹ A significant number of the Society's members therefore hoped that

⁴⁷ Z. Gasimov, "The Caucasus", in *European History Online*, 2011. <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/crossroads/border-regions/zaur-gasimov-the-caucasus> (accessed 15.11.2018).

⁴⁸ D. R. Stoddart, "The RGS and the 'New Geography': Changing Aims and Changing Roles in Nineteenth Century Science", *The Geographical Journal*, 146/2 (1980), p. 190.

⁴⁹ E. Tammiksaar, "Russian Geographical Society" in *Literature of Travel and Exploration. An Encyclopedia*, ed. Jennifer Speake (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 1039.

⁵⁰ M. Bassin, "The Russian Geographical Society, the 'Amur Epoch', and the Great Siberian Expedition 1855-1863", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 73/2 (1983), p. 241; Bassin, *Imperial Visions*, pp. 94-101.

⁵¹ Barsukov 1888-1911, XIII, 16, 37; cit. in Bassin, "The Russian Geographical Society", p. 241.

their activities would result in the reform and revitalisation of the Russian Empire, an aim they intended to achieve by creating a centre of research independent from the existing governmental and academic bureaucracies of the mid-19th century.⁵² The proposed reform in the area of science was to be based on an understanding of science as explicitly Russian and necessarily directed at serving Russia specifically.⁵³ Within the RGO, Orientalist Vasilii V. Grigor'ev (1816-1881) prominently represented such a nationalist approach to science. He propagated the need for scholars to dedicate themselves to the study of the “fatherland” exclusively, and considered Orientalist knowledge an ideal basis for imperial domination.⁵⁴ For Grigor'ev and his fellow scholars at the RGO, the “East” symbolised a redemptive alternative to Russia's relations with the “West”. Against the backdrop of these sentiments, not only Russian foreign policy, but also science, shifted the emphasis to the newly acquired or still contested regions adjacent to the empire's borders in the south and east.

The first major achievement of the regional branch of the RGO in Tbilisi was the opening of the “Caucasus Museum of Regional Studies” in 1856.⁵⁵ The museum became a repository for collections from all over the region and constituted the basis of the “Caucasus Museum”, reorganised in 1867 by the German naturalist Gustav Radde (1831-1903). Radde had spent the second half of the 1850s in Eastern Siberia as part of an RGO expedition, but moved to Tbilisi in 1864. During the next four decades, he published extensively on the flora and fauna of the Caucasus region, though his work also included ethnographical studies, most prominently on Khevsureti.⁵⁶ The fact that Radde was permanently based in Tbilisi no longer constituted an exception and is representative of the increased significance of the “periphery” in the study of the borderlands. Radde's research, and that of his fellow RGO member, linguist Pëtr K. Uslar (1816-1875), as well as the establishment of the “Caucasus Museum of Regional Studies” and the “Caucasus Archaeographic Commission” (1864), are some of the many examples of how “peripheral” organisations, or at least branches located in the “periphery”, complimented the imperial centres of science. During the 19th century, Tbilisi became a flourishing centre of Caucasus studies.

⁵² Bassin, *Imperial Visions*, p. 95.

⁵³ Bassin, “The Russian Geographical Society”, p. 242.

⁵⁴ A. Etkind, *Internal Colonization. Russia's Imperial Experience* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011), pp. 164-168.

⁵⁵ Jersild, *Orientalism and Empire*, pp. 66-67.

⁵⁶ P. Kropotkin, “Obituary. Dr. Gustav Radde”, *The Geographical Journal*, 21/5 (1903), pp. 563-564.

Other than in agricultural science in Russia, for which Olga Elina has set out to show how local private and public organisations rather than the metropolitan institutions in Moscow and St. Petersburg were the driving forces in developing the discipline in the 19th century, “centre” and “periphery” remained closely linked.⁵⁷ As long as Caucasus studies were conducted within an imperial scholarly network where knowledge and authority represented two sides of the same coin, stereotypical images of the subjects under scrutiny were perpetuated and the idealistic idea of fostering literacy among the Russian Empire’s minorities was motivated by the ambition to eventually Christianise and Russify them.⁵⁸ During the 19th century, scholars of Caucasus studies did not challenge the Russian Empire’s cultural hierarchies and certainly not the primacy of Russian culture over that of the native populations in the southern borderlands.

Heightening British Interest in the Caucasus

The growing importance of Tbilisi as a centre of Caucasus studies had an unexpected side effect: it brought foreign visitors to the region directly in contact with the scientifically underpinned imagination of a “Russian Caucasus”. Consistent with the understanding of modern science as a “polycentric communications network” - a network that became fully institutionalised during the 19th and 20th centuries - researchers and tourists alike who showed interest in the region were included in a network of exchange.⁵⁹ While Western European universities were well connected to Russian scientific institutions, especially to the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, Western scholars had little knowledge to build on when launching research on the Caucasus region. Disciplines such as Kartvelian studies and Armenian studies are still weakly

⁵⁷ O. Elina, “Between Local Practices and Global Knowledge: Public Initiatives in the Development of Agricultural Science in Russia in the 19th Century and Early 20th Century”, *Centaurus*, 56 (2014).

⁵⁸ W. Dowler, *Classroom and Empire: The Politics of Schooling Russia's Eastern Nationalities, 1860-1917* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), pp. 38-39; Gutmeyr, *Borderlands Orientalism*, pp. 156-167; Jersild, *Orientalism and Empire*, p. 88; Tolz, *Russia's Own Orient*, pp. 36-37.

⁵⁹ D. W. Chambers and R. Gillespie, “Locality in the History of Science: Colonial Science, Technoscience, and Indigenous Science”, *Osiris*, 15 (2000), pp. 223-224; B. Latour, *Science in Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 215-257; S. Sörlin, “National and International Aspects of Cross-Boundary Science: Scientific Travel in the 18th Century” in *Denationalizing Science. The Contexts of International Scientific Practice*, eds. Elisabeth Crawford, Terry Shinn and Sverker Sörlin (Dordrecht: Springer, 1993), pp. 43-72.

institutionalised in Western Europe today, and were very much based on individual efforts by scholars scattered all over the continent in the 19th century. Orientalists such as Frenchman Marie-Félicité Brosset (1802-1880) and German Heinrich Hübschmann (1848-1908) contributed to the study of the Armenian, Georgian and Ossetian languages and laid the foundations for the systematic research of the Caucasus region at Western European universities – though such research would not be institutionalised before the turn of the century.

Long before the Caucasus region became an object of systematic research at Western European institutions, it had attracted the interest of foreign travellers and scholars. Driven by ideas of the region's heterogeneity and exoticised and simplified imaginings of the "Orient", as well as the area's strategic importance, the British increasingly cast an eye on developments in the Russian Empire's southern borderlands. More Britons began to travel to the region and a growing number of publications introduced the public in Western Europe to a blank spot on their maps. The two missionaries William Glen (*Journal of a Tour from Astrachan to Karass, North of the Mountains of Caucasus*, 1823) and Ebenezer Henderson (*Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia; including a Tour in the Crimea, and the Passage of the Caucasus*, 1826) introduced the word "Caucasus" to British travelogues on Russia.⁶⁰ The first Briton in Circassia, i.e. the coastal, northwestern area of the Caucasus, was the Scottish diplomat and publicist David Urquhart (1805-1877). At a time where "the cause of almost every sizeable cultural group from Central Europe to the Arabian peninsula has been taken up by one or another traveller, journalist, adventurer, or ne'er-do-well", Urquhart reported from virtually unknown 1830s Circassia and romanticised local struggles as the performance of national struggles just as the region became a central point of discussion in strategic debates about Russian and British positions in the "East".⁶¹

Urquhart's mission to Circassia marked the emergence of a new quality in Western European and especially British interest in the Russian Empire's borderlands. Until the 1830s, the region had been at the crossroads of dynamic Perso-Ottoman-Russian political influences but was now increasingly subjected to Russian cultural appropriation – a cultural phenomenon that at first had been inspired by the work of a British poet but now radiated back towards Western Europe. The works of George Gordon Byron (1788-1824), better known as Lord

⁶⁰ A. Cross, *In the Land of the Romanovs. An Annotated Bibliography of First-hand English-language Accounts of the Russian Empire (1613-1917)* (Cambridge: OpenBook Publishers, 2014), p. 23.

⁶¹ King, "Imagining Circassia", pp. 238, 254.

Byron and for his role in the Greek War of Independence, “won almost universal recognition and passionate adherence” in Russia⁶² and inspired Pushkin to conceptualise the Caucasus as a “new Parnassus” in his topical *The Captive of the Caucasus*.⁶³ Enhanced by the works of other famous writers such as Aleksandr Bestuzhev-Marlinskii and Mikhail Lermontov, Russian literature established a genre dominated by “glory and gloom” rhetoric in a Byronic tradition.⁶⁴ The early Byronic-Romanticist “Russian Caucasus” and the military conquest of the Caucasus changed the region for all time, while the long history of belligerent encounters between Russian imperial troops and the resisting natives gave the region a special place in Russian perceptions but also constituted an ideal projection surface for British representations.

Heightened interest and sympathy for the cause of the region's native peoples, as well as the Caucasus mountain range's many as yet unreached summits, made these lands an increasingly popular destination for Western Europeans. The following subsection will focus in particular on the experiences of three British travellers as represented in their Caucasus travel accounts, in which they not only discuss their primary missions in the region but also reflect on their encounters with the local population:

1. James Stanislaus Bell's *Journal of a Residence in Circassia during the years 1837, 1838 and 1839* (1840).
2. William Gifford Palgrave's 1867 “The Abkhasian Insurrection”, part of his *Essays on Eastern Questions* (1872).
3. Douglas William Freshfield's *Travels in the Central Caucasus and Bashan* (1869) and *The Exploration of the Caucasus* (1896).

Over a time span of some sixty years and with very different backgrounds to their travels, the works of Bell, Palgrave, and Freshfield offer an insight into the dynamics of the British encounter with the borderlands of the Russian Empire. Indeed, the Caucasus was not the outermost periphery of geographical negotiations on where to draw the European-Asiatic border, but central to strategic thinking about the geopolitical roles of the British Empire, Russia, as well as the Muslim world.

⁶² N. Diakonova and V. Vatsuro, “No Great Mind and Generous Heart Could Avoid Byronism: Russia and Byron” in *The Reception of Byron in Europe. Vol. 2: Northern, Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Richard A. Cardwell (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 333.

⁶³ A. Pushkin, *Kavkazskii plennik. Povest'* (Berlin and Munich: Otto Sagner, 2009), p. 11; dedication, 19.

⁶⁴ Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire*, pp. 89-155; V. M. Zhirmunskii, *Bairon i Pushkin. Pushkin i zapadnye literatury* (Moscow: Kniga po trebovaniu, 1978).

James S. Bell: British Interests and Romanticised Resistance

In the 1830s, British travellers arrived in a contested region, remaining mostly along the Black Sea coast. Until then, foreign visitors to the region had primarily investigated its commercial potential, but now the British were additionally motivated by political and humanitarian issues.⁶⁵ The motives of Urquhart's fellow Scot, James Stanislaus Bell (1797-1858), for going to Circassia were originally commercial - among other things, he sought to establish direct trade with Britain -⁶⁶ but his *Journal* became highly politicised against the backdrop of the British-Russian conflict of interests. Little is known about Bell's knowledge of the region prior to his disembarkation, but it can be assumed that the information he had was very limited. In the preface to his *Journal* he writes of Circassia being "a country wholly devoid of any literature whatever" for which "the knowledge [he had] to communicate has therefore had ocular and auricular observation for its principal source."⁶⁷ He exploits both his own as well as public ignorance to position himself as a cultural mediator whose information will be "advantageous to the public - to the nation,"⁶⁸ while describing himself as one of the few eyewitnesses able to "shed much light over that *terra incognita* - the Caucasian world."⁶⁹ Not embedded in the Russian romanticising discourse, Bell reinforced a Russian "Other", delivered his audience with a reading of semi-civilised Russians and romanticised rebellion against them. "Cruel and unprincipled warfare"⁷⁰ in which Russian troops deliberately destroyed local harvests,⁷¹ causing a humanitarian crisis, is one side of Bell's story - the backwardness and "dilatoriness" of the Russians in an implied comparison with splendid British civilisation, the other.⁷²

At the same time, Bell both generalised and personalised the local population. On the one hand, his use of the term "Circassian" was still "a blanket label for virtually any exotic Caucasus highlander."⁷³ This label was well established, not only in the English language where the first reference dates back

⁶⁵ G. Hewitt, "Caucasus, Western Visitors" in *Literature of Travel and Exploration. An Encyclopedia*, ed. Jennifer Speake (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 200.

⁶⁶ Cross, *In the Land of the Romanovs*, p. 162.

⁶⁷ J. S. Bell, *Journal of a Residence in Circassia during the Years 1837, 1838 and 1839* (London: Edward Moxon, 1840), pp. vi-vii.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. xiv-xv.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. vii-viii.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 127.

⁷³ King, "Imagining Circassia", p. 242.

to 1555, but also in Russian and French. On the other hand, Bell exceeded most Russian reports from the 1820s and 1830s by giving the Circassians in his *Journal* a name, as well as positively connoted characteristics such as bravery, wisdom and empathy. In addition, he used personalised tragedies to win his readers for the cause, i.e. sympathy for “the Circassians”, and restricted any narrative of religious (Muslim) fanaticism.⁷⁴

As yet, however, there was little production of knowledge and even less knowledge exchange. The early British representation did not reflect the Russian image of the “noble savage” roaming the romanticised Caucasus. Instead, it served as a surrogate for endangered British interests against the backdrop of the “Vixen incident” – a conflict between the Russian and the British Empires over a captured schooner in the Black Sea in 1836. Bell romanticised local struggles, exaggerated his interest in the cause of the Adyghe tribes (“The more I see of these people the more I admire and love them”)⁷⁵ and antagonised the Russians by highlighting a territory he described “of vital importance to Great Britain.”⁷⁶ His contemporaries delivered the British public with an affirmative image of Bell’s Caucasus. John Augustus Longworth (d. 1875), who sailed from Istanbul to Circassia in 1838, submitted reports to *The Times* and published his account *A Year among the Circassians* upon his return to Britain, in which he wrote about “[w]armly sympathising with the patriotic mountaineers in their struggle against their oppressors.”⁷⁷ Reflecting on his 1829 *Journey to the North of India overland from England through Russia, Persia, and Affghaunistaun*, Lieutenant Arthur Conolly (1807-1842) concluded that “[t]he Russians do not yet command free passage through the Caucasus; for they are obliged to be very vigilant against surprise by the Circassian sons of the mist, who still cherish the bitterest hatred against them.”⁷⁸ And Edmund Spencer, who was invited by Count Vorontsov, then Governor-General of Novorossiia, to the coast of Circassia, portrayed “the Circassian” as a man for whom it was “not religious zeal which excites him to bravery, but love for his father-land and liberty.”⁷⁹ He then reflected on his “disagreeable position, either of sacrificing my regard to truth, or, out of courtesy to my Russian friends, of flinging over objects that passed beneath my observation the veil of misrepresentation”, concluding

⁷⁴ Bell, *Journal of a Residence*, pp. 103-104.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

⁷⁷ J. A. Longworth, *A Year among the Circassians* (London: Henry Colburn, 1840), p. v.

⁷⁸ A. Conolly, *Journey to the North of India overland from England through Russia, Persia, and Affghaunistaun* (London: Richard Bentley, 1838), p. 6.

⁷⁹ E. Spencer, *Travels in Circassia, Krim Tartary, & c.* (London: Henry Colburn, 1837), p. xvii.

that in the latter case “the claims of humanity would be sacrificed, which demand the exposure of the policy pursued by Russia towards the unfortunate inhabitants of the Western Caucasus – a policy alike detrimental to the interests of Great Britain, and dangerous to the repose of Europe.”⁸⁰

William G. Palgrave: Destructive Russia and the “Noble Savage”

By the 1860s, the situation had changed and Russia had successfully conquered the Caucasus region, while the British were now more concerned about their position north of India against Russia’s expansion in Central Asia – a change of events well reflected in the writings of British travellers who came to the region towards the end of the Caucasus War. The Jesuit William Gifford Palgrave (1826-1888), who had already charted territories in central and eastern Arabia in the service of Napoleon III and travelled widely in the Near and Middle East, came to Abkhazia in the 1860s as Britain’s consular representative.⁸¹ In his *Essays on Eastern Questions*, he wrote on “The Abkhasian Insurrection”⁸² - an article already published in *The Cornhill Magazine* in September 1867 - and denounced Western European news coverage of the region as “distorted and misrepresented”⁸³

At a time when the Great Game was speeding up and only three years after the final expulsion of the native population from the Western Caucasus, Palgrave stressed the desolation in the wake of the mass exodus, reinforcing the 1830s construction of the Russian “Other”. The Russian Governor-General of Abkhazia was described as “a violent, imperious man, full of contempt for all ‘natives,’ and the Russians *per se* as “men of no great sensibility”.⁸⁴ Palgrave’s harsh criticism of the destruction, expulsion and extermination of the population countered the Russian narrative of voluntary migration to the Ottoman Empire.⁸⁵ Additionally, he reinforced the idea of Eastern European barbarism, for instance by stating that “[s]uch atrocities are not uncommon in the East”⁸⁶ However, he delivered a representation of the region and its native population that was strikingly similar to the Russian one. He wrote of “semi-

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. viii-ix.

⁸¹ G. P. Nash, *From Empire to Orient. Travellers to the Middle East 1830-1926* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005), pp. 66-73.

⁸² W. G. Palgrave, *Essays on Eastern Questions* (London: Macmillan, 1872), pp. 250-270.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 263-264.

⁸⁵ See, for example, A. P. Berzhe, *Die Sagen und Lieder des Tscherkessenvolks* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1866), pp. x, xx-xxi.

⁸⁶ Palgrave, *Essays*, p. 266.

barbarous Caucasian Islam” and of the “Abkhasian race” about whom “little was probably to be known”,⁸⁷ while contrasting the natives to the romantic landscape with his description of a “green grassy plot dotted with noble trees and the [...] blue sea”.⁸⁸ Fittingly, the British traveller compared this image to the feeling that “comes over one at So’ouk Soo”, underscoring it with a quote from Lord Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*. According to Palgrave, the typical native was a “noble savage” – a theme already in decline in Russian representations. He described the local population as handsome athletes, though childish and non-organised – characteristics that removed them from the European nations.⁸⁹ Palgrave reported to his British readership that the Abkhaz were “superior in courage” but were eventually defeated, not only because they were inferior in arms but because they constituted an “undisciplined enemy”.⁹⁰

Despite openly criticising the Russian Empire for its foreign policy when writing about the missed opportunities to restore and secure “the freedom of the Caucasus, perhaps of all Central Asia, from the yoke to which more and more necks must daily bow”,⁹¹ Palgrave had already partly adopted Russian rhetoric when it came to the representation of the region. This is a strong indicator of intensified knowledge exchange between Britain and Russia in relation to a region where their interests conflicted. Palgrave’s political commentaries do not give us an insight into the background of his exchange with Russian officials, but the works of British members of the Royal Geographical Society travelling to Russia do. The “pacification” of the Caucasus - a euphemism reflecting the Russian perspective - allowed travellers to move around the region and other parts of the empire more freely. Safety was no longer a primary issue, or as Scottish archaeologist John Abercromby (1841-1924) put it: “Travelling as one necessarily does under Russian protection, and being further supposed to be well armed, one need be under no apprehension as to one’s personal safety”.⁹² In addition, their counterparts in St. Petersburg increasingly invited the British scientists to join them on their journeys to the Russian borderlands. Major Herbert Wood, a fellow of the RGS in London, was for instance invited to take part in the Russian Geographical Society’s 1874

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁹² J. Abercromby, *A Trip through the Eastern Caucasus* (London: Edward Stanford, 1889), pp. 294-295.

expedition to the Aral Sea.⁹³ Overall, the second half of the 19th century witnessed British scholars from various disciplines visit the Russian Empire's more remote parts in search of new material.⁹⁴

Moreover, the Caucasus had become a particularly prominent point of interest for the British ever since the Alpine Club of London was established in 1857 and the region came under the full control of Russia.⁹⁵ In terms of mountaineering, the British were way ahead of Russia as the empire's first mountaineering organisation was founded only in 1878 and Russian travel and exploration did not begin to flourish before the 1900s. The sport and touristic aspect of these travels in combination with simultaneous ambitions to chart the Caucasus Mountains led to a new and dynamic accumulation of knowledge at British learned societies. Just as James Cook had been commissioned to lead scientific expeditions on behalf of the Royal Society to the South Pacific in the 1770s, the RGS in London now supported and sponsored its members' expeditions to survey the Russian borderlands.

Douglas W. Freshfield: Co-Constructing the Caucasus

One of the members of the Alpine Club was Douglas William Freshfield (1845-1934), a British mountaineer, the Club's president (1893-1896), president of the RGS of London (1914-1917), and one of the best-known travellers to visit the Caucasus region in the 19th century. In 1868, he was part of a team that made the first documented ascent to the summit of El'brus, the highest Caucasus peak (although the expedition reached only the lower eastern summit), and to Kazbegi, the mountain towering prominently over the Georgian Military Highway. He noted his experiences of the expedition in his 1869 *Travels in the Central Caucasus and Bashan*, in which he conceded that the reader "may more justly complain of the absence of ethnological details concerning the tribes of the Caucasus".⁹⁶ Freshfield returned twice to the Caucasus before the end of the century, and by the time his second book on the region was published in 1896, *The Exploration of the Caucasus*, the geopolitical situation in the Caucasus and in Central Asia had been widely defined and the boundaries between British

⁹³ H. Wood, *The Shores of Lake Aral* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1876).

⁹⁴ R. W. Pethybridge, "The Merits of Victorian Travel Accounts as Source Materials on Russia," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 20/1 (1972), p. 12.

⁹⁵ Cross, *In the Land of the Romanovs*, pp. 34-36; C. King, *The Ghost of Freedom. A History of the Caucasus* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 123-133.

⁹⁶ D. W. Freshfield, *Travels in the Central Caucasus and Bashan* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1869), p. vi.

and Russian interests for the most part established. Freshfield's second book on the Caucasus is not only a classic of mountaineering literature, but together with the first, gives an excellent insight into the 19th century circulation of knowledge on the region.

The institutionalisation of knowledge was strongly connected to the expeditions and proceedings of: 1) the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, and 2) the Royal Geographical Societies of London (1830) and St. Petersburg (1845). For starters, Freshfield was familiar with the travelogues of his fellow countrymen written in the previous decades and elaborated on his readings of their travels and their commercial and political objectives.⁹⁷ Additionally, the British travellers arriving in the Caucasus in the second half of the 19th century could also rely on a network of exchange with the Russian centres of knowledge production through which they drew on Russian expertise on the region. Freshfield noted that the “[m]embers of the Alpine Club have invariably received great courtesy and consideration from the Russian Government”⁹⁸ and he praised (Polish-)Russian military officers such as General Józef Chodźko (1800-1881) for his topographic work as well as for being “[o]ne of the pleasantest of our Russian acquaintances at Tiflis”.⁹⁹ Apart from the maps provided by the Russian army, Freshfield was also familiar with the works of Heinrich Julius Klaproth (1783-1835), Maksim M. Kovalevskii (1851-1916) and Gustav Radde (1831-1903) – all of whom conducted their research into the region in the service of St. Petersburg's Academy of Sciences. He praised their work, while allowing himself some critical remarks on the RGS. While “the Council of our Royal Geographical Society had not yet seen its way to fulfil one of its most obvious functions, [...] England was still without any magazine for the diffusion of general geographical information comparable to Petermann's famous *Mitteilungen*”.¹⁰⁰ In preparation for his expeditions, Freshfield therefore delved into the works of German-Russian scholars – the German language, and especially the magazine *Petermanns Geographische Mittheilungen*, served as hubs of knowledge and its circulation.

Freshfield considered Radde the most knowledgeable expert on the field of Caucasiology, a scholar who had “done more than any man living to spread abroad a sound knowledge of the country he has made his home”.¹⁰¹ The British

⁹⁷ D. W. Freshfield, *The Exploration of the Caucasus* (London and New York: Edward Arnold, 1896), p. 10.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁹⁹ Freshfield, *Travels*, p. 103.

¹⁰⁰ Freshfield, *The Exploration*, p. 13.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

alpinist studied his works as well as those of Kovalevskii and reproduced their imperialistic vantage point in his travel writings. Radde's Caucasus was a realm populated by "no tamed people" with "a high degree of wildness" and who needed to be guided "on their very first path to civilisation".¹⁰² Freshfield followed this argumentation and provided his audience with a reading of the "primitive laws and customs of the mountain tribes",¹⁰³ which "have not, as was until recently believed, furnished a cradle to a great branch of humanity".¹⁰⁴ The "Circassians" in Freshfield's books appear as "primitive peoples of uncertain origin, and with no written language",¹⁰⁵ who "though not bloodthirsty, [...] are quick tempered, and it is their custom to wear arms, and their habit to draw their daggers when excited".¹⁰⁶ Travelling across Svaneti, he writes of "unregenerate" inhabitants, "utter barbarians in their manner of dealing with strangers".¹⁰⁷ In Ushguli, he felt "surrounded by the most savage and dangerous-looking set of people I have ever come across, outside Arabia".¹⁰⁸ For the Briton, "[i]n the Caucasus, the traveller is still brought close to barbaric times", with the exception of encounters with Armenians and Georgians whom he described as the "chief native races [...], intelligent and progressive; they are well fitted to play an important part in the future of the Russian Empire".¹⁰⁹

Russia, on the other hand, was no longer observed with hostility in the alpinist's report, despite the "Great Game" being in full swing. On the contrary, Freshfield praised the Russian administration of the region: "In repressing disorder, improving communications, and welding different races into a political unit, Russia is at once carrying on the work of civilisation and strengthening her own position in Western Asia".¹¹⁰ The "[e]nergy, uprightness, and intelligence in the government" would eventually "meet with ready appreciation and support from many of the native nobles",¹¹¹ an assessment in which the alpinist reproduced the narrative of the conquest of the Caucasus as an imperial success story – a success story without any alternative "owing to the ignorance of Western statesmen".¹¹² Consequently, the Svanetians would begin "to find life

¹⁰² G. Radde, *Die Chevs'uren und ihr Land* (Kassel: Theodor Fischer, 1878), pp. 71, 77, 117.

¹⁰³ Freshfield, *The Exploration*, p. 23.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

endurable without the daily excitement of killing or being killed”, while “the pliant Ossetes have recognised that the Russian service offers a means by which they may rise to fortune”.¹¹³ Moreover, Freshfield mitigated the former harsh British criticism of the expulsion of the native population in the Western Caucasus by portraying it as the logical consequence of fresh disorder instigated by people who would not submit after the conquest was practically complete. According to the author, the expulsion constituted “an exception to the comparative success which her rulers have achieved in other parts of the isthmus”, since “[h]appily for the mountaineer, the natives of the valleys of the central chain have as yet found no reason to leave their homes”.¹¹⁴

Freshfield's representation of the Caucasus reads as if it were written by a Russian imperialist intent on inscribing a civilising mission and the legitimisation of Russian imperial policy into the history of the region. Through the exchange of knowledge, both as a result of the embedment of the visitor in the imperialistic elite of the region as well as via academic exchange largely mediated through the German language, the Russian imperial discourse on its southern borderlands co-constructed Western European knowledge on the Caucasus.

Re-Imagining Boundaries in the Caucasus Region

The co-construction of Western European knowledge on the Caucasus went hand in hand with the growing acceptance of Russia's primacy in the region. This process was accompanied by a dynamic debate on whether the mountain range was indeed the geographical boundary between Europe and Asia. Just as the geographical border was not unanimously fixed in the 18th century, the mental map of the Caucasus was repeatedly redrawn over the course of the 19th century.¹¹⁵ Peter Hansen has shown that both in the Caucasus and in Africa, British alpinists transformed cultural encounters into imperial identities.¹¹⁶ Not least because of the framework of racial anthropology, within which “Caucasian” became a designation for “Indo-European”, the Caucasus was identified as

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ L. Häfner, “Europa ohne Grenzen? Zu Wandel und Funktion der russland bezogenen Kartographie vom Moskauer Reich bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts” in *Osteuropa Kartiert - Mapping Eastern Europe*, eds. Jörn Happel and Christophe von Werdt (Münster: LIT, 2010), pp. 87-112; Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p. 7.

¹¹⁶ P. H. Hansen, “Vertical Boundaries, National Identities: British Mountaineering on the Frontiers of Europe and the Empire, 1868-1914”, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 24/1 (1996).

European especially during the 1860s and 1870s.¹¹⁷ Freshfield's cognitive inclusion of the urban Caucasus, i.e. "ostentatiously European" Tbilisi,¹¹⁸ opposed the Russian narrative of an inferior Asian Caucasus in which "[Tbilisi] was a city of pure chaos – a city without municipality and without police, something simply impossible to establish in any Asian city".¹¹⁹

Similarly, though Grove's strong support of a European Caucasus was based on the idea of the region being "the cradle of the European race",¹²⁰ he and his fellow climbers were reluctant to describe the region's native population as European, which increasingly undermined the earlier identification of the Caucasus with Europe.¹²¹ The reassertion of the importance of racial differences allowed the British to re-imagine the Caucasus as a cultural-imperial boundary rather than an integral part of a "Greater Europe". By 1875, Grove's idea of the European cradle therefore appeared to have fallen from grace for which, according to the British mountaineer and as compensation, the region desperately needed the arrival of the (Russian) railway, because "with the railway will come the civilisation of our day, which will rapidly weaken and destroy that which is characteristic in the life and ways of this ancient race of warlike shepherds".¹²² By the 1880s and 1890s, the Caucasus was again being described in imperial terms and as a boundary rather than borderland. The cognitive inclusion of the Caucasus region into Europe and thus the British sphere of influence was short-lived, as is reflected in Freshfield's accounts of the 1890s in which the region is either referred to as "Western Asia"¹²³ or described along a dividing line separating it into a European and an Asiatic side.¹²⁴ The British perception of the Russian Empire's borderlands remained ambivalent and oscillated between the co-construction of the "Russian Caucasus" on the one hand, and spatialised racial and imperial identities on the other.

Conclusion

The Royal Geographical Society bestowed its Patron's Gold Medal on Radde in 1889 – nine years before he was awarded the St. Petersburg equivalent, the

¹¹⁷ G. W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1991), p. 26.

¹¹⁸ Freshfield, *Travels*, p. 99.

¹¹⁹ V. P. Meshcherskii, *Kavkazskii putevoi dnevnik* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia G. E. Blagosvetlova, 1878), p. 56.

¹²⁰ Grove, *The Frosty Caucasus*, p. 21.

¹²¹ Hansen, "Vertical Boundaries", pp. 51-52.

¹²² Grove, *The Frosty Caucasus*, pp. 33-34.

¹²³ Freshfield, *The Exploration*, p. 64.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Constantine Medal.¹²⁵ By the turn of the century, research into the Caucasus region had become institutionalised but was still conducted within an imperial scholarly network where knowledge and authority were closely interconnected. Russian scholars made use of the imperial authority over the borderlands and created a corresponding discourse. The growing level of institutionalisation of Caucasiology in the Russian Empire correlated with an increase in the number of people showing interest in researching or travelling the region. Within a polycentric communications network, Western European researchers as well as travellers built on the production of knowledge as the basis for their studies and reports.

On the one hand, British travellers contributed to the amelioration of knowledge on the Caucasus. In the field of cartography, for instance, the alpinists who surveyed the region's higher altitudes re-worked the maps they had received from their Russian contacts, who had helped them organise their journeys in the first place. On the other hand, increasing exchange caused a bias in their own perceptions of the region, encouraging the import of imperial imagery from the Russian Empire into Western European discourses. While in the first half of the 19th century British travellers had romanticised the native population of the Caucasus against the backdrop of the British-Russian struggle for influence, they later adopted the narrative structures and arguments employed towards the end of the century in Russia, thereby imitating imagery oscillating between romanticising imagination and imputed savagery and inferiority. The representation of the Caucasus, subjected to the dynamics of imperial interests and constructed in the accounts of British travellers in the region, cannot be separated from both the British-Russian struggle for political supremacy in the Caucasus and Central Asia as well as from the Russian representation of its own borderlands.

A conclusion that the Caucasus was similarly constructed and represented in Western Europe would only be partly correct for it neglects the influence of the circulation of Russian narratives and their influence on Western European perceptions of Russia's imperial borderlands. Western European Romanticism surely had a strong influence on the Russian construction of the Caucasus as one of its imperial "Others", but by the end of the 19th century Western European travellers had absorbed Russia's "Borderlands Orientalism" and co-constructed the pejorative representation attached to the region to this every day.

¹²⁵ D. W. Freshfield, "Obituary", *The Geographical Journal*, 21/5 (1903), p. 565.

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Cultural Exchange in the Black Sea Region: Greek Migration to the Russian Empire in the 19th century

Abstract: Despite their subordination to the conquerors, the Greeks remained very enlightened people of the Ottoman Empire, controlling the country's economy and education. A developed sense of national identity and patriotism stimulated rich Greek traders to actively sponsor the study of their young compatriots in leading European universities, where they got acquainted with the *avant-garde* ideas of their time.

The desire of Greek intellectuals to recreate an independent Greek state coincided with the foreign policy interests of Russia of that period, which wanted to abolish the Ottoman Empire. The military and diplomatic successes of Russia in the Russian-Ottoman confrontation of the 18th and 19th centuries contributed to the uplift of the national liberation spirit among the Orthodox nations of the Ottoman Empire, and the Greeks were among the best prepared among them.

The struggle of the Greeks for independence, largely inspired by Russian diplomacy, proved to be long and full of dramatic events. Despite the fact that the Greeks managed to create an independent state, from the end of 18th and throughout the 19th century there were several waves of mass migrations of Greeks to the territory of Russia. Most of the Greek settlers belonged to the lower classes, but among them there were many intellectuals who received education in the leading educational institutions of Europe, that is, they were the bearers of the European scientific and educational tradition. Greek enlighteners, theologians, officers, entrepreneurs, shipbuilders, architects, cultural figures, as well as masons and even farmers left a significant cultural trace in the history of most cities of the Black Sea and the Caucasus. Many settlers had a significant impact on the process of transfer and exchange of knowledge (as a process of assimilation of paradigmatic epistemological and civilizational patterns according to the West European model), and especially in the matter of cultural exchange.

Keywords: Greek migration, Black Sea region, Modern Greek Enlightenment, Russian-Ottoman wars, the Greek Plan, cultural exchange, knowledge dissemination.

The ethnographic map of the Black Sea coast has always been extremely heterogeneous because of the particular attractiveness of the region for migration or expansion. The natural border between Europe and Asia, a convenient geographical location on the main trade routes, a favorable climate, fertile land, mineral resources – all this was the cause of the incessant centuries-old migration processes in the region. In this regard, the Black Sea region, like no other, has preserved the imprint of many strikingly different cultures of various peoples: European and Asian, nomadic and sedentary, professing paganism and monotheistic cults.

Among the cultures that left an essential mark in the history of the Black Sea region, it would be correct to single out the Greek as the most significant. This is due primarily to the long-term presence of the Greeks in the region, dating back to the 8th century BC, that is, the period of colonization of the Northern and Eastern Black Sea Coast. The Greeks founded there 75 colonies and trading posts for commerce with local peoples.¹ Long-term trade and economic ties inevitably were reflected on the cultural image of the region, which borrowed elements of Greek art, life, language. R. Betzov notes that in the memory of the Adyge peoples of the North Caucasus there are many memorials of the ancient Greeks, whom they called “alyngzh”² That is reflected on Adyge legends, names, toponyms.³ The Circassian historian Aitek Namitok pointed out the similarity of a number of typical Spartan and Circassian customs.⁴ “We have a lot of similarities with ancient Greece of Homer in Circassians”, wrote Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux.⁵

In addition, the significant Greek cultural trail in the region is explained by the civilizational superiority of the Greeks over the other peoples of the Black Sea region, which lasted for many centuries until the Ottomans conquered the region in the 15th century. Being in a subordinate attitude towards the conquerors, the Greek culture declined, but its individual components continued to have a significant impact on the cultural image of the region, mainly through the intraregional trade and the migration processes of Greeks.

¹ K. E. Fotiadēs, *O Ellēnismos tou Euxinou Pontou* (Thessaloniki: Adelphōn Kyriakydē A. E., 2010), p. 148.

² R. Betzov, *Etnicheskaia istoriia adygov* (Nal'chik, 1996), pp. 127-133.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ P. Kuz'minov, “Infil'tratsiia, adaptatsiia i inkorporatsiia grekov na Severnom Kavkaze”, *Nauchnaia mysl' Kavkazu*, 2 (2004), p. 68.

⁵ D. De Monpere, *Puteshestvie po Kavkazu, k cherkesam i abkhaztsam, v Kolkhidiu, Gruziiu, Armeniiu i Krym* (El'-Fa, 2002), p. 453.

This article is devoted to Greek migration from the end of the 18th to the end of the 19th century in the direction of the part of the Black Sea region belonging to the Russian Empire and the next stage of cultural exchange between the Greeks and other peoples of the region connected with it. It should be noted here that at the beginning of the migration waves, the demographic map of the Northern and Eastern Black Sea regions already included a significant Greek component – the Greeks, descendants of previous epochs of resettlement. However, these Greeks for many centuries lived away from their historic homeland, were largely assimilated to other peoples of the region and, in many respects, had lost their common Greek cultural unity. The Greek immigrants of the studied period are representatives of the new generation of a Greek cultural genesis. The mass character of the migration revived the Greek cultural presence in the region in a new form.

Meanwhile, this new form of Greek culture itself was not homogeneous, since the immigrants came from different regions of the Greek ecumene, geographically far from each other. In a generalized form, the new settlers can be divided in two conditional categories – the Balkan and island Greeks on the one hand, and the Greeks of Eastern Anatolia, also called the Pontic Greeks, on the other. The last for many years of living together with other ethnic groups, including Armenians, various Turkic, Iranian and Caucasian peoples, formed a special type of Greek sub-ethnic culture, called Pontic.⁶

It is obvious that the eventfulness and multidimensionality of the studied question are very high and cannot be limited by the framework of one scientific article. Nevertheless, this article attempts to panoramically evaluate all aspects of cultural interaction in the region as a result of several migratory waves of Greeks in the part of the Black Sea region belonging to the Russian Empire in the indicated period.

More than a century-long process of the mass migration of Greeks from the Ottoman Empire to Russia in the 18th-19th centuries, despite its rather protracted nature, is a consequence of one phenomenon – the Russian-Ottoman confrontation, and almost completely coincides with it chronologically. Russian military successes in the Balkans and the North Caucasus contributed to the rise of the national liberation spirit among the Orthodox peoples of the Ottoman Empire, among which, above all, the Greeks were distinguished as the most numerous Orthodox ethnic group of the Ottoman Empire with a high level of national and cultural identity. Stimulating centrifugal forces in the Ottoman Empire, Russia relied specifically on the

⁶ F. Uspenskii, *Ocherki istorii Trapezundskoi imperii* (Evraziia, 2003), p. 3.

Greeks for the reasons indicated above, as well as to some extent romantic trends in Europe at that time, where many progressive intellectuals sympathized with the oppressed peoples of the Ottoman Empire, referring to the Greeks as heirs of the ancient Greeks, who gave Europe a high culture and science. Ekaterina II is known to have progressive ideas, as evidenced by her correspondence with the leading philosophers of her time – Voltaire, Diderot, Baron von Grimm, d’Alambert and others.⁷ The intentions of the Russian empress were so serious that they were formalized in the so-called “Greek plan”, the purpose of which was to abolish the Ottoman Empire and create a “revived Byzantium” on the Black Sea straits – in actual fact, a puppet state secretly controlled from St. Petersburg. This plan was perhaps the most ambitious foreign policy initiative of the Ekaterina II’s era.

Modern Russian historical science deals with two concepts of the “Greek plan”. Supporters of the first concept (I. S. Dostoiān, A. M. Stanislavskaiā) believe that Ekaterina II’s plan is a chimera, a “project” divorced from life, inspired by the romantic illusions of the empress and her associates – Orlovs, Potëmkin, Bezborodko. Other researchers (O. P. Markova, A. F. Miller) interpret the “Greek plan” as a grand mystification, a tactical maneuver, started by the empress to ensure Austria’s friendly neutrality during the conquest of Crimea by Potëmkin and inspire the Greeks to revolt.⁸ Both directions converge in an effort to present this idea in the form of an insignificant action of Russian diplomacy.⁹ Our point of view differs from both directions in favor of recognizing the “Greek plan” as a meaningful and rather successful foreign policy enterprise, despite the fact that the main goal of the plan was not achieved. The plan contributed to the acquisition by Russia of new lands in the Northern Black Sea region, the strengthening of Russian positions in the Balkans, and stimulated the influx of the most passionate stratum of Greek society into Russian lands, which gave a strong impetus to the economic and cultural development of the entire region.

The relocation was carried out in several stages. The first stage of the mass Greek relocation to the territory of Russia in the designated period fell on the uprising of the Greeks in the Peloponnese and some other regions of Greece, inspired by Russia during the so-called Orlov revolt within the Russian-

⁷ <https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/history/russian-soviet-and-cis-history-biographies/catherine-great> (accessed 9.09.2018).

⁸ M. Sabadzhan, “K voprosu ob adaptatsii grecheskogo naseleniia na iuge Rossii v XVIII veke”, *Izvestiia vysshikh uchebnykh zavedenii. Severo-Kavkazskii region*, 3 (2010), p. 58.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Ottoman war of 1768-1774. The uprising turned out to be successful for Russia, but unsuccessful for the Greeks themselves, because they failed to reach the goal – to achieve independence, and most of the Greek insurgents and volunteers of the Russian army (according to some estimates several thousand) after the signing of the Küçük Kaynarca Peace Treaty were evacuated to Russia in order to protect them from Ottoman punitive operations and ethnic cleansing.

The fears were not in vain – after the departure of the Russian warships, the Ottoman government expressed its clear intention to massacre the Greeks of the Peloponnese and the islands of the Archipelago. Island residents were saved by Ottoman admiral Gazi Hasan Pasha Cezayirli, who stressed that in the case of a killing of the Greeks, there would be no one to pay taxes. But the Peloponnese was expecting a grievous fate for the Greeks – for the next nine years, the peninsula suffered from cruel raids by Albanians at the instigation of the Turks, as a result of which, according to contemporaries, the peninsula was practically deserted.¹⁰

The bulk of the Greek refugees were soldiers and officers of eight volunteer battalions, formed in Greece under the Russian command as auxiliary troops in the Russian-Ottoman war. Most of the immigrants were located on the lands that had been ceded to the Russian Empire in the Northern Black Sea region, and mainly in the Azov region. Directly in the Crimea, these emigrants began to settle after the annexation of the territory of the Crimean Khanate to Russia in 1783.

In addition to the actual Greek settlers in the Black Sea region, the Küçük Kaynarca Peace Treaty itself greatly contributed to strengthening the Greek presence in the region. This was a very surprising coincidence of factors favorable for this. The fact is that the terms of the agreement equalized the rights of the Russian ships with the British and French, that is, allowed to cross the Black Sea straits freely. And since Russia allowed Christian sailors from the Ottoman Empire to use the Russian flag, Greek merchants and seafarers did not fail to take advantage of the favorable chance of developing commerce in the cities of the Black Sea. At the same time, seafarers were one of the most civilized advanced representatives of the Greek nation, as they had the opportunity to contact the most developed countries of Western Europe. Many of them shared the ideas of the so-called modern Greek Enlightenment – the intellectual movement of the end of the 18th-19th centuries of the Greek spiritual revival,

¹⁰ K. Sathas, *Tourkokratoumenē Ellas. Istorikon dokimion peri tōn pros apotinaxin tou Othōmanikou zygou epanastaseōn tou Ellēnikou Ethnous (1453-1821)* (Athens: ektēs Typographia stōn teknōn Andreou Koromēla, 1869), p. 523.

by analogy with the Western European Enlightenment, where, in particular, there was no place for the Ottoman dominance.

Through commercial connections, Greek progressive ideas became widespread in the Russian Black Sea region and strengthened by Russian anti-Ottoman rhetoric led to the emergence of a secret organization, Filiki Eteria, whose goal was to create an independent Greek state. Thus, the cultural influence of the Greeks at the end of the 18th century on the Black Sea region proceeded through two channels: forced migration and the development of trade relations.

The Greek migrants of the Northern Black Sea region quickly settled in a new place, enriching the region with their traditions, rites, but, above all, new knowledge and professional skills. So, from the most militant part of the Greek immigrants who showed military prowess during the period of the uprising, an infantry regiment was formed by Count Grigoriï Potëmkin, which was called the Greek Battalion of Balaklava. Over the 80 years of its existence, the Greek infantry regiment gained fame as fearless and unsurpassed warriors. This battalion is also interesting because during the famous tour of Ekaterina II in Tauris (the Crimea), the so-called "Amazon battalion" was formed as one of its mouths, consisting entirely of the wives and daughters of the Greek regiment soldiers. The company did not take part in hostilities and was disbanded immediately after the end of the tour. This rather extravagant page from the history of the reign of Ekaterina II perfectly demonstrates her sincere dedication to the "Greek plan", sometimes turning into a certain obsession.

Equally significant practical benefits to the region have brought the Greek skills of the trade and commercial navigation. Perhaps the most prominent person in this matter, originating from this wave of Greek migration to the territory of Russia, was Ivan Varvatṣī (Ioannēs Varvakēs). This navigator, who had mastered merchant shipping even at home (Psara Island), was an active participant in the Peloponnesian uprising and, after settling in Russia, first settled in Astrakhan, where he had succeeded in trading across the Caspian Sea by the end of the 18th century, eventually becoming a millionaire. However, his personality is remarkable not only by the talent of entrepreneurship, but also by charitable activities, in particular, the cultural transformation of the southern cities of Russia. Varvatṣī remained a true patriot of the Greek nation and its culture, and it is not surprising that the cultural transformation took place in the Greek manner. At the expense of Varvatṣī, the Greek Jerusalem Monastery in Taganrog was landscaped, where he moved in the early 19th century, and the Aleksandr Nevskii Church was built on the territory of the monastery itself. In the same Taganrog, the Greek Church of Constantine and Helen was erected at

the expense and on the initiative of Varvatṣī – but was destroyed during Soviet rule.

It is worth noting that Varvatṣī showed his love for Greece in full measure during the years of the Greek national liberation struggle. After the formation of the Filiki Eteria, Varvatṣī directed most of his funds and efforts to support the organization, and subsequently the Greek Revolution itself.

Returning to the cultural transformation of the cities of Priazovia and Novorossia in the direction of strengthening the Greek style, it should be noted that among other cities, Taganrog was the one that underwent the greatest “Hellenization”, and not only because of the patronage of Varvatṣī. Among other prominent Greek patrons of Taganrog of the 19th century, it is worth mentioning the successful merchant Gerasim Depal’do, who came from the Greek island of Kefalonia, and in particular sponsored the construction of the famous Stone Ladder, one of the main attractions of modern Taganrog.¹¹ In addition, worthy of special mention is the noble Taganrog landowner Nikolai Alferaki, the son of Dmitrii Alferaki, one of the insurgents of the Peloponnesian uprising. By order of Nikolai Alferaki, there was built a palace which received the name of the owner, and today is one of the most beautiful and revered buildings in the city where the Local History Museum is located. The architectural appearance of Taganrog continued to take shape under the influence of the Greek style throughout the 19th century. The quality of construction remains a model of architectural artisanship even today. Such buildings along Grecheskaiā Street (i.e. Greek Street, the name of the street clearly indicates its inhabitants and characteristic buildings), such as the famous 3rd polyclinic, kindergartens, the Invalids House (now boarding school) and many other houses are inherited by the Greeks who migrated from the Peloponnese and the Greek islands as a result of an unsuccessful uprising.

In general, the influence of the Greek diaspora in Taganrog was so important and significant that it necessitated the establishment of a dual government in the city: a Greek magistrate existed along with the City Parliament. Throughout the city, the sounds of the Greek speech were evident. In the male Alexander Gymnasium (now the building of the Literary Museum), ancient Greek and Modern Greek languages were taught. The children of the Greeks studied in the Greek class, in which all subjects were taught in their native language. Poor citizens sent their children to the Greek school, the building of which has survived until now in the courtyard of the house No. 56

¹¹ <http://bloknot-taganrog.ru/news/o-tebe-lyubimyy-gorod-kamennaya-lestnitsa> (accessed 11.09.2018).

on Grecheskaia Street, where the church of Constantine and Helen used to be. N. Mikhaïlova notes that all the latest technical and scientific achievements were practically embodied in the life of Taganrog with the participation of the Greeks: the construction of the port, the narrow-gauge railway, etc.¹²

Odessa was close to Taganrog in the degree of penetration of urban Greek culture. The Greeks appeared in Odessa immediately after the foundation of the city in 1794. Many of them were, like the Greek migrants of previous eras who had already settled on Russian soil, as well as new migrants, representatives of aristocratic families opposed to the Ottoman government. Undoubtedly, there were also the Greek merchants already mentioned above, who were attracted by Odessa due to the abundance of fertile land and good prospects for the port. Already at the beginning of the 19th century, every fifth inhabitant of Odessa was of Greek origin. Travelers claimed that the Greek language could be heard on any street, and the signs on the houses, indicating the names of the residents, continually ended in “aki”, “pulo”, “afi” and “pude”.¹³ The first head of the city by the name of Fogoitēs, elected in 1796, was also a Greek.

It is noteworthy that it was in Odessa that for the first time in one and a half thousand years, the Greek theater was opened on the Black Sea coast. In 1817, the Greek school was solemnly opened, and soon gained a reputation as the second lyceum after the Richelieu institution in the city. The school was famous for its high level of teaching Old and Modern Greek Languages. Teachers were hired from all over the Greek world.

The Greeks entered the history of Odessa as outstanding entrepreneurs and, above all, as grain traders. At first, the bread business in Odessa was undeveloped. The Chumaks brought peasant grain on oxen and sold it at Privoz and Peresyp. It was the Greek merchants who decided to set out on their own and conclude contracts with large landowners in the Podolia and Kiev region. Deliveries became fixed, which made it possible to reduce risks, reduce the cost of goods and successfully promote them to the world market. The Greek merchants Theodōros Rodokanakēs and Ioannēs Rallēs, who had connections and branches throughout the Mediterranean, bought up grain from small brokers, and sent it in large quantities to Europe. It should be noted that the Rallēs dynasty in three generations played a significant role in the economic and cultural life of Odessa throughout the 19th century.

However, most of all, the Greeks of Odessa glorified not trade, but the personality of the mayor and concurrently the chairman of the Greek charitable

¹² N. Mikhaïlova, “Grekī v istorii Taganroga”, *Vekhi Taganroga*, 5-6 (2000), p. 28.

¹³ <http://reporter.com.ua/articles/upx/> (accessed 13.09.2018).

society Grigorii Marazli (Grēgorios Marazlēs). His incredible human qualities and great wealth gave Odessa a bacteriological station and a city public library, a museum of fine arts and a public reading room, a school and a section of a botanical garden, a canteen for homeless children and a city shelter.¹⁴

All subsequent waves of the mass migration of Greeks to the territory of the Russian Empire occurred in the 19th century and were associated with the Pontus region, a historical region in northeast Asia Minor, where the Greeks lived compactly from ancient times and, as noted above, for many centuries formed a special subethnic culture called Pontic.

The first Pontic or second general Greek wave of relocation in Russia is associated with the annexation of the territory of modern Georgia and Eastern Armenia to the Russian state in 1806-1812. In 1810, the “Committee for the resettlement of Christians from Turkey to the Caucasus from the Trabzon vilayet” was created in Tiflis. Soon, in 1813 (after the Russian-Ottoman war of 1806-1812) and later in 1821-1827 (during the Greek Revolution) and 1829-1831 (after the Russian-Ottoman war of 1828-1829), Pontic immigrants drew out, settling in the central regions of Georgia – in Tsintskaro, Manglisi, Tetri-Tskaro villages, in the vicinity of Dmanisi. In addition, the Pontic Greeks founded 27 villages in Tsalka – a mountainous and little-suitable for living area in the Trialeti district of the Georgian province.

After the Turkmanchay Peace Treaty in 1828, according to which the lands of the Erivan and Nakhichevan khanates were withdrawn to Russia from Persia, Greeks and other Christians moved there. New settlers were supported by the Russian state with money and exemption from taxes and duties for a certain period. The loyalty of the Russian government to Greek refugees was due to the policy of strengthening its new borders. Like the resettlement of the Cossacks on their southern frontiers, Russia, acquiring new territories in the Caucasus, pursued a policy of increasing the proportion of the Christian population in predominantly Muslim regions in order to protect itself from probable irredentism in favor of Ottoman Empire or Iran. It is obvious that Christians were considered by Russia as trustworthy friends, while Muslims were potential Ottoman or Iranian agents.

The cultural level of the Greek immigrants of this stage was far from highly developed or enlightened since these populations were almost entirely poor peasants. However, the Pontic Greeks had some considerable influence on the culture of the region. In this connection, as an example, the following story is characteristic. The second resettlement stage formed the Greek community of

¹⁴ <http://reporter.com.ua/articles/upx/> (accessed 13.09.2018).

North Ossetia. This community played a significant role in the economic and cultural life of the entire region for many years, primarily due to the fact that among its representatives there were many first-class masters of mining and stone-working. It is worth emphasizing that the Greeks, from the time of the Komnenoi to the period of the Trebizond Empire, were well acquainted with the mining business and, thanks to their high skill, were able to arrange their life in new lands.

In the middle of the 19th century, the construction of Orthodox churches by the Pontic Greeks began everywhere in North Ossetia; they were practically monopolists in the construction sphere, and the leading creative force in the erection of temples and churches of Ossetia. On November 8th, 1850, the Greek masters, under the supervision of the contractor Spiridon Chekalov, began the construction of the Ascension Church in Alagir. A famous architect and artist, Prince Gagarin, built the temple in the Byzantine style. Today it is one of the oldest and most famous temples in North Ossetia. This is just one of many examples of the cultural influence of the Greek immigrants on the architectural appearance of cities in the south of Russia and the Black Sea region.

The professional mastery of the Greek masons was also embodied in the temples built in the Tsalka region. Despite the extremely disastrous economic situation after the resettlement in the land, which was so unsuitable for agriculture, the Greeks of Tsalka first built Orthodox churches. Not yet settled down, the Greeks were taken for the construction of the shrine – the village's palladium, often reproducing their home towns and villages in the Pontus region. Such a zealous religious feeling, including evidence of the fact that free religion, the desire to freely send Orthodox rites, were the main dream of the immigrants, something they were deprived of for many years.

There remained the Greeks of Tsalka, true patriots of Hellenism, despite the fact that many of them forgot their native language, completely switching to Turkish. For example, in 1840, in the village of Barmaksyz, priest Vasilii Fotov opened a school in his own house. In this school, Vasilii Fotov taught the children of his congregation to read and sing in Greek. By this, he sought to instill a love for the mother tongue among the younger generation of Tsalka. On the basis of this school in 1844, it was decided to open a Greek school for children of the parishioners.¹⁵

The third stage of the resettlement of the Greeks within the Russian Empire, directly to the North Caucasus, begins in 1862 on the grounds of the law on the resettlement of Ottoman Christians in the Russian Empire. The

¹⁵ <https://rua.gr/greece/strgr/16463-greki-iz-tsalki.html> (accessed 17.09.2018).

Russian authorities, striving to master the North Caucasus region as soon as possible, again used the tactics of Christianization of predominantly Muslim regions to ease this process – in favor of Greek immigrants from the Ottoman Empire. The circumstances for this were very favorable; according to the results of the Caucasian War, the so-called Muhajirism -the migration movement to the Ottoman Empire- became widespread among some autochthonous peoples of the North Caucasus. As a result of Muhajirism, large spaces in the North Caucasus became unsettled, which, in particular, prompted the Tsarist government to colonize these lands with Christians. The resettlement of the Greeks was carried out on the basis of the rules emanating from the law of May 10th, 1862 “Regulation on the settlement of the foothill part of the Caucasus Mountains by the Kuban Cossacks and other natives of Russia”.¹⁶ Despite the fact that the settlement was supposed to take place only in favor of the Russians, nevertheless, the Russian government, according to the same regulations, received and settled Christian settlers from the Ottoman Empire, most of whom were Pontic Greeks. They were endowed with the same rights and privileges as migrants from the inner provinces of the Russian Empire.

The fourth (third Pontic) stage of the resettlement of the Greeks takes on the character of a mass exodus in 1877-1884. After the Russian-Ottoman war of 1877-1878, up to 17,000 Pontic Greeks move to Terek region, Stavropol' governorate, Sukhumi military district, Batum Oblast' and Baku governorate. In addition, the Greeks settled 72 villages in the Kars region, conquered from Ottoman Empire.

The third and fourth stages of the resettlement of Greeks into the territory of Russia formed the Modern Greek communities of Kuban, Stavropol', and Karachay-Cherkessia. The relocation of the Pontic Greeks significantly changed not only the ethno-confessional, but also the cultural map of the eastern Black Sea region and the Caucasus, significantly complementing the previous waves of resettlement and thereby strengthening the common Greek cultural element in the region. The Pontic Greeks brought to the new places of residence the occupations characteristic of their economy in Pontus: vegetable growing, viticulture, gardening, fishing and, most importantly, tobacco growing.¹⁷ It is due to the Pontic Greeks that Russia owes the culture of tobacco cultivation in

¹⁶ G. Rudianov, “K voprosu o pereselenii grekov na Severnyĭ Kavkaz vo vtoroi polovine XIX veka”, *Voprosy istorii pontiiskikh grekov v Rossii*, 1 (1994), p. 36.

¹⁷ K. Dmitriev, “Grekĭ na Kubani”, *Voprosy istorii pontiiskikh grekov v Rossii*, 1 (1994), p. 49.

Kuban, which played a significant role in the economy of the region during the Soviet period.¹⁸

In addition, the Greeks brought with them an educational culture. Primary schools with teaching in the native language, Sunday schools, centers of folk art, etc. were built at their new places of residence. At the beginning of the 20th century, pedagogical technical schools were opened in the village of Kramskaya (now the town of Krymsk, Krasnodar Territory), which trained teachers for Greek schools of the entire North Caucasus, published textbooks and literature in Greek.

Summing up, the special role played by the Greek migration to Russia from the end of 18th century and up to the beginning of the First World War should be emphasized. In addition to the obvious political benefits of settling new Russian lands with trustworthy co-religionists, Greek settlers turned out to be the most socially dynamic ethnic group in the region, which revived the Black Sea economy, raising it to a fundamentally new level of development. The Greeks brought to the region a modern model of entrepreneurship, commercial navigation, made a bridge between local producers and Western consumers, and were pioneers in the cultivation of tobacco growing in the Kuban. The aesthetic aspect of resettlement did not stand aside either -Greek settlers enriched the Black Sea region with elements of their national culture- above all, in the field of temple architecture. Besides, the most active Greek entrepreneurs, who often visited Western European ports, were the bearers of progressive ideas, which to some extent influenced the region to become familiar with high European standards.

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“The New Women” – the First Professional Intellectual Organization of Women in Russia

Abstract: The object of the article is the “new” social group of women that appeared in Russia in the early 1860s and initiated the women’s movement in the country. It was the category of women who were noble courtier ladies, educated, liberal, on the one hand, and on the other hand, with a new female identity, who contributed to the modernization of the Russian society becoming a social resource of the women’s movement. For the “new” women, the right to work was an important task, not only due to economic but, above all, to moral reasons, as an acceptable framework for the women’s freedom. As another important task they formulated and initiated the struggle for higher education for women. The fact that they had education, knowledge of foreign languages, free time, and most of them could afford it financially, let them organize and lead many women’s initiatives from the late 1850s and early 1860s.

Keywords: gender studies, Russian feminism, artel of translators.

Introduction

Our article aims to make an overview of the initiative for the establishment and the activity of the “Russian Translators’ Society” in the context of the 1860s women’s liberal movement, i.e., to consider the Artel, as they called their association, as part of the movement itself. We try to analyze the causes and conditions for founding the Society as well as to determine the age, social and economic status of the women involved, and their motivation to join it. An important issue is also the consideration of this Society in the context of the contacts and influences of other women’s organizations abroad.

The subject matter of this first professional women’s union in Russia has not been an object of an independent monographic study. It was briefly mentioned only within the context of extensive monographic studies related to the history of the women’s movement and feminism in Russia in the mid-19th and early 20th centuries. One of the great Russian researchers Irina Iukina states that in the pre-revolutionary period, the authors, who were also participants in the events, described the movement without analyzing it and without having

the distance of criticism to it.¹ In the Soviet historiography, the women's movement has never been studied by anyone, and she explains the reasons for it. The Soviet scholars could work only in a Marxist paradigm, which is clearly seen in Eleonora Pavliuchenko's book.² The author sees the entire Russian women's movement from Marxist perspective, laying the foundation of the party's class approach and defining its purpose as a struggle against serfdom and feudal order. However, she does not deny the strong participation of women from the dvorian families (Russian nobilities) and the privileged classes, but immediately makes the point that: "Among the fighters for women's equality there were women who were quite different in terms of social status and views. There were predominantly representatives of the democratic intelligentsia living with their own labour income as well as Maria Trubnikova, Elena Konradi and other women from the privileged strata. Among the leaders was the aristocrat Anna Filosofova. Together they constituted the moderate direction. At the other pole were the nihilist and the revolutionaries"³

The author does not deny the real fact that the women's movement in Russia was also under the influence of the Western European feminism. "The women's movement in Russia ripened under the obvious influence not only of the revolutionary processes, but also under the influence of the Western European feminism. A special role was played by Jenny d'Hericourt, a doctor of medicine, the author of the book *La femme affranchie* (The Liberated Woman) that was released in Paris in 1860 and was also widely read in Russia"⁴

However, the author does not mention George Sand and the huge influence that her books had on the Russian intellectual society.⁵ Pavliuchenko just mentions the women's artel without any details, but makes detailed portraits of the women who initiated its establishment. "The women's movement in Russia was started by three remarkable women – Nadezhda Stasova, Maria Trubnikova and Anna Filosofova. Their contemporaries perceived them as 'triumvirate'. Their lives were inextricably linked to the women's movement, and the social work related to the establishment of Sunday schools, production associations, and the fight for higher education for women became their organic

¹ I. Iukina, *Russkii feminizm kak vyzov sovremennosti* (St. Petersburg: Aleteiia, 2007).

² E. Pavliuchenko, *Zhenshchiny v russkom osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii ot Marii Volkonskoï do Very Figner* (Moscow: Mysl', 1988), p. 272.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁵ See I. Iukina, "Zhorzh Sand v Rossii" in *Russkie zhenshchiny i evropeiskaia kul'tura. Materialy konferentsii*, ed. Irina Iukina (St. Peterburg, 1993).

unity".⁶ In her book, on pages 83-95 she introduces her so-called "portraits". After the 1991 changes, the issue of the Women's and Feminist Movement became very topical, and a myriad of Soviet-Russian women researchers began to work on it.⁷

Socio-Political Context

At the end of the 1850s, a liberal movement began to develop in Russia, within which a women's movement emerged. It was time when the ideas of the Russian liberalism were formulated, its centres were distinguished, leaders appeared. Its main idea was: the liberation of the peasants, introducing laws, guaranteed civil rights, equality of all classes before the law, independence court, local self-government. The aim of the liberals was a peaceful transition of Russia on the way to gradual modernization.⁸

The leading post-Soviet researcher of Russian feminism in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century – Irina Iukina arguably infers and characterizes the end of 1850s as the time of the birth of the women's movement in Russia, explaining the reasons for this. "It was not until the 1850s-1860s that the political, economic and organizational conditions emerged for the first time in the pre-reform period, which gave the opportunity to institutionalize the first women's initiative groups, to see a female public movement as such. Until then, every social initiative in the Russian Empire was allowed and authorized by the authority structures, and the authority always reacted repressively to every manifestation of 'the public' in which it traditionally saw the source of subversive power".⁹

According to her, the main reason for the emergence of a women's movement were the reforms of the 1860s, which Alexander II made, the most important of which was the abolition of the serfdom law in 1861. The western feminist ideas that came to Russia as well as the great influence of the works of George Sand on the Russian society were of significance. According to Iukina, the movement of the Russian women had no ideological demands and foundations in its early

⁶ Pavliuchenko, *Zhenshchiny*, p. 84.

⁷ There are three prominent names in Russia. See I. Iukina, "Novaia istoriia zhenshchin Rossii" in *Vstupitel'naia stat'ia k bibliografii po istoriia zhenskogo dvizheniia i feminizma v Rossii (1850-e - 1920-e gody)*, ed. Irina Iukina (St. Petersburg: Aleteiia, 2003), pp. 4-18; S. Aivazova, *Russkie zhenshchiny v labirinte ravnopraviiia. Ocherki politicheskoi teorii i istorii* (Moscow: RIK Rusanova, 1998); O. Khasbulatova, *Opyt i traditsii zhenskogo dvizheniia v Rossii (1860-1917)* (Ivanovo: IvGU, 1994).

⁸ I. Iukina, *Russkii*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 544.

stages. They wanted to improve the lives of the women within the tradition and culture of the Russian society and did not aim to change radically their lives. She views it as an urban movement of educated middle-class women who had similar interests, problems and ways to solve them.¹⁰

This is how two of the first participants in the women's movement (Poliksena Stasova and Elena Nekrasova) saw the time of the 1860s and their own place in it. At the beginning of the 1860s "Life, like a locomotive at full speed went forward and carried all the questions of the public awareness – family and school, education and training, helping poor brothers, freedom of speech, women's education and their right to self-employment and work. This was the topic for everybody; all this had to be done".¹¹

And further on, the coronation of the late Emperor Alexander II, the manifesto for the liberation of the peasants, the judicial reform, and many other transformations provoked the best of Russia. All these reforms, wanted for a long time by the society, opened a wide arena for direct and independent work with the people.

"The uplifting of the spirit was all-encompassing, some kind of a state of enthusiasm was felt not only by the young, but even by the elderly, who had grown up under harsh conditions. The permission to publish newspapers in an unlimited number resulted in the appearance of various printed bodies of varied content, but, however, their common character retained the pursuit of the common good of the people."¹²

I owe a lot to Trubnikova and Stasova. They took me away from the pointless ardent pursuit of broad range of public tasks and ideals and persuaded me to engage in a particular social activity. Due to them, I took part in the new society of translators, and then, in organization of the higher women's courses, I attended all the general and private meetings, I attended lectures and so on."¹³

Energetic work to improve the lives of women in need was conducted by Maria Trubnikova's circle as well. In 1859, they founded the "Society for Cheap Lodging and Other Supplies Needed by the Residents of St. Petersburg". Initially the Society rented lodgings in different parts of the city for its poor and abandoned women and children, but then a large house was bought with money won at a lottery where poor women were sheltered. Then the Society was given the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹¹ P. Stasova, "Izdatel'skoe delo", *Zhenskoe delo*, 2 (1890), p. 24.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹³ E. Nekrasova, "Studentka na voine. Pisma s voiny 1877", *Russkaia Mysl'*, 6 (1898), p. 928.

opportunity to fulfill its biggest desire – to make a school for children and a tailoring workshop, where the people could work on sewing machines provided for them for free. Nadezhda Stasova worked particularly actively and vigorously and with her help a considerable order was obtained from the Commissariat, which provided work for the workshop for a long time. The women members of the Society taught at the school, and then, they invited teachers for that purpose.¹⁴

Apparently, the Society of Maria Vasil'ievna Trubnikova started its public activities with philanthropy, and then it turned into other more practical and meaningful economic initiatives. Another interesting attempt of Trubnikova's Society was to found a "Society for Women's Employment". The project failed because women from different backgrounds and with very different ideological beliefs – nihilists, revolutionaries, liberals became its members. Trubnikova's Society was formed as a liberal society, whose representatives were mainly of the dvorian or trade milieus, most of them graduated from the Institutes for Noble Maidens (a total number of 30 for whole Russia). Until 1857 in the few professional state secondary schools for girls of close class character learning foreign languages was provided – French, English, German, and in some schools – Polish, Italian, Armenian and Georgian.¹⁵

There were very big plans for the Society since it was initiated. Various workshops were planned to be organized: tailoring, translation offices and publishing children's and scientific books. Also, Pëtr Lavrov took part in drafting its Statute.¹⁶ This is one of the first women's attempts to seek and find new forms of labour organization, of the lifestyle and of the education of the workers. Only a part of this program was implemented. In the beginning of 1863, they succeeded to found the "Women's Artel"¹⁷ or "Society of the Women Translators – Publishers". Why did they call it Artel? At that time in Russia it was very fashionable to found associations (often called artels). In these stormy

¹⁴ V. I. Iasevich-Borodaevskaia, *N. V. Stasova: Biograficheskii ocherk* (St. Petersburg, 1896), p. 15.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁶ A Russian sociologist, philosopher, publicist and historian, one of the ideologists of the nation. From a dvorian family, and a mother from Sweden. In 1842 he graduated from the Artillery School in St. Petersburg, where he remained as an assistant professor. He was sent to exile for spreading inappropriate ideas, where he lived from 1867 to 1870. There he wrote his *Historical Letters*, in which there was a call for critical thinking and striving for truth directed primarily at the young people who had to awaken and understand the tasks of the historical moment, the needs of the people, to help them to realize their strength and together with them to start the creation of history fighting with the old world that was buried in lies and injustices. *Historical Letters* as a socio-political work appeared when the intelligentsia, especially the dvorian families sought new opportunities for investing their power to improve the lives of the people.

¹⁷ Stasova, "Izdatel'skoe delo", p. 24.

years of reorganization of society, they were at the core of almost every initiative related to the modernization of society. Some people were convinced that they had to do with Western ideas for cooperation (ideas that were found in the essays of Owen, Proudhon, Lassalle, etc.), while others thought they had to do with a primordial Russian phenomenon. Anyway, following the fashion trends, young dvorians formed all sorts of associations, involving ordinary people as well.¹⁸

Founding the Artel

What made it possible to put into practice the idea of the Artel? First of all, the Russian legislation itself, according to which women had civil and economic rights sufficient to set up organizations and set up their own businesses. “The liberation of the peasants and the age of reform led to huge changes in Russia. The issue of the emancipation of women emerged. Together with the institutes for noble maidens, women’s high schools for all professions were founded. Primary schools were established with an army of teachers”.¹⁹

Secondly, the presence of a “new” social group of women that appeared in Russia in the early 1860s and initiated the women’s movement in the country – dvoryans, educated, with liberal ideas on the one hand and, on the other, with a new female identity, perceiving as their mission to contribute through work to the modernization of the Russian society.

This is what one of the participants in the Artel, Poliksena Stasova,²⁰ said about it:

“Nadezhda Stasova’s restless soul reacted to all the issues that were relevant to the 1860s, but the closest to her heart certainly was the issue of women. Both women and girls – all aspired to mental labour at that time. Knowledge of languages from the majority of women directly showed them and directed them to translate literary work that was in their power. Nadezhda Stasova, who was closely and mentally connected with Maria Trubnikova in the ‘The Society of Cheap Lodgings,’ both of them bright, burning, active, marvelous personalities decided to support this activity

¹⁸ V. P. Bolshakov, “O tom, chego ne bylo. Atomy istorii professional'nogo dvizheniia ot tsaria Gorokha do popa Gapona”, *Istoriia profsoiuzov*. www.istprof.atlabs.ru/570.html (accessed 9.10.2018).

¹⁹ N. Chebysheva-Dmitrievna, “Russkaia zhenshchina v iziashtnoi literature i zhurnalistike”, *Zhenskoe delo*, 8-9 (1900), pp. 186-194.

²⁰ Sister-in-law to one of the founders of the Artel – Nadezhda Stasova. Her memoirs are published under the title “Publishing Activity” in the journal *Women’s Deed*, (January and February, 1900), St. Petersburg.

and to give women the opportunity to work and to earn from intellectual work which was initiated by Trubnikova”.

They projected a “Society of the Women Translators” – with common efforts to make capital in order to publish “stable reading” for the learning generation. Here they combined several tasks together: 1) useful reading that the young generation needs, 2) ensuring women’s labour, and 3) meeting the needs of money. The two friends had the unusual ability to attract people and to organize them.

In a short while, Maria Trubnikova, Nadezhda Stasova and Anna Filosofova managed to attract and organize around them a circle of 36 women, to draft a statute with them, but before it was formalized officially, they wanted to start work so that they did not waste time. This was at the beginning of 1863. Members of the circle were: Nadezhda Belozerskaia, Anna Nikolaïevna Engelgard, Anna Filosofova, Elizaveta Beketova, Maria G. Erlomova, M. S. Olkhina, Countess Vera Nikolaevna Rostovtseva, A. G. Margelova, Varvara Pechatkina (Glushanovskaia), Poliksena Stasova, Maria A. Menzhinskaia, O. A. Shakeeva, V. V. Ivasheva,²¹ Olga Ivanova (Anenkova), Mrs Tiblen (Evgenia Karlovna), O. N. Butakova, Elena Andreevna Shtakenshneider, Alexandra Nikolaevna Shulgovskaia, etc.²² The names of 20 women are listed, all of them only with surnames and the initials of the name and father’s name, which made the research difficult. The remaining 16 were not mentioned by name.²³

What was the social profile of the women members of the organization? It was extremely difficult to answer to this question because the participants could not be traced only with their surnames and initials. On the other hand, the names of the “founders”, with a few exceptions, do not say much, as they are not personified. Those who were traced and received personal names were indirectly identified through their famous husbands, nephews, parents,²⁴ and the others through the Web site of the Russian translators registered up to 1917. There again they do not have personal names, but only initials, but at least it is mentioned that they were members of the Women’s Translation Artel. It is a pity that for most women involved in the Artel there is no information. There are no

²¹ Maria Trubnikova’s sister.

²² All the names written in the text have been searched and found by the authors of the text.

²³ Stasova, “Izdatel’skoe delo”, p. 25.

²⁴ Olga Ivanovna Ivanova (Anenkova). Her mother Praskovia Egorovna Anenkova (Polina Gebl) accompanied her father who was a Decembrist and was sent to exile in Siberia. Their story became the plot of Alexander Dumas’s novel *The Fencing Master* and of Shaporin’s opera *Decembrists*, which was initially called “Polina Gebl”.

data in the information portal of all archives in St. Petersburg about the Translators' Artel.

After the investigation of the mentioned and researched 20 participants in the Society (as we could not collect all the information about all the participants in the Artel) an approximate picture of it was obtained. All of those we found information about were dvorians, half of them had very good home education where they mastered foreign languages as well – French, English, German, and some of them – Italian. The other part of the women graduated from various institutes for noble maidens, where they also received brilliant knowledge of the main Western languages. Most women in the Society were between 25 and 32 years of age, but there were exceptions – Poliksena Stasova was 20 years old and the oldest was 54-year-old Countess Rostovtseva. More than 75% of them were married and had children. Among the others, there were two divorced women who took care of themselves and their children as well, and several were unmarried, such as Nadezhda Stasova, who was entirely dedicated to the work as an organization leader of the Society. As it can be seen from the few very scant memories of the participants in the Society, most of them were familiar with each other and had close, friendly relationships. The organizer of the circle was Nadezhda Vasil'ievna Stasova, and its 'soul' was Maria Vasil'evna Trubnikova. In Stasova's opinion all the women in the circle, were of strong mind, strong will, strong energy, and strong character. The circle was formed at a time when the liberal-minded women, received some freedom of the press and the associations and a wide field for enlightenment and charity revealed. The initiative of Trubnikova and Stasova at the beginning of the 1860s was to establish a charitable "Society of Cheap Lodgings" for poor families and their children in St. Petersburg. Before the Statute was established, lodgings were found and poor families settled in. Based on their assessment, the children were sent in various educational institutions or workshops.

"We found two doctors who agreed to work for free and the Society began to work. It was just established and from all corners of St. Petersburg requests for help were made [...]. A lot of charity was done, but the goal of the Society – to give cheap accommodation and find work for the people was not achieved. Failure did not discourage us and we often gathered to talk and decide what to do. And so the idea of making an artel of book translators and bookbinding workshop was born. The work of this Society started in 1863. We all were close friends and we often met here at Stasovs, at home, and at Beketovs and I made a particularly close friend with Poliksena Stepanovna Stasova, married to Nadezhda Stasova's brother. We were all very close and very cooperative. It was in our circle

that the idea of women's higher education was born. After lengthy discussions, a collective request was made to the Rector of St. Petersburg University, Kessler, asking to organize courses for women at the university. More than 400 people signed the application".²⁵

It is clear that the Artel was not the first initiative of this circle of women; it was preceded by a common joint charity activity – participation in the open "public schools" and the "Society of Cheap Lodgings". Since it had no official Statute, we assume that the structure of the organization was democratic because it was open to new members. In the course of years, the number of women joining the organization increased to 63. The participants often gathered and the decisions were made together. The memories of the participants in the Society show that a large number of women also participated in the decision-making bodies – the "Book Selection Committee" and the "Translation Evaluation Committee". Both the structure of the organization and the close and friendly relations between women probably developed female empathy, solidarity and they helped each other.

At the founding meeting held at Trubnikova's home, she and Stasova were elected as leaders, and Belozerska, Engelhardt, and Menzhinskaia were elected to manage the "Book Selection Committee". They also elected an "Assessment Committee" that assessed the quality of the translations, and they appointed Ivasheva (Cherkesova) as a treasurer – she was Maria Trubnikova's sister.²⁶

An extremely interesting role was played by Anna Filosofova – educated, wealthy, from a well-known noble family, a beauty, a smart woman, the wife of an influential man, she had exclusive connections in the royal palace and easily managed to fulfill the numerous orders that she was given: balls, charity collections, and so on. She was the third manager and a tacit symbol of the Society.

When writing about the "new people" in Russia from the 1860s, the author Ariadna Tyrkova said about the three leaders of the Society - Maria Trubnikova, Nadezhda Stasova and Anna Filosofova- the following: "People called them triumvirate. Its members perfectly complemented one another. The plans and will came from Trubnikova. Stasova's part was the performance, the persistence in doing the job. Filosofova embodied spirituality and ethics. Her participation, her purposeful responsiveness brought to the circle a peculiar femininity. When one looks at their portraits, Stasova looks like a nun who stayed in the world; from Trubnikova's symmetrical strict face the tension of abstract thinking is felt

²⁵ T. Gladkov and M. Smirnov, *Menzhinskiĭ* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1969), p. 3.

²⁶ Stasova, "Izdatel'skoe delo", p. 5.

and only the charming woman's face of Filosofova shines with the immediate joy of life."²⁷

Trubnikova and Stasova prepared a Statute from which Poliksena Stasova presented a few paragraphs into her memories. The Publishing Artel was limited to 100 women; the Organization was formed by mutual agreement, by electing two directors, a scribe and a cashier. Its work shall consist mainly in the publication of textbooks and children's books – translated and original; for the formation of the Artel capital, each participant must submit an initial deposit of 15 rubles, however, it can be submitted through translation work or original author's articles.²⁸ The participants paid a fee of 15 rubles in the Artel annually and, also, they set up a 3,000 rubles fund which they needed for urgent cases – for paper and typography. After the sale of the books, the translators were paid. Subsequently, the membership fee for the poor was reduced to 5 rubles. Vladimir Stasov's memories of his sister do not clarify what money was used to form the capital of 3,000 rubles.²⁹

The group of activists began work in 1863 without an established Statute. The aim of the Artel was twofold: to improve the material status of the women participating in it by performing intellectually prestigious work, such as translations, corrections, etc., and, on the other, the translation of Western literature would provide the public with good and useful reading and this was a way to change their values. The second objective was not in the Statute. Article 4 of the Statute established its democratic character by accepting women of all social groups who had the necessary education, knowledge of European languages and experience.³⁰

Stasova was the head who managed the office in the Artel, distributing and accepting translations, signing contracts with the new members, accepting membership fees, allocating payments to the translators, editing works, and correcting texts. Trubnikova constantly travelled to St. Petersburg to buy paper and materials and searched for connections with typographies. Poliksena Stasova's words about the beginning of the work of the Society were:

“The circle started to work in the autumn of 1863. The first published book was *Andersen's fairy tales*, which had just appeared in Germany and

²⁷ See A. Tyrkova-Vil'iams, *Na putiakh k svobode* (Moscow: Moskovskaia shkola politicheskikh issledovaniĭ, 2007).

²⁸ Stasova, “Izdatel'skoe delo”, p. 25.

²⁹ V. Stasov, *Nadezhda Vasil'evna Stasova: Vospominaniia i ocherki* (St. Petersburg: Tip. M. Merkusheva, 1899), pp. 5-7.

³⁰ Iukina, *Russkii feminizm*, p. 180.

attracted the attention of educated Europe. Markelova, Shulgovska, Belozerska and Engelhardt translated it. Trubnikova edited it. The keys were written abroad [...]. The book had to be released at Christmas, so that parents could buy it as a gift. And here the book was printed, it seemed to us that all the work had ended and an unexpectedly a new problem occurred – regarding the image of the angel and the genius with wings, the book was sent for clergy censorship. There were only two weeks until the holiday. We were all so anxious. In the end, the problem was solved, and Trubnikova, content and triumphant, was showing to the translators and the members of the Society the first work of the Women's Publishing Artel, entitled *Translators Edition*. It was printed in Kulisha's typography, and the paper was a gift from Mrs. Pechatkina, the wife of the paper maker. The complete success of the book rewarded the editors for all their concerns and it was possible to pay the translators for their work. *The fairy tales* were sold out very quickly, and that cheered up our members."³¹

After consulting with the women of the Society, Trubnikova concluded that the Russian adolescence from the beginning of the 1860s needed natural-historical knowledge and she offered from abroad (1864) the book of the well-known scientist German Wagner *Round the Nature*. The Committee read and approved it. This time it was translated by A. N. Shulgovska and Gudinovich, Vistrel'ius, Dzichkokska and Envald and edited by Trubnikova and Beketova. Illustrators were needed again and Trubnikova had the idea to illustrate the book with drawings made by Russian women. She invited the talented artist Konstantinova, but it was necessary to find the appropriate originals that would guide her. Trubnikova supported by the university professors Beketov and Ovsianikov provided magnificent publications in botany and zoology from the Imperial Public Library. Mrs. Konstantinova made the drawings superbly and the book appeared in the world under the title *Round the Nature* and soon it became the favourite book of the learning adolescence.³²

The legal registration of the organization encountered many difficulties. The Statute was not approved, although in 1862 the procedure was facilitated. It was still misleading and permissive in character. "The political conditions changed at the end of 1862 – the government's exit from the crisis, the tightening of the regime, the wave of arrests made it even more difficult to approve the Statute."³³

³¹ Stasova, "Izdatel'skoe delo", p. 25.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³³ E. Tonchu, *Zhenskoe predprinimatel'stvo v Rossii* (St. Petersburg: Obshchestvo "Znanie" Rossii, 1998), p. 12.

Anna Filosofova, who was extremely close and respected in the palace, engaged with the registration, but she was not successful. The refusal of the Minister of the Interior was categorical, on the grounds that their Society consisted only of women and its activity supposed very broad dimensions. In 1865 more participants joined the Artel and they became 54, and still the Statute was not permitted. One of the main members of Filosofova's circle began to intercede in the Ministry of Internal Affairs for permission. As if it was promised, but in the course of a year there was no sign of any development. And by the way, the Society was almost officially recognized, because in the case of Trubnikova's intercession both books that were published, Hans Christian Andersen's *Fairy Tales* and Wagner's *Round the Nature*, were implemented as completely useful works in the women's schools on November 30th, 1865.

At the end of 1865, the members of the Society became 63, and there was still no permission for the Statute; however, they continued working. During this year, they discussed the idea of translating from English and publishing a very important and serious work *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* by Henry Bates. The content of this book was of great interest to the Russian public. Shulgovskaia, Shulz, Munt, Babkina, and Poliksena Stasova translated it. The keys were made abroad and the book was printed in the typography of Golovachev.³⁴

In 1866 a second edition of Andersen's tales was published, and his own preface was translated by the new member of the publishing artel M. I. Malisheva. After the publication of these two books, *Stories about the Old People* -this time not a translation, but an original history work by Sergeĭ Khudekov-³⁵ was published. "In 1866 a great joy came to us. Our two first books were approved on January 5th, 1866 by the Ministry of National Education, to be rendered as gifts to students for their success and good manners."³⁶

In 1867, the participants in the Society decided and translated the book of the German author Delitzsch *Collection of Stories of Travel and Daily life of the Peoples* with photographs taken by a participant in the Society – Markelova-Karik, one of the main and active participants in Artel. She translated also the book that was released in 1868.³⁷ The books ran out from 1,200 copies to 2,500.

³⁴ Stasova, "Izdatel'skoe delo", p. 28.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

They were sold almost in all bookshops in St. Petersburg. The prices varied between 10 kopeks to 2-3 rubles.³⁸

In the same year, after realizing that the Statute would not be approved, Trubnikova and Stasova offered to the circle of translators that they both should take over responsibility before the head quarters of the press and register the publishing circle as their own company – "Trubnikova and Stasova". The proposal was accepted and all other editions came out under this company. At the end of the year, the Artel was registered as a private enterprise, which was allowed under the Russian law. It was Andersen's book *New Fairy Tales*, just published in Germany, that came out first under the new company.

"When we decided to translate it, Trubnikova made a very interesting suggestion: to write a letter to the author himself and ask him to send us his portrait for the new edition in the Russian language. We did what we decided. We wrote a letter to Andersen on behalf of the Russian translators and the prominent author replied with a letter in which there was also a portrait, a photograph, superbly taken in Copenhagen. Now Trubnikova will give this portrait to our famous artist – engraver Seriakov and he will make it perfectly from wood, too. At that time, Trubnikova commissioned 50 paintings to the academician Baron M. P. Klodt for these *New Fairy Tales*; based on these drawings the artists Kochetov and Gavrilov will cut out wood engravings. The tales were translated by Markelova-Karik, E. I. Tsenina, M. G. Ermolova, M. I. Malisheva and A. N. Shulgovska, who also edited it."³⁹

In 1868, the publishing house printed another book *Why-That's why* by Otto Ule, a translation from German with Shuglovska's editing. "And again, in a strange play of fate that did not allow the official existence of the circle of translators, the new edition of the same circle was recognized by an order of June 24th, 1869 as a 'useful textbook in physics for the educational institutions'."⁴⁰

Parallely with all the women's publishing activities the inseparable part of them was the work of the Book-binding Women's Artel led by Varvara Inostrantseva, sister of the famous university professor, the geologist A. A. Inostrantsev. Since 1865 all the books of the women translators were translated into the workshop. In 1870 they published *On the Health of Children in School and at Home* by Dr. Bock, translated by Engelhardt and Shulgovska. After it, they translated professor Nikolai Wagner's *Cat Purr's Fairytales*, and this

³⁸ I. Barenbaum, *Knizhnyi Petersburg* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1986), p. 345.

³⁹ Stasova, "Izdatel'skoe delo", p. 29.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

publication was the last great success of the Society. Gradually, the Society was quietly ceasing its work and for four years, from 1872 to 1876, it issued two stories translated from the American writer Louisa Alcott, *An Old Fashioned Girl* translated by Beketova, and *Little Women*, translated by Markelova, Trubycka and Clark.

In 1879, the Society was liquidated. Poliksena Stasova explained its activity and liquidation as follows:

“The lack of a Statute greatly narrowed the Society by not allowing it to expand, but it did its job by publishing a book after a book. It was 8 years since the formation of the Translators’ Circle, and in such a big time span, from 1863 to 1870, we published 10 books with very solid content. Here 27 women worked. The turn over capital was 18,263 rubles. Not all books were sold quickly, anyway, the Society could still exist in the future. First, Trubnikova’s serious illness forced her to leave Russia in 1869 for two years, and then Stasova went abroad for 5 years due to family issues. Finally, in the fire in one of the bookstores where the main warehouse of the Society was, a lot of books burnt down, and the loss of 3,000 rubles forced us to slow down and cease our activities.”⁴¹

These words clearly point out that the absence of the leaders was the basis for the liquidation of Society. According to Iukina the success and profitability of the Women’s Publishing Artel was also due to its three leaders -Trubnikova, Stasova and Filosofova- who made a wonderful team; Stasova and Filosofova worked voluntarily in the organization. “This group of leaders distinguished the problems of women in the general context of the Russian issues, establishing self-employed volunteer women’s organizations, which started a new kind of women’s public activity – women in the interest of women. The leaders invested time, efforts, personal and business connections and ways, and it became a successful manner of work.”⁴²

While the leaders were there, the Artel was a profitable business and its economic activity combined with a conceptual one – it imposed a new image, opinion and attitude towards the role of the women in society and the women’s work, thus building up the system of values of “the new women”. While the women translated texts, they introduced new scientific ideas and European pedagogical achievements, providing useful readings for the Russian youth.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴² Iukina, *Russkii feminizm*, p. 180.

Women's personalities



Maria Vasil'evna Trubnikova (Ivasheva) (1835-1897)

Because of health problems Maria Trubnikova had to leave the Artel. She wrote articles for a number of periodicals in the country. She collaborated with the *Journal for shareholders* published by her husband (1858) and with *Stock Exchange Registers* (1863-1869) covering the literary section, translations and bibliographies; with the *St. Petersburg Registers* (1869), where she discussed the female issue with Nikolaï Leskov; with *The European Newspaper* (1871-1884); with the *New Times* (1876) – reviews of foreign articles and translations of literary works and with the edition of E. Lvov's *Translations of certain foreign novels*.⁴³

Maria Trubnikova had a wide range of European acquaintances. She was in touch with prominent representatives of the women's movement in France, England, Switzerland and North America, informing them about the women's movement in Russia – Jenny d'Hericourt, Josephine Butler (English woman, a social reformer for higher education), André Léo and John Stuart Mill. With this goal she participated in some foreign editions in London's *Nowadays*. In 1868 John Stuart Mill sent her his famous letter to the Russian women.⁴⁴ This is why

⁴³ Биграфическiй словарь', 2000. <https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/biograf2/12824> (accessed 10.09.2018).

⁴⁴ Iukina, *Russkii feminizm*, p. 183.

it was in the circle of Trubnikova that the idea of an independent organization of the higher education of women was born.

Olga Konstantinova Bulanova Trubnikova presented her mother in her autobiography as follows:

“My mother – Maria Vasilievna Trubnikova was a woman with very advanced thinking and abilities. For her time, she was very well-educated and erudite, with a great interest in public activities [...]. At home there were always talks about women’s rights, lively debates about the advantages of the Russian music in respect to the Italian, enthusiastic work on organizing different women’s societies – the first events of women’s amateur work, women’s labour artels, the struggle for higher education for women [...]. My mother taught us respect to labour and gave us examples of hard work [...]. All my friends respected my mother profoundly and they always sought for even a minute to have a word with her. My mother was warmly sympathetic to their purposes, but she was resolute in rejecting terror, and that was the subject of eternal disputes.”⁴⁵

In a personal perspective, she left her husband, who had wasted her capital, and she supported herself and her four daughters with translations and literary works. Due to illness, in 1881 she put an end of her social activities, and on April 28th, 1897 she died in Tambov, at her daughter’s mansion where she lived.



Nadezhda Vasil'evna Stasova (1822-1895 rr.)

⁴⁵ O. K. Bulanova-Trubnikova, *Avtobiografiia* <https://web.archive.org/web/20060513134936/http://narovol.narod.ru/Person/bulanova.htm> (accessed 8.09.2018).

Nadezhda Stasova was very active in the first nurseries for the working class children which opened in 1864, and where she participated almost to her death. Here is what Nadezhda Vasil'evna said about herself in this period: "I looked around and all my love, which I had brought from my family, I brought to society now. Whatever happens, everything will go better. To me the charm of my own family disappeared, and I felt love for the whole world, it has become my job and I will die with it"⁴⁶

It happened so. According to the words of her loved ones, she was generously devoted to the common cause, giving all her strength and her health. And the cause – this was above all the women's issue, the women's movement, one of its leaders became Nadezhda Vasil'evna. The purpose of the movement was to help other women, to catch up with men in the right of training, labour, and to receive education, including higher education, to find their place in life, to become useful to society, gain self-reliance in the family and out of it. These were Stasova's goals, but above all self-education: books, lectures at the University, and after the ban, it was in the form of the Bestuzhev's courses, for which Stasova was one of the initiators.

Elena Shtakensneider a memoirist and landlady of a literary salon in St. Petersburg, wrote in her diary in October 1868: "When I met Nadezhda Vasil'evna and I once again came into the world of work and labour, I felt terribly bad and shameful because of the wasted summers and the missed winter [...]. And Nadezhda Vasil'evna? With angina, high temperature, tears in her eyes, hands like ice, so weak that she barely moves her feet, almost without a voice due to the weakness, all day working, helping"⁴⁷

In 1861 Nadezhda Vasil'evna joined the "Society of Cheap Lodgings" when a chairwoman was Maria Trubnikova. Here is what the secretary of the Committee at that time, Evgenii Shakeev, who often accompanied her during her visits to the poor, said about her:

"Nadezhda Vasil'evna possessed on a high spiritual level this tact of the soul, which is so needed in charity, so that it does not turn into intolerant and abusive throwing of things. Entering the poor's homes, she could carefully and at the same time completely intimately ask questions about the situation of the family to clear out in a non-offensive manner the causes of the poverty, so that after her first words the embarrassment that naturally occurs in many people who are intelligent but at the same time are under the pressure of the circumstances disappears"⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Stasov, *Nadezhda*, p. 29.

⁴⁷ E. Shtackenschneider, *Dnevnik i zapiski* (Moscow, 1934), p. 400.

⁴⁸ Iasevich-Borodaïevskaia, *N. V. Stasova*, p. 32.



Anna Pavlovna Filosofova (Diagileva) (1837-1912)

Anna Filosofova continued her work out of Artel. She was attracted by the idea to help women practically in order to solve the “women’s issue”. Anna Filosofova showed her business skills in all her public positions. She was the chairperson of the “Society of Cheap Lodgings”, a member of the “Literacy Society” organized in 1861 with her participation, a member of the “Artel of the Women Translators”, a chairperson of the Organizing Committee favouring higher women’s education, a mentor of the Vladimirovskie courses, a member of the Committee for higher women’s courses, a member of the Audit Committee of the courses, the first chairperson of the “Society of the Supply Fund for the Higher Women’s Courses”, a vice-chairperson of the “International Women’s Council”. In 1902 she gave the idea of conducting the first All-Russian Women’s Congress that aimed to unite women for further fighting for their rights. She became the chairperson of the Congress.

What helped her with her work for women’s cause were her numerous acquaintances, her connections in the palace and the high government circles, her husband’s high position, her personal charm, beauty and youth. To organize an evening, a charity bazaar, a concert, a lottery, the funds from which would go for “women’s matters”, to obtain permission for these events – there was no one better than Anna Filosofova who could do it. She actively used her relationships and connections. In her youth she used her beauty and youth; once she addressed the Minister of Education, Count Tolstoï, on the issue of establishing the statutes of the higher women’s courses during a ball while dancing. Over the

years, she began to use the resource of her age. Thus, in 1905, she wrote to Mayor D. T. Trepov:

"Today I have a talk before the members of our Society but three days ago, in our Society a guardian came and insisted that our chairman Anna Shabanova should tell me that you forbid me to read the lecture and you forbid to have an evening gathering. Dmitrii Fëdorovich, I do not believe that you can consciously insult a 70-year-old woman, whom your father respected very much. So I decided to write you this note and to ask you to explain the whole situation. Shabanova and I have always acted legally in everything and that is why your distrust and disrespect to us strike us, which is something we do not deserve."⁴⁹

Ariadna Tyrkova claimed that her name was as well-known in Russia as Lev Tolstoi's name. Together with Nadezhda Stasova, they gave the women of the 1890s ideas and experience acquired in the 1860s. In the last years of her life there were no participants from her generation in the movement. She was the only one of the "triumvirate" who lived in the 20th century and became a symbol of the movement and she participated in its activities to the end of her days.⁵⁰ From a personal perspective, her marriage was very happy and she had nine children, two of them from her husband's previous marriage. Her husband supported her in all enterprises, although his duties as a Chief Prosecutor often contradicted her activities.

Conclusion

The women's movement in Russia was institutionalized in the 1860s in the form of various charitable, educational and translation societies in the context of the liberalization of the Russian public life during Alexander II's rule. The initial resource of this movement were the women educated in the Institutes for Noble Maidens or noble women who received good education in their families; their main capital was the knowledge of European languages. Unlike the nihilists and revolutionaries, "the new women" had no political demands; they restricted their activities to educational, professional and economic initiatives. Through their work they introduced a new image and attitude towards the role of women in the society and the women's work and thus they built the system of values of "the new women" that were the foundation of their modern identity. "The new women" first came up with the idea for the right to general education, as well as

⁴⁹ A. Tyrkova-Vil'iams, *Anna Pavlova Filozofova i ee vremia* (St. Petersburg, 1915), p. 115.

⁵⁰ Iukina, *Russkii feminizm*, p. 164.

for the right to university education for women, to extend their professional prospects. The well-being of the leaders of this movement and their connections with the court let them carry out many of their initiatives, even though the official authority was suspicious of their public activity and did not allow the legalization of the Statutes of the “Artel of the Women Translators”. The fate of the economic enterprises of the Artel of “the new women” showed their close dependence on the personalities of their leaders. These women become transmitters of the European feminist movements, which was supported by their relations with the European women’s representatives and their translation activities that introduced new scientific ideas and the European pedagogical achievements into the Russian reality.

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Milena Angelova

The Transfer of Modern Agricultural Knowledge among the Bulgarians in the Danube Province (1860s – 1870s)

Abstract: This article discusses some problems related to the introduction of “agricultural enlightenment” among Bulgarians in the second half of the 19th century. The creation of the Danube Province was part of the reform policy carried out by the Ottoman state in the 19th century. Following Western European examples, reforms aimed at a centralized modern Ottoman state. This paper is structured in several accents. It firstly demonstrates the relationship between “the enlightened peasant” and the agricultural education in Western Europe during the 18th-19th centuries. The next topic pertains to the governorship (1864-1868) of Midhat Pasha in the Danube Province, and the efforts at agrarian modernization. This research mainly focuses on the first generation of Bulgarians who received agricultural education abroad. Two agricultural schools, where Bulgarians studied, were the most popular: the *Czech Higher School of Agriculture and Agricultural Industry* in Tábor, Bohemia (established in 1866) and the *Agricultural and Forestry School* (1860) in Križevci, near Zagreb. Between 1869 and 1877, 19 Bulgarian students attended the agricultural school in Tabor, and 8 students the agricultural school in Križevci. Some of the graduates of the agricultural schools became teachers in Bulgarian schools of the Danube Province and contributed in “raising the culture of the peasant”. These graduates, the first generation of Bulgarian agronomists who graduated from European schools and universities, were regarded as “agents” for the transfer of agricultural knowledge, which acquainted Bulgarians with the “modern” West.

Keywords: agricultural education, Bulgarians, Danube Province, Tanzimat, Ottoman state.

Introduction

The cultural interpretation of the “Bulgarian Revival” (*Vazrazhdane*) is sometimes translated in terms of modernization – as a transformation from a

traditional to a modern society, with a corresponding transformation of the economy.¹ In this process of social and economic modernization, the roles of education, the schooling system and high-education institutions were highly important.

Research on the Bulgarian society during the 19th century very often undermines or fails to consider the context of the *Tanzimat* (Re-organization) reforms – despite the fact that during this period the Bulgarians were still living in the Ottoman reality, and experienced the changes of the Ottoman state. The creation of the Danube Province was a part of the reform policy carried out by the Ottoman state in the 19th century. Following Western European examples, reforms aimed at a centralized modern state.² Particularly under its first governor, Midhat Pasha, this province saw a period (1864-1868) of continuous “modernization” in the fields of legal and institutional organization, infrastructure, communications, economic development, medical care, hygiene, and urban development. The Ottomans succeeded in creating the basic structures of a central state and modern bureaucracy in the Danube Province during this reform period. However, they also created local state structures and promoted autonomous decision-making at the local level, when they incorporated local intermediaries. An important aspect of the general mentality during this era was the belief in progress, science, technical advance and education.³ The representatives of the Bulgarian intelligentsia, which was formed in the 1830s and 1840s, began systematic work on the institutional aspects of the transformation process – including the creation of Bulgarian secular schools, libraries (*chitalishta*), cultural and literary societies, and the Bulgarian periodical press. During the 1860s-1870s, the representatives of the Bulgarian intelligentsia raised the question of agricultural education. This is how the Bulgarian variant of the “enlightened peasant” was constructed.

¹ R. Gavrilova, *Veküt na bŭlgarskoto duhovno vazrazhdane* (Sofia: Slov-D, 1992), p. 7.

² Y. Koksal, “The Application of the Tanzimat Reforms in Bulgaria: State Building in the Ottoman Empire (1839-1878)”, electronic publication of *Kokkalis Program*, Harvard University, 1999. <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/GSW1/GSW1/11%20Koksal.pdf> (accessed 9.10.2018).

³ See A. Vezekov and T. Marinov, “The Concept of National Revival in Balkan Historiographies” in *Entangled Histories of the Balkans. Vol. 3: Shared Pasts, Disputed Legacies*, eds. Roumen Daskalov and Alexander Vezekov (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 406-461.

“The enlightened peasant” and the agricultural education in Western Europe in the 18th and 19th century

The idea that agriculture is the “basis for the existence of the state” was maintained by the Physiocrats in the second half of the 18th century.⁴ There are some key publications constructing the image of the “enlightened peasant”, which were translated during the following decades in various languages. The image of the “model peasant” appeared for the first time in the book of Hans Caspar Hirzel (1725-1803) *The Rural Socrates; or an Account of a Celebrated Philosophical Farmer*⁵ – the peasant named Kleinjogg. During the 1770s, Hirzel himself made several attempts to apply his theoretical views in villages around Baden. Gradually Kleinjogg turned into a general type of the new peasant personality in the literature – a clever and curious peasant who put the philosophical ideas of the Enlightenment into practice to make his life better.⁶

Several works written in the spirit of the Romanticism-Enlightenment tradition of the 18th century, feature the village Mildenheim of the German author Rudolph Zacharias Becker -*A Little Book of Needful Help, or Instructive Tales of Joy and Sorrow in the Village of Mildenheim*- as an emblematic model of village.⁷ A third title on the emergence of the literary image of the enlightened peasant was *The Goldmakers' Village* (1817) by Heinrich Zschokke, which was translated in various languages during the 19th century. I shall deal with this title later because of its translation in the Bulgarian language in 1871.

These publications popularized the education of peasant farmers and offered possibilities for the organization of Agricultural Cooperatives. The idea of rationalizing agriculture through model farms as a state project was introduced in England and France. Namely, the French model was used by Midhat Pasha in the Danube Province and later in the Bulgarian state. In the beginning of the 19th century, “model farms” (*fermes modèles*) were established in France under the influence of the Physiocrats; these farms were later turned into farm schools (*fermes écoles*). In 1848, the “Law of the agricultural education” created schools for the education of agricultural workers. By the 1870s, a complete system of agricultural education was established in France: the National Agricultural Institute in Paris (1876), 3 national agricultural

⁴ J. Hein, *Dorfgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976), p. 52.

⁵ H. C. Hirzel, *Die Wirtschaft eines philosophischen Bauers* (Zürich, 1761).

⁶ Hein, *Dorfgeschichte*, p. 52.

⁷ R. Z. Becker, *Noth- und Hülfsbüchlein für Bauersleute, oder lehrreiche Freuden- und Trauergeschichten des Dorfes Mildenheim. Für Junge und Alte beschrieben* (Gotha and Leipzig, 1788).

schools with model farms – at Grignon, Rennes and Montpellier, 27 practical agricultural schools, and 17 *fermes écoles*.

The Bulgarian adapted translation of *The Goldmakers' village* by Heinrich Zschokke (1870)

With regard to the translated literature about the popular image of the “enlightened peasant”, the most influential books among Bulgarians were Serbian, Czech and Russian translations of texts originally written in the German language. Bulgarian translations rarely remained faithful to the original texts, and usually changed the names of the heroes or the stories in order to fit the Bulgarian context. In this respect, a case in point is the Bulgarian translation of the Heinrich Zschokke’s work, mentioned earlier. Since the first half of the 19th century, Zschokke had been a popular author in Europe – a religious pedagogue, and author of texts about the “moral economy of the peasant”. Three of his most famous works (*Stunden der Andacht*,⁸ *Das Goldmachersdorf*,⁹ “*Die Branntweinpest*”¹⁰) were translated into Bulgarian rather late.¹¹

These three translations will not be analyzed here. However, the case of *The Goldmakers' Village* (1810) needs to be mentioned in some more detail. This book has been translated all over Europe – into English (1845), French, Dutch, Italian, Latvian, Hungarian, Romanian, Russian (1887), Serbo-Croatian (1843), Slovenian (1848), Czech (1830).¹² The plot of this novel is: Oswald, a Swiss soldier, “returning from the wars”, finds his native village of Goldenthal sunk in the depths of poverty and degradation; the inhabitants are lazy, shiftless, hampered by debts, frequenters of public houses (wineshops), individuals who have lost all sense of moral responsibility. Oswald devotes himself to the improvement of their condition; through the help of lovely Elizabeth, the miller’s daughter and then his wife, he succeeds in developing various sources of comfort and progress. By presenting multiple ways through which a philanthropic patriot may actually serve the best interests of his fellow-citizens

⁸ H. Zschokke, *Stunden der Andacht zur Beförderung wahren Christentums und häuslicher Gottesverehrung* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1810).

⁹ H. Zschokke, *Das Goldmachersdorf. Eine anmuthige und wahrhafte Geschichte vom aufrichtigen und wohlverfahrenen Schweizerboten* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1817).

¹⁰ H. Zschokke, *Die Branntweinpest. Eine Trauergeschichte zur Warnung und Lehre für Reich und Arm, Alt und Jung* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1837).

¹¹ H. Choke, *Rakiiska chuma, zhalostna povest za pripomniuvane i nauka na bogati i siromasi, na stari i mladi ot Henriha Choksa, prevel Petar Ivanov* (Tsarigrad, 1873).

¹² N. Andreeva, *Nemskata literatura v Balgariia prez Vazrazhdaneto* (Sofia: Kralitsa Mab, 2001), p. 126.

and country, the male protagonist is rewarded in the end, as he sees the home of his youth on a par with the best organized, best conducted, and best credited villages of the community.

The story of the “enlightened peasant” was depicted by Yurdan Nenov in a Bulgarian translation which was published in 1870,¹³ following a Serbian translation from 1843.¹⁴ While the Serbian translation kept the original story and the real names of the characters, the Bulgarian version represented another reality: Oswald became Boyan, who had studied in France and then returned to his village. At the end of the story, an agricultural school was established and new agricultural techniques were used in the village. According to the introduction of the translator, “to raise the consciousness of our peasants, to direct them toward science and self-management of their own matters, to become productive, prudent, honest and religious”. Although such phraseology may sound naive today, it actually represented the basic motive and passion among Bulgarian intelligentsia of the 1870s.

Midhat Pasha’s governorship (1864-1868) in the Danube Province (Tuna Vilayeti) and attempts at agrarian modernization

The Danube Province consisted of the sandzhaks (districts) of Rusçuk (Ruse), Sofia, Vidin, Varna, Niş, Turnovo, and Tulça, and covered 91,624 km² of territory.¹⁵ The total population was approximately two million. The Orthodox Christian Bulgarians and the Sunni Muslim Turks were the main ethnic and religious components in the 26 administrative units of this province. The Christian Bulgarians constituted a majority representing 60-80% of the total population.¹⁶ The Ottoman policy attempted to modernize the Danube Province in accordance with the westernization ideology of the *Tanzimat*. The vilayet was conceived as a “model” Province, where reforms would be carried out as examples for the rest of the empire.¹⁷

¹³ I. U. Nenov, *Selo Zlataritsa. Polezna i istinska prikazka za dobrite selski uchilishta i razumnite seliani* (Plovdiv: Hr. G. Danov i s-ie, 1870).

¹⁴ E. Chokke, *Zlatotvorno selo: Priiatna i istinita istoriia za dobre seoske shkole, i razumne seiane* (Segedin: J. Grin, 1843).

¹⁵ M. Todorova, “Midhat Paşa’s Governorship of the Danube Province” in *Decision-making in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Caesar E. Farah (Kirkville: MO 1993), p. 118.

¹⁶ M. Petrov, *Tanzimat for the Countryside: Midhat Pasa and the Vilayet of Danube, 1864-1868* (PhD dissertation: Princeton University, 2006), pp. 40-43.

¹⁷ M. Çelik, *Tanzimat in the Balkans: Midhat Pasha’s Governorship in the Danube Province (Tuna Vilayeti), 1864-1868* (Master’s Thesis, Bilkent University: Ankara, 2007), p. 2.

During the *Tanzimat*, Bulgarians enjoyed some freedom of cultural and literary expression. Midhat Pasha's reforms also included the secularization of schools, the publication of a bilingual provincial newspaper (*Tuna* or *Dunav*) along with other 34 newspapers in Bulgarian, Ottoman Turkish, and French. The publishing house also provided textbooks and teaching materials for Bulgarian schools. The Ottoman government funded education in Europe for both Muslim and non-Muslim students it hoped to hire in governmental offices. Bulgarian elites actively participated in the committees which enacted these reforms, and further established other cultural institutions, such as *chitalishta* (reading rooms).

The first attempts to improve cultivating techniques and increase agricultural productivity in the Ottoman Empire were introduced during the governorship of Midhat Pasha. There were rural reforms, including agricultural credit cooperatives and model farms for specific targets. In the Danube Province, traditional agriculture was the main source of income for the majority of the population. This agrarian economy consisted of small-scale family farming, animal husbandry, and large-scale farming in which peasants worked for landowners as sharecroppers or laborers, who were generally Bulgarian Christians. There was no agricultural institution to provide farmers with financial assistance, farming equipment, and seeds. An important development of the *Tanzimat* period was the transformation of the *miri* lands to private ownership. The fundamental reforms were introduced by the *Arazi Kanunu* (Land Law) of 1858, which regulated the use of *miri* lands and paved the way for private ownership. Later on, the Civil code (*Mecelle*), prepared by Ahmet Cevdet Pasha between 1869 and 1876, also revised the principles on private ownership and inheritance.¹⁸ In order to reform the old agrarian system and protect peasants from exploitation, Midhat Pasha introduced two new institutions: the "Agricultural Credit Cooperatives" and the "Model farm".

The Agricultural Credit Cooperatives (*Memleket Sandıkları*)

In 1863, when Midhat Pasha was the governor of Niš, he established an experimental agricultural credit cooperative called *Memleket Sandığı* in Šarköy (Pirot). Following the creation of the Danube Province, he opened new cooperatives in Ruse, Eski-Cuma (Türgovishte), Niš, Pirot, and Leskofca in 1865. These cooperatives were modeled after European examples, and particularly the German Raiffeisen's model. During 1865-1866, there were 34

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

credit funds of public utility in the province.¹⁹ The success of the rural cooperative encouraged Midhat Pasha to extend this developing banking system to the urban centers. After the approval of the Sublime Porte, he transformed the cooperatives into an agricultural bank called *Emanet Sandığı* (Safe Box) in the urban centers. The first branch opened on January 20th, 1868 in Ruse, and spread to other cities. After the Russian-Ottoman war of 1877-1878, this region constituted the newly founded Bulgarian principality. These cooperatives existed in the Bulgarian principality until 1903; they were then transformed to the *Bulgarian Agricultural Bank* (1902). What remained in the Ottoman Empire was modernized and, in 1888, became *Ziraat Bankası* (Agricultural Bank).²⁰

The Numune Çiftliği model farm near Ruse

In 1865, Midhat Pasha established the *Numune Çiftliği* model farm in Ruse as a part of his agricultural reform, following the French example. The Province government imported modern farming tools from England and Prussia to increase the efficiency of planting and harvesting, and improve the regional agriculture. In late 1868, the farm purchased horse-drawn combine harvesters from London, paid for by the cooperatives. After receiving 33 harvesters, the farm hosted a training program in which a few farmers from each *kaaza* came to learn how to use the new equipment. When they returned home, they were able to train others. The farm rented the new harvesters to farmers until they were paid for, and then sold them directly to the farmers. The model farm also worked to develop higher quality seeds in order to increase harvests. It collected sample seeds from other provinces of the empire, such as Skopje and Constantinople, and sowed them in order to find out which crops were most viable and productive in the area.²¹

The model farm in Ruse proved to be the first successful agricultural school in the Ottoman state. Supported by the peasants, the model farm, along with the Bulgarian journal *Stupan* (Farmer), helped to bring contemporary agricultural knowledge to this region. The example appeared to be successful, as in the 1890s the Ottoman government opened new model farms in Constantinople

¹⁹ These cooperatives were modelled to be self-funded; the plan was to use a system known as *imece* (collective labor), in which the peasants work together in a plan allocated by the government; half *dönüm* for each house to generate income for the cooperatives together with collecting five percent of *öşür* taxes.

²⁰ Çelik, *Tanzimat*, p. 62.

²¹ S. Kenderova, "Osmanoturski dokumenti za 'Numune Chiflik' (dnes 'Obraztsov Chiflik') kraï Ruse", *Izvestiia na Dürhazvnite Arhivi*, 40 (1980), pp. 159-170.

and Ankara.²² After the formation of the Bulgarian principality, in 1881 the Ruse model farm was restored by the Bulgarian government. In 1883, the model farm was transformed to an agricultural school offering a three-year training in farming.

The first generation of Bulgarians with agricultural education and the emergence of the Bulgarian agricultural periodical press

In line with the *Tanzimat* projects to improve agriculture, Bulgarians started publishing an agricultural and economic journal called *Stupan* (Farmer), which was published between 1874 and 1876 in Bucharest, Vidin, and Ruse. *Stupan* illustrates the support, at least among intellectual elites, for the agricultural modernization and improvements brought about by model farms in this region, suggesting that the Ottoman projects were not only top-down imperial reforms, but also reforms intended to meet local needs. Far from being politically motivated, its articles were devoted to agriculture, animal husbandry, silk industry, apiculture, cooperatives, and rural family economy. It was the first journal to bring up issues of land use, agriculture, and peasant life. It is evident that the journalists of this newspaper did not write as political figures, but instead as intellectuals committed to educating farmers in the best available practices. *Stupan* was divided into sections for agricultural cooperatives, folk economy, and farming education. The first issue, published on January 1st, 1874, stated “that knowledge of the land was the key to efficient farming”.²³ Although it was distributed widely in the Danube Province, especially Vidin, Ruse, and Tulcea, the primary readership of the journal, the peasants, were largely illiterate. Thus educated Bulgarians took the responsibility to read the papers in cafes or other public places for peasants. The contributors of *Stupan* particularly urged teachers to undertake a leading role, and criticized those who were unwilling to do so.²⁴

The journal *Stupan* came into being due to the efforts of several young Bulgarians who were educated in agricultural schools abroad. Such was the case of Dimitar (Dimo) Hranov, the publisher of *Stupan*, and his classmates Krastyu Mirski, Spas Tumparov, and Mihalaki Georgiev, who in 1873 graduated from

²² Prior to the model farm in Ruse, in 1847 an agricultural school was established in the Ayamana farm in Constantinople, but in 1851 it failed and closed down. See Mehmet Ali Yıldırım's, “Osmanlı'da İlk Çığdaş Zirai”. <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/19/1348/15624.pdf> (accessed 8.10.2018).

²³ *Stupan*, 1874, Year I, Issue 1, p. 1.

²⁴ *Stupan*, 1875, Year II, Issues 21-22, p. 176.

the Croatian *Križevci School of Agriculture* (established in 1860). Two were the most popular agricultural schools among Bulgarians: the Czech *Higher School of Agriculture and Agricultural Industry* in Tábor (Bohemia), established in 1866,²⁵ and the *Agricultural and Forestry School* (1860) in Križevci, near Zagreb.²⁶

It was Hristo G. Danov who made the agricultural schools in Tabor and Križevci²⁷ popular among Bulgarians. He successfully used his contacts with enterprising Bulgarian and Czech emigrants. Danov visited Tabor (1868) and Križevci (1869), and became acquainted with the curriculum and the educational circumstances for foreigners. After returning home, Danov contributed in making the schools popular; he provided scholarships from several Bulgarian local communities (*obshtina*) and school boards (*uchilishtni nastoyatelstva*), representatives of the guilds (*esnafi*) and from rich representatives among the Bulgarian emigration. The same year, several boys from Ruse, Stara Zagora, Turnovo, and other towns enrolled in the high schools and the agricultural school in Tabor.²⁸ The Bulgarian *Letostruj ili domašen kalendar* (Annals or home calendar),²⁹ a journal edited by Hristo Danov (1869) and Yoakim Gruev (1870-1974), published articles about the conditions of education provided for Bulgarians in Tábor, Prague and Písek. The high school and agricultural school in Tábor was favourably reviewed, and became quite popular.³⁰

Between 1869 and 1877, 19 Bulgarian students attended the agricultural school in Tabor, and 8 the agricultural school in Križevci.³¹ Most of them were financed by church municipalities, libraries, agricultural societies, some of them were self-sustained, and one of the students, Georgi Georgov, was sustained by

²⁵ A *Higher School of Agriculture*, teaching in German, had been set up in Libwerd (now Libverda, nearby Liberec) in 1856. <https://sechtl-vosecek.ucw.cz/en/expozice6.html> (accessed 12.09.2018).

²⁶ T. Gotovska-Henze, “Novodobé bulharské zemědělské školství před Osvozením” in *Zemědělské školství, výzkum a osvěta jako předpoklad hospodářského a sociálního rozvoje venkova v 19. a 20. století. Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní konference věnované památce Samuela Cambela*, ed. B. Rašticová (Uherské Hradiště: Slovácké muzeum v Uherském Hradišti, 2004), pp. 51-59.

²⁷ I. Topuzov and I. Saranov, *Predosvobozhdenski deitsi za zemedelska prosveta* (Sofia: BAN, 1953), pp. 154-165.

²⁸ I. Topuzov, *Zemedelskite uchilishta v Tabor i Krizhevats i razvitiето na bulgarskoto zemedelie* (Sofia: BAN, 1959), p. 14.

²⁹ *Letostrui ili domashen kalendar* (Plovdiv, Ruschuk and Veles: Hr. G. Danov i Sie, 1869), p. 224.

³⁰ Ī. Gruev, *Uchitel Dobre: Novo uchilishte i pruv uchitel u Divakovo* (Plovdiv: Hr. G. Danov i Sie, 1873).

³¹ Th. A. Meininger, *The formation of a nationalist Bulgarian intelligentsia 1835-1878* (New York: Garland, 1987), pp. 204-205.

the count of the Czech Franz von Harrach and afterwards was appointed governor of his farm, near Tabor. Some of the Bulgarian students studied with government scholarships (from the budget of the Danube Province) – in Tábor, and in Křiževci. The most famous case is of Angel Kanchev, who was granted a scholarship by the governor Akif Pasha, and was supposed to become a governor of the *Numune Çiftliği* model farm in Ruse after his graduation.³² A government scholarship was granted also by the governor of Vidin, Azis Pasha, for the high school in Tabor. One of the graduates in Křiževci, Spas Tumparov, graduated the high school in Zagreb and studied at the agricultural school as a scholarship student to the famous Croatian catholic bishop Joseph Strossmayer.

Among the 19 Bulgarians who studied in Tabor, 9 graduated the full course.³³ Dimo Hranov, Vasil Manushov, Nikola Vitanov, Nikola Anastasov graduated from the school in Křiževci. Some of the students moved to other schools. For instance, 3 of the students who enrolled in 1869 in Tabor (Yordan Simeonov, Dimitar Naumov, Hristo Balarev) moved to the Faculty of Agriculture, University of Leipzig (1869).³⁴ It must be noted that Dimitar Naumov had graduated from the Robert College in Constantinople prior to the agricultural school. Later, Naumov became an agronomist in Bulgaria and founded the first agricultural school in East Rumelia – in the village of Sadovo. Balarev and Simeonov did not graduate from the University of Leipzig; they finally graduated from the *Academy of Agriculture and Forestry* in Hohenheim (founded in 1818).³⁵ Others continued their education after graduating from the agricultural schools – Gencho Shoilekov studied in *The national school of viticulture and winemaking* in Klosterneuburg, near Vienna (founded in 1860), after Tabor. After graduating in Křiževci, Vasil Manushev also studied at the same school. Then (together with Nikola Vitanov) he graduated from *The University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences* in Vienna (founded 1872). He was later among the experts for the agricultural education in Bulgaria, author of textbooks for agricultural schools, and also became an expert on agricultural crediting. Stefan Popov, one of the first foresters, and organizer of the first big afforestation in Bulgaria after 1878, graduated from the school in Křiževci. In 1876, his classmate Ivan Boyadzhiev graduated from the *Agricultural Academy of Proskau* (Silesia).

³² Topuzov, *Zemedelskite uchilishta*, p. 32.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³⁴ V. Yordanov, *Laiptsig i bŭlgarite* (Sofia, 1938), p. 46.

³⁵ Topuzov, *Zemedelskite uchilishta*, pp. 38-39.

Attempts at opening Bulgarian agricultural schools

Some of the agricultural school graduates became teachers in Bulgarian schools in the Danube Province, and contributed in “raising the culture of the peasant”. They made attempts to organize agricultural schools in the frame of the local municipalities or at least to introduce the teaching of “Agriculture” as a regular school subject. Zahari Knyazheski (Zheko Petrov) was the first who attempted to open an agricultural school. By 1847, he organized practical courses on silkworm farming in several areas. His idea to open such a school in Stara Zagora did not materialize.

The journal *Stupan* featured reports on “modern agriculture” in the Bulgarian language -translated and original- as well as frequent articles on the need to open Bulgarian agricultural schools.³⁶ Such was the idea of the only Bulgarian agriculture society in the village of Perushtitsa (1874).³⁷ Similar intentions were observed in several villages around Sofia (1863), in Kotel and Stara Zagora (1870), and Plovdiv³⁸ (1875). However, a Bulgarian agricultural school was actually established in 1881 as a part of the policy of the new Bulgarian state.

Agriculture (1853) by Nikola Ikonov was the first book on agriculture in the Bulgarian language: “Because enlightened Europe has realized the benefit of agriculture and already established schools for this useful science.”³⁹ *Agriculture* was first used as a textbook in the towns of Shumen, Razgrad and Bolgrad, where in the beginning of the 1870s practical agricultural skills and “modern agriculture” were included in the school curriculum. In 1870, the subject “Agriculture” was introduced in the curriculum of several Bulgarian schools. That is why in 1872 the popular publicist Tsani Ganchev published the first original textbook *Agriculture* in the town of Ruse (this book was re-issued in 1874). By then, several manuals had been published: the first manual on organic and inorganic chemistry by the teacher Dimitar Enchev *Agricultural organic and inorganic chemistry: written for schools and for people* (1871)⁴⁰ – compiling the Russian translation of the German edition; Grigor Nachovich’s *Manual of*

³⁶ I. Topuzov and I. Saranov, *Pürvi stüпки na zemedelskata prosveta v Balgariia* (Plovdiv: Hr. G.Danov, 1971), p. 66.

³⁷ *Stupan*, 1874, Year I, Issue 6, p. 73.

³⁸ *Stupan*, 1875, Year II, Issues 11-12, pp. 95-96.

³⁹ Topuzov and Saranov, *Predosvobozhdenski deitsi*, p. 19.

⁴⁰ See A. Gendjova, “The first book in Chemistry in Bulgarian (1871): True authors and sources”, *Chemistry: Bulgarian Journal of Science Education*, 22 (2013), pp. 66-79.

Wine making (1873), published in Vienna; Yoakim Grouev's *Sericultural Farm for silkworm farming* (1873), etc.

Conclusion

The aim of this article is to present a nuanced view of the *Tanzimat* and the “Bulgarian Revival”, highlighting the relative achievements of the Ottoman modernization. Many Bulgarians, from both urban and rural circles, increasingly co-invested in the Ottoman westernization projects. When in 1877 Russia invaded the Ottoman Empire, the Danube Province had already attained a level of material prosperity that other core provinces of the empire had not. As far as the search for opportunities for education abroad was concerned, while Russian universities were popular for humanitarian studies, agriculture was studied mainly in Austria-Hungary and Germany.

With regard to future research on this field, it will be important to analyze the biographies of the first generation of Bulgarian agronomists who graduated from European schools and universities. This generation was regarded as an “agent” for the transmission of agricultural knowledge, which acquainted Bulgarians with the “modern” West. Some members of this small, but influential group, would represent the political and cultural elite in the context of the new Bulgarian state. They participated not only in the implementation of state policies in the sphere of the rural area, but also in the overall national modernization strategies.

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Dragos Jipa

The Making of the “French Influence”. Pompiliu Eliade and the Production of Historical Knowledge between France and Romania in the late 19th century

Abstract: This article analyzes the emergence and evaluation of a historical and analytical category: the French influence in Romania. Constructed by the young scholar Pompiliu Eliade in a book published in Paris in 1898, the making of the “French influence” as a concept is traced in Eliade’s historical research, in conjunction with his master’s views from the University of Bucharest and during the defense of a doctoral thesis at the University of Paris (Sorbonne); in interaction with prominent members of the French historians’ community; in the evaluation of French reviewers with respect to their country’s “civilizing mission”; and, finally, through the assessment of his academic peers from the University of Bucharest. All these contexts show the multiplicity of scholarly practices involved in the production of knowledge at the end of the 19th century between France and Romania – and therefore the multiplicity of meanings that the “French influence” may acquire depending on the day-to-day situations in which it is utilized by historical actors.

Keywords: French influence, civilizing mission, history, practice, dissertation, discipline, evaluation, Eliade, Maiorescu.

The French influence had an instrumental effect on the emergence of the Romanian civilization unlike any other influence of one civilization on another. From the dark ages of barbarism, the Romanians enter the stage of history as a result of the French influence and, during the “century of the nationalities”, they form the Romanian *patrie*. Thus, France is situated at the origins of the Romanian spirit regarded as “a civilized people helping a backward people to move into the historic life and to form an original civilization.”¹ This is the story

¹ P. Eliade, *De l'influence française sur l'esprit public en Roumanie. Les Origines* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898), p. 11. Eliade continued his research in *Histoire de l'esprit public en Roumanie au*

told by the young Romanian scholar Pompiliu Eliade (1869-1914) in his book *De l'influence française sur l'esprit public in Roumanie. Les origines*, published in Paris, in 1898. Given the complex historical and cultural relations between France and Romania,² both before and after the publication of Eliade's work, it is not surprising that his assertions gained considerable interest for the Romanian public and academic discourse. More than a century later, some literary historians still consider him "the most notable Romanian scholar on the subject of Romanian *francophonie*,"³ while others criticize his simplifications and his Manichean perspective on the evolution of the national culture. For example, in his introduction and notes⁴ to the Romanian translation of Eliade's book, in 1982, historian Alexandru Duțu enumerates all the developments of comparative literature and history (from the *École des Annales'* criticism of the positivist historians to the reconsiderations of South-East European Enlightenment) that render the book obsolete.

However, from the point of view of the history of sciences or the more recent sociology of knowledge, both of the opposing attitudes -i.e. his heroization as a precursor and the critique of his work's shortcomings- do not do justice not only to Eliade's actions as a social actor, but also to the meanings his actions acquire as part of some very complex interactions. The crucial point is not whether to agree or to disagree with Eliade's findings, but to understand how he developed his research in particular academic, political and (trans)national circumstances, and how, by doing this, he implicitly asserted his own views and aligned with or rejected others' views about Romania, France, their asymmetrical relation and, finally, history and literature as disciplines.

The analysis of the French influence in Eliade's view should therefore try to follow the history of this idea – however, not in a traditional, abstract, way according to which ideas have no social existence, but taking into account the empirical conditions of its conception; the various scales where the author situates himself; and most importantly, by looking at the practices of

XIX^e siècle I. *L'occupation turque et les premiers princes indigènes, 1821-1828* (Paris: G. Bellais, 1905) and *La Roumanie au XIX^e siècle II. Les Trois présidents plénipotentiaires, 1828-1834* (Paris: Hachette, 1914).

² A vast body of scholarship is devoted to this relation. See, for example, F. Țurcanu (ed.), *Modèle français et expériences de la modernisation. Roumanie, XIX^e-XX^e siècles* (București: ICR, 2006).

³ I. Mihăilă, "The Beginnings and the Golden Age of Francophonie among the Romanians" in *European Francophonie. The Social, Political and Cultural History of an International Prestige Language*, eds. Vl. Rjéoutski, G. Argent and D. Offord (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014), p. 369.

⁴ Al. Duțu, "Prefață" in P. Eliade, *Influența franceză asupra spiritului public în România: originile*, trans. by Aurelia Creția (București: Univers, 1982).

knowledge-making, the “ensembles of patterned activities” that govern the production and the evaluation of the ideas. This focus on mundane, day-to-day actions and processes tries to contribute to an understanding of the idea not as a simple, monolithic and enclosed unit, but as “the result of a dense multiplicity of knowledge-making practices in relatively porous concrete social locations”⁵

This article shall thus try to answer the following questions: through which production practices did the idea of the French influence take shape in the author’s project? What was the academic context in which this idea was made public? Who was its French audience, and according to which rules was it evaluated? What was the first Romanian reception of Eliade’s book and, again, what were academic rules that governed its evaluation? Although such questions may be criticized because they suggest a perspective that de-essentializes Eliade’s research, I would like to argue that, in answering them, we can find out more about the functioning of the academic institutions in France and Romania at the turn of the century, and understand how Eliade’s book about the French influence is itself a part, albeit unintentional, of the history of the (scientific) relations between France and Romania. In a time when, according to historian Catherine Durandin, the French influence -political, economic, diplomatic- was almost inexistent,⁶ Eliade’s project shows how the French model becomes not only a historical and analytical category, but also something like a myth for (a part of) the Romanian intellectuals.

The Art of Reviving the Past

The letters exchanged by Pompiliu Eliade and his professor, Titu Maiorescu (1840-1917), are invaluable sources about the circumstances surrounding the writing of his book. Although only the letters of Eliade to Maiorescu have been saved,⁷ one can follow the evolution of the disciple’s ideas about the content of his research and his gradual learning of the historian’s craft, a learning which led him to a confrontation with different contemporary understandings of history as a science or as an art. In the same time, as Maiorescu was among the philosophers and cultural critics who had developed an influential reflection about the evolution of Romanian society and its relations with Western

⁵ Ch. Camic, N. Gross and M. Lamont (eds.), *Social Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2011), p. 27.

⁶ C. Durandin, *La Politique française et les Roumains, 1878-1913: à la recherche d'une influence* (Lille: A.N.R.T., 1984).

⁷ The letters are published in the anthology *T. Maiorescu și prima generație de Maiorescieni: corespondență*, eds. Z. Ornea, F. Mihai and R. Bichis (București: Minerva, 1978).

dominant models,⁸ these letters also show how the young Eliade situated his own project with respect to his master's critical discourse.

Starting in 1892, Eliade was offered a Hillel scholarship by the University of Bucharest in order to study French language and literature in Paris. In the first year, he attends some classes at the University of Paris (Sorbonne), but the following year the University of Bucharest and the Romanian Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction ask the French Ministry of Public Instruction for the permission that Eliade be accepted at the *École Normale Supérieure* so that he could not only study French literature, but also prepare two dissertations (the French and the Latin) required for obtaining the Doctoral degree.

The first mention about a French thesis entitled *De l'influence française sur l'esprit public en Roumanie* appears in a letter from November 28th, 1893. Eliade sketches the first outline that shows how he saw the project in the early stages. The planning shows that he wanted to start at the beginning of his century, after seventeen centuries during which the [Romanian] people "had done nothing".⁹ In order to attenuate the severity of this affirmation, the author hints to the French revolutionary Sieyès and to his famous words by which he described his condition during the Terror, *J'ai vécu* [I lived]. According to this outline, the first contacts between Romania and France were mediated in the 1820s by Romanian students who, after having studied in Paris, returned and brought with them the French political and literary events and, most notably, "the wind of freedom". After the events of 1848, the culmination of the French influence was seen, according to Eliade, in the union of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (1859) under the same prince, Al. I. Cuza. His legislative reforms were followed by a national revival during Carol I's reign, when a national literature, the creation of the University and the Academy were the antecedents of the Independence. But at the same time, Carol's reign in Romania also meant the imposition of a German influence that Eliade acknowledges.

Starting from this initial outline, the project evolved towards a more complex understanding of the notion of influence: in a letter from 1896, Eliade states that after the year 1848, one can speak no more of influence, but of a French intervention in the politics of the Principalities ("the psychological problem becomes a diplomatic one").¹⁰ In another letter, Eliade mentions that even before 1848 one can distinguish two periods – the first starting in the

⁸ S. Alexandrescu, "Junimea: discours politique et discours culturel" in *Libra. Festschrift voor W. Noomen*, ed. Ioan Petru Culianu (Groningen, 1983).

⁹ Ornea et al., *T. Maiorescu și prima generație de Maiorescieni*, p. 167.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

middle of the 18th century and lasting until 1821, when the origins of the French influence are “subterraneous” (via the Greeks, the Russians and the Transylvanians) and the second one, from 1821 until 1848, when France and Russia become successively intertwined and enemies in the minds of the elites.

Compared to the first stages of his project, this evolution is directed towards the historical depth of the French influence, the 18th century becoming the starting point for a history which appeared increasingly complex as the author discovered new data and sources. These discoveries finally justified the publication of a first volume covering the period between 1750 and 1821. Two following volumes, covering the period until 1848, were published in 1905 and 1914, respectively. Yet, as one can see from the letters to Maiorescu, the initial project was supposed to discuss the French influence in Romania up to the end of the 19th century.

The second layer of information found in these letters concerns Eliade’s views on the historian’s craft, as he works his way through the sources and the bibliography to complete his book. Research on the French influence provides for him an occasion to reflect not only on the luck needed to find relevant information in the books at his disposal, but also on history’s nature (art or science), the historical practices and some Romanian and French historians upon whose works he comments.

According to Eliade, it would be presumptuous to talk about historical “science”. History deals with individuals, it cannot predict the future (that would be the task of sociology) and it can discover only “individual truths”. He acknowledges, of course, all the operations that define historical research: seeking documents in archives, criticizing them, but these are only the first stages, they only prepare for the historical task, which is to revive the past: “the dead body must be brought back to life”.¹¹ If in the first stages of his work, “the historian must efface himself”, in the later stage, the historian’s personality needs to appear in his artistic shape and nothing must betray the empirical (positive) nature of his work: everything must emerge naturally from what is narrated. According to this perspective, Jules Michelet’s work is not founded on solid data and its absence makes it an “uncritical history” and Fustel de Coulanges’ work on the institutions of Ancient France is only a collection of data; his author being only an example of “a solid critical spirit applied to history”.¹² As for the Romanian historians, Eliade has the same critical views, denouncing three historians (among which Alexandre Xenopol) for the inexactitudes they publish

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 197.

in their books and the ensuing difficulties for young students to pursue their own research goals.

These methodological considerations that Eliade sent to Maiorescu were also published as a separate text in a volume dedicated to Maiorescu by his students in 1900. For Eliade, his master from the University of Bucharest was not only the main interlocutor when conflicting views about the historian's craft needed to be addressed, but also, because of Maiorescu's cultural status in recent Romanian history, an important witness who could contribute with personal insights and family memories to his pupil's research. Besides the archival discoveries Eliade made during his stay in Paris, the letters mention how an article from 1838 by Maiorescu's father, Ion Maiorescu, where the author had expressed his anti-French views, becomes an occasion for the young student to understand not only the historical adversity to France from a part of the elites of the 1840s, a period he previously considered as very Francophile, but also his own master's reservations with regard to the French influence and its contribution to the "shallow forms" theorized by Maiorescu since 1868.

To these views, Eliade's answer is in line with the whole conception of his book: "Isn't it better to have a French culture than no culture at all?"¹³ Despite the author's claims that "his work [was] impersonal from the point of view of his interest and his passions,"¹⁴ Eliade's attachment to the French culture is obvious when confronted with a more reserved attitude, such as that presented by the conservative Maiorescu. However, research for documents leads Eliade to find another important source from a family who had greatly contributed to the creation of the young state, the Brătianu family.

In a letter from 1897, Eliade mentions how the older son of the family (Ionel I. C. Brătianu, who would also become prime-minister of Romania) has given him access to his father's, I. C. Brătianu, private correspondence and diplomatic papers from 1840-1848, who were essential to his research, due to Brătianu's role in the political history of the Principalities. As the liberal family had been one of the most ardent supporters of the French model, Eliade's research would have been seen as a scientific legitimation of their political views. The young author understood very quickly that he could only gain from this *rapprochement* and, in a letter to Maiorescu from June 1897, he mentions how he asked the Minister for Public Instruction, the Liberal Spiru Haret, for a subsidy of 2,000 fr. so that he could afford the publication of his book by the editor Ernest Burdin.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

As such, Eliade was researching and writing his book in a double frame of mind: on the one hand, he was acutely aware that his research in Paris was financed by the University, and if not for the scholarship, he would not have been able to stay at the *École Normale*; in this regard, the subsidy from the Ministry was just another contribution designed to help him accomplish his objective, that of “bringing much honor to his country”.¹⁵ However, on the other hand, the letters show the young scholar developing an ethics of research, with concerns for the truth, the exactness of the facts and an ideal of objectivity.

Beyond their status as a source for the evolution of his research, Eliade’s letters to Maiorescu are also important because they help answering another question, which concerns the role of the relation between the master and the disciple in the production and transmission of knowledge in an academic context.¹⁶ Despite the library and archival research in Paris, this exchange of letters between the young Eliade and his old professor Maiorescu appears as essential to the development of his research because only through the validation of his master can Eliade advance in his work on the French influence. At the same time, Eliade’s relation with Maiorescu also exemplifies the difficulty of remaining loyal to your master when science and politics are not separated. As his research was already starting to suggest, Eliade was on the way of joining the Liberal Party, and this political stance separated him from his master in the following years.

Staging the French Influence: A Doctoral Defense at the Sorbonne

In France, during the 19th century, the candidate who wanted to become a doctor had to present two dissertations: the Latin one and the French one. After having obtained the official approval of the faculty, he could present himself at the defense and he had the right to print his dissertations which thus became public works. This is the path followed by Pompiliu Eliade who published his French thesis with the publisher Ernest Leroux in 1898. The defense took place on February 1st, 1899, before a jury composed of the Dean of the Faculty of Letters, the Hellenist Alfred Croiset and the Professors Georges Perrot (Director of the *École Normale* and Eliade’s mentor during his stay), Victor Brochard, Victor Egger, Ange Denis and the famous historian Charles Seignobos (1854-1942).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

¹⁶ See F. Waquet, *Les enfants de Socrate. Filiation intellectuelle et transmission du savoir, XVII^e-XXI^e siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2008), p. 149.

Two reports were written, one from Dean Croiset, which included the observations of Professor Brochard on the Latin thesis and Professor Seignobos on the French thesis. The other report was always written by the same person, the Inspector of the Academy of Paris, who at that time was Félix Hémon. Even if the Faculty had given the authorization of publication, the defense remained a very important test during which not only was the candidate evaluated, but also the institution presented itself before the audience, and this happened in the context of the new secular regime of the Third Republic. Both texts discussed at the same time the qualities of scholar and the qualities of professor and, in reading the reports concerning Eliade, in the context of other reports of defenses of these years, one cannot always make the difference between the former and the latter.

As for the defense, there are several categories of remarks that can be made: what we could call, with E. Goffman, the “presentation of self” of the candidate is an important criterion. In the face of critical judgments by the members of the jury, “the candidate did not seem defeated; he stood against all attacks, sometimes he even took the offensive, bitter and flexible, especially tenacious”¹⁷ or “He discussed with an animation, an abundance, a zeal, and a strength of youth, that indicate a remarkable temperament of a professor, perhaps even a speaker”. The jury pays homage to “the sincerity” of Pompiliu Eliade: far from being a mere concession to ambient psychologism, this criterion would be, according to Gérard Noiriel,¹⁸ a norm by which one could detect fidelity to the new republican regime that was in place. This concern for “sincerity” goes hand in hand with remarks on the “physics” of the candidates, quite numerous in the defense reports of the time, a way of checking the coherence between the appearance and the interior, the “character” of man – a normal practice in a pre-bureaucratic society. This is probably the reason why the Inspector of the Academy begins his report with the expression “this valiant little Romanian”.

As one might expect, the mention of Romanian origin plays an important role in relation to his knowledge of French. Here is Inspector Hémon: “We cannot assimilate him without injustice to our French candidates. And yet, as attested by the Dean’s report, he speaks French with an elegant and lively facility which denotes the knowledge of the finest subtleties and nuances of our

¹⁷ The Dissertation Reports are held at the French National Archives at Pierrefitte-sur-Seine under the reference AN F 17 13249. This and the following quotations come from the same file; translations are mine.

¹⁸ G. Noiriel, “Le jugement des pairs. La soutenance de thèse au tournant du siècle”, *Genèses*, 5 (1991), pp. 132-147.

language”. And here is the historian Seignobos: “At the defense, Mr. Eliade showed a facility of speech and a possession of the French language really extraordinary in a stranger”. The command of the language is not a criterion only for foreigners – Eliade is the only foreigner in a five-year period to have defended his doctorate at the Faculty of Letters at the Sorbonne; the use of French was important for all candidates as a proof of the eloquence of the scholars and teachers.

The love for France which “penetrates all his book” (according to Inspector Hémon) could have earned him the appreciation of the professors of the Sorbonne, but that was not the whole story. The report for the French thesis is written by the historian Charles Seignobos and his very harsh remarks do not meet the unanimous support of the other members of the jury.

“The somewhat vague title, *De l'influence française sur l'esprit public en Roumanie*, is explained by the embarrassment in which the author has found himself in defining the precise object of his research. In reality, the work consists of three pieces connected by the general idea of the direct or indirect action of the French. [...] This work is based on a collection of published historical and literary documents; it is an attempt to summarize some acquired results. It is accompanied by a critical bibliography that testifies to fairly extensive research. Quotations of documents are usually felicitously chosen, so as to give a vivid impression of Romanian society. The method of analysis and transcription of texts, as far as I have been able to judge by a series of verifications, lacks precision and accuracy. It seems that the author read the documents with the concern of forming an impression and limited himself to reproducing his impression without checking whether it corresponded to the texts; the meaning is almost always inexactly reproduced and often the meaning is distorted. This work seems to have been conceived and written according to the Romantic method; it has the historical flaws and literary qualities of that method. There are inaccurate facts, adventurous conjectures, hasty generalizations; but the picture of the Romanian society is animated and a great charm of sincerity and freshness emerges from it”.

In Charles Seignobos' evaluation, one can see not only the reflexivity which, according to Dominique Maingueneau, “oblige the writers [of such a report] to stage through their own enunciation the norms of which they are supposed to be the guarantors, in whose names they evaluate the candidate's thesis.”¹⁹ The

¹⁹ Cf. Dardy, D. Ducard and D. Maingueneau, *Un genre universitaire: le rapport de soutenance de thèse* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2002), p. 52.

critiques made to Eliade's thesis are the critics of the new generation of historians, including Langlois and Seignobos, who at the end of the century imposed themselves against the narrative and patriotic history of Ernest Lavisse, the most influential historian and heir to Jules Michelet. The two German-influenced historians of the positivist school had just published their famous textbook *Introduction to the Study of History* in 1898,²⁰ a work which, according to Gérard Noiriel, represented a crucial step in the constitution of the "normal science" of the time. In their book, one can find all the reproaches that Seignobos addresses to Eliade: he does not use new and unreleased documents, it is a simple synthesis of the results acquired, the sources are not quoted exactly and with precision, in conclusion "the Romantic method with its historical flaws and its literary qualities".

This positivist approach is however far from obtaining the approval of the other members of the jury. The inspector of the Academy criticizes "the superabundant luxury of tiny evidence" provided by Charles Seignobos, while Professor Denis responds in a "courteously biting" manner, blaming his Romantic method on his age. Finally, the audience, the supreme judge, loses patience and, according to Felix Hémon, "takes from the defense a substantially more favorable impression than is the report of Mr. Seignobos. It seemed generally to be believed that M. Eliade was not so guilty of having talent, and that this talent, although 'literary,' had not prevented him from acting as a historian".

The academic reception of the Sorbonne shows that, far from being unanimously perceived as a celebration of the influence of France, an action that was raised to the rank of State policy by the Third Republic, Eliade's work is judged according to the criteria of a neutral and objective posture, which, according to the rules of the historical discipline at that time, refuses the "Romantic" outbursts and relies only on the "method" in the criticism of the sources, the only guarantee of science. At the same time, the academic ritual of the defense is also an instrument of inculcation of social norms supposed to form a new generation of scholars and professors faithful to the Republic. Proposed by Pompiliu Eliade as an object of research, the "French influence" thus becomes an issue of scholarly struggles to impose a legitimate definition of historical science. If the Inspector of the Academy is sensitive to the *Francophilia* of Eliade (he would have liked to give him the mention "very honorable"), what counts for historians like Seignobos is not the patriotic value

²⁰ Ch. V. Langlois and Ch. Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques* (Paris: Hachette, 1898).

of a subject, but the use of method – a method which must be based on a critical examination of documents.

However, despite these heated debates, the dissertation defense is essential from the point of view of the sociology of knowledge because it confirms Eliade's position as a member of the scientific community. Seen as a major interaction ritual, the defense holds the others' attention not because of the particular statements that can be (and are) contested, but "because of the activity itself, a dialogue that transcends the particular situation, linking past and future texts and linking the intellectuals together as a ritual community"²¹

The French Reception: Civilization and Method

After being defended as a doctoral dissertation at the Sorbonne, Eliade's work was read, commented upon and criticized in the French journals and newspapers of that year. It was a rather warm reception, although some of the critics attacked his historical method and his treatment of the sources. These reactions can, of course, be interpreted if we keep in mind that the journals, scientific or general, are part of a social system made of competitions and alliances²² and that every written piece, even a review article, is a way of asserting one's position in the field. Although these assertions depend on the respective positions of their authors in the intellectual field, when studying such a work, the historian can choose to look for common features, present in more than one document. These arguments can therefore illustrate how Eliade joined in conversation with his peers, what the main points they took from his work were, and how they judged his ongoing project. Most of the articles were review articles, from half a page to three pages long, and in analyzing these pieces, one must keep in mind that they were never read independently, but as part of a series of reviews, in a journal published usually every two weeks or every month. Only two of the ten texts we have identified were published in daily newspapers.

One of the main common themes of almost all the reviewers is that Eliade's book deals with France's civilizing role in the world. As part of the Republican ideology, the "civilizing mission" was the justification for France's colonial expansion and the last part of the 19th century sees a reframing of this old Enlightenment idea. In different forms, the "civilizing mission" had been Napoleon's reason for the conquest of Egypt in 1799, the same argument was

²¹ R. Collins, *The Sociology of Philosophies. A Global Theory of Intellectual Change* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 28.

²² Ch. Prochasson, *Paris 1900. Essai d'histoire culturelle* (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1998).

used by his successors for the conquest of Algeria in 1830 and, in 1895, when Eliade was studying at the *École Normale Supérieure* in Paris, the French Republic was establishing at Dakar the General Government of West Africa.²³

It was thus to be expected that, when the book about the French civilizing influence in Romania was published in Paris, it would be read according to this larger discourse, that of France's "civilizing mission". This was for example Émile Haguenin's reading for the *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*:

"It was France that, unknowingly and unwantedly, from far away, caused the slow awakening of a nation in the two principalities and, in a society that was almost barbaric and divided into classes, caused this ensemble of common feelings that is the reason of the existence, the germ of the *patrie*. [...] He fixated in sincere features the comical and touching efforts of these barbarians to adapt to a civilization whose charm they only guessed."²⁴

Eliade's work was thus seen as an important contribution aimed at "explaining France's role to the progress of the civilization". The same ideas appear in the very favorable review by Gabriel Monod (1844-1912), director of the *Revue historique*, a historian as concerned with method and impartiality as he was with asserting France's role in the world, despite its defeat against Germany:

"The role that France played, almost involuntarily in Iasi and in Bucharest, only by the *rayonnement de son génie* shows us our duties towards the nations who, for almost two centuries, have seen us as their educators. We must do all that we can, either by accepting the young Romanians in our schools, or by creating commercial and intellectual relations with Romania, so that we do not allow other influences to replace ours."²⁵

Eliade's work is presented also in some daily newspapers. If *Le Figaro* offers only a brief fifteen-line presentation, which praises the author's talent in presenting Romania's attachment to France and its effects on the country's civilization, another journal, *Le Temps*, offers the book a three-column article by his main literary critic, writer and journalist Gaston Deschamps. On an exalted tone, Deschamps compliments Eliade's work because he had shown how the French genius can still act upon the other nations, even after the country's defeat. The young Romanian, who can be taken for a French, is also commended because

²³ See A. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize. The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

²⁴ É. Haguenin, "Variétés. France et Roumanie", *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*, (1899), p. 3 (for this and the following quotations, all translations are mine).

²⁵ G. Monod, "Bulletin historique", *Revue historique*, (1899), p. 94.

has chosen to study in France, and not in Germany like many other young students and his book is not like those “inaugural dissertations” that are written beyond the Rhine and that are overly appreciated in France. As such, the book is another example for the French glory in which all the nations, especially those of the Orient, found a model of freedom from tyranny. “It is a comfort to hear, from across the borders, the echo of such eloquent admiration which, despite our misfortunes, salutes all this expense of glory and genius, which will not have been a folly of our imagination and of our hearts, since the universe marveled at the benefits.”²⁶

The comfort that Eliade’s book was offering to the French is the main feature that is discussed, albeit in different tones and with various degrees of enthusiasm, by the reviewers who read it in the frame of France’s “civilizing mission”. However, not all of them agree to Eliade’s hypothesis, that of the indirect influence, from the distance and without knowing it. Philippe Sagnac, in the *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine*, and Mario Roques, in the *Revue critique d’histoire et de littérature*, share their doubts about the force of this French influence in the 18th century, when there was no direct contact between France and the Romanian principalities. If Sagnac questions the power of the (French) words to determine the peasants’ revolt against oppression, saying that only after the Romanians became independent they could receive this influence (“So that France could exert a serious action in the Principalities, it was necessary that before the Principalities conquer a half-independence and that the Romanian element became aware of itself”),²⁷ Mario Roques questions the assertion that the 1821 revolt of Tudor Vladimirescu was a reflection of the French Revolution because there are no real signs of the French influence in the Romanian principalities before the 19th century.²⁸

Although some journals appreciate Eliade’s erudition “*aimable et solide*” (*Polybiblion*) and his scrupulous documentation (*Les annales politiques et littéraires*), the more “scientific” journals host critical opinions about the author’s historical method. These criticisms are the same as those of Seignobos’ at the defense of the dissertation: the author writes like the Romantic historians, he is not thorough in the analysis of his documents. Mario Roques adds that Eliade makes very light use of “*constructions psychologiques de pure imagination*”. All this criticism about the method does not contradict the common belief in France’s role and its civilizing mission, especially in spreading

²⁶ G. Deschamps, “Un étranger, ami de la France”, *Le Temps*, (1899), p. 3.

²⁷ Ph. Sagnac, “Comptes rendus critiques”, *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 5 (1899), p. 515.

²⁸ M. Roques, *Revue critique d’histoire et de littérature*, 18 (1899), p. 372.

the ideas of freedom against oppression, however it does question the way in which the author proved his assertions.

Compared to his own beliefs about the historian's craft, and about history as an art of imagination, the French historians favor a different approach, which was described as methodical or positivistic. Although, according to Jean Walch, the difference between the Romantic and the positivist historians of the 19th century must not be seen as an "epistemological rupture";²⁹ the writings of the latter having only benefited from the wealth of documents and archives they had access to, the fact is that they used the "Romantic" denomination in order to define themselves against the older historians and to judge the works of foreign historians, like Pompiliu Eliade, who wanted to join their conversation.³⁰

Back to Romania: The Institutional Usefulness of the "French Influence"

After having defended his dissertation at the Sorbonne in 1899, Pompiliu Eliade returns to Romania, where he was expecting to be named at the University of Bucharest, as the holder of the chair of French literature. In accordance with the new law, the candidate needed to submit a file with his scientific publications, in order to prove that he was worthy of the position he wanted. In this context, his book about the French influence acquires a particular importance.

One problem with which he is confronted is that of the discipline to which his research belongs to. Applying for a position in French literature, he needed to demonstrate that his historical work could be seen as a literary history. From the beginning of his work, as his letters to Maiorescu show us, he had seen the difference between the study of literature and that of history. His reflections about method are reflections about the historical method and even if some parts of his book deal with literature (the translation of French literary works into Romanian at the end of the 18th century), his book is considered at the Sorbonne as a historical research and it is a historian, Charles Seignobos, who is designed to evaluate his accomplishments. As we have seen, Seignobos' evaluation, and those who followed him, criticize the methodological faults of

²⁹ J. Walch, "Romantisme et positivisme: une rupture épistémologique dans l'historiographie?", *Romantisme*, 21-22 (1978), pp. 161-172. See also I. Di Vanna, *Writing History in the Third Republic* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010).

³⁰ Even if this is not the objective of this contribution, it is worth mentioning that this positivist version of history, whose primary target was to collect all the facts (which already had a meaning), came under the attack of the sociologists of the Durkheimian school, such as François Simiand, who wrote about "Historical method and social science" in the young *Revue de synthèse historique*. See J. Revel, "Histoire et sciences sociales: le paradigme des *Annales*" in *Annales ESC*, 34/6 (1979), pp. 1360-1376.

Eliade's work using the literary vocabulary: the book has the historical flaws and the literary qualities of the Romantic method.

It is precisely this argument that Eliade uses in order to prove that his research can be seen as a literary research and thus can be taken into consideration as his application for a position of professor of French literature. In the *Curriculum vitae* he writes for his *dossier*, he tries to argue: "This work, which the foreign press made us the honor to discuss, is conceived according to the norms indicated in our Thoughts about history (cf. *Lui Titu Maiorescu Omagiu*, p. 74 et seq.). If we present it as the main work for obtaining the title of French Literature Professor, this is because: 1) this work, the result of our five-year activity, is written in French, 2) it contains two chapters of literature, of which one about French literature (chapter IV of Book 2: The Transylvanians, awakening of the Latin Feeling and chapter I of Book 3: Literary results), 3) that this writing, in its entirety, is a writing of literature, given how we conceive the historical genre".³¹

Along with these justifications, Eliade was trying to refashion himself as a literature specialist, giving a series of public conferences at the Bucharest Athenaeum about French literature and publishing an article about one of Pierre Corneille's feminine characters (*Pauline – une intellectuelle du théâtre français*). However, the Faculty Council did not see him as fully qualified for receiving a full professorship of French literature. Arguing that his book about the French influence is a historical work and therefore could not be taken into consideration for this position, the Council only accepted him as an Associate professor. Only four years later, and after having published several articles on literature, is Eliade named full professor of French literature at the University of Bucharest.

As such, the academic reception of his book in Romania was determined by the French academic context of its disciplinary production. Among the Romanian historians, two were particularly interested in Eliade: Alexander Xenopol (1847-1920), a historian from Iași, author of a six-volume history of the Romanians and a constant reference in Eliade's letters to Maiorescu; and Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940), a very vocal young historian from Bucharest, and head of the critical school. Xenopol wrote his review article not in France, where he had just published, in 1899, *Les principes fondamentaux de l'histoire*, but in Germany, in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*. His review challenges Eliade's work only from the point of view of the author's treatment of facts and sources, without contesting the power of the French influence in Romania, a distant

³¹ P. Eliade, *Curriculum vitae*, The Romanian Academy Library, A 1889.

influence that Xenopol considers as “the most profound and impressing example of its kind”³²

Nicolae Iorga's relationship with Eliade was much more intense. Having been recognized as one of the most enthusiastic supporters of France in Romania, Eliade receives the *Palmes Académiques* from the French Ambassador in Bucharest, joins the Liberal Party and becomes the object of Nicolae Iorga's attacks. His colleague at the university contested Eliade's scholarship competences in the study of literature after the latter published the text of his inaugural lesson, “What is literature?”³³

The Eliade versus Iorga controversy is indicative of the way in which France and the French influence were perceived in Romania in the 1900s. Although most of the elites spoke French and were educated in the French manners, Romania had had for more than three decades a King of German origins, which generated a kind of equilibrium in the way in which Romanians positioned themselves towards the Western models. In this context, the historian Nicolae Iorga supports a movement of national revival focused on the Romanian peasants (*Sămănătorismul*), for which the French model was the symbol of the modern corruption. As such, *Gallomania* was the main enemy that needed to be addressed and, in 1906, Iorga went on to urge many of his students to demonstrate against French plays performed in French on the stage of the National Theater in Bucharest.

The Multiple Meanings of the “French Influence”

The story of the French influence, as a knowledge produced by Pompiliu Eliade in the last years of the 19th century between France and Romania, is that of an extremely complex set of scientific practices that indicate how the author was not alone in his work, but subject to various determinations that guided the meaning he and his peers attributed to this idea. The “French influence” can thus be seen at the same time as: a product of Eliade's confrontation with multiple sets of research rules at a time when the historical discipline was being transformed in France and in Romania, following the German model of “science”; an affirmation of the disciple's independence with respect to his master's views about the historical evolution of Romanian society – an

³² Al. Xenopol, “Geschichtswissenschaften”, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 22 (1899), pp. 450-451.

³³ For this controversy about the “proper” way to study literature at the beginning of the 20th century in Romania, see D. Jipa, “Pompiliu Eliade vs. Nicolae Iorga ou comment on parlait de la littérature (française) en 1903” in L. Cotea (ed.), *La Francophonie roumaine: passé, présent, avenir* (București: Editura Universității din București, 2015), pp. 65-86.

independence that translates implicitly into a political difference; an assimilation by Eliade of the French ideology of the “civilizing mission” that justified the colonial expansion during the Third Republic.

Eliade’s idea was in the same time subject to multiple evaluation practices and, for his evaluators, the French influence was respectively, a research product worthy of a doctoral degree at the Sorbonne, a sympathetic homage to the French *grandeur* according to the press, and a necessary but only partial fulfillment of the conditions for a position as a professor of French literature at the University of Bucharest. All these meanings are equally true and they can be discovered by following Eliade in his day-to-day practices and interactions, in his institutional (French and Romanian) contexts, and in the conversations with his peers.

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Adrian Stoicescu

Negotiation of Foreign Models in the Romanian Principalities

Abstract: As it was the case with many European countries, the Romanian intellectuals were trained in Western universities from where they imported back home the knowledge and cultures acquired while studying. Although such transfers followed the most general features of Basalla's three-stage model of the spread of science, the Romanian case proves the rather challenging undertaking such process actually represented. Against the backdrop of constant negotiations, this article aims to disclose the particulars of those transfers to the Romanian Principalities both as theoretical and practical.

Keywords: theoretical knowledge, practical knowledge, negotiation.

Introduction

Both the Romanian Principalities and the state of Romania after the successive territorial unifications from 1859 and 1918 (and even after its accession to the European Union in 2007) have had a long history of identity building, based on the wilful or forced incorporation of Western or Eastern models. Such incorporations touch upon all aspects of life – ranging from lifestyles and standards of living to political, economic and scientific developments. Yet, it goes without saying that such processes hardly went smoothly, every step of such incorporation facing various degrees of opposition spanning from both the ethnic (and later on, national) centripetal understanding of life development, and centrifugal attitudes towards the alienous direct or induced trajectories.

As a result, the direct or mediated contact with foreign models and, subsequently, the transfer of science and knowledge, particularly from Western cultures, faced uneven positions in a territory characterised as “not placing itself at the top of world hierarchies”¹ before the dawn of the 19th century, and rather followed its own, specific pace of development. In fact, even the voices from the

¹ B. Murgescu, *Istorie românească – istorie universală (600-1800)* (București: Teora, 1999), p. 199.

period acknowledged the lag between the Romanian territories and the rest of Europe. As Cezar Bolliac stated,² being between the East and the West, the Wallachian territory is shaped by “Oriental feeling and Occidental aspirations”, but still remained as a single holder of Medieval forms of living among the Christian European states.

Murgescu³ tries to further explain the discontinuity which is related to the willingness to accommodate Westernness by strictly connecting it to age. The younger the people, the higher the chances to be more open to the cultural and scientific transfer. As a result, the modern period of the Romanian territories⁴ provides an opportunity for discussing the topic of the transfer of Western knowledge, the main agent of which were almost exclusively young people who had studied abroad. This approach should not be understood as a clear distinction between two groups of people taking opposite side when it comes to the incorporation of Westernness in the native culture. Since the travelling habits extend beyond age, both old and young are exposed to elements of Westernness. If for the older generation Westernness was imported more as a lifestyle, for young ones, who had access to the Western education, such imports meant not only the betterment of living conditions, but also the import of science and knowledge and their adaptation to the local realities.

This article will focus on the import of Western scientific knowledge in the 19th century, corresponding to Basalla’s (1967) “colonial” phase and less of the achievements made through the use of such transferred knowledge. This approach draws extensively on Basalla’s evolutionary model, since the selection of literature placed under scrutiny here fosters to a great extent a linear development of early transfers of knowledge in modern Romanian territories. It is undoubtedly a selective approach (i.e. transfers of scientific and economic knowledge, and applied science and economy) triggered mainly by the need to

² C. Bolliac, “Mozaicul social”, *Naționalul*, 73-74 in *Gândirea românească în epoca pașoptistă*, Vol. 1, eds. Paul Cornea and Mihai Zamfir (București: Editura pentru literatură, 1969), pp. 449-461.

³ B. Murgescu, *România și Europa. Acumularea decalajelor economice (1500-2010)* (Iași: Polirom, 2010).

⁴ This article extensively used the concept of Romanian territories or jointly the Principalities instead of naming each province due to a set of argument. The first, and the most important is that the realities form those differ to a quite small extent in terms of economic, education, scientific and technological, and finally, social development. Secondly, the time frame in which the articles analyzed here is in the close vicinity of the unification act from 1859 and so a clear distinction among the Principalities is somehow useless. Finally, even though a border was still in place between Wallachia and Moldova, the ideas permeated such line easily benefiting mainly because of the same language spoken on either side of that border.

see how and to what extent Basalla's model is illustrative for the Romanian colonisation in the fields of science and knowledge.

In order to test this theory, this analysis will examine the tendency to synchronize with the Western knowledge not only in terms of theoretical advancements in physics, chemistry or economy, but rather how such knowledge had been required and incorporated by a society which appeared to orbit around past-oriented systems of administration orthodoxies. Furthermore, such imports may or may not be successful undertakings due to various reasons, ranging from the perceived lack of adaptation to the local realities or the rejection due to political agendas of influential local personalities. Seen this way, the reality of knowledge transfer and incorporation is arguably not a mere process of "translating" innovative thought, but rather a more intricate course of "translation and adoption" of advanced scientific knowledge, following more a model proposed by Raina.⁵

The sources informing this chapter consist of the knowledge popularization articles, which were hosted by the most important newspapers of the era, and belong to the intellectual elite which had access to Western science and knowledge through direct contact – e.g. through studies in France, Germany or Austria. The findings of this chapter will be based on an analysis of discourses on the transfer of knowledge, and the unique case of the materialisation of the utopian socialist ideology in the one year attempt to create and exploit a phalanstery, shaped according to the Fourier doctrine.

The greatest advantage of resorting to knowledge popularization texts is their rhetorical construction. Employing such discourse strategies "humanizes" the somehow arid talk about knowledge by a set of strategies which were intended to justify the need to bring the European present time developments to the Romanian territories. The discourses analysed here are mainly based on three pillars: "the local context", the description of which leads to the need of transformational undertakings, "the foreign context", which stands as proof of a successful and tested model of advancement of knowledge and its incorporation in everyday socio-economic realities and, finally, "the knowledge transferred", as potential power to change for the better the harsh realities from the Principalities.

⁵ D. Raina, "Reconfiguring the centre: The structure of scientific exchanges between colonial India and Europe", *Minerva*, 32/2 (1996), pp. 161-176.

The spread of Western science

George Basalla's diffusionist, three-stage model of the spread of science is centred upon "repeated patterns of events";⁶ in which a handful of Western European countries at the peak of scientific development -Italy, France, England, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, and the Scandinavian countries- came to become the beacon flashing into the darkness of scientific knowledge, in which the rest of the world apparently remained. Not only did these few countries possess a wealth of scientific knowledge, but they also magnetically attracted those wanting to professionalise and who, in their turn, took knowledge beyond the outer fringes of this cradle of science colonising the home territories. Such contagion followed three distinct stages: the first, "the non-scientific phase", which does not testify for the absence of any knowledge what so ever but as certifies the lack of Western knowledge present in the territory; the second, the "colonial" phase which is at the height of transfer since it represents the moment when the actual dissemination takes place and, the last, the "independent" phase in which the transplanted knowledge takes roots in the form of the establishment of a derived local scientific tradition.

Basalla's model might hold a certain degree of adequacy not as a whole, but rather with regard to its individual levels of stages, which lead to various degrees of contestation. For instance, the extensive use of terms like *ethno-science* by Cobern and Loving⁷ ascertains the existence of "local" scientific traditions which oppose to "Eurocentric" ones. This is not the case of a bundle of scattered knowledge, but a system of integrated understandings of natural reality. If seen this way, the future scientific colony comes as an overlaying stage onto the already existing one.

This model on the other hand implies a valorisation which Michael Adas⁸ considers unnatural, but rather stemming from the perception on the analysed object. Since the 19th century is the time of machine supremacy in the industrial era, enabling control over nature -namely understanding its functioning- Adas posits it is only obvious that the western scientist's "modes of thought and social organisation corresponded much more closely to underlying

⁶ G. Basalla, "The Spread of Western Science", *Science*, 156/3775 (1967), p. 611.

⁷ W. W. Cobern and C. C. Loving, "Defining 'science' in a multicultural world: Implications for science education", *Science Education*, 85/1 (2001), p. 51.

⁸ M. Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Man. Science, Technologies and Ideologies of the Western Dominance* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989).

realities of the universe than did those of any other people or society, past or present”⁹

Furthermore, Dhruv Raina (1999) for instance imputes Basalla the lack of perspective mainly in the use of the spread which eliminated the possibility of “hybridization”¹⁰ challenging this way the characterisation made by Basalla, for whom the success of the independent stage is based on the elimination of all native opposition. As Raina goes on, Basalla’s approach fails consider other determinant features of which understanding the meaning of science in different cultures is of paramount importance.

Finally, a great deal of arguments dismissing the Basalla model draw extensively on the external factor of the political influence on the “spread” of science (Adas, Raina, Anderson).¹¹ Such a factor carries a lot of weight in the spread of science in the sense that it challenges the reasons and principles of naturalisation of science as seen by Basalla. Not being aware of any studies putting Basalla’s model to test for the Romanian reality of science imports, the following discussion will not try to further consolidate or dismiss his approach, but rather to see which features of the diffusionist model may apply to the model of the Romanian realities.

The transfer of knowledge in the field of science

The increasing number of young Romanians from all the Principalities studying in Western European countries contrasted sharply with the poor state of the general formal education within the home territories. Alex Drace-Francis¹² presented, based on actual figures dating back to those times, the almost inexistent logistical framework to ensure a proper education for the masses, a feature notable both in Moldova and Wallachia. Against this backdrop of almost inexistent infrastructure, future personalities from both Principalities who received high education in Western universities and returned home offered not only the possibility of naturalising the acquired knowledge, but, additionally, endorsed the prospects of incorporating the European models in the institutions of their home territories in terms of functionality.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁰ Raina, *Reconfiguring the centre*, p. 507.

¹¹ W. Anderson, “Postcolonial Technoscience. Introduction,” *Social Studies of Science*, 32/5-6 (2002), pp. 643-658.

¹² A. Drance and A. Francis, *The Making of Romanian Modern Culture. Literacy and the Development of National Identity* (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006).

Ion Ghica (1816-1896), trained in Paris, and acting as prime-minister in several cabinets, offers one of the many examples of an extreme opening to the synchronisation with the Western scientific values. In his 1844 article “A gaze on sciences”, Ghica examines the efforts made in the field of education, but notices both the obsolete and discontinuous teaching practices. He also considers that what had been disseminated here as scientific knowledge resembles more to an accumulation of snippets of information, collected randomly from various fields of positive sciences and significantly fails to offer a wider, integrated picture of the interconnections between the phenomena and the tools to assess, describe and employ them. As a direct result, he stated, the “darkness” of the Middle Ages was still lingering over the Romanian territories, which only then started the struggle to detach from ignorance. For Ghica, not even the great accomplishments of Enlightenment could still prove useful, since the understanding of the reality they covered have altered so dramatically that Diderot’s *Encyclopaedia* failed to constitute a landmark in the field of knowledge: “the water and air decomposed by Lavoisier are no longer the water and air from the *Encyclopaedia*, and Fresnel’s sun does not light the world with the same light refracting through Newton’s prism.”¹³ In a similar vein, in terms of incorporating the new face of scientific approaches to the natural phenomena, Ghica also factored in the multiplication of science fields, the spreading of a formerly compact field into new and complementary ones as the discoveries may require, i.e. the case with natural history developing branches like zoology, botany and mineralogy or, conversely, the joining of formerly independent fields into new ones, e.g. mechanics is made of a combination between physics and algebra.

But what is really intriguing is that Ghica also brings forth, surprisingly to a certain extent, a religious dimension in the natural course of science in a rhetoric of combining the advances of science and God’s involvement. Stating the primacy of theological rules over the juridical regulation of a society, Ghica went on to claim firstly that the great minds of science achieve results simply because of God’s will and, secondly, that their scientific discoveries have but one purpose, namely to restate the greatness of God’s acts: “no one sees better the greatness of God’s acts except those who are involved in discoveries.”¹⁴

¹³ I. Ghica, “Despre importanța economiei politice”, *Propășirea*, 8 (1844) in *Gândirea românească în epoca pașoptistă*, Vol. 2, eds. Paul Cornea and Mihai Zamfir (București: Editura pentru literatură, 1969), p. 41.

¹⁴ I. Ghica, “Ochire asupra științei”, *Propășirea*, 26-27 (1844) in Ion Ghica, *Scrieri economice* (București: Asociației Generale e Economiștilor din România, 1937), p. 20. <https://www.yumpu.com/ro/document/read/12568736/scrieri-economice/27> (accessed 9.01.2019).

It is not even remotely clear whether Ghica really believed that the scientific discoveries are tools in fortifying the existence of a great Creator or whether he employed this discursive approach just in order to collineate with the “strongly religious” Romanian society; or the idea that God represents the means to discover the world and “resort to science” is needed to discover this same world. But it is equally irrelevant why he chose this approach to build his text on popularising the Western science as long as it might have been proven to be a successful undertaking. What is left behind the discourse strategies is an advocating account in favour of incorporating the advances of science into the timely upbringing of the Romanian society by means of transfer of knowledge.

Shaped by such allegorical rhetoric, Ghica’s text is mainly composed of general commentaries on the development of Western science although he acknowledges transfers from theoretical to knowledge to their practical incorporation. Resorting to the example of the use of steam and Watt’s engine, Ghica anticipates the increasingly changing face of transport and industry which, as a result of its incorporation in national development, might prove to be a successful undertaking for the Romanian territories, too.

Other voices, on the other hand, attach more emphasis on the transfer of knowledge in practical fields than the arid theoretical imports. This is Ion Ionescu de la Brad’s (1818-1891) case, who, trained as an agronomist in France, offers one of the best examples in the field of applied chemistry. The knowledge gained in Western Europe, put to the test during a period when he was an exile in the Ottoman Empire, postulated the principles of applied science in the field of agriculture. Basically, this transfer of knowledge is determined by at least three sets of distinct arguments, two of which are imported as foreign models while the last is offered by the local economic context. The first two reasons were given to Ionescu de la Brad by the advances made in the use of scientific developments in practical everyday economic life, offering as undeniable proof the work of the German chemist Justus von Liebig and his research on plant nutrients and trace elements. Secondly, although not getting into direct contact with him, since Ionescu de la Brad’s degree was awarded by a French institution, the contact with his work had taken place indirectly by the successful attempts of the French, German and English farmers already employing the research made by von Liebig. And finally, the third argument is provided by the local, almost exclusively agrarian economy, which could benefit extensively from the use of such discoveries. His conclusion in terms of synchronisation with the Western world narrows down the extraction of “from science the uses for

practicing agriculture, particularly in accordance to the importance which this field holds for us”¹⁵

So, basically, the structural organisation of the local economy, as rudimentary as it was, offered an additional reason for supporting the need to transfer applied science knowledge. The actual economic profile of the Romanian territories needed to be further analyzed so that the urge to import practical knowledge must be clearly integrated into a wider, more coherent and more practically visible frame rendering such imports meaningful to local realities. De la Brad resorts to such depictions in such a way as to consider the local economy as a part of the well-oiled machine of a wider European supply chain, rather than an individual player in a self-sustained, autarchic local economy.

The arguments on which he built his theory of development came from the betterment of the agrarian economy, particularly of the flax crops. Against the profile of a competitive textile manufacturing market shaped as competition between England and the joint efforts of France and Germany, an important role is envisaged around the raw material suppliers which, in de la Brad’s opinion, opened unprecedented opportunities for the Romanian agriculture. De la Brad stated: “[o]ur flax will be sought by the German, the French and the other nations forming a coalition against England and equally by England, since the fight among these nations is determined by the flax manufacturing industry and the battle will be won over by the party getting the most out of agriculture in terms of more, better, and cheaper products”¹⁶. In other words, combining the position held in both texts, the transfer of knowledge, either theoretical or practical, must be done following a very clear strategy stemming not only from a mere need to align with the West, and in addition from the need to become a part of a system to which, at least geographically, the Romanian territories belong.

With a sharp and honest gaze at the local realities, de la Brad further proves that the selection of certain knowledge imports could compensate for the lack of development in other fields, but such discrepancies on the other hand may prove beneficial from a social point of view. Instead of supporting an indiscriminate incorporation of innovation, de la Brad saw in the lack of flax

¹⁵ I. Ionescu de la Brad, “Starea de azi a himiei agricole”, *Albina românească*, 90 (1846) in *Gândirea românească în epoca pașoptistă*, Vol. 2, eds. Paul Cornea and Mihai Zamfir (București: Editura pentru literatură, 1969), pp. 139-140.

¹⁶ I. Ionescu de la Brad, “Industria Ingleză”, *Albina românească*, 60/61 (1846) in *Gândirea românească în epoca pașoptistă*, Vol. 2, eds. Paul Cornea and Mihai Zamfir (București: Editura pentru literatură, 1969), p. 137.

manufactory industry a potential for the field of raw material and a rescue for the manual labour in front of the threats posed by the large-scale use of machines. The competition from manufactory flax industry, the privileged position in the supply chain agriculture might hold, and the shelter against the machine induced threats against workers – were all reasons to advocate in favour of a measured nationalisation of foreign knowledge.

The transfer of knowledge in the field of economy and social change

As seen so far, the transfer of scientific knowledge happened either as a result of a need to compensate for the outdatedness of education formulas, or to consolidate a certain integrational position of systemic value within the envisaged chain of European economies. But a central focus of the position to synchronise with the Western values was the principle of economic development, which eventually led to struggles to incorporate both theoretical and practical thinking.

At a wider perspective the main tendencies defining the need to (re)develop the Principalities follow the same patterns of comparison, contextualization and adaptation. In the inaugural lecture for the course on political economy with the Academy from Iași (the Principality of Moldavia) in 1843, Ghica used the formula of acknowledging the power of transformation the economy possesses when it comes to changing the destiny of a country. The key factors leading to the economic and social transformation are, as far as Ghica saw them, industry and political unification which, when combined, lead to the increasing power of a nation state. His first example is Germany in the case of which the political will of the rulers and the previous treaties faded against the unification powers of industrial development which, as Ghica went on, opened the path for an additional and natural unification under the same legal and momentary systems, as it should be in the case of people speaking the same language.

The case of England further proves the edge offered by an economy incorporating scientific innovation in the field of production. The strength of a nation which is based on strong economic¹⁷ (industrial) development surpasses other nations who may be far greater in territory and population. As a direct result of the development of the industry, England manages to rule the Indian colony simply by using a commercial system based on trading companies. In addition, the British Empire is also used as an example for transplanting

¹⁷ Ghica used in this text *industry* and *economy* as synonyms and England stands for The United Kingdom.

knowledge to the American soil, where it used to possess 13 colonies. Unlike the Indian case, where the economic development of the British Empire proves the ability to lead, America is singled out as an example in which the transfer of knowledge enabled development. The American example is a proof of the benefits gained by such transfer not only through its development, but more significantly, through the accelerated pace followed in this development, as Ghica posited: “[t]ake America, for instance, which, when we were somehow noticed by the enlightened Europe, was not even able to sense its savage state”.¹⁸ Even more importantly, there was yet another modern discovery which enabled America to develop so quickly, namely, the extensive use of crediting. The financing of economy transformed the barren land, converted the American rivers and lakes into waterways and allowed the erection of costly buildings standing testimony of “utmost signs of civilisation”.¹⁹

Although factoring in the benefits of the development, Ghica also acknowledged various persisting delays in the Romanian territories. The Western world is confronted with a prominent enemy rising from the improvement of the means of production: the industrial use of the machines. Yet, similarly to the aforementioned viewpoint of de la Brand on the use of flax crops, Ghica considered that the Romanian territories, which would be characterised by an agrarian economy, would be safe from the replacement of man by the machine.

Looking to the Western world, which faced the rather challenging task of harmonising the manual labour with the automated, machine-based production, Ghica found a solution in the integration of moral principles to economy. Drawing on Jean Charles de Sismondi, focusing on the idea that the exclusive concentration of wealth is detrimental to happiness, and dismissing the eccentric attempts made by utopian socialists, Ghica advocated the cooperation among the divergent interest of capitalist, industrialist, craftsmen and manual labourers with the final goal to build happiness and peace: “I will consider beneficial to our fate if I manage to explain how the existing institutions in the field of public economy might help industry to be more moral so that both of these two drivers of mankind happiness, joining forces, will forever establish our peace and happiness”.²⁰

¹⁸ I. Ghica, “Despre importanța economiei politice”, *Propășirea*, 8 (1844) in *Gândirea românească în epoca pașoptistă*, Vol. 2, eds. Paul Cornea and Mihai Zamfir (București: Editura pentru literatură, 1969), pp. 33-34.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

²⁰ Ghica, “Despre importanța”, p. 39.

Finally, to be concise, the political economy with its power to create theoretical models, represents, as it is the case with Ghica's inaugural speech, the solution for the transformation of the Romanian territories as a result of cooperation, joint efforts between different fields of economy and shared benefits. Cooperation and shared benefits will prove to be the constant features of most of the positions shared by the public figures during the formation of the modern Romanian state.

Panaït Donici (1825-1905)²¹ led this idea of cooperation further by interpreting the development of economy in strict connection with the joint effort of labour and capital. Unlike any of the other articles here, Donici's is not linked directly to any Western author, but uses a foreign model to postulate ideas of development. In doing so, convinced that industrial development inextricably leads to an increased need for capital, he brings forth the example of France, where the building of railways required vast amounts of capital. Such capital levels were achieved by associations, but this type of communal effort to enhance potentialities was, Donici went on, a possibility alien to the Romanian reality. As a result, his popularisation of Western models focuses on the description of commercial associations, according to the French Commercial Code. Making use of terminological language, often allowing the perception that the realities covered by his text are not specific to the Romanian territory, hence the extensive use of linguistic calques, Donici defines the concepts of shareholders, shared capital, transactions with such assets or dividends and also lectures on the basics of functioning within an economic entity, with its revenues and expenditure or selling and redeeming of shares. He also included reference to stock markets, where such titles may be transactional and offered details on the internal administration of companies with bodies and their attributes in drafting and altering articles of incorporation, appointing administrators and so.

It is not clear, since this text is quite short and lacks further examples and comments, if Donici's intention was, like most of his contemporaries, to implement such models or whether his sole purpose was to make them available to the Romanian public. But what appears to be certain is that Donici represented yet another confirmation that Western knowledge, even purely theoretical as in his account, was increasingly penetrating the Romanian Principalities, even at the level of popularisation.

²¹ P. Donici, "Asoțierea capitalelor", *România literară*, 36 (1855) in *Gândirea românească în epoca pașoptistă*, Vol. 2, eds. Paul Cornea and Mihai Zamfir (București: Editura pentru literatură, 1969), pp. 12-16.

Donici's focus on commercial governance is more pronounced in other articles on fiscal policies; his clear purpose was to improve social conditions. To this end, Teodor Diamant (1810-1841) compared the European annual taxes against each other with a view to understand the local fiscal policy. He studies the tax levels in England, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Prussia, Sardinia, Denmark, Spain, Naples, Bavaria, Austria and Russia together with Wallachia just to find the place of his country in the context of this hierarchy. Diamant considered that the fiscal statistics revealed data proportionate to the actual level of economic achievement of each country, and that the most influential factor determining the productivity of each state was the use of machines. The fiscal reasoning he further resorted to was based on a demographic comparison between France and Wallachia, the latter accounting for only one sixteenth of the French population. As a result, the level of tax should proportionally be 16 times lower than in France, which translated into a corresponding value of 6.25 million ducats, of which only 0.5 were actually collected. The assessment for such a deficit, according to Diamant,²² was the result of the outdated system caused by a lack of technology and knowledge in the field of the political economy of the rural areas, which made such a reality totally contrary to the model of France. Diamant is not clear in this short article as to what kind of reform the rural territories should under go; in the wider context of his articles and actions, though, his proposals appear to relate to the utopian socialist ideas by Charles Fourier.

In fact, much of the transfers in the field of economy hint somehow to socialist ideas. The backbone of such transfer is the (utopian) socialist models of Louis Blanc, Robert Owen, Henri de Saint-Simone – and by far the most important for this chapter, Charles Fourier, whose model phalanstery was actually developed in Wallachia for brief period of one year, between 1835 and 1836. To be more precise, although there are quite a few names somehow connected to the utopian socialism, Teodor Diamant stands out particularly in as much his entire theoretical contribution was dedicated to Fourier; further, his name is connected to the one single attempt form to make a phalanstery in the Romanian territories. Additionally, he did not give up his utopian thinking even after his failed attempt with the phalanstery, continuing to advocate for the reliability of this model of envisaged lucrative relationships.

²² T. Diamant, "Unnamed article", *Curierul romanesc*, 21 (1834) in *Scrieri economice* (București: Editura Științifică), pp. 100-101.

To begin with, the idea of the fruitful undertaking in creating a phalanstery seduced the young Diamant²³ from the times when he was still in France; his first written account on embracing the Fourier ideas were comprised in a brochure, in which he analyzed the envisaged advantages of a working colony and advertised his willingness to accommodate in his home a conference on the theme of new social forms of teamwork among working people.

Assessing the increasing tensions between “those who have, and those who do not”;²⁴ he considered that a solution would not be found in a redistribution of wealth, but rather in the active duty of each society to care for those in need of elementary resources to live. The means of accomplishing such goals were no other than the merger of possessions and capacities in order to better exploit resources; the outcome would be a quadrupling of the incomes generated by comparison with the individual efforts. Yet, Diamant criticised approaches to communality as seen by the other utopians, for whom communality meant a repossession of property; he praised Fourier’s model of keeping property and sharing knowledge, skills and passions for the improvement of the entire micro-community created this way. The key for the success was the association of families with different levels of wealth, the cooperation of work irrespective of age or gender, and the association of capitals comprising of “land, cattle, commodities, building, agricultural and industrial tools, domestic furniture and cash.”²⁵

Soon after his return home to Wallachia, Diamant went on supporting such principles both theoretically and in a materialised attempt to put such knowledge to practice. The implementation of the artificial construct was deemed to failure from the very beginning. It followed the general recipe of the colony from Condé, but reduced its production capacities to the local available resources. The paucity of information around the local phalanstery makes it rather difficult to make an in-depth analysis of this short-lived experiment in terms of imports of foreign knowledge and, further, of localised practises.

Cojocaru and Ornea²⁶ recomposed the history of this atypical settlement based on administrative documents preserved by the State Archives and the library of the Romanian Academy; these consisting of association agreements (stating the financial and labour obligation), petitions made by Manoil

²³ T. Diamant, “Aux amis de la liberté, de la justice et de l’ordre Sur un moyen du faire cesser le débat entre ceux qui ont et ceux qui n’ont pas sans prendre a ceux qui ont” (1833(?), as manifest in Paris, *Scieri economice*, pp. 85-94.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

²⁶ I. Cojocaru and Z. Ornea, *Falansterul de la Scăeni* (București: Ed. Științifică, 1966).

Bălăceanu, the owner of the estate where the phalanstery was built to revoke the seizures on his estate, advertisement leaflets for the association, various letters exchanged among different people with different functions in the phalanstery or being involved with it from the outside, and -the most significant from the point of view of the data contained- the legal proceedings for the dissolution and the prosecution against Manoil Bălăceanu. Such documents refer to Diamant's name less since he had no assets to contribute to the colony, his input consisting of the ideology transferred from Fourier, on whose work the phalanstery was based.

A few data are available as to why the colony failed, despite the enthusiasm displayed by Diamant in his writings. First, the only person willing to join the effort of creating the phalanstery from Scăieni was a small land owner, Manoil Bălăceanu, who owned some small inherited estates which were burdened by seizure. His openness might have been influenced by his effort to generate revenues to compensate for the seizure of his assets than his actual belief in utopian thinking. He actually did not donate the estate, but only provided it for work.

Secondly, the phalanstery did not gather the number of necessary people in order to be functional in accordance to the Fourier formula, namely 1,600 people. Data included in a report by a ranked boyar who represented the local authority (dated September 20th, 1838) and another one, written as a reply to the first, made by Manoil Bălăceanu himself (dated September 26th, 1838). Cojocaru and Ornea²⁷ offer the actual number of the members. The numbers differ: 53 people in the first report, and in Bălăceanu's, 62 people and, additionally, other 14, who did not reside in the phalanstery, and the enslaved gypsies from the estate; however, irrespective of different data, the number of people somehow involved with the colony did not even remotely reach the minimum of Fourier's model.

And thirdly, the duties that this colony was supposed to fulfil were not carried out. A letter written by 10 members of the Scăieni phalanstery, addressed to the Prince of Wallachia, accused Bălăceanu of fraud since almost nothing of the promised benefits was actually provided. Their letter began with a list of the promises they were given and resembled the definition of the phalanstery of Fourier: "[h]e pledged to us we would fund a golden era, the Heaven on earth and the greatest earnings, the pleasures of the world, the freedom we all cherish and much more". The Petition form December 9th, 1838 reproduced in

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-262, 265-268.

Cojocaru and Ornea.²⁸ The petitioners not only resorted to the general principles as to how the phalanstery should have been, but also pinpointed the differences between promises and the results. Diamant had promised to teach them various subjects but he failed to be present in the phalanstery; instead of social economy they were taught a lesson of food saving; instead of working in a manufacture, they were required to clear bushes and trees of dried branches; and they only received a quarter of the amount of the money they were promised.

By contrast, Diamant, not so often present in the phalanstery, was convinced of the success of his construction. In spite of an internal strong position in the press of the time, on 1834 he wrote a letter to Charles Fourier; alongside enquiries made about the development of the Condé phalanstery and the position of the French Ministry of Public Works, and questioning whether a French phalanstery would be made in the near future, Diamant asked Fourier to visit Wallachia. His invitation was based on his optimistic views on the success of the construction mainly because, as Diamant claimed, he was able to identify owners who were willing to offer land, as well as many people, of various ranks and positions, who were willing to donate money for this cause. The only thing he was not able to do was to incorporate the society as joint stock since he envisaged the presence of the Prince of Wallachia as a first subscriber to the phalanstery. Finally, Diamant disclosed that he needed information on the exact size of the rooms his mentor computed for the building; he required these data to be used by the architects he located in Wallachia. No evidence is available whether Fourier replied to Diamant's letter, nor if Diamant actually resorted to any architect's help since the phalanstery in Scăeni used the building structures located on the estate.

Despite the fragile contribution made by Diamant during the existence of the phalanstery, his press contribution was substantially greater in, and basically made him more of an ideological enthusiast than a person able to put his ideology to practice. His total devotion to the utopian socialism would be manifested in his entire life, even after the phalanstery from Scăeni ceased to exist.

In 1841 he issued a Memorandum to the Principality of Moldavia, in which he committed to provide a solution for gypsy nomadic life, which was "damaging for the country".²⁹ In the absolute rhetoric for the complete

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

²⁹ T. Diamant, "Memorandum, filed with The Administrative Council of Moldova, on May 7th, Iasi, (1841)", *Scieri economice*, p. 115.

improvement of life, similar to the metaphor of a heaven –like realm promised to the phalanstery inhabitant as indicated in the letter cited above, Diamant proposed to incorporate a joint stock association employing “the most advanced methods used in the developed Europe” in agriculture; the result would be “the improvement of the material and spiritual health of the gypsies.”³⁰ He further invoked the envisaged success of this scheme as a factor that would lead to other similar colonies in the future. Finally, Diamant transcribes in his Memorandum line after line Fourier’s prescriptions on incorporating the phalanstery proving once more his devotion to the introduction of the utopian socialist ideology.

As seen so far, the transfer of knowledge from the Western Europe took various shapes and ways, from invitations to apply Western practices to actual applications with varying degrees of success. But an equally important aspect of the intricate relation between Western realities and their import lies in positions which were against such incorporation in the local realities.

The negotiation of the foreign models

Whether successful or not, the transfer of foreign knowledge faced different types of opposition of varying intensity from various personalities of the time. This opposition appeared integrated in public discourse on the need of imports or as autonomous pieces, literary or journalistic, written with the exclusive purpose to criticise the local reality of Western imports. Falling outside the purpose of this chapter, but relevant to the magnitude of the opposition against such transfers, the relevant literature includes a fictional criticism of the imported way of life and their collision with local cultural realities. Such literature, with a declared satirical purpose, criticises the sharp contrast between the strong local features in terms of dress codes, language and actions and their contrast with newly imported western practices. The literary intentions of such texts should not be disregarded; they can still offer an insight into a fragmented society which still lags in terms of incorporating innovation or superficially adopts trends from the West.

A determined position against the transfer of foreign knowledge appears to be the most significant position quite salient and strong at least in part of the discourses. This should not be understood as a blunt and indiscriminate refusal of everything perceived as alien, but more as an invitation to select and adapt to the local realities and, furthermore, to gradually incorporate the transferred

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-118.

non-native forms, after consolidating a base on which such foreign forms will intertwine with the local realities.

Positions against the transfers are hinted at in texts which apparently do not aim at proposing imports of any kind of knowledge from the West, but rather deal with local socio-economic challenges. This is the case for instance with Alexandru G. Golescu (1819-1881), who was an active participant during the Revolution from 1848, and served twice as minister and as prime-minister for a brief period of time after the unification act. In his 1856 text on the abolishment of slave labour practices, while reconsolidating the ideas about the unjustness of slavery, Golescu directly hints at the oppositions against social emancipation displayed by some social strata and dubbed but them as a form of unfertile synchronisation desire: "Let no one believe that such theories are modern ones, ideas borrowed from the West in order to serve justice in cases of injuriousness only imagined in the country. Such ideas are old and so are the countries' misfortunes; such ideas were born on national land when Europe still moaned under the weight of slavery. Let one read the deed on boundmen emancipation, issued by the National Assembly of Wallachia from August 5th, 1746" (Golescu, 1969 [1856]).

Golescu's position, although not directly linked to the transfer of science or knowledge, stands as proof for the existence of an anti-synchronization foothold which might have manifested reactively to every attempt to get rid of old orders. What was implied was that local righteous practices in Wallachia transcended beyond borders and times and, furthermore, that a number of ethical principles were actually local at a time when Western Europe was engulfed in contrary principles. What in today's terms might be seen as a nationalistic approach, could actually be in Golescu's case a compensatory attempt to even the general lag between the West and the East of Europe, at least in terms of moral development.

Totally opposite in terms of visibility, vigour and magnitude of impact is Titu Maiorescu (1840-1917), one of the most, if not the most, prolific personalities of this era. Yet his conservative views, materialized even as political options, shaped an attitude placed at a borderline between accepting and rejecting the transfers from Western Europe. Maiorescu's theory,³¹ *teoria formelor fără fond*³² [form without substance], which extensively shapes his

³¹ T. Maiorescu, "În contra direcției de astăzi în cultura română", *Convorbiri literare*, 2/19 (1868) in Titu Maiorescu, *Critice* (București: Minerva, 1989), pp. 122-130.

³² Quite the opposite, during the interwar period, Eugen Lovinescu advocated the idea of immediate synchronization. For him, the Western ideas must be readily adopted within the

analysis of the press, literature, science or education, can be defined in very general lines as the creation of institutions without having properly trained people results in unprofessionalism. Although Maiorescu acknowledged the benefits of travelling for studies in Western cultures, the outcome of such movement, he considered, is without significant value in as much those who have been abroad are able to capture the essence of various fields of knowledge, and only the forms: “[i]mmersed until the beginning of the 19th century in oriental barbarity, the Romanian society, sometime around 1820, started to wake up from its lethargy, influenced maybe only then by the contagious French revolution spreading to geographical fringes of Europe. Attracted by such light, our youth made that extraordinary migration towards the fountains of science from France and Germany. Unfortunately, only shallowness! [...] [t]hey only understood the effects, but failed to see the causes”³³ (my emphasis).

Following the same pattern of locally contextualizing the transfers, as does the vast majority of the sources informing this chapter, Maiorescu widens the local context to regional representations of the Black Sea region by leaving the Oriental influence and stepping towards the West. More precisely, the West-East dichotomy is translated as a relation of oppositions between a civilization and a lack of civilization. Furthermore, if the East appears to be an amorphous mass of nations which do not require individualization, the West is particularly individualized which may imply that for him, the Westernness is seen as unevenly developed. The choice of countries, even if Maiorescu himself studied Vienna, may actually lead to a greater valorisation of the countries in which most of the scientific advances were applied. But, irrespective of the understanding of Western civilization and the country where the young Romanian travelled for studies, Maiorescu lived under the impression that such travellers failed to understand the essence of transformational undertakings and remained fascinated only by the outcomes of such developments. Once returned, they were eager to implement the Western civilization prematurely and immaturely mainly because they were unable to see the deeper causes and meanings of European transformations. Unable to see, let alone to understand, the cause of transformation specific to the West, the people returning to the Romanian territories were destined, in Maiorescu’s view, to fail. The “fatal shallowness”³⁴ they all displayed resulted in a direct introduction of forms

country and later on the substance to fill the imported forms must be built.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

without any consistent knowledge as to their adaptation – a result of a “total erroneous judgment”³⁵

This analytical framework dismisses all attempts to incorporate the profound Westernness and leads to a complete cancellation of synchronization efforts. The generalization of mediocrity – this was what Maiorescu saw as the prevailing characteristic of a generation where politics, science, education, academia, schools, literature, museums and theatres, were all erected on an utmost lack of inner structure. This is why he also dismissed the newly incorporated institutions as “dead products, void claims, bodiless ghosts, illusions with no truth, and, thus, the higher Romanian class culture as void and worthless.”³⁶ The result of these void constructs is further caused not only by their makers’ mediocrity, but also by the general cultural state of the population which, in Maiorescu’s opinion, was unprepared to accommodate the innovative European institutions.

Finally, in an attempt in which the imitation of the West is synonym to the falsification of it, Maiorescu bluntly concluded that the transfers: “[...] corrupted all forms of modern civilization. Before having a political party [...] we’ve made political journals, [...] before having elementary teachers for villages, we’ve built schools in those villages, and before having capable teachers, we’ve created gymnasiums and universities. [...] Before having the tiniest trace of scientific activity, we’ve created the Romanian Academic Society”³⁷

For him, the falsification equates to a poor translation of such knowledge by importing the frames and leaving aside the contents to fill those frames with. But Maiorescu’s approach should not be understood as a rejection of Westernness, since he was educated as a cultivated individual and a professional in a university of the West. His account advocated the ideas of excellence in the sense that getting in contact with European knowledge is not the same as understanding this knowledge. He did not reject the European knowledge, nor did he reject its transfers to the local culture. He critically positions himself against the ways in which such transfer occurred and against the agents enabling them. Based on his assessment, the cultural reality at home was too far contrasting the Western culture to enable transfers. The poor understanding of Westernness led to the building of some institutions which failed to produce the required levels of performance.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

The spread of science and knowledge and the Romanian territories

As said from the beginning, the purpose of this article is to see if and to what extent the Basalla model on the dissemination of science from a focal Western European centre to the rest of the world is valid for the Romanian territories in the time of their formation as nations, namely around the middle of the 19th century. The non-scientific stage, as defined by Basalla and as previously explained, is mainly shaped by the existence of local knowledge, organised in a system which did not get in contact with the Western science.

In the case of the Romanian Principalities, before the modern era, the connection to Western Europe was not so usual in terms of education since the number of Wallachians or Moldavians travelling to West European countries was quite limited. This lack of direct contact allowed the development of local knowledge with limited if any influence from the West which of course, in Basalla's understanding, did not mean a void of knowledge in the Romanian territories. The local knowledge consisted of various forms incorporated in a science-lore transmitted orally within generations and communities, as traditional craftsmanship. To this end, non-scientific knowledge in the Romanian territories consisted of traditionalised codes of technological knowledge which were based on ethnographic data.

Once the era of travelling for studies began, the local science-lore started to be reshaped as a result of the transfer. As said before, this transfer was not in the form of simple "translations" of alien knowledge, but rather a process of adaptation to the local realities. The strategy of disseminating innovation from the press articles representing the sources of this chapter proved that the incorporation of Westernness was a process requiring a logic anchored on three pillars: local profile, type of knowledge transferred and the envisaged outcomes instead of massive transfers.

Secondly, all the examples cited above prove the integrationist reasoning of such transfers in their adaptation process. Such adaptations would not only lead to getting the most out of the local economies, but further, they would integrate the Romanian territories economy into a Western one. To this end, the transfers were not only seen as tools in order to reduce the lag between the Romanian territories and the Western world, but also were seen as tools to fortify a strong position in a reverse transfer (of raw materials, this time) which rendered the idea that East and West would not exist as clearly distinct geographical and cultural realities, but more as parts of a mechanism of reciprocal enablement.

Thirdly, stemming from a general outlook on the results of transfers and not on the transfers as processes during the stage of colonial science, the naturalisation of Western science and knowledge was perceived as a failure in a

somewhat radical discourse. This radicalism in rejecting the success of Western models stems actually from the very sense of such adaptations. As with Maiorescu's example, the end result of such transfers, which led to the incorporation of the Western institutions, is an example of failure of adaptation due to both a lack of understanding of the contexts generating the Western science and the contexts from the local territories. As his position proved, even from this contesting stance, the key element linking the Romanian Principalities to Western cultures was not the simple transfer, but the translation and adaptations of such models. Pretty similar to all commentators of knowledge and science transfers, the Romanian example is in itself a testimony of the Basalla's superficial understanding of the dissemination stage. For the Romanian territories, the adaptation of foreign models was not a simple process of importing, but a field of negotiations with the local culture.

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Parochial Schools of Religious Minorities as a Tool for Preserving National Identity and Cultural Ties between the Diaspora and the Historical Homeland

Abstract: Church played a primary role in the preservation of ethnic and religious identity in Bessarabia in the 19th century. This article focus on the parochial schools which continued to be the preferred tool among religious minority communities for providing education to their young people.

Keywords: Parish schools, Bessarabia, Protestants, Armenians, Roman-Catholics.

It is known that the vast majority of Russian Empire's population prior to 1861 consisted of peasants, who, with some minor exceptions, were illiterate (could neither read, nor write) and that, as far as 1873, there were no schools, and no mandatory education for them. Since 1828, the existence of Orthodox Parochial schools for boys might be regarded as an exception from the rule. Concerning Bessarabia, i.e. the territory between the Prut and the Dniester, which the Russian Empire annexed in 1812, with regard to the educational system, one can determine that here too, until the early 19th century, the parochial schools played the central role in the educational system and that by 1800 such schools were functioning in cities such as Akkerman, Khotyn, Orhei, Chilia, Soroca, three operated in Chisinau, and also in a number of Bessarabian villages.¹ It is also known that only on February 28th, 1828, an Order of the Committee of Ministers was issued regarding the founding of schools in Bessarabia, according to which the educational system in Bessarabia had to consist of 4-year secondary schools, 2-year county schools and parochial schools, all with one class of pupils. All these schools had to be subordinated to the Chancellery of popular schools from Bessarabia and, at first, were included in the Kharkov

¹ Ș. Purici, *Istoria Basarabiei* (București: Editura Semne, 2011), p. 81.

school district, but, later, in 1830, were transferred under the jurisdiction of the Odessa school district.²

Given that the parochial schools of the dominant religion are not the object of our research, for the sake of providing a broader picture, we will present a series of statistical data, concerning the institutions in which the Orthodox population was included. Thus, as of 1844, there were 326 church schools in Bessarabia, with 5,177 children – whereas, by 1856 this number decreased to 159 schools, with 1,855 pupils.³ The reduction in the number of parochial schools was due to the educational reforms carried out in the Russian Empire and to the appearance of new types of educational institutions. The first Lancaster school was unveiled in Chisinau on February 7th, 1822. As of 1848, there were 12 Lancaster-style schools. Then, in October 1850, the Regional School No. 2 was opened in Chisinau; a different school was opened in Soroca, and in 1860, another one in Orhei. At the same time, a number of vocational schools were established, for example, in 1835, a school for government clerks was opened in the [region's] capital, and, in 1842, a vocational school in the field fruit growing was opened.⁴

Gradually, this way, an extensive network of schools was developed in Bessarabia for those times (we do not intend to discuss the character and the objectives pursued by such forms of education). Thus, by 1850, there were approximately 300 schools of various levels, public and private in the province, where approximately 10,000 pupils were schooled, and, by 1914, 21 lyceums for boys (public-owned and private), 20 lyceums for girls, 16 secondary schools for boys and 2 for girls, as well as 6 mixed schools were operational in Bessarabia. In total, on the eve of the First World War, there were 1,846 schools of various types and grades in Bessarabia, where approximately 114,000 pupils were schooled.⁵ It must be noted that besides the objective of providing education to the young people, the educational system established for the Orthodox majority aimed to Russify the native population.

The religious minorities' parochial schools pursued completely different goals, and, together with the church institution, were, on one hand, the pillars of national identity preservation and, on the other hand, served as a bridge to their own coreligionists in their historical homeland. When referring to the

² *Ibid.*

³ *Evoluția învățământului în gubernia rusă Basarabia după anexarea acesteia în 1812.* <https://cersipamantromanesc.wordpress.com/tag/scoli-parohiale/> (accessed 11.09.2018).

⁴ V. Tomuleț, *Basarabia în Epoca Modernă, Vol. 3* (Chișinău: CEP USM, 2012), pp. 149-173.

⁵ Purice, *Istoria Basarabiei*, p. 84.

Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bessarabia, which was overwhelmingly represented by the German ethnic minority, we cannot but agree with Alexander Klaus' opinion, who, describing the German colonists of Lutheran denomination scattered across the vast Russian Empire in the middle of the 19th century, including Bessarabia, underlined that if a Catholic community was established, the edifice of a church was the first thing built, whereas in the Protestant communities, what set them apart was that they build schools first and foremost, and churches thereafter.⁶

Thus, according to the data collected from the National Archive of the Republic of Moldova, at the middle of the 19th century, there were 13 parochial schools, in all 18 German colonies in Bessarabia. As of 1870, special building for schools existed in the following colonies: Alt-Arztis (Arțiz), Alt-Posttal (Malu-Mic), Benkendorf, Beresina, Borodino, Brienne (Brieni), Eigenheim, Friedenstal, Gnadental, Hoffnungstal (Caradai), Josefsdorf (Plăcinta), Katzbach, Klostitz (Cleaștița), Krasna, Kulm (Culmea), Leipzig (Schinoasa), Lichtental, Neu-Elâ (Fere Champenoise II), Neu-Posttal (Poștal) Paris, Plotzk, Sarata, Schabolat, Seimeny, Sofiental, Tarutino (Ancicrac), Teplitz, Wittembergl, Malojaroslawetz (Malu-Mic). Moreover, by 1871, each of the 28 German colonies had their own parochial school.⁷

Such a favorable attitude towards schooling is not adventitious, but closely related to the tradition of this religion, specifically regarding the preparation for Youth Confirmation. Initially, the main task of German schools revolved around the preparation of boys and girls for the Sacrament of Confirmation, the ritual by which the graduates of primary schools were accepted into the church community. Specifically, for this reason, under the law on church schools of 1839 and Rules for teaching in rural schools and education of children published in 1845 by the president of Committee for assistance, state counselor Eugen von Hahn, schooling had become mandatory for every child aged 7 to 15 from the German colonies. Moreover, young people aged 15-18 were obliged to attend Sunday schools – *Kinderlehre*, as it was customary in certain German territories.⁸

If the issue of buildings for schools had been to a large degree solved by the German colonists, the main problem that persisted was the lack of qualified teaching staff, i.e. teachers. The Lutheran communities addressed this problem

⁶ A. Klaus, "Duhovenstvo i shkoly v nashih nemetskih koloniakh", *Vestnik Evropy*, 1 (1869), p. 133.

⁷ National Archive of the Republic of Moldova (ANRM), Fund. 7, Inv. 1, The Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Chisinau, 1838-1944.

⁸ I. Gulica, "Învățământul primar în coloniile germane din Basarabia sub regimul țarist (a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea începutul secolului XX)", *Studia Universitatis Moldaviae*, 48 (2015), p. 119.

in several ways. First of all, in the early stages, colonists who studied in schools in homeland, be it Württemberg, Ulm or other lands (on many occasions these people were graduates of Küster schools, performing other duties as well, as scribes or sextons, a system that also was present in German territories) were selected to be the teachers. In addition, thanks to rights awarded to them, i.e. the right to select and appoint a teacher (because the provision of teacher's livelihood and pay was also the community's duty) these colonies could recruit people to work as teachers. According to the requirements set forth, a candidate teacher had to pass an examination in front of the Synod assembly and had to demonstrate the following abilities: 1) Ability to read clearly and with a German accent, 2) knowledge regarding the history of Bible and the catechism; and a certain predisposition toward the catechesis, 3) ability to sing in choir and, if possible, play the Organ, 4) to write in German language clearly and correctly, without grave grammatical errors, and 5) to know four arithmetic operations, including division.⁹

The deficit of teachers was solved through invitations them from the colonists' homeland. A series of examples may be brought to illustrate this opinion. The Russian language, introduced in 1844, up until 1850 was taught at Wernerschule (the Werner School) by a certain Mr. K. Schulz, a German national from the Baltic states.¹⁰ Karl Ludwig Baisch and Johann Koch, Wernerschule teachers from 1846 to 1888, originally from Gnadental, had graduated from the pedagogical school for paupers in Lichtenstein, which was known for instilling piety in its students. Their activity refers to the correlation of ideas and persons from the religious and social environments of Bessarabia and Württemberg. Two brothers of the Baisch's second wife, Maria Lutze, one had studied theology and archeology at Dorpat University, and the other was a full member of the Basel missionary society in India.¹¹

Wilhelm Kludt was born in a family of teachers in German territories in modern-day Poland. He was the first teacher employed at Tarutino, teaching in this community for 27 years; before emigrating he passed the exams at Thorn in Prussia. Two years after the establishment of the Tarutino School for girls, in 1908, in the same locality, a secondary school for boys was also opened, which later, after 1918, was transformed into a lyceum. Uno von Beuningen, the school

⁹ I. Gumenăi, *Comunitățile romano-catolice, protestante și lipovenești din Basarabia în secolul al XIX-lea* (Chișinău: Lexon Prim, 2016), p. 168.

¹⁰ U. Schmidt, *Basarabia. Coloniile germane de la Marea Neagră* (Chișinău: Ed. Cartier, 2014), p. 152.

¹¹ Schmidt, *Basarabia*, p. 147.

director, an outstanding graduate from the Dorpat University having 10 years of active work in the Goldingen (Kurland) secondary school, is a prime example of the close cultural and religious ties that existed between Bessarabian and Baltic Germans. Moreover, in 1878 in Tarutino, a private school for girls was opened, in which two female teachers from the Baltic region were working. It must be mentioned that the teaching materials were of mainly German origin. A report from the 1890s affirmed: "With regard to the availability of books, in the majority of schools, the German literature is prevalent: one can find boxes with *The New Russian Alphabet* spelling-book in the German language, Martin Luther's *Catechism*, the *New Testament*, Keller's *Method of Arithmetic*, books by Leicht, Nirits, Jacobs, Trefendt, Kimmel, Rebe, Zilber, Gutenberg, Plininger, V. Saksper, commentaries on religious books, Getsinger's *German Language Grammar*, etc."¹²

Regarding the availability of books, we have a different example as well. Following the recommendation formulated by church pastors to include *The Young Man's Friend* book in the school reading list as of 1875: which was approved by the Protection Committee and the St. Petersburg Consistorial- a number of German communities refused to buy the book and even prohibited its children to read it, even if they could get a copy of the book. The communities (Cleastitz, Berezina) refused to use the book and opted instead for the Spelling Book, the Holy Bible, a Music book and the *Catechism*. Many German colonists considered that the school needed only the Bible, which should remain the cornerstone book both for the present generation, as well as for the future ones.¹³

In the end, a different solution to cover the deficit of teaching staff was found; in 1844, in the Sarata colony, the first pedagogical school in the Russian Empire was founded, which was to prepare teachers for the entire south region of the empire. This academic institution was also known by its cognomen of "Wernerschule" or the "Werner School". The name was conferred as a homage to the propagator of this idea -Christian Friedrich Werner, the wealthy merchant from Württemberg, a friend of the preacher Ignatius Lindl, who, in 1823, before passing away, donated 25,000 silver rubles to the colony- a hefty sum of money to be used for the establishment of a missionary institution for the propagation of the Christian Faith. This school was also intended to serve as a stepping-stone towards further education in Germany.

¹² Gulica, *Învățământul primar*, p. 122.

¹³ V. Chirtoagă, "Învățământul în colonia germană Artiz în sec. XIX - începutul sec. XX", *Tyragetia*, 12 (2003), p. 176.

August Bottinger, the Odessa superintendent, suggested to [Prince] Golitsyn the idea of opening a school for orphans and paupers, and a class for teachers, with a capacity to host 300 orphans, which would be organized based on the Hofwyl School model from Switzerland and run according to the Pestalozzi method. Carl Fridrich Fletnitzer, Bottinger's deputy, took to heart this idea and, under the superintendent's supervision, established in his own house in Odessa a small school. This first experiment ended when Bottinger retired and Fletnitzer was dismissed in 1828. However, Fletnitzer was not ready to give up on the idea and, in 1829, through Baron von Berckheim sent to St. Petersburg a blueprint for a school for teachers, which this time caught the attention of the authorities. In 1830, after returning to Odessa in the capacity of pastor, he began working on creating within Odessa an Evangelical church school, a small "seminary for teachers" after the August Herman Francke's model – the founder of the Halle school for orphans. Both Bottinger and Fletnitzer had studied in Germany; they intended to introduce to the south region of Russia novel pedagogical practices that had already been widely adopted in Germany, Austria and Switzerland.¹⁴

In 1831, Voygel, the Supreme leader and the dean of the community, accepted the St. Petersburg authorities' proposal regarding the opening of a pedagogical school in Sarata, not Odessa, according to the decision. The establishment of this school was made possible after the authenticity of Werner's inheritance will was confirmed, and after the Russian government returned the money in 1842 (the total sum including interest amounted to 107,391 rubles in bank notes, i.e. 38,000 rubles in silver). Due to divergences between the government, the local German authorities and the Committee for Assistance, the school was established on June 25th, 1844, in honor of Emperor Nicolas I, on the basis of the Highly approved Ordinance of 1841 regarding the school that ought to have been opened in Sarata, and where the following subjects were to be taught: arithmetic, algebra, longimetry, planometry, stereometry, calculations using an abacus, the art of cadastre of land, basic notions of construction, drafting of construction projects and bills of costs. In 1868, the Sarata School was renamed by Decree to "Central Russian School", though the school maintained its specific character, and in 1881, the pedagogical seminary was transferred from the Ministry of Imperial Domains jurisdiction to that of the Ministry of Education, i.e. under public control – which allowed for the Russification process to intensify.¹⁵

¹⁴ Schmidt, *Basarabia*, p. 154.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156.

The introduction of special inspections was the first thing that the Odessa deans highlighted when speaking about methodological practices adopted from German lands. This practice was observed in all German school in Bessarabia throughout the Russian period. All school activities were under the control of the church. The pastor had the obligation to carry out school inspections and even examinations. Alongside the pastor, other high-ranking church officials had the right to carry out such inspections, too. These were intended not only to assess pupils' religious education, but also their overall academic performance. This is the reason why these inspections had improved the teaching process. The colonists brought the method from Württemberg, their homeland.¹⁶

Researcher Luminița Fassel argued that in 1906 the construction in Tarutino of a 4-year school for girls was thanks to the colonists' uninterrupted ties with Germany, while the idea of a school for girls in Bessarabia was a consequence of a strong feminist movement in 19th-century Germany. The Article 2 of the Statute of the Tarutino school for girls stated that German was the language of teaching, while Article 3 stated that the graduates had the right to teach in the first and second grades of primary schools.¹⁷ In the end, the fact that German Evangelical-Lutheran communities were not considered in Bessarabia as hostile to the government interests is proved by the fact that in 1886 -not by some mere plebeian will, but by Imperial decree- 2,000 rubles were donated to be distributed as scholarships among pupils from German communities. These were nominal scholarships paid from the fund established by the defunct Emperor Alexander II.¹⁸

As was to be expected, the issue of the teaching and training in Russian language were to be a serious problem. Thus, beginning with 1820, a proposal was drafted regarding the establishing of a school where Russian would be taught; it was required for each colonist to pay 54 kopecks. The proposal was rejected by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which stated that these colonists were already burdened with other duties, arguing that it is enough for them to know how to read, write and to know the God's word. Moreover, the well-to-do colonists who wished to provide a further education for their children could send them to parochial schools or to universities.¹⁹ Despite these measures, the

¹⁶ Gulca, *Învățământul primar*, p. 120.

¹⁷ L. Fassel, *Istoria școlii germane din Basarabia*. www.alil.ro/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/LUMINIȚA-FASSEL.pdf (accessed 1.10.2018).

¹⁸ ANRM, Fund. 7, Inv. 1, Folder 21, pp. 3-3v.

¹⁹ Klaus, *Duhovenstvo i shkoly*, p. 240.

results were not exactly those expected, even though a certain progress had been achieved. According to the 1897 [census] data, in the Russian Empire, approx. 24.5% of the German-speaking population knew Russian language (27.5% of men and 21.6% of women), for all the non-Russian population this percentage was equal to 15.75%. Concerning Bessarabia, we have the following data: as a rule, in German colonies, people who could speak Russian were 20.8% (23.5% men and 18.0% women); respectively in urban areas 45.8% (46.1% and 45.3%), in rural areas 19.9% (22.4% and 17.3%).

Regarding age groups, in the rural population the percentage was as follows: 1-9 years 6.3% (6.7% and 5.9%), 10-19 years 44.5% (44.4% and 44.5%), 20-29 years 26.3% (32.3% and 20.8%), 30-39 years 20.4% (27.5% and 13%), 40-49 years 12.4% (17.6% and 6.9%), 50-59 years 8.7% (11.4% and 6.0%), 60 and older 8.0% (10.4% and 5.8%).²⁰ Moreover, research data demonstrate that, at a certain point in time, discussions were held regarding the use of the Russian language to teach and study the Holy Bible and other God's laws, while the German language would be altogether eliminated from schools.²¹ Probably, because of these reasons and due to the start of the First World War, under the Decision of June 25th, 1915, issued by the Directorate for Education for the Odessa region, beginning with July 1st, 1915, all German parochial schools were closed. As of October 1st, 1915, none was operating.²²

Concerning the Armenian communities in Bessarabia, it is a well-known fact that the relations between the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Russian state were built on the basis of the Regulation issued on March 11th, 1836, according to which the Church was the main instrument of youth enlightenment and education. The Surb Astvacacin Church School was built in 1814. As of 1840, 2 teachers taught 30 children. Thanks to the Minos Despotean initiative, in 1840, the Bessarabian Armenians had submitted a plea to Gevorg III, catholicos of Armenian church, asking for a church school for girls to be opened as well. The same year, this school was established and operated independently up until 1880. In 1870, a public examination for girls was organized; they had to demonstrate in front of a large congregation, their knowledge of the Armenian language. Since the majority of the adult Armenian population were generally speakers of Russian or Turkish, the girls' performance

²⁰ V. Dizendorf, *Status rossiiskih nemtsev – kolonstov i iazykovoï bar'er mezhdû nimi i ih sosediami*. <http://wolgadeutsche.ru/Kolonialstatus.pdf> (accessed 29.09.2018).

²¹ L. Fassel, "O istorie de 126 de ani: germanii din Basarabia", *Patrimoniul*, 3 (1991), p. 20.

²² V. Chirtoagă, "Considerații privind învățământul în localitățile etnicilor germani din Basarabia în sec. XIX- inc. sec. XX", *Revista de etnologie și culturologie*, 2 (2007), p. 194.

of Armenian language was met with great enthusiasm and was an overwhelming success for the school.²³

The Akkerman school was founded long before the adoption of this Regulation, in 1831 by the Archbishop Nerses, known for his zeal in the field of education, and was named the “Mesropean School”, which, according to the statistical data, had in 1839 about 60 pupils, and in 1840 about 40 pupils.²⁴ We found a series of descriptions of activities held in this educational institution in the newspapers from the second half of the 19th century. For example, in 1864, on the Saint Vardanians Day (The Day of Good Deeds and Honoring of National Heroes), a series of manifestations were held at the school: “The event lasted two hours, and the enthusiastic people, full of hopes and joy, after showing their gratitude to the highly respected administrators-tutors and paying respects to the teacher’s efforts, headed toward their homes, with the conviction that these 65 school pupils, in a short while, will be the bearers of hope and education in Akkerman society. In this town, where only Turkish was spoken, nowadays the pupils understand and speak without fear their Armenian language, not only at school, but also at home.”²⁵

A different account from 1870 shows that professor Mrcrtici Ter-Mchrtecan, organized on the church premises in front of the Armenian community the examination of pupils. This event had a lasting impression on those present. Seeing how their children read and spoke in Armenian, people agreed to sign an agreement with the school administration to provide for a total of 6 years’ voluntary donations for the benefit of children from poor families to cover their cost of education. The same day, 230 rubles in donations were collected thanks to the event.²⁶ We can see from these two accounts that these schools actively engaged in the promotion of the Armenian language among the Armenian population. It is important to note that such a situation was common not only to the Armenian community in Akkerman, but also to other Armenian communities throughout Bessarabia, so that by the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the Armenian language was quite frequently used; the rest of Armenians, as was previously mentioned, continued to speak Turkish, Russian or Romanian.²⁷

²³ Armenian National Archive (NAA), Fund. 56, Inv. 15, Folder 60, p. 16.

²⁴ NAA, Fund. 56, Inv. 15, Folder 43, pp. 18, 20v.

²⁵ S. Mirzozian et al., *Rossiiskaia i Novo-nahichevanskaia eparhia Armeanscoi Apostol'skoi cherkvi. Istoricheskii put'* (Moscow: Pervaia obraztsovaia tipografia, 2013), p. 479.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ NAA, Fund. 56, Inv. 1, Folder 9300, pp. 2-4.

The Tsarist government reforms that concerned the Armenian church, in general, and the educational system, in particular, which were enacted between 1884-1905, had caused a reduction of the number of parochial schools, to the extent that, Arutiun Tumanian, at the beginning of the century, noted: “In the year of my arrival in Chisinau, the local parochial school had only seven pupils, boys and girls. When I entered the school to make acquaintance I found out that pupils attending the school for 4-5 years, could not read well neither in Russian, nor Armenian. The girl that went to this school for 5 years knew only: from arithmetic – addition and division; could barely read in Armenian and, from the field of theology, she knew only the Lord’s Prayer”. Referring to the reduction in the number of the Armenian population, the same official mentioned: “From year to year, the number of Armenians in Bessarabia is shrinking, due to various causes, the main being the following: 1) the reduction of number of marriages between ethnic Armenians, and as a result lower birth-rates, 2) marriages between ethnic Armenians with Russians and with other ethnicities – as a consequence, the next generation does not identify themselves as Armenians, 3) the absence of a University in Bessarabia which make the young people to go to other towns to pursue a university degree and a large number of these people never returned”²⁸ Nonetheless, the parochial schools played an important role and after 1918, the recovery and rebirth of the Armenian community was possible in Bessarabia and across all Romanian territory.

Finally, let us talk about the Roman Catholic Church parochial schools. Taking into account the relations and the Tsarist policy towards this religion, the Roman-Catholic parochial schools were opened only at the advent of the 20th century. Despite this, there are a number of data which clearly prove the existing link between the population of ethnic Poles living in the land between rivers Prut and Nistru and their historical homeland. If we refer to the Roman-Catholic colonies, according to available data, in Sarata, a community of German colonists was established in 1822. According to some sources, there were 80 settlers, and according to other sources – 101²⁹ settlers mainly from Württemberg and Bavaria, which was made possible thanks to I. Lindl’s efforts (1774-1846) – a controversial figure, who had turned the things upside down in Sarata, but, also, in the other German colonies across the Russian Empire. In fact, this person appeared on the center stage of this region and that of the Russian Empire due to the Emperor, but also the higher echelons of the Russian

²⁸ NAA, Fund. 200, Inv. 1, Folder 816, pp. 12v-13.

²⁹ V. F. Dizendorf, *Nemtsy Rossii. Naelennye punkty i mesta poseleniia. Entsiklopedicheskii slovari* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo “ERN”, 2006), p. 448.

Empire, who were charmed by mystic cults, which were in vogue and liked at the St. Petersburg imperial court. A number of accounts, backed up by documents, as well as by the evolution and development of events, demonstrate that Alexander I, until the end of his rule, was the principal proponent of mystical movements, to a large degree being influenced by his entourage, but principally, by the Chairman of the State Council and, at the same time, Minister of Education, Prince A. N. Golitzyn (1773-1844).³⁰

Pastor Ignatius Lindl appeared in St. Petersburg on October 18th, 1819; he was a member of the Bible Society, which operated in the South of Germany, and was a friend and a confidant of famous mystics and followers of Quietism,³¹ Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling (1740-1817) and Johan Gosner (1727-1779), proponents of Albert Bengel's ideas. Based on their interpretation of biblical texts, these "prophets" predicted the second coming of Jesus Christ; Jung even came with an exact date when the world would end – 1836, and even pinpointed the exact place where this would happen, somewhere in the south of the Russian Empire.³²

After spending 9 months in an Augsburg jail for spreading apocalyptic and mystical-quietism ideas, Lindl showed up in the northern Russian capital, where he was warmly received by Prince Golitsyn, who set up a meeting with the Emperor Alexander I. Shortly afterwards, he was appointed as the priest of the Maltese church from the capital, and got on friendly terms with highly influential persons from the Russian court nobility, which displeased the high-ranking members of the Orthodox church, for example, Mitropolit Mihail Desnički of Novgorod and St. Petersburg (1761-1821), as well as the Vatican. These signs of discontent had no effect; more so, a reply was sent via Italinski, the representative of the Russian Empire in Vatican, which stated that the Papacy had no authority over the Catholic church affairs in Russia. Nonetheless, after increasing protests, Ignatius Lindl was removed from the capital and appointed in 1819 as the dean of the Catholic church in Odessa and visitor of [German] colonies in Novorussia. From this date onwards, Ignatius began rallying his supporters and in 1821 with the help of Friedrich Werner, organized the arrival

³⁰ S. A. Skarlatovich, "O sud'be russcoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi v tsarstvovanie Aleksandra I napech. Prof. N. I. Barsovm", *Russkaia Starina*, 19 (1876).

³¹ Quietism: 1) An ethical and religious concept, condemned by the Church, which teaches mystical contemplation and denies the importance of rituals. 2) A concept that teaches the attainment of inner peace by a passive with drawn attitude or policy toward the world or worldly affairs.

³² O. Litsenberger, "Katolicheskie korni Bessarabskoi nemetskoj liuteranskoj kolonii Sarata i ee osnovateli I. Lindl", *Analecta Catolica*, 3 (2009), p. 314.

of a large group of settlers. In 1822, the colony was founded, in which beside German settlers of Catholic religion, there were also Lutherans, followers of the pietism³³ movement, who were persecuted in their homeland; Lindl personally approved the candidates for resettlement in Sarata. It is known that on March 10th, 1822, he moved to his new home. From a letter by G. Dalton, we find that 50 carriages with settlers arrived in Sarata on April 1st. By the end of 1822, another 40 families from Bavaria resettled to this new colony.³⁴

The members of the newly founded congregation followed the precepts of their mentor and preacher exactly, especially with regard to their social organization: all works were performed jointly, and the harvest was distributed on an equal basis. The property of colony members was declared common property, the same rule applied to all earthly possessions. The community's social life became more specific and alongside traditional catholic and protestant religious services, piety meetings, i.e. Stunden Andachts began to be held as well. Evidently, such behaviors on the part of Pastor Ignatius Lindl and of Sarata colonists could not be tolerated neither by the Catholic, nor by Protestant communities and, as a result, a number of complaints were submitted to the Committee of Social Assistance for Foreign Settlers in the south of Russia, signed by local pastors and congregation members.³⁵ As a consequence of all these complaints and due to his name being mentioned in a discussion between the Russian Emperor, during his visit to Vienna, and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich, who described Lindl as a dangerous cult leader, a disseminator of dangerous ideas and a rebel, resulted in him being expelled from Russian territories at the end of 1823 or the beginning of 1824.³⁶ Thus, Sarata was left without a spiritual leader until 1826, when the same Committee decided to invite a catholic priest to the colony, Domenico von Sibini, and a protestant pastor, Henric Frederic von Gleisdorf. We do not know why, but in 1828, the colony members rejected the services of the Roman Catholic Church priest, thus becoming a Lutheran-Evangelical community.³⁷

³³ Pietism: An ascetic doctrine within Lutheranism, which promotes rigorous observance of religious practices, piety and extreme mysticism.

³⁴ O. Litsenberger, "Istoricheskii opyt samoorganizatsii religioznoi zhizni rossiiskih nemtsev i ego vostrebovani v sovremenyh usloviakh", *Nemtsy Rossii: istoricheskii opyt i sovremennye problem samoorganizatsii. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchino-prakticheskoi konferentsii. Moskva 29-30 okteabrea 2007* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "IVDK-Medien", 2008), p. 97.

³⁵ Gumenâi, *Comunitățile*, p. 177.

³⁶ Litsenberger, *Katoliceskie korni*, p. 320.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

If we are to refer to the Polish Catholic community, after the 1830 rebellion, according to police data, there were rumors that France had plans to attack Russia from inland and Great Britain from the sea with the objective of reestablishing the Polish Kingdom. The army, which participated in these events, had 60,000 Polish nationals among its ranks. Expecting the invasion, it was rumored that all the artillery from Ismail and Bender was withdrawn, and that the Podolia and Volhynia Poles, helped by the Jews, had prepared 50,000 buckets of poisoned vodka for the Russian troops.³⁸ The impact was also after the Polish uprising of 1863. In October, the General Governor of Novorussia and Bessarabia informed authorities from Chisinau that he had information, according to which agents of the “Polish jantei” were sent to Bessarabia in order to collect 10% of the income or salaries of Poles living in this territory. As always, the insurgents stopped at the Catholic Church priest Țvigli in Chisinau or at doctor Pavlovich residence.³⁹ The Roman Catholic priest from Khotyn, Ioan Lozinski, in the Roman Catholic church from the locality performed an in memoriam service for the Poles, who perished in the 1863 uprising. Consequently, he was exiled to Siberia where he stayed until his death.⁴⁰

It is evident that various ethnic and religious communities used not only parochial schools, but public schools, too. According to 1869 statistical data regarding the pupils attending the Lyceum for girls from Chisinau, there were: Russian: 85, Moldovan (Romanian): 26, Polish: 18, Jews: 18, Greek: 15, Bulgarian: 10, and Armenian: 3. The situation was identical in the Lyceums for boys. This state of affairs persisted until the end of the 19th century.⁴¹ In this respect, in the Gubernial Lyceum from Chisinau in between 1878-1879 school year, there were in total 420 pupils, of which: Russians: 208, Jews: 103, Moldovan (Romanian): 31, Poles: 31, Greek: 15, Bulgarian: 14, Italian: 2, Armenian: 9, Georgian: 2, other ethnic background: 5 students.⁴²

As we can see, the parochial schools of religious minorities continued to hold a principal place in the educational system of various religious and ethnical denominations in Bessarabia. In conclusion, it may be stated that in contrast to parochial schools of the Orthodox majority, the ethnic and religious minority

³⁸ N. Saganova, “Kishinevskii rimsko-katolicheski prihod “Bozhestvennogo provedenia” v pervoi polovine XIX veka”, *Analecta Catholica*, 1 (2005), p. 128.

³⁹ ANRM, Fund. 2, Inv. 1, Folder 7641, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁰ ANRM, Fund. 2, Inv. 1, Folder 7640, pp. 1-4.

⁴¹ I. Gulica and I. Gumenai (eds.), “Imaginea elevului basarabean în instituțiile de învățământ secundar rusești (Mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea – începutul secolului XX)” in *Centenarul Sfatului Țării* (Chișinău: Lexicon Prim, 2017), p. 235.

⁴² ANRM, Fund. 1862, Inv. 25, Folder 327, p. 8.

parochial schools pursued other goals, first of all that of providing an education for the young generation, but also serving as a way to preserve national identity and maintain ties with their coreligionists in their historical homeland. The parochial schools of the Lutheran-Evangelical community serve as a clear example of this, which, not only invited teachers from other German colonies, but also continued to teach pupils according to German textbooks, teaching methods and methodologies adopted in the German lands or made use of certain educational system conventions also of German origin.

The “Werner School” was founded in 1844 – the first pedagogical school in the Russian Empire; according to the Russian authorities, this school had to provide teachers who would contribute to the propagation of the Russian language in the German colonies; however, the parochial schools continued to teach in German, with teachers coming from Germany or the Baltic region. Thanks to these parochial schools, the Russian authorities did not succeed in their russification efforts, and, by the end of the 19th century, the percentage of German colonists who could speak Russian was quite low.

Referring to the parochial schools of the Armenian Apostolic church, we can also conclude that these schools had as their main goal to revitalize the national identity among the Armenian communities. The teaching staff was the main factor ensuring the link between the Armenians from Bessarabia and the Echmiadzin – the spiritual center of all Armenians. Regarding the Roman Catholic communities from Bessarabia, even though the available information is quite sketchy, we can affirm that there were links between either German or Polish communities with their historical homeland. In the end, even though a number of educational institutions were founded in the second half of the 19th century, the parochial schools continued to be the preferred tool among religious minority communities for providing education to their young people.

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The Role of Murad Rafaelian College (1834-1998) in the Development of Armenian Studies and Institution Building

Abstract: The Murad Rafaelian College is one of the educational establishments founded by the Mekhitarist Congregation. Since the preservation of the Armenian language was one of its concerns, the Mekhitarist Congregation 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. The aim of this paper is to examine the significance of the Mekhitarists’ educational activities on the example of the Murad Rafaelian College in the process of knowledge exchange and institution building under foreign domination, combining the case study and the descriptive research methods. By examining the available literature and other materials, we will also try to outline the formation of the new Armenian school in the 19th century.

Keywords: Murad Rafaelian College, Armenia, education.

When speaking about the history of development of Western Armenian school traditions and pedagogical thought, it is impossible to avoid mentioning the educational activities of the Mekhitarist Congregation of Venice, since throughout 300 years of their existence, they were constantly involved in different pedagogical enterprises. The Congregation had established schools not only in Venice, Paris, Vienna, but also in Constantinople and in a number of neighboring cities. These colleges, schools and gymnasiums had tight connections, leading to the development of institutions and contributing to the improvement of the Armenian educational system in general. Other than that, Mekhitarists were quite active in printing activities, too; they published numerous books and textbooks on historiography, Armenian studies, theoretical and practical works of pedagogical nature.

The school has a unique place in the history of the Armenian people. Many Armenian researchers have paid special attention to the history of education,

and have been working to lighten up the process of its development. Professor Sant'rosyan's and professor Nazikyan's monographs make a remarkable contribution to the history of the Armenian school's new age. Another historian, Arshak Alpōyatchean, has also long been involved in the history of the Armenian institution building and created a large-scale work entitled *The History of the "Armenian School"*, the first volume of which was published in Cairo in 1946, and the second volume that includes the new period of the history of the Armenian school's formation is unpublished.¹

The formation of new Armenian school traditions in the 19th century under foreign domination

The creation of the Western Armenian secular school began in 1790, when the first school was founded on the initiative of Mkrtych Miritchanyan (1742-1800), near the main cathedral of Constantinople.² Miritchanyan received high education in Italy and was fluent in Italian. After returning to Constantinople, he acquired the imperial privilege to open a local school in Constantinople. Miritchanyan also set up a printing house in order to publish reading books and school textbooks.

In the 19th century, the Armenian school stood up for the demand of qualitative change. At that period, the eastern and western parts of the Armenian people were gradually pulled into general bourgeois processes and spreading national unity. Issues of compliance of the new generation's education with the requirements of time have become of paramount importance. Interested social forces have expanded the struggle for the popularization and secularization of the school in the name of the introduction of new, advanced pedagogical methods and the development of a unified educational system. The Armenian school lacked state support, therefore it had many difficulties to develop both in Russia and in the Ottoman Empire. Only after long decades of struggle and ordeals, in the late 1860s, did the Armenians manage to create statute for their schools.

Until 1870 with the help of the most influential figures of the Armenian society and people, prerequisites were finally created to lift up the education to a new level. In other words, this period, especially the 1850s, was a time of preparation for the ideological foundations and organization of the Eastern

¹ It is located at the Matenadaran.

² G. Nazikyan, *Arevmtahay mankavarzhakan mitk'n u dprotsë (19-rd dari skzbits minchev 19-rd dari 50-60 tvakannerë)* (Yerevan, 1969), p. 45.

Armenian and Western Armenian schools. Pupils were learning mechanically by memorizing, there was no statute, and bodily punishment was considered to be an inseparable part of the learning process. The scope of knowledge was extremely limited. Private, individual trainings were much more common; they were organized by priests and teachers who were not subjected to any supervision; thus, the content of the information that the students received was dependent only on the teacher's conscience and ability.

The new school began its struggle against medieval scholastic and irregular education. At first, the struggle started in those Armenian communities where the development pathways and intellectuals were concentrated the most, where prominent ideas were spread and the demand for educated people in business and industry was felt earlier.

Being deprived of statehood and being under foreign domination, the two major parts of the Armenian nation had to leave the formal organization and administration of the education to church; the Armenian church was the only publicly recognized representative of the people in the Ottoman Empire. The Church, which was traditionally endowed with some autonomy, sought to keep the people's education process under its influence, in many cases hindering the spread of new ideologies. However, on the other hand, being subject to increasing pressure of secular elements and the nation itself, and not willing to lose its influence, it had to adhere to the principles of the new school. The newly formed school was developing without any state assistance, and the burden of its protection was on the people. Together with all this, the Armenian school still had to fight an unequal fight against state and foreign interference; it had to struggle to maintain the national identity and to improve and develop on its own. These circumstances created complex and controversial conditions for the existence and development of the Armenian school.

The formation of the Armenian school of the new time began when the progressive forces in the society were still scarce. That is why, at first, the new schools were concentrated mainly in cities and were developing with great difficulty. However, in the 1830s, relying on these few schools and getting higher education in institutions in Tartu, Moscow, Venice and Paris, Armenian progressive youth managed to find a way towards the enlightenment movement. Already in the mid-19th century the social struggle for the new school was widely spread among the Western Armenians and greatly contributed to instilling love and trust towards education among people.

In the new era, social and political life in two parts of the Armenian people was very different, which left its mark on the institution building as well. That is why the formation of the educational system among Eastern Armenians and

Western Armenians has had different stages and features. Thanks to the fact that Western Armenian educational movement centers have been communicating with Europe more closely, the process of overcoming the old school standards began earlier and grew rapidly here, meanwhile this process took longer with the Eastern Armenians and started after joining Russia. In addition, the Western Armenian school developed under French influence and basically did not have anything to take from the school of the Ottomans; and Eastern Armenians, for example, were influenced by the Russian school system and through it – by German school system.³

The Muradian and Rafaelian Colleges

The study and evaluation of educational and pedagogical activities of the Mekhitarist Congregation and their impact on the development of Armenian studies in the perspective of institution building and research under foreign domination is important in a few aspects. First of all, the Mekhitarist Congregation holds a special place in the struggle between the regressive and progressive courses in social-political life of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. The purpose and the nature of the educational activity of this congregation cannot be identified with the pedagogical activity of the Armenian Apostolic church, despite the fact that these two, in essence, aspired to anchor the young generation on the basis of religion. However, the Mekhitarists had broader possibilities to provide quality education in terms of the environment, financial means and ideological grounds. Thus, Mekhitarist colleges in Europe became high educational institutions also for Armenians in Constantinople, as far as the majority of the students of colleges were from the Ottoman Empire. Many graduates of Mekhitarist educational establishments were well-known specialists in different spheres like education, science, culture, politics, etc.

As for the Muradian and Rafaelian Colleges, for quite a long period they were among the most prestigious educational institutions in the area of Armenian studies. The Muradian College was founded by the legacy of the Eudocian (Tokat) wealthy entrepreneur Samvel Muradian, who bequeathed his means to the Mekhitarist congregation so that they open a college where especially children of unsecured families could receive education; the Rafaelian College was open according to the will of Indian-Armenian entrepreneur Rafael Ghahramanyan. In the early 1870s, both schools were merged into one, which

³ V. Yerkeyan, "The Armenian school in 1800-1870", *Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri*, 4 (1971), p. 48.

received the name “Murad-Rafaelian” college. Due to the high level of education, the Italian government awarded the gymnasium the status of a public secondary school. During the Second World War, the gymnasium closed and reopened in 1950. Since 1997, due to financial difficulties and reduction in the number of students, the gymnasium has been closed.

After Muradian’s death (1816) his sons addressed to the Mekhitarist Congregation of Venice to make his will come true and to establish a school named after Samuel Muradian (although they changed their mind right away and were even trying to deprive the Mekhitarists of their father’s money by suing them, but that’s a different story). Thus, the Mekhitarists founded the Muradian College in Padua, Italy, in 1832; but in 1846, the Congregation came up with the decision to move the school to Paris because the Vatican and the Austrian government were trying to interfere with the internal affairs of the college.⁴ The government sought to comply with its country’s school rules and programs, and the Mekhitarists were against it, because their main intention was to preserve the Armenian studies orientation at the college. So, the college was moved and reopened in the suburbs of Saint-Germain in Paris; Armenians from Constantinople, Smyrna, Bursa, Tabriz, Alexandria and other places were welcome at the college.

The college had a well-defined program and structure. Young people who graduated from pre-school and the pupils of St. Lazarus school were admitted at the college. The duration of the study was 6 years, with two secondary school classes and three higher education classes. It was a boarding school where about 120 students were attending, of which 45 were not charged an educational fee. After graduation, students were eligible to study at different universities of Europe without entrance exams. The main subjects taught in the college were Armenian (primarily classical Armenian, then also modern Armenian), French, Italian, Greek, church history, geography, history of Christianity and so on. In the last two years, students had the opportunity to study law, natural sciences and mathematics.

It should be mentioned that these secular subjects were not always included in the program of the college. The Congregation was taking into account the social and political situation in the post-revolutionary period of the Bourgeois Revolution in France. They were understanding that it was no longer possible to adhere to the dogmatic methods of medieval scholastic education and teaching. So, the college was keeping in focus the movements in the

⁴ G. Nazikyan, *Arevmtahay mankavarzhakan mitk'n u dprotsë (19-rd dari skzbits minchev 19-rd dari 50-60 tvakannerë)* (Yerevan, 1969), p. 102.

European schools and universities meant to radically change the content of their programs and textbooks. All these events were influencing the college, leading it to change its way of acting, as new achievements in science, trade and industry had to be taken into consideration.

In course of time, Mekhitarists even implemented some works of the authors of the enlightenment movement in the educational program of the college. They published in *Bazmavep*, which was - and still is - their official magazine, some works of Comte de Buffon, Carl von Linné, Georges Cuvier and other scholars. Of course, their writings were carefully selected and included in textbooks, too. *Bazmavep* also contained articles on the education and upbringing, some information on the student life of the college, various lectures of professors, moral conversations, fables, and aphorisms; another interesting point is that contributions were written not in classical, but in modern Armenian language, that was more comprehensible for the readers, among which were the students of Muradian College.⁵

As mentioned above, the college had an old tradition of teaching the Armenian language, literature and history of the Armenian people, and that is why many famous Armenologists, poets, teachers, specialists in various fields of human sciences graduated especially from this college. In this perspective, it is worth to mention especially Ghevond Alishan (1820-1901), who received his preliminary education at the local Chalkhian School and then continued the education at Mkhitarjans' school in Venice. Later he worked at Rafaelian College as a teacher (1841-1850 and 1866-1872), and then as an intendant (since 1848). He also worked at *Bazmavep* magazine as editor (1849-1851), and in 1859-1861 he worked as intendant at Muradian College in Paris. By 1886, Alishan was a laureate of Honorary Legion of French Academy. Alishan was a doctor and honorary member of the Ena Philosophy Academy; he was also member of Italian and Russian scientific unions.

Alishan came to the literary arena as a poet. Continuing the literary traditions of the Mekhitarists, he wrote over religious topics in Grabar (old Armenian written language). In 1847-1860, Alishan published series of verses and poems in *Bazmavep* under pseudonym "Nahapet". These works represent the highest point of his poetry.⁶ Alishan tried his skills in aesthetic prose as well. He published the historical aesthetic composition *Yushikk' hayrenyats hayots*. Mastering many European and Asian languages, Alishan also made numerous translations. He jumped over classicism with his best compositions and paved a

⁵ *Bazmavep*, (1858), p. 109.

⁶ *Bazmavep*, (1858), p. 99.

path for Romanticism becoming one of the founders of that genre in Armenian literature. Alishan published his scientific articles in *Bazmavep* magazine since 1843. He placed a topography of historical Armenia's provinces and regions in a work called *Teghagir Hayots Mets'ats* (1855) and gave their corresponding scientific geographical characteristics.⁷

After graduating, some of the former students were sent to Constantinople, Smyrna and other parts of the Ottoman Empire, where they entered local educational institutions as teachers. While working in the villages, they were expanding high linguistic culture, transmitting their knowledge to the Armenian institutions in the Ottoman Empire. They were also distributing books published by the Mekhitarists, contributing to the development of the Armenian society. Certainly, along with knowledge on various secular subjects, some of the books were of religious character. The scholars had to propagandize Catholicism; the Pope viewed the Mekhitarist Congregation and especially their educational centres as a tool that would or at least could carry out the apostasy of the Armenians.

It is noteworthy that former college students who returned to Constantinople after receiving their education, and many of whom had become quite prominent figures, formed a habit to gather and celebrate the anniversary of the Muradian and Rafaelian annual fete. In 1860, it was decided to celebrate the date between January 1st and 19th, and more than 70 ex-students attended the event. Interestingly, the author describing the event underlined that the president of the company drank the first toast in honour of Abdülmecid I, the 31st Sultan of the Ottoman Empire whose biggest achievement was the announcement and application of the *Tanzimat* reforms which were prepared by his father and effectively started the modernization of the Ottoman Empire in 1839.⁸

The Catholic church wanted to keep watch over the activity and the ideological direction of the Mekhitarist colleges, but the fact that the Muradian College was in Paris made it difficult to achieve that intention. Thus, under the strong pressure of the Pope, the council of the Mekhitarist Congregation decided to move the college from Paris to Italy. In order to carry out that procedure, newly appointed Abbot Hyurmyuzyan and some of his assistants left for Paris, where some sharp debates took place around the internal structure

⁷ S. Tchemtchemean, *Hayr Ghewond Alishan, tesuch P'arizi Muratean varzharani (1858-1861)* (Venice: St. Lazarus, 1980), p. 78.

⁸ S. Tchemtchemean, *Hayr Ghewond Alishan, tesuch P'arizi Muratean varzharani (1858-1861)* (Venice: St. Lazarus, 1980), pp. 45-47.

and the management of the college, also on the origin and number of the students, and even on the will of the college's benefactor.

The goal of Hyurmyuzian to move the college closer to Rome was clear both for the Armenians living in Constantinople and in Paris, as well as for the teachers and students of the college, and they certainly did not want the college to be moved to Italy. It is interesting to mention that the school supervisor Sargis T'ëodorean and many teachers opposed the abbot, who was claiming that Paris was more expensive than Rome, and most importantly, that Paris could harm the religious nature and the ideological basis of the college. I will not get into all the details of this conflict; I will only mention that many students boycotted the abbot's decisions and defended their teachers. They announced that while being admitted to the college, they had no intention to become clergy men, they liked the secular education that they were receiving and were satisfied with their curriculum. So, at that time, the college was not moved to Italy.⁹

However, the management of the college changed. T'ëodorean was released from work, and Ghevond Alishan came to replace him as a college inspector. Prior to moving to Muradian College, Alishan had studied at Rafaelian College, which was more pleasing to the papal authorities. Accordingly, when Alishan arrived, some changes took place at the Muradian College. In 1858, the college had about 40 pupils; almost all were from Constantinople, most of them were studying for free, and the other part were getting half pension. Due to the sad political conditions, the school's economic and financial situation was rather heavy: 4,000 francs were sent from Venice every month, but it was not enough to care for the needs of everyone in the college. According to Alishan, the students of Rafaelian College that were educated under the influence of Alishan himself and Father Abraham Tcharean, had become more disciplined and honest throughout the ages, while the students of the Muradian College, subjected to the historical sad past, did not receive the required upbringing. This was Alishan's first impression of the college, which he wrote about to Rafaelian's inspector, saying that the children were good, but they did not receive a proper education – and if they had a chance to see the Rafaelian College, they would probably run away from the Muradian College.¹⁰

These allegations can be considered subjective: studying T'ëodorean's work, we can see that the Pope wanted to take the college under his direct control,

⁹ S. T'ëodorean, *Patmut'iwn Murateanew Hajkazean varzharanats ev Mkhitar'ean abbayitsi Sargis vardapetê T'ëodorean* (Paris, 1866), p. 143.

¹⁰ S. Tchemtchemean, *Hayr Ghevond Alishan, tesuch P'arizi Muratean varzharani (1858-1861)* (Venice: St. Lazarus, 1980), p. 31.

believing that being far away in Paris, and influenced by the enlightenment movement of the time, the Muradian College has left much to be drawn from the approach of educating the pupils with the Catholic spirit.¹¹ On the other hand, we see a pretty interesting incident in the memories of Alishan. In a letter to Father Tcharean, he mentioned that the teachers of English and French languages, who lived in college and constantly communicated with students, acquired some additional rights and requirements, even imposing their will on the administration. After analyzing the situation, Alishan decided to dismiss the teachers, writing in his letter that he was in a difficult situation, because most children were very attached to them. Nevertheless, he dismissed the teachers in order to communicate with the pupils himself.¹²

Alishan paid special attention to the pupils' private lessons, especially to music that could be of great help for the children to succeed in future. Journeys to the villages were also part of the curriculum; this was a good opportunity for the students to get acquainted with the French historical and cultural heritage. For instance, in 1858, Alishan and his students left for one month for villages in Versailles, where they relaxed, and visited the Museum of the History of France, as well as other cultural sights.

We can definitely say that the Muradian and the Rafaelian Colleges have contributed to the formation of an institutional system in the Armenian environment, and especially within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Most of the students entering the college were coming from the Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire; after graduating from the colleges, many of them returned to their homeland and became constantly involved in educational and scientific activities. To mention some of them:

Srapion Hekimyan¹³ (1832-1892): Armenian playwright, theatrical and cultural figure. He studied at the Mekhitarist Elementary School, and then at the Murad-Rafaelian College in Venice; he mastered a number of European languages. Among the works of Hekimyan are the dramas *Artashes and Satenik* (1848), *Harmak and Ashkhen* (1850). In 1856, Hekimyan founded the first professional theater of the Armenians of Constantinople, which performed in Armenian, Turkish and Italian. Hekimyan wrote the historical tragedy *Mamvel*

¹¹ S. T'ëodorean, *Patmut'iwn Muratean ew Hajkazean varzharanats ev Mkhit'arean abbayits i Sargis vardapetë T'ëodorean* (Paris, 1866), p. 645.

¹² S. Tchemtchemean, *Hayr Ghewond Alishan, tesuch P'arizi Muratean varzharani (1858-1861)* (Venice: St. Lazarus, 1980), p. 32.

¹³ *Bazmavëp*, (1847), p. 125.

for this theater, which has been featured on Western and Eastern Armenian stages for many years.

Karapet Garagashian¹⁴ (1840-1902): Armenian publicist, born in Constantinople, where he received his primary education. He continued his studies in Paris. In 1885, he returned to Constantinople to serve in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He worked for many newspapers. Edited the newspaper *Gazette économique et financière* in French. He translated from French fiction literature, which he published in separate books such as *K'ani m t'argmanut'yunk' i gaghghiakane* (1878), *Tsaghkak'agh otar azgi kert'oghats* (1870-1880, 2 volumes), etc.

Mkrtich Peshiktashlyan¹⁵ (1828-1868): Western Armenian poet and playwright. He studied at the Muradian College in Padua, Italy in 1839-1845. After returning to Constantinople, Peshiktashlyan carried out a broad pedagogical and public activity. He was teaching Armenian and French language and literature at the School of Translators and Hripsimsyants. He played a great role in teaching Armenian to foreign-speaking Armenian children. He was one of the founders of Armenian new poetry and Western Armenian theater.

Mikayel Chamchian¹⁶ (1738-1823): The noted historian, linguist, grammarian and theologian was born in Constantinople. He joined the Mekhitarists of Venice in 1757 and was ordained a priest in 1762. He served as supervisor of the Mekhitarist schools in Venice and Transylvania, and in 1795 moved to Constantinople, where he organized a Mekhitarist school and taught Armenian language and grammar. He was also unofficially involved in unity talks between the Armenian Apostolic and Armenian Catholic communities, which did not succeed. He remained in Constantinople until his death, at the age of 85.

Arpiar Arpiarian¹⁷ (1851-1908): Armenian writer, publicist, literary critic, public and political figure. At the age of 15, he was sent to Venice, where he attended the Murad-Rafaelian College of the Mekhitarist Congregation. He studied Armenian language and history with the famous Mekhitarist poet and scholar Ghevond Alishan, and also became familiar with French and Italian literature. After his graduation, he returned to Constantinople and started

¹⁴ G. Step'anyan, *Kensagrakanbararan*, Vol. 1 (Yerevan, 1973), p. 235.

¹⁵ V. Safaryan, *Mkrtich Peshiktashlyan: Life and work* (Yerevan, 1972).

¹⁶ R. Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

¹⁷ A. J. Hacikyan, G. Basmadjian and E. S. Franchuk, *The Heritage of Armenian Literature: From the Eighteenth Century to Modern Times* (Wayne State: University Press, 2005).

contributing to the newspapers *Masis* (in Constantinople) and *Mshak* (in Tbilisi). He wrote articles flavoured with satire about various aspects of Armenian life in Constantinople. Later, he launched a daily called “Arevelk” with the aim of promoting closer links between Western and Eastern Armenians. Politics attracted Arpiarian since early 1880s, and in 1889 he joined the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party. He travelled to Paris and then to Venice in 1901-1902. In the Italian city, he wrote his most successful and popular work, the novella *The Crimson Offering* (Karmir zhamuts), where he depicted the opposition between the revolutionary youth of the provinces and the conservative stance of the Armenians of Constantinople.

The list of the Muradian and Rafaelian ex-students who contributed to the establishment and development of the education system in the Armenian communities of the Ottoman Empire is quite long, thus we will stop here.

Conclusion

Taking into account national needs for institution building, Mekhitarists, although modest in terms of resources, started a long-lasting process of creation of links between national systems and research institutes under foreign domination. The colleges played an important role in institutional development, including the organization of education and research. Thus, if we theoretically consider knowledge exchange as mutual learning through the process of planning, producing, disseminating, and applying existing or new research in different spheres, including education, the “Murad-Rafaelian College” -one of the educational and scientific centres of the Congregation of Venice- can be a nice example of knowledge exchange under foreign domination, as it was following the traditions of Mekhitarist Armenians, namely to preserve Armenian language and culture in foreign countries, and to develop Armenology.

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The Contribution of Azerbaijani Enlighteners to Oriental Studies in the 19th century (Turkology, Sufism, and Safavid Studies)

Abstract: The present article discusses the principal academic studies, which were made in Oriental Studies in early 1800s as a result of the European intervention in Eastern countries. The major objectives of this research are to highlight the fact of withdrawal of ancient manuscripts from the Eastern countries that formed the richest collections in the main book depositories in Europe and to demonstrate integration of the Azerbaijani enlighteners into the European educational system. At the same time the European science also benefited from native speakers of Oriental languages, Sufi culture and Islamic traditions. For instance, Abbasgulu Bakikhanov was the author of many significant books on history, literature and geography of the East and the West and some of them were translated into European languages. Mirza-Jafar Topchubashev and Mirza Kazem-beg were amongst honorary members of the British Royal Asiatic Society in London and in Paris. The article makes conclusions on the role of the selected works of Azerbaijani enlighteners in Turkology – especially *The Grammar of the Turkish-Tatar language* (1839); the publication of the book *Muridism and Shamil* by Mirza Kazem-beg during Russian the conquest of the North Caucasus and its significance in the development of scientific Sufism; as well as the significance of the scientific book *Gulistan-i Iram* by A. A. Bakikhanov as one of the earliest achievements in academic historiography and its role in development of another field of Oriental Studies – Safavid Studies.

Keywords: Muridism, Mirza Kazem-beg, Safavid state, “Gulistan-i Iram”, historiography, Azerbaijan.

The international political situation in the early 19th century

The beginning of the 19th century is marked with a series of crucial historical events which had an overwhelming impact on the political life of the countries in the entire Near and Middle East and the Black Sea region. The reasons for this chain reaction were: 1) an increased willingness of the entrepreneurial countries (due to scientific and industrial progress) to expand their influence on

the Black Sea region, and 2) the internal crisis of the once powerful Ottoman Empire, which was at the time torn into pieces by centrifugal processes raging in the territories of the Black Sea region. The culmination that predetermined the situation in the Ottoman Empire was the Greek rebellion of 1821, while the prospect of disintegration of such a huge empire increasingly attracted the attention of influential European monarchies, including Russia. In its turn, the unresolved Greek issue led to the new Tripartite Agreement between Russia, Great Britain and France on “pacification of Greece” signed in London on July 6th, 1827. In fact, these three countries, each being dependent on the geographical context, actively influenced future developments in the countries of the Black Sea region.

The situation around Azerbaijan in the early 1820s was also complicated. Despite the Gulistan Peace Treaty concluded between the Qajar Iran and the Russian Empire in 1813, the Russian-Iranian relations remained tense; the ambiguous interpretation of the Treaty by the parties provoked problems. In fact, in early 1820, the conditions for a new war were emerging. Diplomatic letters from members of the Habsburgs dynasty are vivid examples of this. For instance, one piece (dated 1820 [4676]) of the correspondence between European diplomats reads: “Iranian air is breezing in Russia’s head”¹

In 1826, Russian-Iranian tensions reached their climax followed by the eruption of the second war which ended with the conclusion of the Turkmenchay Treaty. Thus, the 19th century played a crucial role in the history of Azerbaijan. Until then, Azerbaijan historically used to be a single ethno-cultural and geopolitical region. As a result of the growing animosity in Russian-Iranian relations and two Russian-Iranian wars (1804-1813 and 1826-1828), the territory of Azerbaijan was divided. After this split, the notions “Northern Azerbaijan” and “Southern Azerbaijan” emerged.

Oriental Studies in Azerbaijan in the 19th century

However, historical events, as a rule, cannot be treated unilaterally. Along with obtaining new territorial gains after the collapse of the great empires, the imperialist powers were increasingly interested in the history, science and culture of those territories. The purpose of this study is to demonstrate this following on the example of Azerbaijani enlighteners. Despite the dramatic situation, the location of Azerbaijan in the sphere of influence of Russia

¹ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. In Abt. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv. AT-OeStA/HHStA HS R 113. Persien II /1810-1866/ (Folder 2).

generally had some positive implications on science, philosophy, arts and culture. Azerbaijani enlighteners like Abbas-Qulu Agha Bakikhanov (1794-1847), Mirza Jafar Topchubashev (1790-1869), Mirza Kazem-beg (1802-1870), Mirza Fatali Akhundov (1812-1878) and many others, became honorary members of higher academic institutions in Russia, Great Britain and France, and bridged the European scientific thought with studies and research conducted in North-Caucasus, Georgia, Moldova, etc.

Oriental Studies as a separate academic discipline emerge in the 19th century.² The term “Oriental Studies” is European, which certainly could have occurred only in the “West” which opposed itself to the “Orient”. “West” meant Europe, of course. As the specific branch of knowledge, Orientalism emerged in the early 16th-17th centuries, mainly in the colonialist countries (first of all, the Netherlands, Great Britain and France). It would be better to call that phenomenon *Orientalism* of the time.³ One of the consequences of the European intervention in the Eastern countries on the edge of the 18th-19th centuries was the withdrawal of ancient manuscripts from those countries. The largest collections of ancient manuscripts were taken to the main book depositories in Europe and particularly in the cities of Leiden, London, Paris, St. Petersburg, etc.

Today there is such a wide range of subjects in the Oriental Studies that they became a matter of discussions in certain scientific circles. Some countries even use different terminology. For example, in Russian the word “east” may mean both geographical East and cultural Orient.⁴ As we can see, Oriental Studies in Europe have long history. However, knowledge was mostly insufficient and incomplete and required better comprehension, while ancient manuscripts needed more professional translation. For instance, in the 18th century *Derbend-Nameh*, the manuscript about artefacts of the ancient city of Derbend (Al-Bab) in Dagestan, became increasingly popular among scholars. *Derbend-Nameh* was introduced to the scientific community by Moldovan and Russian Duke Dmitry Kantemir, who translated it into Latin. In 1829, Azerbaijani historian and enlightener Abbas-Gulu Agha Bakikhanov (1794-1847) -under the pen-name “Gudsi” which means “saint, noble”- translated *Derbend-Nameh* into Russian. He used the manuscript kept in the Russian

² The first Oriental Studies fields: linguistics and country studies.

³ D. Gutmeyr, “Borderlands Orientalism or How the Savage Lost his Nobility (The Russian Perception of the Caucasus between 1817 and 1878)” in *Studies of South East Europe*, ed. Karl Kaser, Vol. 19 (Vienna, 2017), p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*

National Library⁵ and compared it with the later manuscripts written in Azerbaijani and Persian. In 1829, a French version was published by Julius Klaproth. However, those translations left many questions and needed significant clarifications and further explanations until another brilliant Azerbaijani enlightener, Mirza Kazem-beg, made another publication in 1851.

This publication was dedicated to Tsar Alexander III (1845-1894). In his address to the Emperor, Mirza Kazem-beg wrote that exactly: “128 years ago, a manuscript of a *Derbend-Nameh* was presented to Your Highness’s glorious ancestor Peter the Great when he conquered Dagestan [...]. The Great Monarch graciously accepted this literary tribute which was subsequently kept at the foreign office. Sometime later, academician Bayer revealed the existence of the manuscript to the European orientalists. For over a century, however, no interest was expressed in this document, except for an extract from another version published by Klaproth in 1825.”⁶

Later on Vladimir Minorsky wrote about Mirza Kazem-beg’s *Derbend-Nameh*: “though the text itself arises many doubts”, “the most worthy work on *Derbend-Nameh* was published in 1851 in English by Russian Academy of Sciences. The editor was Mirza Alexander Kazem-beg – the resident of Derbend and a grandchild of the former wazir of the local Derbend governor Fatali-khan”⁷

One of the most important areas of the Oriental Studies was the methodology of the Orient languages’ grammar. For example, until 1839 there was no written grammar of Turkic languages in the world Turkology practice. The publication of the *Grammar of the Turkish-Tatar language* in 1839 by Mirza Kazem-beg was an outstanding occasion in Turkology, and the first comparative grammar book on the Turkic languages in the world. The second edition appeared in 1846. In 1848, the Emperor awarded him the “Demidov Prize” for this study; the same year the book was translated into German by Theodor Zenker⁸ and broadly used for teaching Turkic languages in Russia and Western

⁵ This manuscript was compiled in 1815-1816 in Azeri and is a manuscript of the version translated by Mukhammad Avabi at the end of 17th century. Based on a list in Persian.

⁶ *Derbend-Name* or *The history of Derbend*, translated from a select Turkish version. Published with the text and with notes by Mirza A. Kazembek, “Your Imperial Highness” (St. Petersburg, 1851).

⁷ V. Minorsky, *A history of Sharvan and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries* (Cambridge), pp. 5-6.

⁸ J. Th. Zenker: Author of famous and unchangeable *Turc, Arabe and Persian Dictionnaire* (original edition of 1866).

Europe until the publication of another grammar book by French orientalist Jean Deny,⁹ in 1921.

Mirza Kazem-beg himself was a full member of the Royal Asiatic Society in London (1829) and Head of the Cathedra of the Turkic-Tatar language at University of Kazan' (1828). In 1870 he became the first Dean of the Oriental Languages Faculty. Shortly before, in 1868, he was invited to St. Petersburg as an outstanding scientist from the University of Kazan' to replace another well-known Azerbaijani enlightener of the 19th century, Mirza Jafarbek Topchubashev (1790-1869), at the department of Persian philology. M. J. Topchubashev in his turn was the first scientist of Azerbaijani origin -and, one of the founders of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society- who significantly contributed to Russian Oriental Studies and the teaching methodology of Oriental languages.

The patriarch of Azerbaijani realistic literature, materialist philosopher and public figure Mirza Fatali Akhundov (1812-1878) was known among literary critics as "Muslim Moliere". Since his childhood, he studied the Qur'an in Arabic and Persian; was granted Persian, Russian and Ottoman awards. His book *A bear who defeated the rogue* was published in French (Akhundof, *L'Ours et le voleur*, ed. Barbier de Meynard). The language and literary genre of the play attracted a lot of linguists in their studies of basics of Turkic languages. For example, Deny analyzed grammar rules of Turkish in his work *Principes de grammaire turque*, and compared some verbs of Turkish with Azerbaijani quoting excerpts from Barbier de Meynard (with the ref. to p. 121).¹⁰

Apparently there could be given a long list of Azerbaijani enlighteners as well as their activities and merits in the Oriental Studies up to the edge of 19th-20th centuries; works of M. A. Sabir (1862-1911), J. Mammadguluzadeh (1866-1932), M. S. Ordubadi (1872-1950), A. A. Haqverdiyev (1870-1933), Ali Nazmi (1878-1946), but I would especially like to emphasize the works of the two outstanding encyclopedists: *Muridism and Shamil* by Mirza Kazembek and *Gulistan-i Iram* by A. A. Bakikhanov.

Sufism and Muridism in Mirza Kazembek's studies

Unfortunately, the first quarter of the 19th century opened a new historical epoch -the epoch of conquest- not only for the peoples of the South, but for

⁹ J. Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque (Dialect Osmanli)* (Paris: Imprim. Nation, 1921); *Principes de grammaire turque ("Turk" de Turquie)* (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1955).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

North Caucasus as well. While in south, as we are sure on the example of Azerbaijan, the Russian Empire could install its rule and establish administration, yet vast areas on both sides of the Greater Caucasus mountains were still out of its control. The last brutal military campaign of the Russian general called “cannibal Yarmula” was launched against an unprecedented national liberation movement that unfolded under the religious ideology of *Gazavat* (*holy war against all kefirs*). This time *Gazavat* was led by “red-bearded athletic” Shamil. Those days the popularity of Shamil was growing even outside Russia. After 20 years of his adamant heroic fighting, English and French newspapers and magazines suddenly discovered Shamil.¹¹ And this “unknown highlander” became the superstar and a hero fighter for freedom in the eyes of Western European intellectuals. He was sung in the novels of Paul Meris, Pietro Zakone, and J. Bernie. Alexander Dumas who travelled to Caucasus, said that “he has a dream to meet Shamil who is still hiding in the mountains”¹²

Impressed by two historical meetings with imam Shamil in St. Petersburg on October 3rd and 7th, 1859, Mirza Kazem-beg wrote the article “Story of Muridism”.¹³ It was published in the December issue, which once again proved the interest that existed in Russia towards developments in North Caucasus – in particular, towards the strong resistance movement of Muridism led by Shamil. “Everybody is curious about him [Shamil]”, Mirza Kazem-beg wrote, “though it can be very short lived [...]. Presenting this article, I would like to satisfy this curiosity and describe the life of this remarkable person and how he could become so terrifically important that it was so difficult and, if I could say, so costly for Russia to bring him down and reinstall a peaceful life in the Caucasus [...]”¹⁴

What peculiarities differed Muridism from classical forms of Sufism?

This movement emerged in the eastern part of the mountainous area in the 1820s, but it originated from Sufism, one of the most mystic schools of Islam. Its followers were inspired by the intention to overcome the gap between human existence and divinity.¹⁵ It was conceived by philosophers and mystics.

¹¹ “The enemy of my enemy is my friend!”.

¹² E. Osli, *Pokorenie Kavkaza. Geopoliticheskaia epopeia i voina za vliyanie* (Moscow: Plyus-Minus), p. 114.

¹³ Though, officially and mistakably, it was only once, on October 6th, 1859.

¹⁴ A. M. Kazem-bek, *Muridizm i Shamil'* (St. Petersburg, 1859), p. 182.

¹⁵ A. Zelkina, *In Quest for God and freedom, Sufi responses to the Russian Advances in the North*

Gradually the movement expanded to the whole Islamic world and formed Sufi tariqas, brotherhoods, orders, etc.

Relations between *murshid* and *murid* (mentor and student) are one of the inherent basics of Sufism. In the early 16th century, the French defector from the Ottoman army who was held in 3-day custody by Safavids (in 1507), as well as Italian Giovanni Rota who visited Safavid court in 1505¹⁶ (which will be discussed later) left interesting descriptions of laws of that Sufi Order Safaviyye in Azerbaijan: “according to regulations of dervish orders murid should sacrifice his property, family and even his life, if that is required by his religious mentor, sheikh, murshid [...] (Many of warriors) go to the battle weaponless hoping that their lord Ismail will save them”.¹⁷ According to the chronicles of the seizure of the Shirvanshahs palace, when Ismail was given the treasures of Shirvanshahs, “he ordered to throw all the treasures into the sea [...]. Sufis were throwing even horses and mules into the sea, which was costly in the circumstances of the year 1500 [...]”¹⁸

At the end of the 18th century, the Ottoman sheikh Khalid travelled through countries offering new forms of organization; if before that, pure life was a spiritual doctrine taught by one mentor (Murshid), now students were allowed to be mentors of other mentors. Though this doctrine was sharply criticized and declared heresy, exactly because of that the number of the students and followers grew significantly. When this doctrine expanded to Caucasus causing an outburst of religious fanaticism, Russians called that phenomenon *Muridism*.

The contribution of Mirza Kazem-beg to study of Sufism

The life of Mirza Kazem-beg is a brilliant example of the complicating impact and the crucial political developments of the time had on the lives of millions of outstanding and talented individuals. Trying to comprehend the essence of Christianity and studying Hebrew and English, Mirza Kazembek in his teens met Scottish Christian missionaries in Derbend who were friends of his father. Upon arrival in Astrakhan in 1821 to see his obstructed father,¹⁹ he met those

Caucasus (New York: University Press, 2006), p. 76.

¹⁶ J. Aubin, *L'Avènement Des safavides Reconsidéré (Etudes Safavides III) / Moyen Orient & Ocean Indien, No. 5* (Paris, 1988), pp. 42-43.

¹⁷ O. A. Efendiev, *Azerbaydzhanskoe gosudarstvo Sefevidov v sixteenth veke* (Baku, 1981), pp. 103-104.

¹⁸ Aubin, *L'Avènement Des safavides Reconsidéré*, p. 43.

¹⁹ In 1820 M. K. was suspected in having contacts with Shih Ali khan of Derbend who hid in

Scottish Christian missionaries again and, after long theological discussions and intense inner struggle, he converted to Christianity. Since then he took the name Mirza Alexander Kazem-beg.

His following contributions should be noted: *Bab and the Babids* (1865), *Religious and Political Disturbances in Persia in 1844-1852*, the above mentioned *Derbend-Nameh* (1850), *History of Islam* (1860), etc. Almost all of his writings on Oriental Studies were translated in English, French and German. However, we would like to focus on his fundamental article “Muridism and Shamil”, published in 1859. The author wrote it for the reputable journal *Russkoe slovo*. “Shamil and Muridism are closely bound to each other in Russian military literature, but both of them are yet to be included in the dictionaries in lexical and historical meanings”, Mirza Kazem-beg wrote.²⁰ Therefore, the author covered the following aspects in the article: history of Muridism in the Muslim East; Muridism expansion to the Caucasus; personality of Shamil. The research also reveals broadly discussed problems of the time that remain important today – Muridism seeds in the Shirvan zone of Azerbaijan sowed in the 8th century. The research gives not only detailed data about Shamil life (even letters written by *Imam*, for example the ultimatum to the village Jukhkh community),²¹ but also provides extensive definitions of many Sufi concepts: arif, jihad, davat, vusul, tarikat, murid, murshid, silsila, zikr, and many more which altogether formed a body of valuable information for studying Sufism as one of the outstanding elements of Oriental Studies.

At the time Sufism was vague and generally unknown to ordinary people, and even less known to the European audience, as there were scarce researches on Sufism. Modern research of Sufism dates back to colonial time, namely to 1750. The definition of “Sufism” was introduced by W. George and Sir J. Malcolm. In 1819, the article “Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay” by James William Graham became one of the famous scientific works on Sufism. The first European book on Sufism, *Missionary's Register*, was published in 1821 by German theologian Toluk in the Latin language.²² In the Western historiography with the appearance of Sufi literature, the most popular tractates were also about mysticism and related to the early 20th century: *Mysticism* by E. Underhill (1911), *The varieties of Religious Experience* by V. James (1913),

Avaria; he was dismissed from the position of sheikh ul Islam, brought to court and exiled to Astrakhan.

²⁰ M. A. Kazem-bek, *Muridizm i Shamil'*, p. 182.

²¹ Juhh (Choh): large settlement near Avaria with over 600 houses.

²² V. Ernst Karl, *Sufizm*, per. s angl. A. Gor'kavogo (Moscow, 2002), p. 16.

Mysticism Sacred and Profane by R. Zeiner (1957) in English. However, in 1897, a publication by H. Cappolani was specifically about Sufism, its development in Maghrib, and later in 1937 there was an issue by D. Birge as well. Yet, there was a series of translations of Sufi tractates, however, these scientific articles also related to much later periods (early 20th century). Since the late 18th century, the Sufism doctrine obtained a final and distinctive shape and expanded to Caucasus.

Safavid Studies as one of the important subjects in the world of Oriental Studies

Sufism in its turn laid the foundation for another important political phenomenon in the Muslim East – the rise of the Safavid dynasty and the emergence of its state. The founder of the Safavid state was Shah Ismail Safavi who “created a powerful state relying on Turkic tribes of Kyzylbash Murids from Sufi Order”. “In July 1501 he was inaugurated in Tabriz as Shah of Azerbaijan [...]”²³ Ismail was the descendant of the founder of the famous Sufi Order Safaviyya in Azerbaijani city of Ardabil – Safi ad-din Iskhak Ardabili. The adepts (*murid*) of Sufi Order, as discussed above, were known for the unconditional devotion to their mentor (*murshid*) and their belief to his holiness.

First of all, I would like to say that the scope of Safavid Studies is especially interesting. Though the problem is well studied, a lot of questions arise causing arguments among scientists due to the lack of the literary sources that could have revealed the Safavid’s early history. Looking back from the 21st century, the very interesting point is how to judge the evolution and changes of the conceptual views of the world historiography on history of the Safavid state including its birth, origin and nature.

1. For example, until 1930s the origin of Safavids in the world historiography traditionally was thought to be Persian. Since the 1950s, certain group of scholars following historian A. Kesrevi²⁴ in the article “shaikh saf va tabaresh” published in 1945²⁵ considered that the dynasty had a Kurdish origin – E. Bosworth, Z. Togan, F. Daftari, and later R.

²³ R. Tapper, *Black Sheep, White Sheep and Red-heads, Vol. 4* (Iran: British Institute of Persian Studies, 1966), pp. 63; Isgender beg turkeman, *Tarikh'e al-amaraiya Abbasi* (Tehran: Amirkebir, 1381), p. 27.

²⁴ This issue was first discussed by A. Kesrevi. He justified his conclusions referring to the earliest versions of *Safvat al-Safa*, the main manuscript on the origin of the Safavid dynasty, which nevertheless, was just a theory due to certain reasons.

²⁵ A. Kesrawia. *Shaikh Safi va tabaresh* (Tehran, 1324).

Matthee (R. Matthee, “Safavid Dynasty” at *iranica.com.*), R. Savory (R. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, 1980), etc. Ira Lapidus regarded the Safavid rule as “an expansion period in Iranian history” but believed that the origin of that dynasty was “Kurdish”,²⁶ though this is just a hypothesis. According to German scientist G. Roemer, already in the second half of the 20th century “fewer contemporary historians support the traditional concept of the Safavid Empire and regard it as the Persian national state”²⁷ Some scientists kept calling them Persians, for example, J. Perry or I. Ade Belo. “The origin of the Safavids is covered with mystery”, Iranian scientist E. Yarshater writes. Nonetheless, along with them, on the edge of the 20th and 21st centuries quite many researchers such as R. Frei, E. Sonn,²⁸ M. Price,²⁹ L. Davidson, A. Goldschmidt,³⁰ and many others, supported the version of the Turkish origin of the dynasty. Starting from Firuz Shah Zerrin Gulagh, several generations of the family of Safa ad-din, the ancestor of the dynasty, definitely lived in the Ardabil area of Azerbaijan, where ethnic Turkish and Turkish-speaking population prevailed. “Ardabil was and still is Turkic [Azerbaijani – N. A.]”, Turkish historian Riza Nur writes. “And not only friends but the enemies were also Turks”³¹ “Shah Ismail [Safavi – N. A.]”, as E. Brown pointed out about the founder of the state, “wrote his poems in Turkish under pen-name ‘Khatai’”³²

2. The next disputable question: For a long time, the period after Shah Abbas I was described in the socio-economic history of Safavids as a period of economic decline. However, in the political history according to the Peace Treaty signed with the Ottomans in Gasr-i Shirin (Zahab) in 1639, Shah Safi (1629-1642) waived his claims for territories that are in Iraq today. The end of the 17th century, consequently, was the time of long-lasting peace and relative economic revival. “And the traditional

²⁶ I. M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 280.

²⁷ The Cambridge, *History of Iran*, p. 339.

²⁸ L. Kafar-zade, *O nesostoyatel'nosti kontseptsii “persidskogo” proiskhozhdeniya dinastii Sefevidov. Obrazovanie, nauka i kul'tura Kavkaza: traditsii i sovremennost'. Materialy mezhdunarodnoy nauchnoy konferentsii* (Magas, 2017), p. 158.

²⁹ M. Price, *Iran's Diverse peoples: a reference sourcebook* (California, 2005), p. 376.

³⁰ L. Davidson and A. Goldschmidt, *Concise History of the Middle East*, 9th edition (Colorado, 2010), p. 555.

³¹ R. Nur, *Türk Tarihi. Cilt V (1343/1923)*, p. 114.

³² E. G. Browne, *A history of Persian literature in modern times* (Cambridge), pp. 14-15.

- assertion that death of Shah Abbas I (1587-1629) entailed a long political and economic decline is questioned by a number of scientists”³³
3. As to Sufi traditions: it was traditionally believed that during reign of Shah Tehmasib (1524-1576) Sufi elements began to fade.³⁴ However, according to contemporary historiography, even in 1629, when Shah Abbas I gave the throne to his 18-year-old grandson Safi I (1629-1642) in Mazandaran, the coronation ceremony included some rituals of the Safavid Order. Moreover, even during the Shah Abbas II reign (1642-1666), messianic and esoteric sects still existed.³⁵
 4. Similarly, until recently there were traditional views about the reduced significance and role of Kyzylbash Turks in the Safavid government during the Shah Abbas I rule. However, though “the reforms of Shah Abbas I Safavi (1587-1629) [also] changed the political and social positions of Turkish (Turkman – N. A.) tribes, nevertheless, they were not able to liquidate the functional rules established by Kyzylbash tribes”³⁶ According to Thomas Reeks, even in the 18th century, Afshars and Shamlu were still the most formidable and influential families in the political and socio-economic life in Azerbaijan, while Bayati and others were significant in the southern territories.³⁷ Therefore, the question arises, when critical approach and comparative analysis of manuscripts (not simple compilation) were first used in the Safavid historiography? And how deep was that process within the world academic historiography in the 19th century?

³³ As to the crisis that occurred in Iran in the 17th century, R. Savory and others traditionally believed it was caused by socio-political factors like the “newly emerged Gulam militia that replaced previous Uimag tribal elite and reduced annual income as a result of takeover by shah of the public land (*mamalik*) and thus, emergence of royal land (*khassa*)”. см.: R. M. Savory, *Safavids: Dynastic, political and military history, EI, Vol. 8*, pp. 765-771; “Iran under the Safavids”, pp. 226-254, while E. Newman thought it was related to anti-Sufi policy of the time. A. J. Newman, *Sufism and anti-sufism in safavid Iran* (HADIQAT AL-SHIA, 2013), p. 95.

³⁴ L. G. Potter, “Sufis and Sultans in Post-Mongol Iran”, *Iranian Studies*, 27/1-4 (1994), p. 81.

³⁵ S. P. Blake, *Safavid, Mughal and Ottoman empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 26-27.

³⁶ J. Reid, *Tribalism and Society in Islamic Iran 1500-1629* (California: University of California, 1983), p. 3.

³⁷ T. M. Ricks, *Notables, Merchants, and Shakhhs of Southern Iran and Its Ports. Politics and Trade of the Persian Gulf Region, AD 1728-1789* (Gorgias Press, 2012).

Bakikhanov's contribution to Safavid Studies in the historiography of the 19th century

Since the early 19th century, scientific historiography turned into an academic discipline. Historiography of the 19th century, unlike that of Antiquity and Middle Ages, developed its own methodology and rules. Efforts on historiographic anamnesis were made in the Western culture. In Europe and the USA historiography was taught at the universities as an optional subject.

The *Story of the Nations* book series written in the 19th century was published in 1920.³⁸ In this series, the history of Safavid state, which is a milestone in the statehood of Azerbaijan, is mentioned only in the book *Persia* (London, 1889), written by S.G.W. Benjamin about Persian History. As Azerbaijan was not an independent state at the time, its history was often described by European and Persian historians as part of Persian history. However, this topic was covered in a limited scale (only in pages 287-290), and included only a short and patchy description of Shah Ismail I and Shah Abbas I rule. Before that, the book *Persia and Persians* (1887) written by S.G.W. Benjamin was published and, according to the author, covered the history of Safavids in more details. The author gave an in-depth coverage of the reign of Shah Ismail, the founder of the state. Nevertheless, despite an excellent critical approach and in-depth study of many aspects of history of "Persia", a lot of data in the book were incorrect and incomplete. For example: the naive statement that Safi ad-din originated from the 7th Imam Musa; or that Ismail ascended to throne in 1499, not in 1502, as all sources indicate; or that the father of Ismail was not Haydar but Juneid; there were also inaccurate dates of coronation and death of Abbas I, etc.

By the time of the *Story of the Nations* publication, Persian historian Riza-Kuli Khan wrote *Rauzat-us-Safa*, a general history of Persia, by 1858. Riza-Kuli Khan Hedayat (1800-1871), a famous Iranian writer and literary historian continued the *Rauzat us-Safa* by Mirkhond. He wrote the volumes 8, 9 and 10 covering history till the rule of Shah Nasir-ad-din Qajar. The book ends with historical events in Iran in 1856. This book gives a much broader coverage of the Safavids history, and more information from much earlier sources. Many parts of the book, as E. Brown mentioned, were thoroughly copied with small

³⁸ The series included: *Rome* (1885) by A. Gilman, *The Jews* (1887) by J. Hosmer, *Germany* (1887) by S. Baring-Gould, *Carthage* (Africa) (1887) by A. Church, *Alexander's Empire* (1887) by J. Mahaffy, *The Moors in Spain* (1854-1931) (1886) by S. Lane-Poole, *Ancient Egypt* (1880) by G. Rawlinson, *Hungary (1851/1832)* (1886) by A. Vambery; also the histories of Greece, Turkey, Austria, etc; B. S. Greene Wheeler, *The Story of Persia and The Persians* (London, 1889).

changes from *Tarih-i alyamara-yi Abbasi*. Nonetheless, E. Brown noticed a number of “meaningless changes”, as he put it. This book is not included in a number of historiographic works but represents, from the point of view of the contemporary science, a source of information.

Much earlier, in 1841, the first academic monography *Gulistan-i Iram* was published about the history of the eastern part of the Caucasus (1841). It was the first study that reflected on all achievements of the historical science of the time. This book made A. A. Bakikhanov the founder of Azerbaijani historiography. The author discussed the history of Shirvan and Dagestan since ancient times until the Gulistan Peace Treaty (1813), making the first attempt to give an overview of Azerbaijani history from Antiquity up to 1813. For Azerbaijan historiography Bakikhanov was the last chronicler of the medieval epoch and the first historiographer of the new time.³⁹ Initially the book was written in Persian in 1841, but already in 1844 it was translated into Russian under the title *History of the eastern part of the Caucasus*.⁴⁰ Highly educated Bakikhanov was fluent in the Oriental languages as well as Russian, French and even Polish. The author studied and used a vast number of manuscripts of classical Antiquity, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Georgian authors, as well as studies of Russian and Western European historians. In 1845 this book was presented to Petersburg Academy of Sciences and awarded the government prize. It was the first work in academic historiography which introduced the complete history of the Safavid state. The chapter “From the ascension of the Safavids to the throne till the death of Nadir-Shah” (906/1501-1160/1747) of the book included details about the ruling periods of the following Shahs: Ismail I, Tehmasib I, Ismail II, Muhammad Khudabende, Abbas I, Safi I, Abbas II, Safi II (Suleyman), Sultan Huseyn, Tehmasib II, Abbas III. The author also made an analysis of the data from literary sources, folklore, manuscripts and his personal researches of the ancient artefacts and ethnographic data.

Conclusion

Apparently, as eastern people, including the ones from the Black Sea region, were in need to improve their socio-economic conditions, their professional education in European languages and brilliant training in leading world

³⁹ A. A. Bakikhanov, *Gulistan-i Iram* (Redaktsiya, komentarii, primechania i ukazateli Z. M. Buniatova. Baku, 1991), p. 4.

⁴⁰ Vasili Kuzmin and writer Tadeus Lada Zablotski who was exiled to Caucasus from Poland provided substantial support to the Russian version of the book.

institutions, the European science also felt the need to have native Oriental-language speakers, representatives of the Sufi culture and Islamic traditions, and, of course, teaching methods of those disciplines. For instance, prior to becoming one of the second to none in Persian history and literature, British scientist in Oriental Studies Edward Brown (1862-1926) productively spent certain parts of his life and activity in Iran absorbing the traditions, language and culture of the nation.

At the same time, this article makes it possible to observe the process of the foundation and development of the academic disciplines and the main directions in Oriental Studies in the middle of 19th century. As a matter of fact, the principal issue is concluded in studying the development of the social processes at that time at the example of Azerbaijan, and in the underlying positive features for the development of science and enlightenment in Azerbaijan, in spite of dramatic situation for the latter as a result of Russian-Qajar war. For example, *The Grammar of the Turkish-Tatar language*, published in 1839, was a notable event in Oriental Studies and the first written Turkic grammar book in the world.

The researches of Mirza Kazem-beg, conducted in the middle of the 19th century with in-depth encyclopedic data on Sufi terminology and fundamentals of Muridism movement, were of great informative significance for the Oriental Studies. The scientific work of A. A. Bakikhanov's *Gulistan-i Iram* is especially significant not only as one of the early studies in the world academic historiography of the 19th century, but also as one of the earliest historiographic works on the complete history of Safavids. These and many other researches by Azerbaijani enlighteners mentioned above widely demonstrated their contribution to the Oriental Studies in the 19th century.

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Influence of the Ideas of the European New Age on the Formation of Modernizing Social Thought in Azerbaijan (19th century)

Abstract: In this article the author made an attempt to analyze the beginning of the architectonic changes in the socio-cultural sphere, caused by the inclusion of Azerbaijan in the beginning of the 19th century into the Russian Empire. A thorough analysis of the essential foundations of the Azerbaijani Enlightenment is given. Firstly, this phenomenon appears as an ideological trend in Azerbaijani public thought, peculiarly reflecting qualitative social changes in the 19th and early 20th centuries. These changes can be designated as the beginning of process of transforming a traditional society into a modern society. Secondly, somewhere in the 30-40s of the 19th century, shifts in the worldview sphere are gradually emerging.

In other words, we are witnessing the emergence of the starting point of socio-cultural modernization. In this perspective, the “Enlightenment project” appears as a spiritual and practical activity, as a movement and a campaign to change minds and institutions. Universals of the Enlightenment such 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. At the same time, the most relevant means of an answer were socio-political, economic, cultural, ethical and aesthetic ideas and teachings of Western origin.

The article is based on the analysis of the social and cultural activities of such figures as A. A. Bakikhanov, M. F. Akhundov and H. Zardabi on the general course of transformation processes in Azerbaijan. It was noted that the ideological heritage created by Zardabi and Akhundov was the firm foundation on which the subsequent generation of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia constructed the spiritual and political framework of the Azerbaijani Modernity.

Keywords: Russian Empire, Azerbaijan, traditional society, Enlightenment, modernization, socio-cultural transformation, A. Bakikhanov, M. F. Akhundov, H. Zardabi.

The first half of the 19th century is a time period full of significant events in the history of Azerbaijan. It is a period that can be called a “time-space junction”. The Russian Empire incorporated the whole region with a special socio-cultural and spiritual-moral complex: the expanding imperial space absorbed a historical and geographical area, which is in a different chronotopological dimension, in another temporal being. That, in turn, caused a radical break-up of the structures and institutions existing up to that time and generated colossal system transformations. The Caucasus, including Azerbaijan, objectively turned out to be protected from the encroachments of neighboring powers. Political stability, leveling of local peculiarities, gradual involvement in a large economic space contributed to the ethno-political consolidation of the Azerbaijani people. The authorities took measures that objectively contributed to the gradual elimination of conditions conserving the socio-political isolation (and backwardness) of the Caucasian peoples. In terms of their temporal characteristics, these events were associated with modernization efforts carried out on an imperial scale, although they were largely designed to solve locally significant tasks.

The paradox of the situation was that the Russian state, expanding during the conquests and wars and absorbing the wide expanses of the Eurasian area, did not pursue the goal of forcedly breaking social structures, and even the lifestyle of the associated communities. In the imperial socio-political continuum, communities and economic structures that differed from each other coexisted and got along. Only after the reform period, that is, after the reforms of the 1860s-1870s, there was a gradual transformation of conditions that preserved the socio-political isolation (and backwardness) of the Caucasian peoples. This was facilitated by the fact that in the second half of the 19th century, despite the preservation of traditionalist intentions in the sphere of politics, the government introduced and spread institutions borrowed in Europe, including the administrative-bureaucratic system, organizing state, secular education system, scientific institutions, cultural institutions, mass media. The functioning of each of these institutions was addressed in the New

Age, which postulated the inalienable rights and freedoms of an individual rationally assimilating reality.¹

Characterizing the situation of that period, it should be mentioned that the reforms carried out by the government led to the destruction of the traditional society. The Russian policy, and particularly its version which was carried out in the Southern Caucasus in the last decades of the 19th-early 20th centuries, was leading to the transformation of the existing system of social statuses, to the weakening of the local noblemen's sphere of influence and to differentiation within various social groups. "There were being created broad communicational spaces, in which industry, being actively developed around Baku, the centre of oil production and processing, tried to acquire mobile labor force with a single standardized culture and, which is particularly important, with a single standardized colloquial language. This new situation set new tasks before the broad masses of population, and particularly before the elite".²

Along with political, legal, social and economic changes, the Russian conquest brought some innovations into the spiritual and cultural field. Firstly, the Muslim peoples included in the empire were able to familiarize themselves with the progressive culture and social and political doctrines of Europe. Regarding Azerbaijan, it should also be noted that the contact between the two civilizations, the European one represented by Russia and the traditional Muslim civilization, resulted in the appearance of a new social stratum – the Azerbaijani intelligentsia.

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 beginning of process of transforming traditional society into modern society. Secondly, somewhere from the 30s-40s and 19s of the 19th century, shifts in the ideological sphere gradually manifest themselves. In other words, we are witnessing the emergence of the starting point of socio-cultural modernization. In this perspective, the "Enlightenment project" appears as a spiritual and practical activity, as a

¹ T. P. Viazovik, "O vzaimodeistvii traditsionalistskikh i liberal'nykh intentsii v ideologii rossiiskogo samodержaviiia" in *Filosofiiia i sotsial'no-politicheskie tsennosti konservatizma v obshchesvennom soznanii Rossii (ot istokov k sovremennosti)*. Sb. st. Vypusk 1 (St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo St. Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2004), p. 37.

² E. M. Aukh, "Mezhdru prisposobleniem i samoutverzhdaniem. Ranniĭ etap poiskov natsional'noi identichnosti v srede musul'manskoĭ intelligentsii i vozniknovenie novogo obshchestva na iugovostochnom Kavkaze (1875-1905)" in *Azerbadzhan i Rossiia: obshchestva i gosudarstva. Otv. red. i sost. D. E. Furman* (Moscow: Letniĭ sad, 2001), pp. 51-75.

movement and a campaign to change minds and institutions. It should be noted that thanks to the activity of a whole pleiad of ascetic enlighteners in the spiritual and cultural sphere, such changes gradually took place that made the further existence of the previous spiritual situation impossible; something new was emerging, setting out the tasks of a philosophical, social, political, artistic and aesthetic plan that were unknown until then.

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 seems to us that in general the so-called Muslim Enlightenment (one of the varieties of which was the Azerbaijani Enlightenment) was formed as a kind of response to the challenge of the West, to which Islamic civilization was clearly inferior in its temporal and technical characteristics. This lag in the 19th and early 20th centuries became more and more aggravated. Russia, although it was not part of Western civilization, in the eyes of the multi-million Muslim subjects of the empire represented Europe. At the same time, socio-political, economic, cultural, ethical and aesthetic ideas and teachings of Western origin were implied as relevant means of response. This was, in our opinion, the ambivalence of the perception of the “West” as an image and phenomenon of Eastern progressive (in this case, Russian-Muslim) consciousness: the West faced this consciousness simultaneously as both an oppressor and a colonizer, and as the only source of progress, an example for development, a model of optimal living arrangement. In the 19th century, when practically all Muslim peoples and countries found themselves in colonial or semi-colonial dependence on European powers, a deep decline and a huge lag of the Eastern countries from the Western ones was revealed. Understanding this state, the advanced intellectual forces of the East generated an ideology (or rather, a set of ideas, we emphasize again, largely influenced and in line with the concepts of European genesis) to transform and modernize the traditional society of their countries. This set of ideas and ideological trends was designated as the Muslim Enlightenment.

But at the same time and in close conjunction with delineating the tasks of the modernization property, this trend had to intellectually respond to those questions that became relevant in the context of the Western Enlightenment; these include the restructuring of society on reasonable grounds, the struggle against theological dogmatism, the triumph of science over medieval scholasticism.

Another specific feature of this phenomenon in the Muslim regions of the Russian Empire was the fact that Russia was itself a country that was catching

up with modernization, and here the Russian progressive consciousness was dealing with similar tasks. This circumstance, of course, left its mark on the work of Muslim enlighteners, who developed their ideas in correlation with the respective trends of Russian social thought.

Under the influence of ideas of European origin, the Azerbaijani Enlightenment was engaged in what was later called the “Disenchantment of the World”, that is, the destruction of the myths of traditionalism (including myths of religious consciousness) and the overthrow of imagination through knowledge. In our case, the “disenchantment” of the symbolic world of Azerbaijani traditionalism was especially successful for the eminent Azerbaijani writer and thinker Mirza Fatali Akhundov, who is a unique figure not only for Azerbaijan, but also for the whole of Eastern Enlightenment. In addition, it was from Akhundov that the emergence of ideological values of the “post-religious” discourse in Azerbaijani humanitarian thought began.

For a better understanding of the worldview changes in Azerbaijani society in the 19th and early 20th centuries, an overall picture of the educational affairs in Azerbaijan should be given. School education of the Azerbaijani people for centuries developed as an organic part of the general Islamic educational system. A distinctive feature of this system was the two-level education: the lower educational institutions were called “*maqtabs*”, and the higher ones were “*madrasahs*”. The first opened not only in cities, but also in almost all large settlements. They represented the only centers of Enlightenment more or less accessible to the general population. It was the lower educational institutions (*maqtabs*) where most of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia, including intellectuals-enlighteners, received in the early 19th century the primary cognitive equipment. However, traditional Muslim educational institutions, at least the main part, did not really take into account (or, by their objective characteristics, were not able to take into account) the requirements of the New Age. In traditional Muslim educational institutions could not occur the emergence of modern man – the personality of a new type.

The organization of the educational process was fundamentally different from that adopted by that time in European countries, and in particular in Russian educational system. Firstly, there was no such thing as an academic year. Admission to *maqtabs* continued throughout the year. Secondly, there was no timetable for lessons. Pupils in *maqtabs*, as a rule, came to 8 o'clock in the morning to school and studied together by 2-3 o'clock in the afternoon. Thirdly, the age peculiarities of *shakirds* (pupils) were not taken into account. In *maqtab*, the age range ranged from 7-8 to 16, and in *madrasah* – from 15-16 to 30 years. In addition to seven-year-old children, 15-16-year-old boys were trained in the

old-method maqtab. The division into classes was not practiced in the same way. Regardless of the number of students, in most cases the school was a single room. In this room, the students sat on the bare floor, or on the rags of carpets and mat.³

With the accession to Russia, the first significant centers of the European type of education appeared in Azerbaijan. In the 1830s county schools began to function – the first Russian-type educational institutions in Azerbaijan.⁴ By the mid-50s, there were already nine. Teaching Russian, Azerbaijani, Persian languages, arithmetic, geography, history, calligraphy and Muslim scholarship (Shari'a) were introduced in the district schools consisting of two classes. Within the walls of these schools, a generation of Azerbaijani teachers has grown up, innovative in their education, mindset and intellectual purposefulness. They often collected local folklore, historical legends and ethnographic information and published them in the ten Tiflis newspapers. Thus, in contact with the population, they to a certain extent brought the ideas of Enlightenment to the masses.

However, county schools gave the most basic knowledge. Due to the lack of preparedness, their graduates could not enter the gymnasium and successfully work in state institutions. In addition, the children of Muslims accounted for less than 40% of them. Since 1847, the so-called Muslim schools of the middle class began to open in different cities of Azerbaijan, as well as in Tiflis. According to incomplete data, in 1849, 281 pupils were enrolled in 5 Muslim schools of Transcaucasia, and in 1851, in 8 schools – 468 pupils.⁵ In Muslim schools, in addition to Russian, Arabic, and Persian, logic, rhetoric, cosmography, metaphysics, and theology were taught. Subsequently, the children of “respectable Muslims” began to study in the primary and secondary educational institutions of St. Petersburg and Moscow, which greatly contributed to the introduction of the so-called Azerbaijani noble youth into Russian and European culture and Enlightenment.

In the 40s of the 19th century, in connection with the reforms carried out in the region, adjustments were also made to the activities of county schools. In 1848, the third “Charter of Transcaucasian Schools” was adopted (the first two were adopted in 1829 and 1835).⁶ In it, by the way, a broader task was set to

³ M. G. Vezirov, “O tatarskikh shkolkakh”, *SMOMPK*, 9 (1890), pp. 1-6.

⁴ G. M. Akhmedov, *Izbrannyye pedagogicheskie sochineniia v 12 tomakh. Tom. 8* (Baku: Tekhsil, 2006), pp. 112-118.

⁵ E. M. Akhmedov, *Filosofia Azerbaïdzhanskogo Prosveshcheniia* (Baku: Azerneshr, 1983), p. 36.

⁶ *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia*, (February, 1849), pp. 51-53.

spread the Russian language, with the aim of increasing the number of natives-officials; but at the same time there was a need to learn local languages, in particular, Azerbaijani.

It is difficult to overestimate the educational significance of public schools; they were the only educational institutions that distributed Russian language and secular education among the local population. However, from a historical perspective, these schools had another important function; they translated ideas (including those of a socio-political nature) into the local environment and, just as importantly, cognitive models of Modernity. The ideological revolution, which had enormous consequences for the enlightened Azerbaijani community -and through it, as it seems to us, for the entire Azerbaijani people- goes back to the 30s-50s of the 19th century. It was then, by the way, that the formation of the intellectual layer began in the true sense of the word; intellectuals were forming in Russian schools (in Azerbaijani, "ziyaly", i.e. carrying the light), who were the first in a series of ascetic enlighteners.

As part of the so-called liberal transformations of the 1860s, reforms were also carried out in the field of public education. School reform has established three types of general educational institutions: 1) public schools without specifying the period of study in them (in practice, as a rule, schools had a 3-year period of study), 2) pro-gymnasiums with a course of the first four classes of the gymnasium, 3) gymnasium 7-years of study.⁷ The reforms of 1864 gave a definite impetus to the development of a network of general education schools and private educational institutions in Transcaucasia, including Azerbaijan. So, for example, in September 1865 in Baku, on the basis of a four-grade higher school, the first incomplete secondary school was established – a real progymnasium. In 1867 the pro-gymnasium was transformed into the Baku real gymnasium (after 1871 – the school). Thus, the foundation of the state secondary education in Azerbaijan was laid. Following Baku, a pro-gymnasium was established in Ganja (Elizavetpol) on the basis of a district school (July 1st, 1870).⁸

Since September 1881, the real six-grade school began to operate in the city of Shusha. Thus, in 1880 only 3 secondary educational institutions functioned in Azerbaijan (two real schools and one gymnasium). It should be noted that in

⁷ *Ocherki istorii shkoly I pedagogicheskoi mysli narodov SSSR. Vtoraia polovina 19 veka* (Moscow: Pedagogika, 1976), p. 22.

⁸ G. M. Akhmedov, "Shkol'naia reforma v Rossii v 60-kh godax XIX veka i nekotorye voprosy shkol'nogo obucheniia v Azerbaïdzhane", *Nauchnye trudy Azerbaïdzhanskogo Gosudarstvennogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta imeni V. I. Lenina (na azerbaïzhanskom iazyke)*, 1 (1972), p. 4.

secondary education, real schools were at a lower level than classical gymnasiums. The fact is that according to the charter of the gymnasiums, approved on July 30th, 1871, the real gymnasiums were renamed into real schools, and access to the university from them was closed. The purpose of the gymnasium (first seven-grade, and from 1875 – eight-grade) was general education and preparation for the university. At the beginning of the 20th century, 7 male incomplete secondary and secondary educational institutions functioned in Azerbaijan: two real schools in Baku and Shusha, two classical gymnasiums (in Elizavetpol and Baku), two gymnasiums and one trade school. For girls, for the entire 19th century only one secondary school was established in Baku and one junior high school in Elizavetpol.⁹

Along with secondary schools, beginning in the 1870s, primary schools began to open in Azerbaijani villages with learning in Russian. The opening of these schools, of course, was a significant cultural event in the life of the Azerbaijani village; thanks to this, the Azerbaijani peasant had the opportunity - at least formally- to learn the Russian language, thereby coming into contact with the Russian, and through it to some extent with the European culture. However, this step can be equally perceived as a manifestation of Tsarism's Russification strategy. In this connection, it is pertinent to mention that the main political and ideological guidelines for the school course were formulated in 1870 by the reactionary Minister of Public Education, D. A. Tolstói: "the ultimate goal of the education of all foreigners living within our country, without a doubt, should be their Russification and integration with the Russian people."¹⁰ Nevertheless, the policy of the Russian government, despite its reasons and Russification goal setting, objectively contributed to the numerical growth of students in Azerbaijan. Thus, for example, in 1895 the total number of secondary school students in Azerbaijan reached 1,971 (including 497 girls). Especially rapid growth was observed in Baku. By the end of the 19th century the number of students in secondary and incomplete secondary schools increased to 3,547 people. In 1897, the Baku Classical High School in terms of the number of students (more than 800) ranked with the most advanced gymnasiums of the Russian Empire.¹¹

We have already noted that in the 19th century was the establishment of an entirely new social stratum – the Azerbaijani intelligentsia. It is interesting that

⁹ Akhmedov, *Pedagogicheskie*, p. 166.

¹⁰ Ministra narodnogo prosveshcheniia D. A. Tolstogo, "O merakh s obrazovaniem naseliyushchikh Rossiю inorodtsev" (1870). <http://www.inpo-rus.ru/14/> (accessed 9.10.2018).

¹¹ Akhmedov, *Pedagogicheskie*, p. 166.

along with the emergence of the intelligentsia, the educational movement and its ideological and philosophical setting – the Azerbaijan Enlightenment was born. According to Azerbaijani researcher of the history of social mind E. Akhmedov, “[...] enlightenment should be viewed not as an activity that contributes to a quantitative increase in mass knowledge, but as the spread of fundamentally new ideas and views among people, as an ideological trend, leading to the collapse of the old, the emergence of a new worldview”.¹² In the period under consideration, symbolic figures are emerging, to the names of which the formation of a new culture is closely connected: A. A. Bakikhanov, M. F. Akhundov and Hasan-bek Zardabi (Melikov).

In the period when Bakikhanov lived and worked (1794-1846) the social thought in Azerbaijan was unable not only to modify and develop, but even to perceive the entire framework of enlightenment concepts of the West. We can see the adoption of the enlightenment ideas, such as the use to intellect, science, knowledge and the criticism of outdated social institutions and rules. Nevertheless, the separate ideas could not be summarized in a complete concept of Enlightenment. That is the reason why Bakikhanov’s creative heritage is quite different to the classical French Enlightenment rather than similar to it. In other words, Bakikhanov’s structure of thinking and ideological paradigm evidently differs from the modernist episteme of the late 18th and early 19th century. Here I would like to make a little explanation. Episteme -one of the main terms of the philosophy of Michel Foucault- a structure that substantially determines the possibility of certain views, concepts, scientific theories and proper sciences in a given historical period.

Based on the concept of the linguistic nature of thinking and reducing people’s activities to “discursive practices”, Foucault postulates for each specific historical epoch the existence of a specific “episteme” – “problem field” of the level of “cultural knowledge” achieved to date, formed from the “discourses” of various scientific disciplines. With all the heterogeneity of these “discourses”, due to the specific tasks of each scientific discipline as a special form of knowledge, in their totality they form a more or less unified knowledge system; the “episteme” that is realized in the speech practice of contemporaries as a strictly defined language code – a set of prescriptions and prohibitions: “In every society, the production of discourse is simultaneously controlled, subject to selection, organized and limited to a specific set of procedures”.¹³

¹² E. M. Akhmedov, *Filosofiiia Azerbaïdzhanskogo Prosveshcheniia*, p. 8.

¹³ “Épistema” in *Il’in I. Postmodernizm. Slovar’ terminov*. <http://niv.ru/doc/dictionary/postmodernism-literature/fc/slovar-221.htm#zag-157> (accessed 9.10.2018).

The episteme of Modernity, pursuing the goal of disenchantment the world, excluded religion from the sphere of explaining the world and implied the complete secularization of science. The idea of God occupied a significant and impressive position in Bakihanov's picture of the world. Any event and phenomenon is explained in the sacral dimension, and science and religion are not considered as irreconcilable opposites, but, on the contrary, are combined and treated as equally significant elements of human consciousness.

In the works of Bakikhanov, adherence to the Islamic canons was intricately interwoven with the preaching of educational ideas. On one hand, he was associated with the Russian and European Enlightenment, on the other – with the medieval culture and philosophy of the East. Bakihanov believed that the benefits of science and Enlightenment were to be used chiefly by privileged classes; education, therefore, was imputed elite status. In this matter, he disagreed with M. F. Akhundov, who advocated equal access to ideas of Enlightenment and education. A similar position was clearly manifested in the "Project on the establishment of Muslim schools in Baku" compiled by him in Russian (1832).¹⁴

Attaching much importance to the formation of people in the society, Bakihanov paid attention to the definition of human cultural activity conditioned by two interconnected factors: one of them is innate, and another one is acquired. In this issue Bakihanov's attitude is partly similar with the opinion of the French enlighteners, who, in their turn, followed Locke's pedagogic concepts. In this case we allude to Helvetius's reasoning, also typical of other thinkers of the French Enlightenment: "A human being in a cradle is nothing: his vices, his virtues, his artificial passions, his superstitions and even the feeling of egoism – all in him is acquired".¹⁵ Similar ideas about the acquired features can be found in Bakihanov's work: "Anyone living in a society grasps the mores of this society: they imitate it, as they see harm for them in their opposition to the society and a benefit for them in their concord with it".¹⁶

A significant stage in the development of the ideas and concepts of Enlightenment in Azerbaijan is the philosophical and literary heritage of Mirza Fatali Akhundov (1812-1878). He was the first playwright ("the Tartar Molière", as he was nicknamed by Vorontsov, the governor general of the Caucasus) and one of the first thinkers who expressed the ideas and dominant values of the European modernist project. He was the first really radical atheist, the breaker

¹⁴ A. K. Bakikhanov, *Sochineniia. Zaposki. Pis'ma* (Baku: Elm, 1983), pp. 251-254.

¹⁵ K. A. Gel'vetsii, *Sochineniia. Vol. 2-kh tomakh. Tom. 2* (Moscow: Mysl', 1974), p. 271.

¹⁶ A. K. Bakikhanov, *Sochineniia. Zapiski. Pis'ma*, p. 61.

of traditional ideological paradigms, and the first philosopher who formed a more or less holistic concept of Enlightenment, at least, in Azerbaijan. He is a sociologist and philosopher, literary critic and polemicist on the diverse issues of life and thought – you can list for a long time. Akhundov was one of the first in the Muslim world, who at first supported the reform of the Arabic alphabet, and in the end of his life he supported the intention to replace it with a new alphabet based on the Latin script (with some Cyrillic letters). He can be called with confidence the founder of the new realistic Azerbaijani literature. His creative work determined the ideological and artistic orientation and the main parameters of its development for the nearest future. The whole literary, social, philosophic and political thought in Azerbaijan was influenced to a considerable degree by Akhundov's heritage. He was involved in the beginning changes of the traditional Azerbaijani man, to the transformation of his values, attitudes, orientation and the very way of interacting with other people. It is worth admitting that not only socio-economic and political-legal circumstances have changed, but the man himself was in the conditions of an all-encompassing transformation.

At the same time, changes in the mental sphere of a traditional person took place not only under the influence of social and economic factors, but also, not least, as a result of purposeful and methodical activity of a whole galaxy of intellectuals – writers, publicists, teachers, just ascetic intellectuals. This was the social category that accomplished what Kant called “the true reform of the pattern of thoughts”. In our opinion, it was mainly Akhundov's merit that the ideals of reconstruction of the society, traditions and the way of thinking of the representatives of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia (different in their political views, but similar in the Enlightenment ideas) gained such a radical orientation.

Akhundov's formation as a personality and thinker took place at the crossing of two diverse cultures, Islamic and Russian (European). The future writer studied Persian and Arabic, theology and the classic Oriental literature since childhood. He even entered a school-madrassah in Ganja, but, influenced by a freely thinking Azerbaijani poet Mirza Shafi Vazekh, he refused to pursue the clerical career. In 1833 he was accepted as a student to the Russian district specialised school opened in his native city of Nukha (Sheki), but he had to leave it due to the age limit. His education was limited by these schools. The study at the above mentioned education institutions, where the program included the Russian, Azerbaijani and Persian languages, as well as arithmetic, geography, history, calligraphy and the Muslim jurisprudence (Shari'a). Thus, when Akhundov started to work as an interpreter of the Asian languages at the office of the general officer of the civil affairs in the Caucasus (Tiflis, 1834). He spoke

several languages and had the initial bases of the main scientific disciplines. At that time Tiflis was not only a major trade and administrative centre, but also one of the most important cultural centres of the Southern Caucasus. M. F. Akhundov continued to study by himself almost all of his life; he had a large personal library, which, unfortunately, has not been completely preserved. The most diverse branches of the Western European science were preserved: history, political economy, philosophy, literature, astronomy, physiology, geography, history of wars and colonial rule, etc. were presented in this library. It includes the works of famous scientists, such as Ch. Darwin, T. Huxley, M. Faraday, M. J. Schleiden, W. Zimmermann et al.

Among his books there were works by such European authors as Bartoux (*India under British Dominance*), G. Bockle (*History of Civilization in England*), Mignet (*The History of the French Revolution*), Guizot (*The History of Civilization in France*), Draper (*The History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*), D. Lebeck (*The Beginning of Civilization and the Primitive State of Man*), J. S. Mill (*Founding of Political Economy, Utilitarianism, Reflection on Representative Government*), K. F. Neumann (*The History of the American United States*), A. Thiers (*History of the Consulate and Empire in France*), D. G. Lewis (*The History of Philosophy from its Beginning in Greece to Present Times*, in two volumes), the works of Gogol, Belinsky, Dobrolyubov, and others. Akhundov knew the works of the 18th-century French materialist enlighteners, such as Voltaire, Montesquieu and Holbach. There were many books on the history of religions in Akhundov's library, among which were *The overview of false religions* written by Archimandrite Izrail, the rector of the Kharkov Theological Seminary, *The life of Jesus* by E. Renan, etc. The books have Akhundov's marginal notes, which is very important for understanding of his philosophy and social and political views.

It is from Akhundov that, for the first time in Azerbaijan's philosophical thought, rational knowledge acquires a high ethical and cultural status, and the rationalization of nature and society is considered a necessary condition for humanization. Underlining the rational aspect of cognition, Akhundov, like the French materialists, appealed to "reason", "common sense" as a basis and argument in science and in experience. In its understanding, scientific discourse was constituted as a discourse of knowledge, while religious discourse was a discourse of faith that dominated Muslim countries over rational knowledge. Thus, Akhundov's worldview is quite consonant with the episteme of Modernity. It was this that "drove" him, as he sharply attacked any pretension of the religion to be scientific, that is, to prove dogmas and regulations with scientific argumentation. The European criterion of scientific discourse awoke

M. F. Akhundov's desire to give a critical reconsideration to the old culture and the traditional picture of the world. He began a struggle for a reformation of the Arabic script, because he considered the difficulty of its perception to be the basic obstacle for a social and cultural transformation of the Muslim society. All his intentions, in fact, unfolded within the framework of the strategic task – the cardinal social and cultural recoding of the Islamic world, as well as the type of mentality. In the texts of Akhundov, the phrase “Latin alphabet”, as it seems to us, is synonymous with the concept of “secularism”. Advancing the projects of acceptance of the Latin script, he planned to desacralise the native culture, with a further perspective of reorientation towards the secular space of Europe. Therefore, Akhundov's struggle for the reform of the scrip gradually turned into a struggle with Islamic religion.

Akhundov's criticism of religion passed into criticism of the political and legal system of Muslim countries and objectively contributed to the desacralization of social institutions, including the state itself. Sacralization in Islam, during which there was a complete merger of the spiritual and secular principles, bound the creative forces of the Muslim peoples. Akhundov's goal was to remove from the sphere of religious sanctioning the consciousness, activities, behavior of people, social relations and institutions. Following Akhundov, the next generation of Azerbaijani enlighteners also sought to secularize and desacralize (remove the sacred from understanding of any realities) the socio-political sphere.

Akhundov's social philosophy was closely connected with the criticism of religious beliefs. It is filled with optimism and belief in an advancing movement of the human society from the lowest steps and forms to the highest ones on the way of the progress. In other words, Akhundov was a supporter of the linear conception of progress typical of the 19th century. For the Azerbaijani thinker civilisation meant “acquisition of scientific knowledge and of the achievements of the mind in industry and in the moral and spiritual life, as well as, possibly, a higher step in different fields of culture”.¹⁷ In his opinion, progress was dynamic and was conditioned by the development of rationality (“progress as the product of mind”). Regarding this concept, Akhundov fully adhered to the line of French thinkers. As it is known, Diderot, D'Alembert, Voltaire, Condorcet and other enlighteners of the 18th century wrote about the progress of mankind first of all as about the progress of the human mind.

In this respect, in the view of Akhundov, it was Europe of his time that brought the progress to the world, and the Western civilisation of that period

¹⁷ M. F. Akhundov, *Izbrannye filosofskie proizvedeniia* (Baku: Azerneshr, 1982), p. 156.

was not simply one of the world civilizations, but an *avant-garde* civilization with which the guarantees of ascending historical development for all of humanity are connected. Given this circumstance, it can be assumed that Akhundov's critical attitude towards his own traditional culture ensues logically from the progressist's perception of history and culture in general. This Eurocentric model presents the development of culture as a uniform and linear evolutionary process, in the course of which the old forms were replaced by other more perfect and progressive ones. In the light of this paradigm, the culture of the Muslim peoples was considered to be more underdeveloped in comparison with the European and, therefore, to be overcome.

Another giant figure of the Azerbaijani Enlightenment, which had a significant impact on the course of socio-cultural transformations, is undoubtedly Hasan-bek Zardabi (Melikov) (1842-1907). He has a special place in the history of the culture of the Azerbaijani people of the second half of the 19th and early 20th century. Zardabi became the founder of the most important areas of Azerbaijani culture: he was a pioneer of the periodical press, journalism in Azerbaijan, the founder of the national theater, the initiator of women's education, the founder of several cultural and educational organizations in Azerbaijan, etc. It is particularly significant that in the 1860s-1870s Zardabi endeavored to implement Enlightenment projects in Azerbaijan with his own efforts. He received his primary education while studying for 4 years in the Shemakha secondary school and then in Tiflis gymnasium. In 1861 he entered the Moscow University, the Department of Natural Sciences of the faculty of physics and mathematics, and graduated from it with a Candidate of Sciences degree (PhD) in 1865.

After graduating from the university, Zardabi came back to Azerbaijan and started working in the social, enlightenment and scientific area. He taught natural sciences at the Baku college (1869-1878), organized a philanthropic society (1872) and a boarding school for poor Muslim students. During those years, in the summer time, Zardabi traveled with his students to the cities and villages of Azerbaijan in order to involve new members in a charitable society and raise money for its functioning. The wife of Zardabi, Khanifa-khanum, described in her memoirs the difficulties along the way, about the unwillingness of people to provide material assistance.¹⁸ Together with his students Zardabi staged a performance in Azerbaijani language for the first time in Baku in 1873. It was Akhundov's play *Haji Gara* that was staged in the hall of the college due

¹⁸ Kh. Melikova, "Biografiia Gasan beka Melikova-Zardabi" in *Sovremenniki o Zardabi* (Baku: Elm, 1985), p. 33.

to the absence of a theater in Baku. Thus, Zardabi was the founder of the national theater. He regarded the theater as an important means of enlightenment of people.

Zardabi began publishing the newspaper *Ekinchi* (Ploughmen) in Azerbaijani language. It was the first organ of the Transcaucasian Muslims, which struggled for culture and enlightenment, strove for the principles of secular education. This newspaper was the impulsive force that, as one of his contemporaries said, “Like a *muezzin*, summoning the faithful to prayer, guided his kinsmen on the way of awakening”.¹⁹ The *Ekinchi* newspaper was a kind of laboratory where the enlightened intelligentsia worked out, in its own way, experimentally derived new discursive forms including those of a socio-political nature. This group of intellectuals, or the intellectual community -a kind of Zardabi’s circle (this circle included N. B. Vezirov, A. Adigezalov (Gorani), Seyid Azim Shirvani, A. A. Bakikhanov, M. T. Aliyev et al.)- took the first steps in the creation of a new literary and journalistic stylistics of the Azerbaijani language, introducing into the speech circulation lexemes from the vaults of the common vocabulary. And this is despite the fact that *Ekinchi* had only to briefly touch on political issues. As we see it, the literary and journalistic process, at the origins of which Akhundov and Zardabi stood, had no less significance in Azerbaijan in uniting “local individuals” into a single larger nation than economic processes. From the circle mentioned by us, grouped around Zardabi, in the near future, an entire intellectual generation has grown up, which already in the beginning of the 20th century became an active actor and in a certain sense the initiator of rapidly proceeding social and political processes.

Zardabi fell into disfavor and became to be seen as a disloyal person after the closure of the newspaper in 1877. He had to leave his work at the Baku non-classical secondary school and to move to his native village – provincial Zardab (or, as it was, until now incorrectly written in Russian – Zardob), where he lived for almost 18 years and continued the enlightenment work. Living in the village, he collaborated with local and central newspapers including *Kaspîi*, *Kavkaz*, *Novoe obozrenie*, *Zemledel’cheskaia gazeta*, *Trudy’ Kavkazskogo obshchestva sel’skogo hoziai’stva*, etc. A part of the articles was published under the title of “Letters from the remoteness (out-of-the-way area)”. In our opinion, the concept of “remoteness” in the title of the cycle of letters is a metaphor. The back of beyond is, indeed, the traditional world of an Azerbaijani village (and, in a broader sense, the traditional society of Azerbaijan as a whole) with its obsolete -from the Enlightenment modernist viewpoint- forms of living and economic

¹⁹ *Gazeta Kaspîi*, 269 (1912).

management and stagnate stereotypes of thinking, standards and values in the mode of life.

Zardabi considered science as a means of combating injustice, social inequality, violence, prejudice, and ignorance; as a means of helping to uncover the true essence of nature and social phenomenon, on the basis of which social relations and human life can be rebuilt, as a means of improving the material life of people. He has repeatedly said that science and education contribute to the prosperity of the people and the preservation of their identity.²⁰ Thus, Enlightenment for Zardabi, as for Akhundov, was a mean of political, social and cultural emancipation of a man. At the same time, Azerbaijani enlighteners considered both science and education to be the property of the entire nation. It can be argued that egalitarian, but not elitist attitude to education dominated among the Azerbaijani enlighteners of the period.

Zardabi, like his senior contemporary Akhundov, was the son of a century of progress. He believed that by educating the people, it was possible to eliminate all social defects and vices, to achieve the elimination of exploitation and the establishment of a fair society. And he not only believed, but also strove to realize these ideas by his practical activities. According to G. Djinoridze, a well-known early-20th-century journalist from Baku, "Hasan-bek [...] fancied the happiness of his people in total awakening and in their going out from the condition of deep ignorance. He sympathized with his people and did everything he could"²¹ The ideological heritage created by Zardabi and Akhundov was the firm foundation on which the subsequent generation of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia constructed the spiritual and political framework of the Azerbaijani Modernity.

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²⁰ A. S. Mamedov, *Svobodomyslie prosvetitelei Azerbaïzhana* (Baku: Azerneshr, 1987), p. 109.

²¹ G. Dzhinoridze, "Gasan bek Melikov", *Kaspii*, 264 (November 29, 1907).

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The Educational Movement in Azerbaijan in the late 19th and early 20th centuries

Abstract: 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 the traditional way of life historically prevalent in the East. Meanwhile, Eastern civilization rested on a rich cultural heritage, such as philosophical mechanisms of social self-organization based on the ancient national traditions, natural resources and a multi-million Muslim population.

The Caucasian region bordering on Iran, Turkey and Russia could not stay uninfluenced by the 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. In this period, in the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, social transformation occurs in the Muslim regions of South Caucasus. According to the classification of George Basalla, the Southern Caucasus region was in the second phase of the formation of “colonial science” in the middle of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

The most of the first generation of Azerbaijani intellectuals studied in “Gori Seminary” (the teacher training college in the Georgian city of Gori, established in 1876) and then in the best educational institutions of Russia and Western Europe. Returning to their homeland, these intellectuals tried to implement reforms in the field of education, created new gymnasiums and schools based 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 Transcaucasian University. However, their efforts were unsuccessful, despite the numerous promises of the Tsarist administration. 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.

Keywords: Azerbaijan, South Caucasus, Gori Seminary, Enlightenment, education, generation of intellectuals.

The Russian colonization of the Caucasus pulled the region out of the customary framework of traditional Eastern development, putting it before the East-West dilemma, in which the latter was associated with education and progress, which implied liberation from the age-old religious tenets and traditional lifestyle that dominated 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 Muslim population. The Caucasian region 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. If the motive cause of the modernist movement in Egypt, Iran, Turkey and India was the pressure of European capitalism, then the East of the Russian Empire was influenced by the advancing Russian capitalism.¹

Progressive ideas, including those of Enlightenment, were born in the context of struggle between opposite cultures and different religions and mentalities. The ideas and achievements were mediated through Russia. In this period, in the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, social transformation occurs in the Muslim regions of the Caucasus, Volga region, Central Asia and the Crimea. According to the classification of George Basalla, the Southern Caucasus region was in the second phase of the formation of “colonial science” in the middle of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. This transformation is characterized 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. Striving for a better life for their people led to a protest against the existing system, which was provoked by people of the new generation, known as enlighteners, modernists, Jadids, reformers. Having mastered the theoretical heritage of both Eastern and Western philosophy, they represented the modernization of their countries through the use of the achievements of both of them. At the beginning of the 20th century not only Russian society, but also the 20-million Muslim population of the Russian Empire faced the prospect of choice. Ultimately, Muslim population preferred the symbiosis of both cultures, leading to the transformation of the entire social and cultural life.

¹ G. Gubaidullin, “K voprosu ob ideologii Gasprinskogo”. ‘Gasyrlar avazy’ (The echo of the centuries)”, *Nauchno-dokumentalnii zhurnal*, 3-4 (1998), p. 7.

The whole Muslim Caucasus, and Azerbaijan in particular, faced alien civilization values and entered the zone of cultural transformations, which tore the country out of the context of its gradual historical development.² The transformation continued during the entire 19th and the early 20th century and involved practically all aspects of social life, including the educational system, which was reformed thanks to the appearance of well-known national enlighteners. The progressive reformation in the Caucasus played the same role as the Age of the Enlightenment did in Europe; only it took place several centuries later, changing the centuries-old lifestyle and mentality in a whole generation of people belonging to various social classes. The enlighteners brought into the national consciousness the concepts of historical progress, equality, freedom, social justice, pinning special hopes on the educated part of the population, which led to the transition from traditional to post-traditional or modernist society.³ Struggling for the freedom of an individual, for the rights of a person, the enlighteners demanded education accessible for the whole nation. The aspiration of the Russian authorities to form a pro-Russian oriented aristocratic elite subsequently led to the fact that its representatives, along with the nascent Azerbaijani variegated intelligentsia, gradually became not only cultural-intellectual (educational), but social leaders in the context of nascent ethnic identity. This was preceded by the events of the 19th century, when Azerbaijan became part of the Russian Empire.

In 1844 the Caucasian region was handed over to the control of a Governor General, a person, who was supposed to have wide powers in the administration of the region. At the same time the first Governor General of the Caucasus M. S. Vorontsov “preferred to pursue the policy of co-optation of the local elite, instead of that of integration and assimilation.”⁴ The Caucasus was acknowledged to possess some social, political, economic and cultural uniqueness, which was reflected in Vorontsov’s wish to form a close alliance with the “highest Muslim classes”.

According to a rescript issued in 1841 the Azerbaijani *beks* and *agalars* (local land lords) were deprived of their lands. However, this rescript was not implemented due to strong discontent of local nobility. In 1846, Vorontsov issued a decree “to return the lands that were taken by mistake from beks and

² A. Abasov, *Sotsiokulturnye problemy sovremennosti* (Baku: Siāda, 2006), p. 94.

³ R. Badalov, *Zardabinskie chteniia: itog bez itoga*. <http://www.kultura.az/articles> (accessed 16.07.2018).

⁴ T. Swietochowski, *Russkoe pravlenie, modernizatorskie elity i stanovlenie natsionalnoĭ identichnosti v Azerbaydzhanе / Azerbaydzhan i Rossiya: obschestva i gosudarstva / Otv. Red. i sost. D. Ye. Furman* (M.: Letniy sad, 2001), p. 11.

agalars, with so much harm for us”⁵ In addition, he counted on the local officials; this policy, in his opinion, would help the government to carry out the idea of “familiarisation of the periphery with the Russian civic-mindedness”. Ratified on June 11th, 1849, “Regulations on education of Caucasian and Transcaucasian natives in the institutions of higher education and colleges of the empire at the cost of the treasury” were aimed to qualify officials to work for the government.⁶ It should be noted that the natives were, first and foremost, Armenians and Georgians, that is, the Christian peoples of the region. As to the Azerbaijani people, the cultural life revived, but the progress was much slower in comparison to the neighbors. Nevertheless, these government measures contributed to the formation of a new aristocratic class, that could receive an education and in some cases be in the state and military service. Their descendants in the future became the core of the formation of the national Azerbaijani intelligentsia.

Already at the beginning of the 20th century, when Azerbaijan, as part of a huge empire, entered the era of socio-political cataclysms and systemic transformations, they turned into political activists representing different ideological directions and thus taking an active part in the political genesis of Azerbaijan. Finally, the majority of these intellectuals became the founders of the first Azerbaijan Republic in 1918. It was a contradictory period when democratization processes were taking place and at the same time there were socio-economic political remnants that held back the modernization of the Russian Empire. In turn, the socio-political movement of Muslim peoples, caused by an increase in self-awareness and unresolved problems of the national issue in the country intensified. And, finally, conservative, liberal and revolutionary tendencies in the whole Russian society and in the Muslim social and political movement in particular were particularly characteristic of this period.⁷

They manifested themselves both in opposition to revolutionary and liberal trends in political life, and in the struggle between progressive and conservative thought in the intellectual sphere. The traditions of Azerbaijani Enlightenment established in the middle of the 19th century by the great predecessors A. A. Bakikhanov, M. F. Akhundov and G. Zardabi, were continued at the beginning

⁵ Otchet knyazya M. S. Vorontsova ot 25 marta 1845 g. po 1 yanvarya 1846 g. AKAK.-Tiflis, 1885. Vol. 10, p. 843.

⁶ Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoï imperii. Izd. 2-e. SPb., 1847. T. 24. Otd. 1. No. 23307.

⁷ R. R. Fakhрутдинov, *Tatarskoe obshchestvenno-politicheskoe dvizhenie v kontse XIX-nachale XX vv kak faktor konstruirovaniia natsionalnoï identichnosti* (SPb, 2007), p. 5.

of the 20th century by J. Mamedkulizade, O. F. Nemanzade, A. Sabir, G. Makhmudbekov, R. Efendiyev, N. Narimanov, Uzeyr and Jeyhun bey Hajibeyovs, F. Kocharli, M. E. Rasulzade, etc.⁸ Many representatives of this intelligentsia studied in Russia and in the countries of 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.

At the end of the 19th century, pleiades of enlighteners, which were united by the idea of creating new method schools (*Usul-i-jadid*) was formed. Outstanding writers and teachers S. A. Shirvani, G. Zardabi, M. T. Sidgi, M. M. Navvab, S. M. Ganizade, G. Makhmudbekov and others played a huge role in this reform movement.⁹ Under their influence, the centuries-old forms and methods of teaching in the old religious schools (*maqtab*s) and private Muslim confidential schools (*madrassah*s) are beginning to be updated. They opened the so-called “New method” (*Usul-i-jadid*) *maqtab*s with desks, blackboards, globes, maps, in which modern sciences, Azerbaijani and Russian languages are taught along with theology.¹⁰

At the turn of the 19th-20th centuries in the Caucasus and Azerbaijan begins the process of intensifying the implementation of school reforms, the importance of secular sciences in education was growing, the ways of modernizing Azerbaijani culture and the possibility of its integration to the Western civilization are discussed. From the mid-19th century, the government began to open the so-called “county schools” of the middle class for Muslims in various cities of Azerbaijan, as well as in Tiflis. The problem for the authorities was that the local Muslim clergy were usually getting their higher education in Iran and the Ottoman Empire. And the Russian authorities feared that those spiritual -and not only- persons, who were studying abroad, could subsequently take a hostile position towards Russia.

Another motive in the establishment of schools was the desire of the authorities to educate native officials loyal to the Russian state. The authorities established these schools because they considered them to be the initial stage in

⁸ *The history of Public and Cultural Reformation in the Caucasus and Central Asia (19th-early 20th century)* (Samarkand: IICAS, 2013), p. 9.

⁹ S. Suleymanova, *Azerbaijanda ijtimai-siyasi herekat (19 esrin sonu-20 esrin evveleri)* (Baku, 1999), p. 26.

¹⁰ E. M. Akhmedov, *Filosofiia Azerbaïdzhanskogo Prosveshcheniia* (Baku: Azerneshr, 1983), p. 88.

attracting the local Muslim population to Russian education, represented by county schools. However, until a certain time, maqtabs constituted the main mass base of primary education for the Muslim population. Mainly Shari'a, reading, writing, Persian (and sometimes Arabic) and history were taught in maqtabs. Teaching was based on the letter-syllabic method (*chereke*) of medieval Arabic alphabet, which was then followed by the mechanical reading of the Koran.

The traditional curriculum of the madrassah included Muslim law (*fiqh*), dogma (*Kalam*), Koranic disciplines, Hadiths, the Arabic language, Logics, among options there were arithmetic, medicine, astronomy, rhetoric, dialectics (the name for the ancient Greek philosophy linked with the study of the Koran). Importance was attached to the study of the Orientalistic classical literature, including Azerbaijani. Many students knew by heart the works of Rudaki, Ferdowsi, Nizami, Fizuli, Jami, Hafiz and Saadi.

The educational process was fundamentally different from the education system adopted by that time in European countries and in Russia. The age of *shakirds* (students of Islamic schools) in maqtabs was of no consideration and varied from 7 to 16, and in a madrassah – from 15 to 30. Likewise there was no division into grades.¹¹

By the end of the 19th century, criticism of the traditional system of education was becoming the main feature of the discourse of Azerbaijani intellectual enlighteners, striving for cultural and moral changes in Muslim society. The traditional system of education was also criticized because the knowledge acquired in maqtabs did not find application in everyday life; this knowledge was only a preparatory course for entering the madrassah, where a relatively insignificant part of the former schoolchildren entered. Some positive aspects of traditional education should also be noted: the study of the classics of the Muslim Orient (mainly Turkic and Persian literature), mastering the Arabic and Persian languages, the basic knowledge of various secular sciences. Some maqtabs in addition to languages focused on history, arithmetic, and calligraphy.

By the end of 19th century, despite the transformation of some district schools into new methodology schools, maqtabs remained predominant. In the Baku province by the end of 19th century, 245 maqtabs enrolled 4,915 students, including 64 girls. In Elizavetpol 268 maqtabs enrolled over 4,000 students, including 145 girls.¹² It should be taken into account that if education in public

¹¹ G. M. Vezirov, "O tatarskikh shkolakh", *SMOMPK*, 9 (1890), pp. 1-2.

¹² *Istoriia Azerbaïdzhana (Istoricheskii ocherk)* (Baku: Èlm, 1995), p. 307.

and private education institutions in fact had a class character, the traditional institutions were dominated by the children of common people. For example, in 1879 in Baku province out of 2,946 students enrolled in mosque maqtab; 2,713 were children of peasants.¹³ Madrassahs were lower in number than maqtab and situated as a rule in Baku, Nakhchivan, Ordubad, Shamakhy, Shusha, Ganja (Elizavetpol). In 1895, only in Shusha there were 12 madrassahs, 10 of them enrolled 484 students. The basis of education was the study of Arabic and Persian. Among the main shortcoming of both madrassahs as well as maqtab people considered teaching in a non-native language and outdated programs unaltered since the Middle Ages, and falling short of requirement of the time and the historical context.¹⁴

Since 1873, the public education of the Caucasus has been fully incorporated into the general imperial educational system. In order to reduce the political and religious-ideological influence of the Ottoman Empire and partly Iran in maqtab and madrassahs, the Minister of Education D. Tolstoï issued a special decree, which introduced the study of Russian language and arithmetic in Russian. Local languages, in particular Azeri, were excluded from the list of compulsory subjects.¹⁵ As Russian researcher of nationalism of the late Russian Empire A. Miller notes, in many parts of the empire Westernization and Russification were interconnected, and modernization strategies of local communities could suppose partial Russification. However, Muslim intellectuals (for example, Ismail Gasprinskiï in the late 19th-early 20th century argued for the assimilation of the Russian language as a tool, first, to facilitate access to Western thought and education, where they could draw ideas and resources for their own national projects, and second, to protect more effectively the interests of the local community in their relations with the empire, and in the eyes of the public opinion.¹⁶

In the last decade of the 19th century, maqtab and madrassahs experienced a certain evolution. Progressive people opened new method schools, the so-called “Usul-i-jadid” maqtab. These institutions really demonstrated innovative approaches in the form of teaching, and content. They ran outside mosques by educated people, who often did not belong to the clergy. In addition, they established not only schools for boys, but also for girls. The essence of the new

¹³ G. M. Akhmedov, *Izbrannyye pedagogicheskie sochineniia*, Vol. 12 tomakh. Tom. 8 (Baku: Tehsil, AMU, 2006), p. 180.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

¹⁶ A. Miller, *Imperiia Romanovykh i natsionalizm: Èsse po metodologii istoricheskogo issledovaniia* (M.: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2006), p. 62.

method was to introduce a phonetic method of teaching literacy instead of a letter based method. The distinguishing feature of this method is that a letter was pronounced not as a syllable but as a sound and further study was based on the alphabet. This method accelerated the learning process. Making changes in the curriculum of traditional schools and increasing the number of comprehensive schools, the education reformers had an aim to rebuild the education system as a whole. Importantly those new methodology schools used the same progressive methods and rules as in Russian schools. They included dividing students into classes and grades, according to age and knowledge, equipping classrooms with furniture and visual aids. It should be noted that first Muslim new methodology schools appeared in the 1870s in Lankaran, Shamakhy, Shusha, Salyan, Ordubad, Nakhchivan, and taught Azerbaijani, Russian, Persian, arithmetic, history, geography and science. These schools could boast bright classrooms, exemplary cleanliness, and comfortable classroom furniture.¹⁷

It can be said that Seyid Azim Shirvani (1835-1888), an eminent poet, teacher, educator, was the founder of the new-method schools in Azerbaijan. He received a fine religious education for his time, in the famous madrassahs of Najaf, Baghdad, Damascus, but did not become a theologian. After returning home to his native Shemakhy he became famous as an opponent of religious dogmatism and obscurantism and made a lot of enemies among the traditional classes of the population. He studied secular sciences, learned the Russian language and started to disseminate literacy among the population. In 1869, S. A. Shirvani opened a private school, where he was taught the Russian, Azerbaijani, Persian languages, history, geography and arithmetic. The Azerbaijani researchers consider this institution as the first new methodology school in Azerbaijan, although it was registered as a parish school.¹⁸ Seyid Azim taught Farsi using the poems of Saadi and the Azerbaijani language – based on the works of Fizuli, translations from fables of I. A. Krylov and I. I. Dmitriev as well as his own texts. Thus, the samples from the works of Russian writers appeared in the textbooks in the Azerbaijani language for the first time, introducing the Russian literature to students.¹⁹ In addition, in 1886 S. A. Shirvani designed the curriculum for teaching the Azerbaijani language for the

¹⁷ *The history of Public and Cultural Reformation in the Caucasus and Central Asia (19th-early 20th century)* (Samarkand: IICAS, 2013), p. 103.

¹⁸ A. Bagirov, *Seyid Āzim Shirvani və məktəb* (Baku: Maarif, 1986), p. 81.

¹⁹ A. P. Abdullayev, *Azərbaycan dili tədrisinin tarixindən* (Baku: Maarif, 1966), pp. 121-123.

6th grade in public schools.²⁰ It was based on the sound method and followed the principle of moving from simple to complex language forms.

Shirvani's school lasted 14 years. It is considered to be the first model school teaching in the native language in Azerbaijan. It had to be closed due to the pressure of the reactionary clergy (they called the school "the den of *gyaur*"), as well as a difficult financial situation of the institution. Nevertheless, it made a significant contribution to the development of education. It will suffice to say that among the school graduates there were such notable figures as a great poet and satirist M. A. Sabir, essayist and critic, teacher S. M. Ganizadeh, educators G. Mahmudbekov, M. Mahmudbekov, M. Efendiyev and others who made significant contributions to the development of culture and education in Azerbaijan. On September 14th, 1877, Seyid Azim was appointed professor of Shari'a and the Azerbaijani language at the Shamakhy city school. Until the end of his life S. A. Shirvani worked at this school. On the motion of the KUO (Caucasian Educational District) trustees, in 1887, shortly before his death, Shirvani was awarded the "Medal for Diligence".²¹

Another outstanding teacher, educator, poet, journalist, who left his mark in the history of new methodology schools in Azerbaijan, is Mohammed Tagi Safarov (Sidghi) (1854-1903). He was born in Ordubad and studied in maqtab and madrassah. Sidghi contributed to the development of a kind of the public consciousness which is usually referred to as advanced, or progressive. He would initiate many project including a cultural, educational and social: launch a new type of school, directed the comedy of his predecessor M. F. Akhundov, promoted A. S. Pushkin in Azerbaijan, and as a publicist spread innovative ideals and values.²² It should be noted that Sidghi lived and worked exclusively in the province, both culturally and geographically – in Nakhchivan, Ordubad.

Sidghi spent 10 years visiting the countries of the East, where he studied the Arabic and Persian languages, met with educators, collected materials on science and culture of those countries. In 1885, he returned to Ordubad and assembled together the representatives of the local intelligentsia to create "Poets Society" ("Enjumeni-Shuera"). Mohammed Taqi himself was a talented poet. He wrote more than 300 *ghazals* and poems under the pseudonym "Sidghi".²³

In 1892, together with his like-minded colleagues Sidghi founded a native school "Ekhter" (Star) in Ordubad. The school becomes famous for teaching in

²⁰ G. M. Ahmedov, *Izbrannyye pedagogicheskie sochineniia*, Vol. 8, p. 211.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Jalil Mämmädgulužadänin *Nahchivan hämäsirläri* (Baku: Azerneshr, 1967), p. 71.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

the mother tongue. The “Ekhter” school differed from the old maqtab in that in addition to the native language the new methods of teaching and education were used. The curriculum included arithmetic, geography, hygiene, Persian and Arabic. In 1894 Sidghi is invited to the district centre Nakhchivan, where a new school “Terbiye” (Education) is being opened. This school soon turned into a genuine center of national culture. The educational intelligentsia rallied around M. T. Sidghi and “Terbiye” school.²⁴ The curriculum of the school “Terbiye” included Azerbaijani, Russian, Arabic, Persian languages, history, geography, arithmetic. For the first time, ethics lessons were introduced. At the same time, more time was devoted to teaching the native language. As an exemplary educational institution, in 1896, it was reorganized into a Russian-Azerbaijani (Russian-Tatar) school and transferred to the subordination of the directorate of public schools. In the same year, the “Ekhter” school experienced a similar reorganization.²⁵ The new schools created by Sidghi and his like-minded people delivered a sensitive blow to the mosque maqtab. There was a constant outflow of students in educational institutions of a new type.

Sidghi has done a lot in the field of women’s education. It was he who in 1896 established the “Women’s School” and engaged in the education of 10 girls, despite the resistance of conservative elements. “A woman in her talent”, he wrote, “is not inferior to a man. And therefore she should not differ in anything from a man both in her education and in the place she occupies in society”.²⁶ In his handwritten textbooks, Sidghi included poems and short stories by A. S. Pushkin, M. Iu. Lermontov, L. N. Tolstoi.²⁷

It should be noted that the 80s-90s of the 19th century are generally characterized by the expansion of the educational movement. The abolition of the governorship in 1883 increased the importance of provinces and counties. Having received a higher or special education in various scientific centers of Russia, Europe and Eastern countries, young men returned to their homeland and brought a fresh stream into the social and cultural life of the local community. So the Enlightenment movement spread throughout the Azerbaijani provinces. It is no coincidence that it was in these years that new schools opened in most provincial areas. For example, 13 new educational institutions were established in the Nukha (Sheki) district, in Shusha: 8, in Lenkoran: 5, in Nakhchivan: 19. The revival of cultural life was also observed in

²⁴ I. A. Gabibbeili, *Mamedkulizade: sreda i sovremenniki* (Baku: Azerneshr, 1997), p. 220.

²⁵ *Kavkazskii kalendar' 1897 g* (Tiflis, 1896), p. 98.

²⁶ *Antologiya pedagogicheskoi mysli Azerbaidzhanskoy SSR* (Moscow: Pedagogika, 1989), p. 315.

²⁷ İ. Ə. Əvəzov, *Mamed Tagi Sidgi* (Baku: İāzychy, 1986), p. 15.

Nakhchivan. Thus, a theater was created here in 1886, the network of secular schools was expanded, local intellectuals began to be more actively published in regional print media.

One of the new methodology schools was established in 1883 by Safarali Velibekov (1861-1902), later a famous Azerbaijani educator. S. Velibekov was one of the first three Azerbaijani graduates of the “Transcaucasian (Gori) Teacher Seminary”, established in 1876. This seminary played a crucial role in the education of many representatives of the Azerbaijani intelligentsia, which became the champion of an unprecedented cultural development in the early 20th century. After completing his studies in 1881, S. Velibekov taught at the Seminary until 1896. He also was a co-author (with A. O. Cherniãevskii) of the second part of *Vatan Dili* (Mother Tongue).²⁸

Among progressive educators who defended their language and new methods of education, there was Mir Movsun Navvab (1833-1918) – a unique figure in Azerbaijani culture. Born and having lived all his life in Shusha, one of the centres of Azerbaijani culture and art, Mir Movsun Navvab possessed encyclopaedic knowledge. Navvab was actively involved in the educational life of the city, opening libraries and reading rooms in Shusha. New types of schools (“Usul-i-jadid”) launched in 1890 and their activities are also closely linked with his name. Navvab himself worked in one of them and wrote a number of textbooks: *Tazkirei Navvab*, a textbook for literature, *Nasihät-name* (Recommendations on ethics), *Kyashful-Haqiqa-ul-Kifayat atfal* (Textbook on Astronomy), etc. Along with Arabic and Farsi they taught the Azerbaijani language and literature, as well as a range of secular sciences.²⁹

Gradually new methodology schools opened in other towns of the South Caucasus. One of them was established in 1880 in Tiflis by the Muslim community. In 1883, the editor of *Keshkul* newspaper, Jalal Unsizadeh, petitioned KUO (Caucasian Educational District) to open schools for the Azerbaijani children in Tiflis. The initiator was Meshedi Mullah Ismail Haji Kazimov (1845-1888), who established a private school in 1882, where in addition to the Azerbaijani, the Russian language was also taught.³⁰

Approximately at the time when “Usul-i-jadid” maqtabs appeared, a significant event occurred in the history of the education of Azerbaijan – “Russian-Muslim” or “Russian-Tatar” (Russian-Azerbaijani) schools were established. These schools appeared first in Azerbaijan, and then quickly spread

²⁸ G. M. Akhmedov, *Azərbaycan məktəbi 19-cu əsrdə* (Baku: Maarif, 2000), p. 340.

²⁹ *Antologiya pedagogicheskoi mysli*, pp. 241-242.

³⁰ Akhmedov, *Azərbaycan məktəbi 19-cu əsrdə*, p. 342.

throughout the Caucasus. What makes these schools different is that they were generally established by individuals or part of the population and used municipal funds and donations. Russian-Tatar schools started to take hold among Turkic peoples of the Russian Empire after the publication in 1870 of “The Rules of Educating Foreign Peoples”. They were considered as schools of primary education and the study period was 3 years. The “Rules” sought to base teaching on the methods of progressive Russian and European pedagogy. The first Russian-Tatar (Azerbaijani – *author*) school in Azerbaijan was established on January 2nd, 1875, in the village of Salakhli in Kazakh district, Elisavetpole province, by T. Mamleev, an ethnic Tatar from Kazan'. It was the first Russian-Tatar school not only in Azerbaijan, but also in the Caucasus.³¹

Further development of these schools in the Caucasus was influenced by the activities of prominent Azerbaijani teachers S. M. Ganizadeh (1866-1937) and G. I. Mahmudbekova (1864-1928). Their initiative firstly was received with hostility by the Muslim community. According to the conservatives, the graduates of Russian schools would automatically fall into the category of “infidels”. Then young teachers, “strange and weird” in the eyes of people, approached Baku kazi Jawad Akhund – one of the spiritual leaders who were sympathetic to the educational endeavors and tried to assist within their ability. J. Akhund blessed the enthusiasm of young teachers with the following words: “The light of the school will reflect in people’s eyes”.³² On September 27th, 1887 the trustee of the KUO, K. P. Yankovskii approved the petition submitted by S. M. Ganizadeh and G. Mahmudbekov to open a private school on the condition of compliance with the curriculum approved by the Ministry of Education.³³

Thus, on October 20th, 1887 a Russian-Azerbaijani school was open in Baku. This was the first truly modern type of Azerbaijani school that used the “Usul-Jadid” method. The Russian-Muslim school was a 3-year educational institution and had its own specific features. Unlike traditional maqtab, in these schools, the teaching of Russian and social sciences was held on a systematic basis. In contrast to Russian schools (for example, urban schools), Russian-Muslim schools focused on teaching the mother tongue. The number of students did not exceed 15, but within ten days the number of students reached 76. On May 26th, 1891, it was decided to open two state sponsored Russian-Muslim schools in addition to the existing one, i.e. the Russian-

³¹ GIAG (State Historical Archive of Georgia), F. 422, Reg. 1, D. 623, l. 4.

³² S. M. Ganizadeh, “Akhund Jawad”, *Irshad*, 54 (1906).

³³ “Tsirkuliar po upravleniiu KUO”, *Caucasian Educational District*, 10 (1887).

Azerbaijani schools were no longer private.³⁴ Both schools were opened on September 23rd of 1891. G. Makhmudbekov was appointed director of the first school and the second (director – Ganizadeh). Since the schools were moved into state care, education became free. In the curriculum of the new Russian-Muslim schools, in addition to the native language, the Russian language, arithmetic, Shari'a, world history, elementary geography, such new disciplines as singing and gymnastics were introduced, i.e. the program expanded to the secondary school level.³⁵

Since the end of the 19th century Russian-Muslim schools gradually began to spread throughout the Caucasus. Every year there were more and more people willing to study in Russian-Muslim schools. Given this, the city government opened 10 Russian-Muslim schools between 1892 and 1901. First Baku Russian-Muslim schools became a model for the educational movement in Central Asia. Ganizadeh opened one of the first new methodology schools in Samarkand in May of 1893 while travelling to Turkestan. It became so popular that the residents of Samarkand thanked Ganizadeh in I. Gasprinskiĭ's newspaper *Tarjuman*.³⁶

To illustrate the true extent of the educational movement in Azerbaijan, it is enough to say that if, in 1887, the first Russian-Muslim school enrolled 76 students, in 1913 the number of male students at the new methodology schools reached 2,249 and there were also 337 female students.³⁷ If in the first Russian-Muslim school there were only 2 professional teachers, then in 1913 – 50 male and 15 female teachers taught in this type of school.³⁸ A similar school after Baku appeared in Shusha. One of the pupils of this school was an outstanding composer and cultural figure Uzeir Hajibeyov.

The foremost intellectuals of Azerbaijan faced an urgent task of compiling textbooks in their native language. Alexei Cherniaevskii (1840-1894), the inspector of Azerbaijani branch of the "Transcaucasia Teachers Seminary" (ZUS) was instrumental in addressing this issue, for it is thanks to him that the aforementioned school was opened. He selected his future students in all of the cities of Azerbaijan, visiting Nakhchivan, Elizavetpol, Shusha, Nukha, Shemakhy, Baku, Derbend and others.³⁹ He often faced rejection and

³⁴ GIAAR (State Historical Archive of Azerbaijan Republic), F. 309, Reg. 2, D. 944, l. 1-2.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, F. 389, Reg. 6, D. 6, l. 70.

³⁶ "Pis'mo iz Samarkanda", *Tarjuman*, 36 (1893).

³⁷ "Bakida Rus-musälman mäktäblärinin 25-illik yubileyi", *Mäktäb*, 21 (1912).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ G. M. Akhmedov, "Pervyi shag v reshenii problemy uchebnika na rodnom iazyke", *Prepodavanie azerbaidzhanskogo iazyka i literatury*, 1 (1980), pp. 75-82.

misunderstanding on the part of the conservative public and fellow officers. A. O. Cherniaevskii aided by the students, gathered material and designed a weekly program and the ABC-textbook *Vatan Dili* (Mother Tongue). It was the first textbook based on the phonetic method not only in Azerbaijan, but also in the whole of the Muslim East.⁴⁰ The textbook was published in 1882. In 1888, in collaboration with Safarali beg Velibekov, a fellow professor, A. O. Cherniaevskii published the second part of *Vatan Dili* in Tiflis which, like the first, was written under the influence of pedagogical ideas of the great Russian teacher K. D. Ushinskii. The success of *Vatan Dili* is obvious; it is enough to list the names of people who learned to read and received the first system education in this book, and the role played by this book will be clear: Uzeyir Bey Hajibeyov, Muslim Magomayev (the founders of Azerbaijani classical music), Mahmud Bey Makhmudbekov (major teacher), Suleiman Sani Akhundov (writer). The textbook of R. Efendiyev *Basirak-ul-atfal* (Insight children) published in 1901 was also one of the best textbooks used in Azerbaijani schools at the beginning of the 20th century. The textbooks of R. Efendiyev were the first Azerbaijani textbooks widely propagandizing the books of the great Russian classics: Pushkin, Lermontov, Krylov, Tolstoi, etc.⁴¹ Indisputable merits belong in this field to an outstanding political figure, a famous writer, teacher, and doctor Nariman Narimanov (1870-1925). In 1899 he published a well-known textbook *Turk-Azerbaijan dilinin muhteser serf-nehfi* (A Concise Grammar of Turkish-Azerbaijani Language). Narimanov's book was long used as a guide to learning the rules of grammar of the native language not only in Azerbaijani schools, but also in the Crimea, Turkestan and Dagestan, and received positive peer reviews.

A significant contribution to the formation of the new Azerbaijani culture was made by a scientist, researcher, literary critic, critic and journalist, talented teacher, Firudin bek Kocharli (Kocharlinskii) In 1894, after the death of his beloved teacher A. O. Cherniāevskii, F. Kocharli re-edits and re-publishes his textbook *Vatan Dili*. In 1912, he produced a book for home reading *A Gift to Kids*, which became an indispensable tool for students in elementary schools. As an educator and a pioneer F. Kocharli pointed to the existing shortcomings of the old school, stood for radical changes in the education system, castigated the scholastic methods of education and training. In the work *Azerbaijani literature* by F. Kocharli, the totality of literary processes and characters ethnically or geographically involved in Azerbaijan was nominated as a concept.⁴² The

⁴⁰ F. Kocharlinskii, "A. O. Cherniaevskii", *Kaspiĭ*, 282 (1914).

⁴¹ *Antologĭia pedagogicheskoi mysli*, pp. 328-329.

⁴² F. Kocharli, *Materialy po istorii Azerbaidzhanskoĭ literatury*, Vol. 2 (Baku: Azerneshr, 1925), p.

reading public developed the idea that the Muslims of the Russian provinces of Transcaucasia are a special *ethnos*, different from the Persian, with a special ethnonym – “Azerbaijani Turks, or Azeriler”. In the famous article “Mother tongue” published in the *Molla Nasreddin* journal, he writes: “The fundamental attribute of every nation is language. A nation can lose its wealth, its government, even its territory; but still continue to live. But if it loses its tongue, then not a trace of it will be left”.⁴³ Kocharli’s position was strongly supported by a well-known journalist and educator M. A. Shakhtakhtinskii.

In 1871, M. Shakhtakhtinskii entered the Faculty of History, Philosophy and Law of the University of Leipzig. Shakhtakhtinskii graduated from the university in 1873 with a specialization in Oriental languages. Further, he moved to Paris, where he continued his studies at the School of Oriental Languages. It should be noted that Shakhtakhtinskii was a polyglot, he perfectly mastered 12 languages. Being in Paris in 1899-1902, M. Shakhtakhtinskii acquainted with the famous French orientalist Lucien Bueve, who wrote about him two articles in the *Journal Asiatique* and *Revue de Monde musulman*. He was elected a member of the International Society of Phonetics and the Asian Society, which meant recognition of his scientific talents by the French scientific community. Returning to his homeland, he puts forward the idea of a new Muslim alphabet, blames the cultural backwardness of Muslim peoples for their theological worldview, the archaic nature of education and Enlightenment. He also called for restructuring the school by European standards, secularization of education and training, a change in the lifestyle and thinking of people, and condemned female seclusion as a barbaric custom, emphasizing the importance of education for women.⁴⁴ In the newspaper *Shargi-Rus* (Russian East) published by him in Tiflis in 1903, he brought all these topical issues to broad discussion. Discussing the issues of Muslim education, Shakhtakhtinskii focused on the extremely important problems of the ethnic life of the Azerbaijani Turks.

Published in the late 19th century by the brothers S. and J. Unsizade, the newspaper *Keshkul* (Bag of Dervish) took the first step in the discussion of the problem of self-identification of Azerbaijanis. In the same year, 1891, M. Shakhtakhtinskii raised this problem in his article “How to call the Transcaucasian Muslims”, published in the *Kaspii* newspaper. He wrote: “It was most convenient to name Transcaucasian Muslims-Azerbaijani Turks

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⁴³ *Molla Nasreddin journal*, 3 (1906).

⁴⁴ Ė. M. Akhmedov, *Filosofiiia Azerbaïdzhanskogo Prosveshcheniia* (Baku: Azerneshr, 1983), p. 176.

(‘Azerbaijan Türklari’), and their language is Turkic-Azerbaijani’.⁴⁵ Debates on this topic continued at the beginning of the next century and were particularly intensified in 1911-1913.

The problem of women’s education in this period has acquired special relevance. In this case, most of the activity showed Hasan bey Zardabi, supported by outstanding Azerbaijani philanthropist and entrepreneur H. Z. Tagiev. Zardabi’s vocational school for women, together with the first school in Transcaucasia for Muslim girls opened in Baku on October 6th, 1901, was supported by the charity foundation of Z. Tagiev. The head of the school was the wife of H. Zardabi, Hanifa khanum Melikova, who had a European education.⁴⁶ Teachers at the school were Vasilya hanum Musabekova, Sabira hanum Abdurahman, Adilya hanum Shahtakhtinskaia and Sariya hanum Ahmedova – the wives and daughters of well-known enlighteners. The opening of this school was a real sensation in the Muslim world; it was visited even by the Mozaffar ad-Din Shah of Qajar Empire, who arrived in Baku in 1902.

At the beginning of the 20th century, a whole network of cultural and educational societies appeared in Azerbaijan, the most famous of which were the “Nijat” (Salvation), “Neshr-Maarif” (Press and Enlightenment), “Safa” and “Saadat” (Happiness) societies. The main goal of each of these societies was to proclaim the education of the Azerbaijani population, creating Friday schools (like Sunday for Christians) for Muslim children, evening courses for adults to teach their native and Russian languages, arithmetic and basic geography. These societies have also played a major role in the development of the national theater.⁴⁷

Great efforts were made by Azerbaijani and Georgian intellectuals to establish higher educational institutions in the Caucasus – the Pedagogical Institute and the Transcaucasian University. However, their efforts were unsuccessful, despite the numerous promises of the Tsarist administration. Only after independence, in 1918, all three republics of the South Caucasus were able to establish their universities.

The development of the educational system in the Muslim Caucasus and particularly in Azerbaijan at the end of 19th and early 20th centuries prompts the following conclusions. As was demonstrated above, in this period of social and cultural change the network of primary, secondary, special schools

⁴⁵ *Kaspiï*, 76 (April 4, 1891).

⁴⁶ *Kaspiï*, 235 (October 8, 1901).

⁴⁷ N. Tairzade, “Piatnichnaya shkola prosvetitel'skogo obshestva “Nidjat” v Baku” in *Iz istorii azerbaïdjanskoï intelligentsii* (Baku, 2009), pp. 314-320.

dramatically expanded, the number of students rose. Already at the beginning of the 20th century, we see the results of the activities of Azerbaijani enlighteners in the field of education. If in 1902 in Azerbaijan there were 230 primary schools with 14,598 pupils, of which only 3,643 were Azeris, in the 1914-15 school year there were already 943 such schools and 61,200 pupils. The number of Azerbaijani pupils also increased and reached 21,604.⁴⁸ The libraries, reading rooms opened, and newspapers and magazines, including those in the Azerbaijani language, began to circulate. The new generation of educators began to speak out for reforming Muslim alphabet, as well as the entire school system, to publicly criticize some of the tenets of religion, warring religious groups and sects.

Thus, the described epoch of the end of the 19th and the early 20th centuries was truly revolutionary not only in the political sense of the word, but above all a turning point in the cultural transformation of the traditional Eastern society. But a real revolution took place in the cultural and educational sphere, when closed Eastern societies began to open their inexhaustible sources of their rich cultural heritage to their peoples and the whole world. Not the least role in this process was played by the mutual influence of the cultures of Muslim and Christian peoples, which stimulated an incredible civilization leap and allowed them to stand on par with developed nations in the rich in political and socio-cultural processes of the 20th century.

Reforms of the educational system received a great impetus in the years of the existence of the independent Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (1918-1920). It was at this time that the University of Baku was founded (1919). After the Soviet occupation in 1920, the foundation of a new, Soviet education system was laid. The main achievement of Soviet power is the elimination of universal illiteracy. At the same time, the focus was on education in Russian. Graduating from Russian schools was easier to get a job, because all the official documentation was in this language.

After independence in 1991, the situation changed, the number of educational institutions teaching in Azerbaijani language sharply increased. At the same time, the European and American model of education has taken a strong place in the Azerbaijani education system. Since 1991 Azerbaijan Education might be divided into three phases of education policy developments: first, 1991-1998, second, the implementation of Education Reform Project with

⁴⁸ *Ocherki istorii shkoly i pedagogicheskoi mysli narodov SSSR. Konets 19-nachalo 20 vv* (Moscow: Pedagogika, 1991), p. 378.

World Bank support from 1999 to 2014, and third, the last four years following the completion of the “Reform project”.

The education policy decisions taken by the government of Azerbaijan during the seven years immediately following independence were influenced by the urgent political desire to strengthen a national identity and create distance from the Soviet times. The following three education policy actions can be highlighted as crucial events with high impact on the further national education developments: forging a national identity, fighting corruption inherited from Soviet times and supporting private investment to education. In 1999 the Government developed and adopted a large scale Education Reform Program which aimed at: curriculum reform and teacher in-service training; provision of teaching and learning resources including textbooks and educational management and finance.

The last three years might be characterized by a strong will on the part of the government to continue education reforms efforts. Since the completion of the ESDP, the MOE's strategy has been focused on executing various educational initiatives within the “2013 State Strategy on the Development in The Republic of Azerbaijan”. Among the central challenges of education developments are improved inclusive education policies for children with special needs, K-12 transition, democratic school governance, school-based teachers professional development.

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Teacher Training Courses in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Georgia

Abstract: The future and prosperity of a country greatly depends on teachers' pedagogic skills. In the second half of the 19th century, many primary schools were opened in Georgia requiring qualified teachers. The existing situation encouraged the creation of teachers' seminaries. As a result, by the 1860s, the teachers' preparation and development process started. The actuality of the paper is that we have studied and discussed the process of teacher preparation at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries in Georgia; the establishment of Alexander II 3-year teaching Seminary, later transforming into Institute; the teachers' preparation at the male and female "Gori Teaching Seminaries" during this period. The aim of the article is to present the curriculums, and the theoretical and practical training courses of these institutions; to describe the process of teachers' pedagogical-methodical development, present the influences and impacts of the teaching schools existing in Georgia on the schools of Caucasus. As a research method we used analysis of the curriculum, the archival and historical materials, and interviews. Tbilisi, Gori, Xoni and Kutaisi schools and seminaries prepared more than 1,500 teachers. They implemented primary education in Georgia. Until 1917, up to 800 teachers were trained, thus playing a major role in the preparation of primary education teachers from the Caucasus. In the second half of the 19th century, several societies were created in Georgia being aware of the role of education. The "Society for literacy among Georgians" opened and financed Georgian schools, libraries, issued different textbooks, collected manuscripts and museum exhibits, funded students. Graduates of Georgian schools were sent for teaching to different schools of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Yerevan. The results of the survey given in this article will be useful for people interested in the issues of education, as well as in history.

Keywords: Teacher preparation, pedagogy, curriculum, seminary, school of teaching, history of education.

Introduction

The future of any country depends a lot on teachers' professionalism, maturity and pedagogic skills. The aim and priority of any education system is teachers' professional formation and development. For centuries, many well-known scientists, intellectuals and pedagogues have carried out research dealing with the problems of teachers' preparation. Today, Georgian pedagogical researchers have a treasure such as King Arč'il's, Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani's, Vaxtang VII's, Ilia Č'avčavaže's, Iakob Gogebašvili's, Luarsab Boc'vadže's pedagogical inheritance; the aforementioned personalities regarded teachers as very important persons, having an influence on the development of education. Georgian educational traditions take origins from the ancient times. Georgia is actually one of the ancient traditional countries, where agriculture developed alongside craftsmanship, cattle breeding, and culture. Family training, the so-called "family schooling," was mainly developed at the beginnings in this area. According to Greek sources, "there also should have been school teaching in Georgia. The fact is confirmed by gymnasiums and discs found in Kolxeti area. In the 4th-3rd centuries BC, in Georgia there was a Kolxeti Higher Rhetorical and Philosophical School near Poti, where the Byzantines used to get education"¹ So, this academy is considered to be the first center preparing higher school teachers in Georgia.

Throughout its history, Georgia has been invaded by various enemies (Arabs, Persians, Iranians, among others), who actually tried to destroy the Georgian culture and consciousness. However, Georgian culture and education persisted in spite of hard historical events. Invaders could not manage to destroy the longing for culture, education, creative life, and cultural prosperity of Georgian people. Despite of the fierce fighting, Georgian people cared about the education of the younger generations; there has been a significant involvement of the Georgian people in the preparation process of school teachers. The research object of our paper concerns the training of teachers between the second half of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century in Georgia. Until this period, Georgia did not have any higher schools, and all the issues of pedagogical staff preparation were largely decided by official educational and charitable organizations. These were the "Caucasus Christian Orthodox Society" and the so-called "T'ergdaleulebi", i.e. Georgian intellectuals who received their education in Russia and European countries. Georgian intellectuals' achievements had a great importance in the 1860s. Their main

¹ M. Berženišvili, *Kalak pazisis istoriasat'vis* (Tbilisi, 1969), p. 47

concerns were schooling, public education, and the preparation of qualified teachers.

Materials and research methods

We have analyzed the curriculum of the “Gori Theological Seminary”, archival and historical materials, and interviews. We have studied historical and pedagogical works and researches of historians Merab Berzenišvili and A. K. Pashaev; public figures and writers I. Gogebašvili, I. Čavčavaže, Sh. Nazirli, G. T'avzišvili and F. Handzhanekova; archival materials: *The History of Public Education* and *History of Pedagogical Psychology 1801-1870, Georgian Public Figures and Teachers of Public Education*; and also internet resources.

Research stages

We have studied the preconditions and necessity of creating the Alexander II Gori, Xoni, and Kutaisi schools of teaching for male and female; discussed the curriculums of these schools; and presented the role of these schools in the process of teacher preparation in Georgia and also in the Caucasus.

Discussion

“Our school should open the mind to our children, enlighten them, giving them possibility to acquire knowledge, raising the mind and morale, gaining the well-being of the people”² is noted by a great public figure and prominent representative of Georgian pedagogy, one of the active participants of the National Liberation Movement of Georgia in the second half of the 19th century – Iakob Gogebašvili. He considered school as a great cultural event. However, he knew that the school would perform this great function through the teachers, spiritually responding to the demands of their nation. In his opinion, a close spiritual connection between intellectuals and the people was a precondition of the country's success.³

“By 1865-66 there were more than 250 schools in Georgia with more than 11,000 students, but their teachers did not have any special pedagogical education.”⁴ The number of students willing to get education was much more than the possibility to satisfy their needs and requirements. This is the reason

² I. Gogebašvili, *T'xzulebani*, Vol. 2 (Tbilisi: Ganat'leba, 1954), p. 182.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴ G. T'avzišvili, *Saxalxo ganat'lebisa da pedagogiuri azrovnebis istoria 1801-1870 clebši* (Tbilisi: Ganat'leba, 1948), p. 176.

why the home education network and private teacher practice was developed. The group and individual teaching was still active in the homes of the clergy, nobility and peasants. In spite of the fact that the teaching process was conducted without any planning and special program, the number of students still increased. People used to open schools through their own recourses, but they did not have literate teachers; as a result, unqualified people were often invited to conduct teaching. The increased number of schools and students, the unprepared teachers, the expansion of home schooling practice, and various attempts to overcome the illiteracy – all of these factors raised an urgent issue for increasing the number of educated teachers.

Consequently, in 1865 the governing circles of Georgia suddenly opened the primary female teacher preparation school in Tbilisi, named after Olga T'eodore, wife of the Caucasian vice Regent.⁵ The charter of the Tbilisi female teacher preparation school was approved on March 12th, 1865, with the purpose of preparing the so-called "home teachers". The Tbilisi teacher preparation school with its structure (3 classes), duration of training 3 years and its curriculum, with the pedagogical-methodological preparation and practical lesson organization, was a completely new special pedagogical school – actually the second in the Russian Empire. This school was the prototype of the new teaching seminaries founded in Russia. The age of the students was between 7-18 years. The courses were divided into three stages: elementary, general education and special-pedagogic. The elementary level was the first stage of the school. Teaching at this level included two classes (1-2) and was defined for 2 years. They taught: Divine Law, writing in Russian, writing and reading in their native language, arithmetic and the basic course of some disciplines. French and German languages, dance and music were optional. General education was the second stage of the school with 2-year courses (classes 3-4). They taught: Divine Law, Russian language, general and Russian history, general and Russian geography, arithmetic and elements of mathematical dimension, introduction to philosophy, pure writing, painting, handicraft, and native language. German, French, Armenian and Tatar languages, dance and music were taught as facultative subjects. The third stage was considered to be the special pedagogical stage of the school. This level included 2-year courses (classes 5-6). This stage included an intensified revision study of the first and the second stage subjects. In addition to new subjects, the general pedagogic with didactics and practical (experimental) lessons were added to the elementary classes.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 456.

In the 1870s, a progressive part of the intelligentsia included numerous women desiring to pursue a higher education. This necessity was caused by the fact that the secondary schools for females required qualified teachers with a higher education. The Tbilisi female pedagogical 1-year course was established by an inspector of the St. Nino female school, the famous teacher Besarion Gogoberize. The aim of this course was to raise the qualification of the graduates, as well as the teachers of other schools in Tbilisi. The majority of the listeners attending the course were teachers of primary and secondary schools. The lectures included philology, physics, mathematics, natural sciences and pedagogic-didactics. By the end of the year, a colloquium was held to verify the knowledge of the listeners. The lectures in pedagogy and didactics were conducted by inspector L. Možalevskii (the disciple of K. D. Ushinskii). The courses attracted a large number of listeners. For instance, 3-4 months after its opening, in February 1870, 102 women attended the courses.

On October 2nd, 1870, the 7th pedagogic class was added to this school, which aimed to educate students and prepare them for a teaching career by introducing theoretical and practical courses. This class included: 1) Pedagogy, 2) Didactic (methods of teaching Russian language, arithmetic, natural sciences and drawing), 3) Natural Sciences, and 4) Drawing. In the meantime, the seven-graders conducted practical lessons in the primary classes of the same school. In the same year, the Tbilisi female primary school of teaching was transformed into a women's gymnasium. The Tbilisi St. Nino female school prepared women teachers for conducting lessons in 2-year primary schools. The St. Nino teacher preparation schools in Tbilisi, Kutaisi and Telavi greatly contributed to the preparation of female pedagogical staff.⁶

A year after the establishment of the Tbilisi teacher preparation school, a primary school was opened in order to provide school teachers with practical training courses. "The school had 2-year courses. Students were taught Divine Law, Russian language, arithmetic, pure writing, chant. Pedagogy was taught only for two hours per week. In addition, the pedagogic course did not completely cover the issues of theoretical pedagogy and pedagogic history. The pedagogic course consisted of a simple collection of monographs on the specific pedagogical issues. The pedagogic program included: 1) Didactic issues: the rules of teaching related to the students; the rules related to the subject of teaching; the rules of teaching related to the teacher, 2) Visual teaching, 3) Writing and reading skill development, 4) Teaching of native language, 5)

⁶ V. Gagua, *Pedagogika* (Tbilisi, 1996), p. 68.

Teaching of Arithmetic, 6) Teaching of Russian language for local residents.”⁷ The curriculum demonstrates that the content of the general pedagogic course was not yet established, and there were no qualified pedagogic specialists, lecturers and teachers. Students learned methodology in the context of the pedagogic course. In addition, the teacher of each subject was obliged to teach the teaching method of his/her own subject.

The students started practical courses of teaching in the 3rd class, conducting lessons in the primary classes of the same school. The lessons were observed by the teachers of the same subject, class masters and free trainees, and the lessons were discussed and analyzed. In 1867, the teaching-learning process in the Tbilisi teachers' preparation school was regulated by the director's special instruction. The guidelines related to the following provisions: 1) the aims of the teaching career, 2) the means of their accomplishment, 3) the direction of an educator's work, 4) the necessity of raising students following the spirit of the Christian religion, 5) the necessity of extra-curricular behavior observation, 6) the means of achieving the education objectives: direct supervision over students, discussions and literature reading, 7) methods of working with students for educators, 8) encouragement and punishment, and 9) manners of relations among educators. They did not conduct pedagogy as a separate science; pedagogy was conducted together with methodology. However, the practical and methodical training courses for students and future teachers were well performed. Alongside theoretical teaching, significant time was devoted to pedagogical practices.

We should admit that there was nothing new in the instructions of the Tbilisi Pedagogical School; yet it represented the data of pedagogical sciences, and this created an interest among teachers' circles. In 1869, 13 qualified teachers graduated from the Tbilisi Pedagogical School. In 1870, a project on the establishment of teaching institutes in Russia was elaborated. The administration of the Tbilisi school of teaching decided to prepare the basis for transforming the pedagogical school into a pedagogical institution. For this purpose, the 1870 curriculum and programs for the Tbilisi teacher preparation school were amended, according to the curriculum of the future educational institutes.

The “Society of Orthodox Christianity Restoration” has contributed greatly to the establishment of schools in Caucasus in 1860-1917 years. The Society was governed by a Council established in Tbilisi, chaired by the Chaplain in the Caucasus and the Georgian Exarch. The budget originated from different

⁷ T'avzišvili, *Istoria*, p. 455.

donors. In 1866, the “Society of Orthodox Christianity Restoration” in the Caucasus founded a teacher preparation school in Tbilisi. The school was defined for both genders and included 2-3-year courses. By 1865, the “Society of Christianity Restoration” founded 58 primary schools in the Caucasus, 32 of them were founded in the regions of Georgia and South Ossetia. The teaching was mainly conducted in Russian. Russian language speaking pedagogues were exceptionally rare. This circumstance led to the creation of a teacher preparation school in Tbilisi.

This school was opened in December 1866. It was named after Alexander II. Its goal was to prepare primary school teachers. Initially, the school consisted of 3 classes with 3-year courses. The graduates of the primary schools were received from the age of 16. Its curriculum included the following subjects: 1) Divine law, 2) Russian language, 3) Pedagogics (primary school disciplines, with private methods), 4) History, 5) Geography, 6) Arithmetic, 7) Geometry, 8) Hygiene, 9) Popular medicine, 10) Science, 11) Writing, 12) Drawing, 13) The Chant, and 14) Gymnastics. In addition, the students received appropriate practical knowledge and skills on agricultural and workshop labor, such as gardening, woodturning, carpentry, and blacksmithing, among others. In 1866, the Master of Theology Giorgi Xelaže, a graduate of this school, started pedagogical courses, which contributed to the pedagogical education in Georgia and the process of teacher preparation. These were 1-year courses to prepare teachers of the church-parish, as well as theological schools. In this period, in Tbilisi, like in St. Petersburg and Moscow, various public pedagogic meetings were held to discuss the following issues: the goals and objectives of education, teaching methods, curriculums, programs, school textbooks, public education and issues of pedagogic history. These meetings were regularly attended by teachers living in Tbilisi, who were interested in various topics.

“Since 1867, the summer pedagogic courses for primary school teachers were introduced. The aim of the courses was to raise teachers’ teaching-methodological qualification, to promote practical method popularization, introduce new methods, and share experience. The first courses were opened in the summer of 1867 in Telavi. Teachers of the Caucasus Gymnasium were invited to attend the courses. The lectures were conducted by the teachers of Tbilisi Gymnasium and female teacher preparation school”⁸

In the 1880s, the number of Georgian students in Georgian pedagogical schools was significantly increased. I. Gogebašvili wrote about this: “One of the most comforting and hopeful events in our life is that the Georgian modern

⁸ *Ibid.*

generation has a great interest in pedagogic education”⁹ But unfortunately the vast majority of the teachers were not appropriate for this honorable position because they had neither general or special pedagogical education, nor moral qualities. “In many state, theological and private schools inappropriate people were conducting teaching: the chancellery’s staff, deacons, demolished soldiers, poor, illiterate women, and others who did not fit to any other work but ‘pedagogic.’”¹⁰

At the same time, pedagogical schools were able to provide school personnel only after 4-6 years. But in quantity and quality they were not able to change the old situation; therefore, school teaching was often under criticism in the Georgian press. In 1868, Giorgi Cereteli published an article “The chronicle of our life” in the journal *Droeba*, in which the author refers to the necessity of developing education among people by noting that the problems connected with “school education” and “teachers” were not solved. Teachers should know what to teach. It was perfectly clear that the school could not reach its goal without advancing the qualifications of the teachers; he was convinced that only teachers with great pedagogical education could serve the people and provide new generation with rational education. According to G. Cereteli, the first requirement of a teacher is knowledge of the subject, i.e. methodical mastery. However, at the same time, G. Cereteli, as a person with a wide range of general education, was aware that the methodical skills could not exist without the knowledge of the teaching-learning aims and objectives, the knowledge of the child’s nature and the rules of teaching, the knowledge of pedagogy as a science.

Ilia Čavčavaže felt the lack of pedagogical education and the necessity for European pedagogy propaganda. He wrote that “European educated people have at their disposal an extensive number of pedagogic literature and many journals, discussing issues of education. Georgian literature does not deal with these issues and as a result, few people know that there is a science pedagogy whose subject is to educate children.”¹¹ From the first days since the establishment of the journal *Moambe*, he promised to provide the society with interesting articles discussing issues related to the children’s education.

Iakob Gogebašvili served pedagogical institutions theoretically and materially; he contributed to the expansion of the pedagogical educational institutions. In 1865, he created “the Georgian Alphabet” and in 1868 compiled the textbook *Bunebis Kari* (The Door to Nature) by laying the foundation for the

⁹ I. Gogebašvili, *Rč’euli nacerebi*, Vol. 2 (Tbilisi: Ganat’leba, 1940), p. 120.

¹⁰ T’avzišvili, *Istoria*, p. 176.

¹¹ I. Čavčavaže, *Pedagogiuri t’xzulebani* (Tbilisi: Ganat’leba, 1938), p. 136.

native language-teaching, according to new scientific methods. Then, in his numerous articles concerning the training of the teachers, he systematically tried to discuss pedagogical education issues – in particular, the new principles of teacher training, the establishment of teaching colleges, the creation of a special educational literature, and many others. At the same time, I. Gogebašvili published the *Русское слово* (Russian word), a book used to study Russian language not only in Georgia, but in other Russian provinces as well.

Iakob Gogebašvili considered the issues of the political education of public teachers in combination with their scientific and pedagogical training. He urged teachers to take an active part in the fight for the national-liberation movement and against the colonization policies of the King. “Most importantly thanks to the public school teachers, Georgian people advanced in book knowledge [...]. Yes, it is true that public school teachers promoted the development of our people.”¹² Niko Nikolaze, a prominent public figure, pointed out that “the public school would only fulfill its honorable duties if it was really provided with qualified public school teachers”. In his opinion, the teacher should be “an educated, ideological, humane, citizen embodied with patriotic feelings and a master of his/her field”.¹³

The happiest exceptions were the teachers trained in the theological seminaries or private schools in Tbilisi, Telavi and Russia, who successfully continued the teaching work of the 19th-century Tbilisi nobility schools, gymnasium and other schools. The backwardness of the pedagogic culture and the teachers of the 1860s can be explained by the fact that during this period there were not any special pedagogical education schools. The Ministry of Education of Russia was not interested in the educational development of Georgia. Tsarism hindered the development of public education in Georgia, namely the opening of special educational institutions that would prepare qualified teachers.

Various teaching seminaries were opened in Georgia; for instance, the Caucasus “Gori Teaching Seminary” in 1876, and the Xoni and Kutaisi teaching seminaries in 1881. Their opening was artificially inflicted by Tsarist officials over the years. During this period, teachers were prepared in the eight pedagogic classes of some gymnasiums.¹⁴ The aim of the Gori Seminary was to prepare qualified teachers for the schools of Transcaucasia – and was hence

¹² Gogebašvili, *Rč'euli nacerebi*, p. 483.

¹³ *Saxalxo ganat'lebis k'art'veli moğvaceebi da saxalxo mascavleblebi*, II krebuli (Tbilisi: Scientific-Methodological Publication, Education Ministry of Georgia, 1955), p. 46.

¹⁴ Gagaa, *Pedagogika*, p. 67.

called “The Transcaucasia teacher preparation school”. The term “seminary” implies an educational training institution, a school. The “Transcaucasian (teacher’s) Seminary” implemented the school teachers’ preparation process. During its existence, the seminary prepared more than 1,500 teachers, conducting and spreading primary education in Georgia. There was a primary school consisting of three departments in the seminary: junior, middle and senior departments. Initially it provided just 1-year course, but in 1896 it was transformed into a 2-year course, and played the role of a general school. Future teachers were attending courses in teaching methodology and lesson planning. The lessons were observed, discussed and evaluated. Boys and girls were received at the primary school. The training course was charged. Special attention was paid to the development of reading and writing skills in Georgian and Russian languages. They felt that the teacher should be physically strong, completely educated, a respected and trusted person in the society. Therefore, the seminary provided future teachers with versatile education.

In 1879, Iakob Gogebašvili considered as the main task to increase the number of teaching seminaries, and thus provide local population with a well-prepared contingent. He wrote and spoke extensively about the refinement of Gori and Xoni seminaries, Tbilisi teacher preparation schools, and the need to establish female pedagogical schools. He demanded the opening of pedagogical classes and courses, the formation of circles and other means to increase the qualifications of teachers, their general and pedagogic knowledge, and methodical skills. The Gori Seminary brought up teachers of the Transcaucasia. The Azerbaijani population required the opening of a separate section for Muslims in Tbilisi or in any Christian city populated also by Azerbaijanis.

The Governor of the Caucasus considered the Muslims as a backward population; in 1875, he responded to their request and admitted that it was related to certain problems that could be solved by purchasing a residential place, school building and taking inventory. Therefore, he suggested the opening of a special branch for Muslim children in the Gori Seminary. The leadership of the Gori Seminary took into account the desire of the Azerbaijani people and started a separate section for Muslim children. The Gori Seminary greatly contributed in the preparation of teachers in Transcaucasia. Georgian, Azerbaijani, Armenian, Russian, Christian and Muslim young people studied together in the Gori Seminary. Azerbaijani students destroyed the existing stereotypes about Muslim youth and their supposed low level of development. Christian students and teachers were impressed by the diligence of the Muslims, their passion, and high level of culture. While being a student, Azerbaijani public figure Firudun Bek Kocharli translated the *Socrates teachings*. Later, he

was the co-author of a manual for Turks together with S. Velibekov who was fluent in Russian, Persian and Arabic compiled the encyclopedic work *Hazinnei-Akhbar*. After successfully completing the seminary, some of the graduates were sent in 1881 as teachers to different schools in Transcaucasia by the decision of the authorities. For instance, in 1881, S. Velibekov was appointed as a native language teacher; Firudun Bek Kocharli was sent to the Yerevan Gymnasium as a teacher; T. Lenkoran and M. Mohammed were sent to the Nakhichevan elementary Russian-Tatar school; R. Efendyev was appointed as a school director of the village Kurtkasheni.¹⁵

Many Russian, Georgian and Azerbaijani teachers worked and taught in the Gori Seminary: V. N. Pavlov, P. S. Cherniavskii, I. I. Novotspaskii, K. N. Malinin, P. G. Petrov, M. Qip'iani, A. K'ut'at'elaže, S. Mgaloblišvili, N. Lomouri and K. Arvelaže, A. Dadašivi, S. Velibekov, P. Kocharli, R. Ėfendiev. They were also graduates of the Gori Seminary. Gori graduates have shown themselves in different literary and public fields. Among them we can mention 300 Azerbaijani public figures, educators, musicians and artists: N. Narimanov, U. Khadzhibekov, M. Magomaev, and many others. They played a significant role in the development of the Azerbaijani music, culture and education, and in the fight for the freedom and independence of Azerbaijani people. The Gori Teaching Seminary had a great tradition in music. The famous musicians who were raised there including "Ia Kargaret'eli, Lado Aġniašvili, who headed the seminary team afterwards. At various times many prominent figures got education in the Gori Seminary: Važa Pšavela, Lado Aġniašvili, Alek'sandre Nat'adže, Vano Avališvili, Niko Razikašvili (Bač'ana), T'edo Razikašvili, Vano Giunašvili, Taras Mamalaže, Niko Janašia, T'eop'hile Xuskivaže, among others".¹⁶ The advanced Georgian intellectuals of that period tried to help the population of Azerbaijan to open their educational institutions.

The Azerbaijani department of the Gori Seminary was founded by A. Cherniavskii, who visited every family in the Azerbaijani villages, gathered Azerbaijani children, and persuaded their parents about the importance of education not only for the better future of their children, but also for the better tomorrow of the whole nation. Azerbaijani people fought for this opportunity and tried not to take this opportunity away from their children. He had to travel hundreds of kilometers by phaeton, cart, train, and sometimes on foot. He did not lose the hope that education would be spread in Azerbaijan. A. Cherniavskii

¹⁵ F. Khandzhanekova, "Chelovek na vse vremena, Rashid bek Ėfendiev prosvetitel', pedagog, dramaturg, étnograf", *Kaspiĭ*, (June 3, 2017), p. 15.

¹⁶ Skolis istoria, 2018. http://skola9gori.blogspot.com/p/blog-page_24.html (accessed 20.09.2018).

was born and grew up in a poor Russian family in the village of Shumaxe. From the beginning he was faithful to Azerbaijan. He devoted all his conscious life to the education of Azerbaijanian children. He created a native language teaching textbook for Azerbaijanian children. Azerbaijanian educator Firudun Bek Kocharli later wrote that everything good and important in Azerbaijanian department of Gori Seminary is related to the name of Cherniavskii. By creating a “native language” textbook, he has led our schools to a new era.

Despite the fact that the teaching was conducted in Russian, representatives of different nationalities had the opportunity to study their own native languages. Since September 1879, when D. D. Semionov was appointed as Director of the Gori Seminary, they started teaching the Georgian, Armenian and Azeri languages. Moreover, Georgian, Armenian and Tatar elementary schools were established. The Gori Seminary became a source of training of public educators in Transcaucasia, a pedagogical center connecting Georgian, Russian and Azerbaijanian people. Their business and friendly relations were implemented there. The Gori Seminary conducted intercultural education. Even today, the academic community of Azerbaijan feels proud of it. We can make this conclusion by the results of our research analysis. The research was conducted in Baku during our scientific trip within the KEAC BSR grant project. In different archive materials and various scientific publications, Azerbaijanian researchers proudly stated that graduates of the Gori Seminary became writers, composers, journalists, political and public figures. Writer-democrat “J. Mamedkulizade, the founder of Azerbaijanian professional and opera art, a composer U. Khadzhibekov, a composer M. Magomaev, a famous political and public figure N. Narimanov, a pedagogue, literary critic, journalist P. Agazade, P. Kocharli, P. Ėfendyev, S. M. Ganizade, S. Velibekov, G. Minasazov, and others.”¹⁷ The Georgian Orthodox Church, the Armenian Church, the Jewish Synagogue, and the Muslim Mosque functioned alongside in Georgia for centuries. Such a fact can rarely be seen in other parts of the world.

Contemporary Georgian historians point out that this attitude toward other peoples was a common phenomenon in Georgia – in fact, it was so ordinary that the Georgian sources do not even consider this issue important enough to analyze. The Gori Teaching Seminary is a clear proof of this fact. A writer and publicist, Shamistan Nazirli, mentions in his report in the newspaper *Kaspiy* that in 1879-1918 different nationalities of the Transcaucasia got education in the Gori Seminary, 300 of them being Azerbaijanians.

¹⁷ A. H. Pashaev, “Ocherki istorii Azerbaidzhanskoĭ shkoly v Gruzii v konce XIX nachale XX vekov”, *Kaspiĭ*, (1997), p. 94.

Unfortunately, there is no evidence describing that period in the Education History Museum of Georgia. The archival materials of the Gori Seminary were destroyed during the civil war in Tbilisi in the 1990s, when the Public Education Museum of Georgia was ruined. As a result 4,200 documents, exhibits and photographs of the seminary were turned into ashes – is noted in the research of the writer and publisher Shamistan Nazirli.¹⁸

A public figure, Firudun Bek Kocharli, noted in a newspaper interview that children of the Azerbaijanian section of the seminary were treated with great respect by the Georgian people. Azerbaijanian graduates have kept the best memories of that period. Georgia became their spiritual homeland. Is it possible to forget such a homeland? He expressed his deep respect towards Georgia and the Gori institutions. The editorial staff of the newspaper joined the opinion of this famous public figure. He also expressed his gratitude to Georgia for giving to him the opportunity to get an education on Georgian soil, and admitted that Georgia has brought up important educated generations for Azerbaijan.¹⁹

In 1871, the Alexander II Tbilisi School was renamed as the “Alexander Tbilisi Institute of Pedagogy”. This was the first institution in the whole empire, since the pedagogic institutes started to exist in other places of Russia since 1872. The duration of teaching was increased from 2 to 4 years. In the first year, 23 young students were received, 16 among them were Georgians. They were taught: Divine law, Russian language, history, geography, arithmetic, geometry, natural science, hygiene, pedagogy, and methodology. The curriculum also had a facultative teaching of Georgian language (4 hours per week). Every year, 18-20 teachers graduated. Until 1917, up to 800 teachers were trained, thus playing a major role in the primary education of school teachers’ preparation in the Caucasus.

In the second half of the 1860s, the number of schools increased. This caused another significant problem; the network of pedagogical schools and the number of qualified teachers could hardly correspond to the requirements of the growing number of schools. In 1894, a seminary preparing teachers was established in Kutaisi. The pedagogic staff was also prepared in additional gymnasiums of different regions. The classes were attended by students desiring to become Russian primary school teachers. During one year, they conducted experimental lessons, attended pedagogy and methodology courses. After passing final graduation exams, they were sent to work as primary school teachers. At the same time, committees were established on the basis of the

¹⁸ Sh. Nazirli, “Pisatel'-publicist”, *Kaspi*, (November 26, 2016), p. 11.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

main gymnasiums, who were invited to hold the exams and give qualification for the primary school teachers.

In the second half of the 19th century, several societies were created in Georgia. They were aware of the role of education and the teacher. The “Society providing reading-writing in Georgia” founded and funded Georgian schools, libraries, manuals; they collected manuscripts and museum exhibits, funded students. Georgian intellectuals, such as I. Čavčavaže, G. Qazbegi, D. Qip‘iani and others, guided the Society and carried out different important activities. They established more than 100 schools. In this period, the Kutaisi, Senaki, Batumi and Martvili schools were founded. The significance and the role of this Society was priceless. In 1879, a school was founded in Tbilisi, later becoming a gymnasium. Based on this gymnasium, the first building of Tbilisi State University was founded in 1918, contributing greatly to the development of education in Georgia.

Conclusion

This article provides a short overview of the development of teacher preparation training courses in Georgia from the 1860s to the 1920s. We would like to indicate with a feeling of pride that the educational institutions of this period, especially the Tbilisi, Gori, Xoni, Kutaisi teaching seminaries, schools, and teacher preparation educational programs played a great role in the teacher preparation process of the Transcaucasian schools.

At the end of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, we may notice the influence of the Russification policy in Georgia. Russia in fact opposed to the opening of Georgian schools. The aim of the schools opened in South Caucasus during this period was mainly to prepare Russian-language staff, especially Russian language teachers. This kind of schools were mainly named after Russian public figures; for example, the primary female teacher preparation school in Tbilisi was named after Olga T‘eodore, wife of the Caucasian vice Regent; and the Alexander II male teacher preparation school was founded in 1866. Teaching was mainly conducted in Russian, also in the Gori Seminary. However, the Georgian intelligentsia greatly contributed to the preparation of the future teachers. Despite the obstacles, the educational institutions in Georgia brought up qualified teachers. Georgia actually became an important center for multicultural education, promoting relations among the Georgian, the Azerbaijanian, the Russian, and the Armenian people, developing culture and science, and providing education for teachers and intellectuals.

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The Development of Ethnographic Thinking and the Formation of Visual Anthropology in Georgia in the 19th and the beginning of 20th century

Abstract: The first ethnographic description of Georgia and Georgians, implemented by foreign scientists and travellers-researchers in the first part of the 19th century provided a very important background for the creation and development of visual anthropology thinking. This article offers an analysis of the activities of several researchers whose contribution is important for the development of ethnographic thinking in Georgia: Jean-François Gamba's sketches and texts dealing with residential and economy constructions, workmanship, anthropologic types, national clothes; Frédéric DuBois de Montpereux's information about the lifestyle and material culture of Georgians and Armenians; German Karl Koch's and English Edmund Spenser's ethnographic and folklore etudes. The works of two other authors, Amand Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld and Shalom Koboshvili, are also analysed from the point of view of visual anthropology of the 19th century.

Keywords: ethnography, visual anthropology, research, drawing, sketch.

Introduction

Due to its geopolitical position, during the centuries Georgia has had to protect its sovereignty. Throughout history, periods of wars dominated short phases of rest and peace; consequently, Georgian ethnoculture has passed difficult and prosperous stages. But, despite such a difficult way of survival, Georgia managed to keep its identity and play a significant role in the history of the world culture. Ethnology, ethnography and visual anthropology have played a key role in keeping the values of the Georgian ethnoculture. Through the use of the methodological approaches of these two disciplines, the present work deals with the ethnocultural values of Georgia, considering that the heritage of Georgian scientists and foreign traveller-researchers show a clear evidence of scientific exchange between the European and Caucasian scientific societies.

The history of the Georgian ethnographic thinking goes back centuries, but ethnography as an independent discipline was established only in the second half of the 19th century. Nowadays this discipline is sufficiently developed in Georgia; many Georgian universities have ethnological research departments and provide a range of educational programs in ethnology. Visual anthropology has also been developed, but there is still a lot to be done to support development of this field. Visual anthropology is delivered as an independent course of lectures and implemented through the field of research. The importance of video technologies application should also be noted, supporting scientists to implement researches using video and photo cameras. But, at the same time, there is a lack of modern methodical literature available in the Georgian language, which unfortunately impedes the intensity of research.

Thus, we published the book *Anthropological Film* in 2009 and the book *Multi-ethnic Georgia and Ethnographic Existence of Georgian People: Visual Anthropological Survey* in 2016. These works deal only with certain aspects of this important issue, particularly with theoretical and practical peculiarities of anthropological films. Our aim was to promote this field in Georgia, taking into account European experience and to survey the issues related to Georgian culture from the visual anthropological point of view. That was the first work dealing with the preconditions of development of Georgian ethnographic sciences and visual anthropology.

A general review of ethnography and visual anthropology, chronology and periodization

Dealing with the development of visual anthropology, the paintings of Cristoforo di Castelli (Italian missionary, whose activity in Georgia in the first half of the 17th century created a rich ethnographic heritage fixed in series of sketches and paintings) and contribution of Vasil Amashukeli (director of the first documentary film in Georgia *Journey of Akaki Tsereteli to Racha and Lechkhumi*) to cinematography should be specially considered. Chronology and periodization of the field are interrelated with the works of the founders and scientific contributors of Georgian Ethnographic School – G. Chitaia, Al. Robakidze, V. Itonishvili, V. Shamiladze and O. Miminoshvili. The works of Ioane Bagrationi (1768-1830), Teimuraz Batonishvili (1782-1846) and Davit Tsitsishvili-Panaskerteli's (the first half of the 19th century) present a valuable source in parallel with Vakhushti Bagrationi's ethnographic heritage that significantly enriched the scientific level and value of ethnographic thinking in Georgia.

Foreign traveller-researchers and preconditions of visual anthropology development in Georgia

The processes of Georgian ethnography formation are similar to European and American ones. The works of the foreign traveller-researchers played a great role in the development of ethnographic thinking of the first half of the 19th century in Georgia. The most interesting information related with the visual anthropology, provided by European researchers about Georgian and Caucasian people lifestyle and culture, is fixed in the works of Jean-François Gamba and Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux. Their works enrich research with maps, different types of Caucasian people images, traditions, public transport, tools, monasteries, fortresses, villages, town and mountain settlements and houses of the local population.

The foreign traveller researchers and ethnographic Georgia

Contribution of European traveller-researches, acting in Georgia in the 19th century was significantly important for development of ethnographic thinking and description of ethnographic life style of Georgia, thus the ethnographic and folk episodes, presented by Karl Koch and Edmund Spenser, describe Georgian regions, agricultural culture, feast etiquette and clothing style. Edmund Spenser's information about Caucasian legends is particularly interesting, because he draws attention to the peculiarities of religious syncretism, expressed in the coexistence of pagan, Christian and Muslim religions. Activities of two authors, Amand Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld and Shalom Koboshvili, are analysed in the point of view of visual anthropology of the 19th century.

A general survey, chronology and periodization of ethnography and visual anthropology

Ethnography

The history of any scientific branch from its origin to the development of the current stage foresees a periodization in accordance with appropriate classification principles. Thus, the history of ethnography has its own periodization. G. Chitaia's, Al. Robakidze's, V. Itonishvili's, V. Shamiladze's contribution into this field deserve special attention. G. Chitaia presented the first (in Georgian ethnography) analysis of the ancient period of ethnography of Georgia; he particularly researched the old Eastern and Egyptian civilizations as well as the ethnographic data of early traveller-researchers about ancient Georgia. The author specifies and characterises ethnographic plots in the works

of Xerodote, Xippocrat'e, K'senofonti, Straboni and other antique ancient Greek researchers to describe the traditional everyday lifestyle of ancient Georgians.¹

Aleksi Robakidze dedicated considerable work related with Georgian ethnographic history. Al. Robakidze dealt with the first monument of Georgian hagiographic literature – *The Martyrdom of the Holy Queen Shushanik* characterising the representatives of Georgian feudal historiography Leonti Mroveli (11th century) and Vakhushti Bagrationi (17th-18th centuries), also dealing with the prominent writers and social persons of the 19th century.²

Valeri Itonishvili, Vakhtang Shamiladze and Otar Miminoshvili directly dealt with the issues of periodization of the modern Georgian ethnographic literature. On the basis of their concepts it may be concluded that -taking into consideration that any scientific branch (including ethnography) starts its real existence as the independent scientific discipline after its target sphere, own sources, specific research methods are defined- ethnography reached such theoretical and methodologic perfectness in the second half of the 19th century. Vakhushti Bagrationi's ethnographic heritage should be assessed as the highest sample of Georgian ethnographic heritage.

According to Vakhtang Shamiladze and Otar Miminoshvili, the periods of Georgian ethnography development, under general ethnographic periodization database, may be divided into the following periods: from the period of the ancient civilizations to the 5th century AD (in majority presented by archaeological data existed in foreign sources), literary Georgian hagiographic monuments from the 5th to 11th centuries (describing cultural peculiarities of Georgian people), analytical heritage of prominent Georgian representatives of ethnographic thinking from the 11th to 18th centuries (Leonti Mroveli and Vakhushti Bagrationi), beginning of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century – the direct background of ethnography establishment as the independent scientific field, the second half of the 19th century (up to 1925) establishment of ethnography as the independent scientific field, establishment and development of Soviet Georgian Ethnographic School (1925-1990), development of ethnography in independent sovereign Georgia from 1991 up to the current period.³

The revelation of historical mechanism of formation and development of any branch of science and the research of its separate stages are related with the

¹ G. Chitaia, "Svetebi", *Zogadi et'nograp'iis şromebi* (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 2001), pp. 12-20.

² A. Robakidze, *Kart'uli sabcho'ta et'nograp'ia Kart'uli mec'nierebis ganvit'areba sabcho'ta sakart'veloši* (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1986), pp. 3-15.

³ V. Shamiladze and O. Miminoshvili, *Sakart'velos et'nologiis istoria* (Tbilisi: Universal, 2009), pp. 16-20.

study of social thinking and ideology of the corresponding period. The given problem embraces a wide spectrum of questions, since any branch of science is integrated with economic-cultural, social-economic, political, moral, legal and other important spheres of the society. First of all, this concerns the branches of all social sciences, including ethnology which, because of its subject, goals and objectives ranks among the leading branches. Particularly important points in the process of research of the historical development of ethnological science are the differentiation and description of the stages of accumulation of ethnographic knowledge and the beginnings and development of ethnographic thinking. A particularly urgent problem of the Georgian ethnology concerns the beginning and development of ethnological thinking. This matter involves the processes of scientific comprehension, generalization and estimation of the obtained materials in the process of accumulation of ethnographic knowledge, conceptions of scientists of the feudal period about the most important problems of ethno-genesis, ethnic history, and the life and culture of the people in the Caucasus.

Presenting the ways and directions of ethnology formation as an independent branch of science is also very important. Particular attention must be paid to the overcoming of the erroneous conception of Georgian and foreign travellers-researchers of the 18th and 19th centuries about the so-called “tribal order” in the mountainous regions of Georgia and the whole Caucasus or “cultural inferiority” of Georgian and Caucasian people according to which they played the role of ordinary mediators between the ancient centres of civilization and the Arian people of the West, but were not considered to be the creators of cultural values. In the first half of the 19th century, the process of the establishment and formation of ethnographic science was implemented under the double influence in Georgia and in the whole Caucasus. Georgia, being a part of the Russian Empire, was under the progressive impact of social-scientific ideas (N. č’erniševski, A. Gerc’eni, N. Dobroliubovi, etc.). At the same time, Georgia, as well as the whole Caucasus, found itself in the sphere of influence of European civilization greatly progressing in establishment and formation of ethnographic science.⁴

Visual anthropology

The beginning of history of visual anthropology in Georgia is related with Italian missionary Cristoforo di Castelli’s activity. In two albums he fixed more than

⁴ R. Topchishvili, K. Khutsishvili and R. Gujejiani, *T’eoriuili et’nologია* (Tbilisi: University of Tbilisi, 2010), pp. 3-12.

1,000 of sketches with a description of the cultural realities of the Georgian people. Although only one album is available for us, its scientific importance is undoubted. Castelli's sketches and notes drew scientific interest and were studied by M. Tamarashvili, N. Berdzenishvili, D. Allen, D. Leng, and V. Belio. Then, in 1976, *Notes and Album about Georgia* was published. Bezhan Giorgadze deciphered, translated, researched and commented upon the text.

Castelli lived in Georgia in 1628-1654. The Pope sent him to preach Catholicism in Georgia. Castelli's album contains sketches reflecting Georgian craftsmanship, agriculture, clothes, construction art, entertainment and different ceremonies, attached with Castelli's postscripts. An exceptional place in Castelli's album is taken by Georgian lifestyle reflecting themes, e.g. everyday rituals, festive table, diversity of wine cult, musical instruments, dancing, singing, themes reflecting the activities of missionaries (treatment, christening, blessings, etc.) and the cult of a woman.

Castelli also noted the Georgian man's habitualness in using the weapons. "Georgians like games requiring briskness and physical activity. They know how to use a weapon in travelling or hunting", wrote Castelli. The author also gave a brief description of the borders, territory, population, lifestyle and national peculiarities of Georgia or Iberia. "The Georgians are fighters, especially those living in mountains. The Georgians are strong and brave people, they are courageous in battle, and they maintained freedom up to now even in the surrounding of Muslims". Castelli's comments are very interesting, for example his description of the clothes of the King of Imereti Alexander III (note on the portrait): "[...] golden hat is decorated with diamonds and pearls. Golden sword and sceptre, moustaches in Spanish style, blue shirt with golden threads, red trousers and green shoes".⁵

The background of ethnographic thinking creation

Georgian historiography of feudal period, along with the literary versions of Leonti Mroveli's conception, contains some other events of scientific understanding of ethno-genesis, ethnic history, traditional culture and social-religious living realities of the Georgian people. However, Vakhushti Bagrationi, an outstanding Georgian geographer and historian, takes the particular position in the development of ethnographic thinking in Georgia.

⁵ *C'nobei da albomi Sakart'velos ssesaxeb / Don Kristop'oro de Kasteli; tek'sti gašip'ra, t'argmna, gamokleva da komentarebi daurt'o bežan giorgadzem* (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1976), pp. 37-100.

Unfortunately, the fundamental beginning of accumulating ethnographic knowledge and the development of ethnographic thinking shown in the richest ethnographic heritage of V. Bagrationi was not continued by Georgian historiography of the later period. The delay and gaps in the process were caused, on the one hand, by the continuous invasions of foreign invaders resulting in internal discontent and chaos in the country; and on the other hand – due to a sharp complication of foreign political situation that naturally led to the loss of independence. Even in the most complicated periods, Georgian intellectuals paved the way for the saving of their homeland. The intellectuals' work was revealing, including the study and scientific interpretation of traditional-living culture of the Georgian people, the waking up and strengthening of national self-consciousness and the national liberation movement against colonialism.

From time to time, such processes became deeper under the conditions of the comparatively peaceful and stable situation after joining Georgia to Russia. This was the period of the beginning of scientific and literary activities, and the establishment of new educational centres, newspapers and journals. Georgian writers like A. Chavchavadze, N. Baratashvili, R. Eristavi, L. Ardziani, etc., along with the activities of the deported to St. Petersburg Georgian princes greatly contributed to the development and revival of social thinking. Their creative works reflected highly artistic plots of the past, present and future of Georgia, based on national problems.⁶ In the first half of the 19th century, the works of the following authors were important for the development of ethnographic thinking. For example, Ioane Bagrationi:

1. *Kalmasoba* (1813-1828): In this originally conceived book, the author describes the everyday life of different classes of the Georgian society. *Kalmasoba* or *Khumarstsavla*, as the author named it, is written in archaic pedantic style with the use of light figurative dialecticisms in the dialogue between two main heroes. In the background of a “scientific” discussion between the heroes during their adventurous journey, the author describes the cultural-economical life of Georgia, defining life and culture, mercilessly exposing the moral decay of the high strata of the society, the greed and ignorance of the state officials, the hypocrisy of the clergy, and concludes that general ignorance paves the way for all kinds of evil and is ruinous for the country.⁷

⁶ V. Shamiladze and O. Miminoshvili, *Sakart'velos et'nologiis istoria* (Tbilisi: Universal, 2009), pp. 511-512.

⁷ I. Bagrationi, *Kalmasoba* (Tbilisi: Publishing House “Sakhelgam”), Vol. 1 (1936), Vol. 2 (1948), pp. 3-12.

2. *History of Kartli* (1825-1828): In this work, I. Bagrationi represents the dream and hunting of Parnavaz from an ethnographic and folkloric side. Christian legends, toponymic sayings, legends about King Kirisi are mainly based on folk sayings and contain plenty of ethnographic themes of traditional culture.⁸

At the time of Ioane Bagrationi, ethnographic thinking was not yet established on the level of theoretical and methodological principles of classical ethnographic studies, but the plot of his work, his style, source study based on folk life, methods of generalizing particular facts and events – all these enabled the author to stand among those representatives of Georgian ethnographic school who later played a big role in the development of this important field. The following Georgian researchers should also be mentioned: Teimuraz Bagrationi, David Panaskerteli-Tsitsishvili, Iago Chilashvili, Nikoloz Palavandishvili, Ioseb and Vasil Tsiskarishvili. The names of the above mentioned authors are connected with the further development of humanitarian science.

The innovative style of scientific investigation is revealed more distinctly in creative works of Teimuraz Bagrationi, who was the first in the Georgian historiography to raise fundamentally the question of the proper use of historical-ethnographic sources in the process of description and the responsibility for documentation and authenticity of any event or fact. The main scientific interests of T. Bagrationi concerned the questions of investigations of the tribal order in Georgia. According to Georgian historiography, T. Bagrationi was one of the first persons (after Leonti Mroveli) who dealt with the questions of tribal order in Georgian tribes and definitely succeeded in this direction. In his opinion, the Georgian tribes passed through two main steps in the way of their development: the first one – eldership that is a general people management and the other one – royalty that is an autocratic government. At the same time, Teimuraz Bagrationi also describes the bodies of government existing in the Georgian tribes. According to him, “the society of people themselves governed all matters in the country” and that was accomplished by the supreme authority – “people’s assembly”. He also mentions the council consisting of the headmen of each tribes: “they are old, clever, experienced, incorruptible and impartial people”. Teimuraz Bagrationi believed that they regulated all debatable problems within the tribes, and the intertribal relations were regulated by a council of headmen, the leader of which was the headman of Mtskheta, being the military leader at the same time.

⁸ M. Ap'ciauri, *Kart'uli et'nologiuri qof'a XVIII-XIX saukuneebSi ioane batonišvilis mixedvit'* (Tbilisi: Universal, 2007), pp. 3-12.

As it is known, in the 1830s there had not been yet established a consistent scheme of historical regularities in the development of society even in European science; this became known only after the publication of works by Bachofen, McLennan, Morgan, Engels, etc. The analyses on the ethnographic life of Georgia in the 19th century was the reason for Teimuraz Bagrationi putting forward the incorrect theory about the existence of a tribal order in Georgia. Although he was one of the advanced representatives of his epoch's scientific thinking, unfortunately, this theory negatively influenced the development of historical thinking in Georgia. It became the basis of different concepts in Caucasian studies of the period, which, without any scientific proof and critical analysis, asserted the backwardness of the social-economic system in the mountainous regions of Georgia and the Caucasus. The first ethnographic descriptions of foreign scientists and researchers are significantly important for the development of visual anthropological thinking about Georgia and Georgians.⁹

The foreign traveller-researchers and the background for the establishment of visual anthropology in Georgia

Along with the aforementioned prolific authors, a considerable progress in the development and formation of historical-ethnographic thinking was made by the activities of travellers-researchers of a new period. Actually, in the first half of the 19th century, the notes, works and monographs of the foreign scientists (Jean-François Gamba, Dubua de Montpereux, Karl Heinrich Koch, Edmund Spenser, etc.) and Russian researchers (S. Bronevski, I. Rodožnitski, G. Gordeevi, V. Legkobilovi, etc.), public persons and state officials (G. Grigoryevi, P. Vi žeslavl'tsevi, N. Frolovski, A. Ianovski, and others) contributed into turning the Georgian theoretical and methodological principles of the ethnographic science to the level of European standards. Moreover, it can be said that in order to inculcate and develop European mentality in Georgia, the scientific-intellectual society of the country was mainly fed with notes and monographs of foreign travellers-researchers, who showed a great interest for Georgian scientists and society towards issues of culture, habits, history and ethnology of native country and people. Essentially, the influence of foreign travellers-researchers' activities was the reason for the appearance of representatives of Georgian and Caucasian science (I. Chiladze-Chilashvili, P. Tsiskarishvili, N. Palavandishvili, Khan Girei, Sh. Nogmov, Kh. Abovian, etc.), whose closeness to

⁹G. Axvlediani, *K'art'lis C'xovrebi's p'olkloruli c'qaroebi* (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1990), pp. 4-21.

their homeland and native people Caucasian mentality defined and projected particular accuracy and objectiveness in their creative ethnographic work.¹⁰

In this study, we shall deal with the analysis of the works of several researchers: the French traveller and diplomat, merchant and writer, representing France in Georgia – Jean-François Gamba. Working in the Caucasus, he visited almost each important centre of the North and South Caucasus: Tbilisi, Sokhumi, Kutaisi, Signaghi, Telavi, Ganja, Baku, Derbend, Tergi, Kizlar. In 1824-1924, being in France, he published his final work about visiting Georgia and different parts of the Caucasus. Gamba's sketches and texts describe residential and economic buildings, agricultural tools, crockery, means of public transportation (sailing boats) and different types of the Caucasian nations, according to different professions and national clothes. He provided a valuable description of the city life, shopping centres, craftsmanship fields, including metal working and goldsmith's work in old Tbilisi, as well as different maps, such as the united map of Apkhazeti, Samegrelo and Imeriti, Kvirila and Pasisi map (also known as Rionimouth map) and the map of Kakheti.¹¹

Different types of Caucasian people



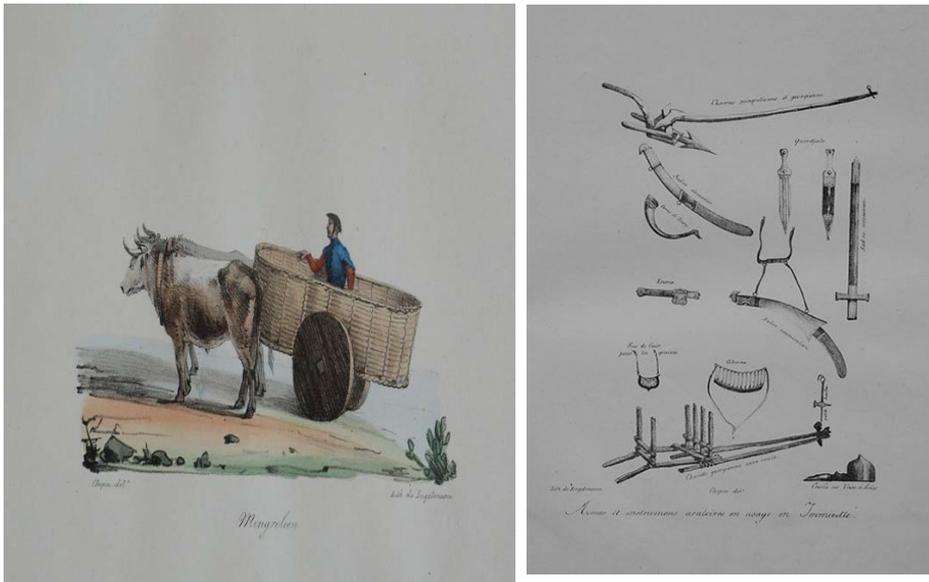
¹⁰ V. Shamiladze and O. Miminoshvili, *Sak'art'velos et'nologiis istoria* (Tbilisi: Universal, 2009), pp. 514-515.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

The paintings show the anthropological types of people living in the Caucasus as well as their dressing style according to their occupations: a warrior, Megrelian grape trader, Megrelian noble lady, Imerelian nobleman, Kartlian noble lady, Armenian trader, Georgian noble lady, young Georgian dancers, Tatarian woman and so on.¹²

Public transport and tools

Material cultural monuments of Georgian people's daily life are precisely shown in Gamba's paintings. "Uremi" (type of an ox cart) is one of the native Georgian folk transports. This is a two-wheeled carrier, moved by cattle. Its structure was changing according to the geographic zone in which it was used. The second picture presents a weapon and agricultural name inventory. This data is an important visual source for research and provides a possibility for comparative analysis.¹³



French Frédéric Diu bua de Montpereux: In 1831-1834, he travelled in the Crimea, the Black Sea coastline and Georgia. As a researcher, he mainly paid

¹² J. F. Gamba, *Voyage dans la Russie meridionale et particulierement*. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k10405853/f1.image> (accessed 14.09.2018).

¹³ J. F. Gamba, *Voyage dans la Russie meridionale et particulierement*. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k10405853/f1.image> (accessed 14.09.2018).

attention to the monuments of material culture, and closely studied the lifestyle of Georgians, Armenians, Circassians and Abxazebi. The results of his trip are available in a six-volume book, published in the French language, entitled *Travelling around the Caucasus to Circassians and Apkhazians, in Kolkhida, Georgia, Armenia and Crimea*.¹⁴

Monastery and Fortress

Various architectural types of churches have been established during the formation and development of Christian architecture. Each type is distinguished with its own architectural style and has its own chronologic-territorial area. Church architecture of medieval Georgia is characterized with diversity of its types: churches with three naves, with three chapels, with two naves, with domes, etc.¹⁵ In his paintings, DuBois presented information about the cathedrals and provided important sources for the research of Georgian architecture. Shemokmedi Church and Minda Fortress are analyzed as examples.

Shemokmedi Savior's Monastery Complex: This complex is situated in Guria, in Ozurgeti municipality. From the architectural view it consists of three monuments: 7th-century cathedral (basilica) and 16th century-dated church of "Zarzma", founded by Vakhtang Gurieli to keep the icon taken from Zarzma Monastery. The third monument is the 16th century-built bell-tower which was restored in 1831. The monastery is surrounded by a high, strong stone fence showing not only its religious purpose, but also its defensive one. Shemokmedi Monastery consists of two interrelated churches.¹⁶ Comparing DuBois's paintings and our photo materials taken there, it is vivid that DuBois depicts the peculiarities of the Shemokmedi Monastery and sight and location of Minda fortress almost exactly.

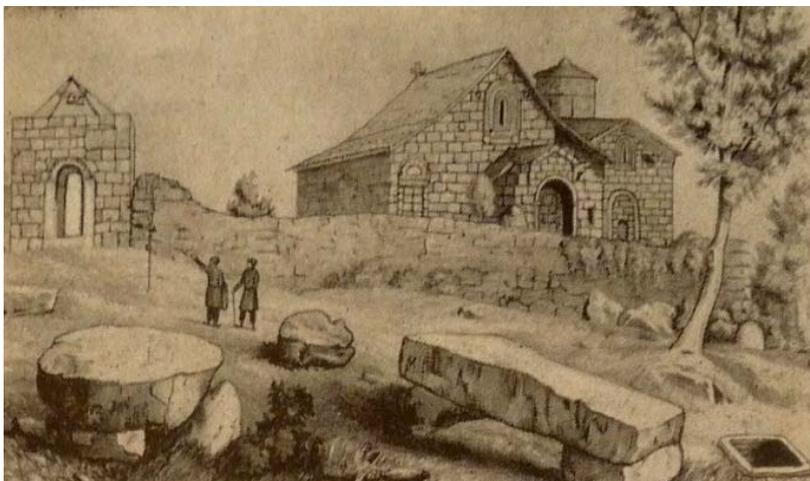
Minda Fortress: The fortress is located in the municipality of Ambolauri, at the mouth of the rivers Rioni and Lukhuni. Minda Fortress was very important fortress in Racha. Roads from Oni to Kvemo Racha and from Kvemo

¹⁴ V. Shamiladze and O. Mimosnshvili, *Sak'art'velos et'nologiis istoria* (Tbilisi: Universal, 2009), pp. 109-114.

¹⁵ N. Jabua, *K'ristianuli tadzris ark'tek'toruli tipebi šua saukuneebis sak'art'veloši* (Tbilisi, 2012), pp. 153-155. <http://dSPACE.nplg.gov.ge/handle/1234/11509> (accessed 14.09.2018).

¹⁶ Šemok'medis Mac'ovris saxelobis samonastro kompleksi (XII-XVI, XIX s). <http://www.dzglebi.ge/dzglebi/sh/shemokmedi.html> (accessed 14.09.2018).

Svaneti to Racha were crossing there. Only the fence and three towers exist nowadays.¹⁷



Shemokmedi Monastery, painted by DuBois de Montpereux¹⁸

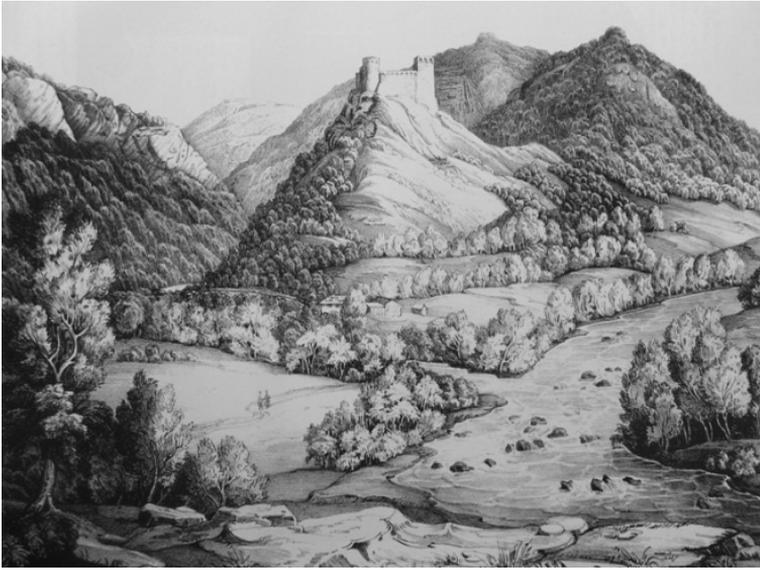


Shemokmedi Monastery nowadays¹⁹

¹⁷ T. Verulava, *Diubua de Monpere*. <https://burusi.wordpress.com/2009/08/02/dubois-de-montpereux/> (accessed 14.09.2018).

¹⁸ <http://www.dzeglebi.ge/dzeglebi/sh/shemokmedi.html> (accessed 14.09.2018).

¹⁹ *Kart'lis C'xovrebi's topoarkeologiuri lek'sikoni* (Tbilisi: "Sulakauri" Publishing, 2013), pp. 335-336. <http://dspace.nplg.gov.ge/bitstream/1234/41521/1/KartlisC'xovrebi'sTopoarqeologiuriLeksikoni.pdf> (accessed 14.09.2018).



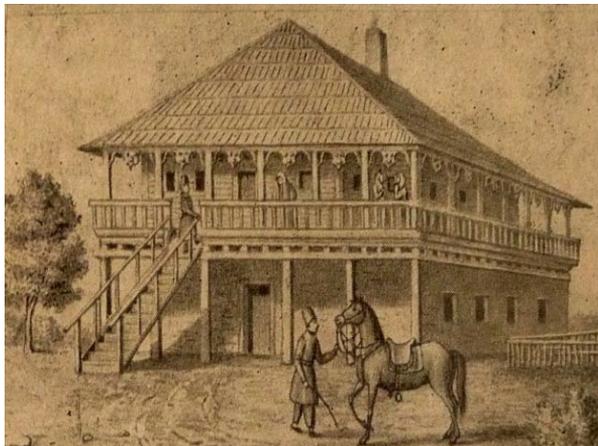
Minda Fortress, painted by DuBois de Montpereux²⁰



Minda Fortress nowadays

²⁰ T. Verulava, *Diubua de Monpere*. <https://burusi.wordpress.com/2009/08/02/dubois-de-montpereux/> (accessed 14.09.2018).

Homestead land, houses of peasants and the rich people²¹



²¹ T. Verulava, *Diubua de Monpere*. <https://burusi.wordpress.com/2009/08/02/dubois-de-montperieux/> (accessed 14.09.2018).

Despite the vast diversity of folk houses in Georgia, according to the territorial principles they are divided into three main groups: the lowland regions of Eastern and Southern Georgia, Western Georgia and the Caucasus mountains. Several subgroups are distinguished in the third group: Svaneti, mountaneous Racha, Khevi, Mtiuleti, Tush-Pshav-Khevsureti. It goes without saying that there were not houses of only one and the same type in the whole of western Georgia (except Svaneti and mountaneous Racha). But there were many features in common for peasant houses in different regions, mainly in Racha-Lechkhumi, Imereti, Guria and Samegrelo.²² In his paintings, DuBois described different types of residences – particularly, residences of the rich people and the peasants in western Georgia, depicting architecture, ornaments and building material.

He separately described features of mountain settlements, for example Racha. These paintings perfectly show the structure of mountainous settlement, fortified houses; these types of houses are called the “houses with gun pots”. “Gun pots houses” and “Svaneti fortified houses” are one and the same type of buildings, where one and the same building is the living house for people, suitable for cattle and also as the place for defence against enemy invasions. It should be mentioned that a big quantity of folk houses are destroyed nowadays and these types of paintings represent an important source for researchers. City sketches are especially interesting. Each of DuBois’s paintings shows his professionalism and deep knowledge of the main aspects of Tbilisi city life. He precisely depicts the Tbilisi urban style, religious architecture and people of different occupations.

Foreign travellers-researchers and ethnographic Georgia

German scholar Karl Koch and English journalist Edmund Spenser also greatly contributed in projecting a European mentality/influence on Georgian society. Both authors give important references on the economic and social-cultural condition of Georgia and Caucasus of that time. At the same time, they were united by the fact that both authors’ “travelling” texts were published in the collection *Countries of Caucasus and Armenia* by Karl Koch. Karl Koch’s first trip to Russia and Caucasus took place in 1836-1838. The results of the description of this trip were published in a two-volume set published in Stuttgart and Tübingen in 1824-1843.

²² V. Beridze, *Sop'luri sac'xovrebeli saxli, Georgian Monument* (Tbilisi, 1983). http://www.dzeglebi.ge/statiebi/arqiteqtura/sofluri_saxlebi1.html (accessed 14.09.2018).

Karl Koch pays special attention to the Georgian economic-natural conditions, economy fields and agricultural issues, especially noting Kakheti, where “villages are closely located and it is difficult to distinguish their borders. The whole area, especially Shildi, looks like one prolonged wineland”. Koch noted Guria as an “especially fruitful region”, where his attention was attracted by reach harvests of corn and panic grass. Koch liked Gurian vine, which he assessed as the second one after Kakhetian one. Like other European travellers, he disliked the vine making Georgian technology.

It should also be noted that Karl Koch is supposedly the only one European who paid special attention to hunting in Georgia; privately hunting pheasants in the basin of the river Fazisi. He also dealt with the issues of the prominent myth of Argonauts and Svanian gold craft. Koch was fundamentally familiarised with the peculiarities of every day life of the Georgian and Caucasus people: rules of living, characters, customs convictions and beliefs, images, clothes, food. His notes on Laz, Megrelians, Gurians and Tush people are especially important. The author describes image, character, and gestures of each of them; on the basis of cross comparison he notes their local peculiarities. Koch is also interested in Georgian feast and hospitality rules, where he describes food rations, and the hospitality rule. The author describes in detail Georgian dances and songs, and underlines their authentic character. Finally, he also notes the urban rules of living, where he briefly but notably describes old Tbilisi.²³

Edmund Spenser describes the legends of the Caucasian people, and pays attention to the peculiarities of religious syncretism, displayed here in the co-existence of pagan, Christian and Muslim religions. He noted the Cross image on Khevsurians’ clothes and battle shields, relating this fact with the Georgian ethnical belonging of Khevsurian people. In a very emotional manner, he described the appearance, clothes, images and gestures of the local population. He described Caucasian people as athletically built people with elastic gestures. Their clothes (like the Polish ones) consist of a narrow long-tailed jacket with an ammunition belt.

The English traveller was impressed by the loyalty of Caucasian people towards old traditions, national consciousness taking here the form of the strict monogamy. “Real Circassians never marry women of other nations and ensure the purity of their nation”. Spenser was one of the first European researchers who condemned the blood feud custom, which passed through the generations

²³ *K Koxisa da O. Spenseris c'nobebi sak'art'velosa da kavkasiis șesaxeb. Germanulidan t'argmna, șesaxeb da komentarebi daurt'o londa mamaç'şvilma, sak'art'velos istoriis uc'xouri tskaroebi, XII* (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1981), pp. 168-170.

of local population, greatly damaging them. Finally, Spenser is astonished by the soul of the people living in “Caucasian Alps Zone”. According to his observation, patriotism and striving for independence are the first impulses of each Caucasian “[...] during the centuries defending their independence”.²⁴ Anthropologic interpretation of ethnographic sketches and drawings is one of the most important moments of the process of the visual anthropology research. Let us bring the examples of the works of two authors, Amand Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld and Shalom Koboshvili.

Ethnographic sketch: Amand Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld

The works, published by the foreign travellers-researchers in the second half of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century, played a great role in the development of Georgian ethnographic thinking and visual anthropology. Therefore, we should note the significant importance of the following researchers: German natural scientist and ethnographer Gustav Radde (1831-1903), Russian historian, ethnographer, lawyer and sociologist Maksim Kovalevski (1851-1916), French scientist and traveller Adolf Berže (1828-1896), Russian military historian and specialist in Caucasian studies Nikoloz Dubrovini (1873-1904) and the specialist in Caucasian studies Eugeni Veidenbaumi (1845-1918). The contributions of August Haxthausen and Karl Xaini should also be unconditionally mentioned, especially regarding the correlation between ethnographic researches of Georgia and Caucasus with European, privately German standards, acting in the noted period. Amand Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld’s book *Between Danube and Caucasus; Land and sea travel in the Black Sea region* is particularly topical from the point of view of the visual anthropology. This book was published in 1887 in Vienna and fortunately a part of it was translated and published in the Georgian language in 2018.²⁵

This work thoroughly deals with the history, ethnography and ethnical confessions of the Black Sea region and its adjacent territories. The survey of separate areas, towns and settlements (Tbilisi, Batumi, Sokhumi, etc.) and description of ethnographic groups and geographic units is also presented in relation with Georgia. The author provides a review of the ethnolinguistic features and customs of the Georgians (including the representatives of Megrelia, Adjara, Guria, Kartli, Pshavi and Khevsureti regions) and the North

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-98.

²⁵ A. Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, *C'nobebi sak'art'velos da kavkasiis šesaxeb. translated from German by Ekaterine Raisner and Natalia Nadirashvili* (Tbilisi, 2018).

Caucasians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Russians and other ethnical groups. The book is attached with a series of comprehensive ethnographic sketches.

The Austrian scientist presents the major Causasian geographic features in an interesting way. At the same time, he thoroughly (and in the majority of cases – rationally) analyses ethnographic lifestyle, characterizing the ethnic groups, living in Caucasus (anthropologic types, activity, wedding ritual, childbirth, the cult of the deceased, material culture, etc.). A full-scale and interesting evidence is presented by the material elements of Georgians' domestic life (dresses, interior, musical instruments, etc.) and also by the elements of spiritual culture of Georgia, describing the customs, beliefs and traditions. It should be considered, that the material displays the ethnoculture of the whole Georgia and its separate areas.

But, at the same time, there are some deficiencies, the correction of which in our opinion, will improve information on Georgia. The author unintentionally mixes ethnic and ethnographic groups. For example, he considers the Khevsurians as an independent tribe “now we'll meet interesting people – the Khevsurians, the Western neighbors of the Dagestani people. They, together with the Tushetians and the Pshavi people, create a special group of the Kists [...]. At the same time, the Pshavi people, by their appearance most of all resemble the Georgians [...]”²⁶

This point of view is incorrect, Khevsureti was and is an integral part of Georgia. Generally, the area, populated by the Georgian ethnos, was divided into two main units: Western and Eastern Georgia, where two ancient units; Kolkheti and Iberia were historically originated. Accordingly, the first unit was populated by Western Georgian tribes and the second populated by Eastern Georgian tribes. The whole territory, populated by Georgians (as well as other people) consisted of different territorial units, which we may identify as historical-ethnographic or historical-geographic areas. Each historical-ethnographic area was characterized by specific ethnographical features, kept even currently. We may also identify the representatives of the Georgian ethnos, living within each historical-ethnographic area as an ethnographic group, as it is accepted in current ethnographic literature. Let us note the following Eastern Georgian territorial-ethnographic units: Kartli, Kakheti, Khevsureti, Phshavi, Mtiuleti, Gudamakari, Khevi, Ertso-Tianeti; the Western units: Imereti, Samegrelo, Svaneti, Racha, Lechkhumi, Guria, Ajara, and Southern ones: Samtskhe, Javakheti, also presented within the current state territory of Georgia.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

It also should be noted, that in the 19th century the Russian Empire declared the different ethnographic groups of the Georgian nation as separate nationalities. According to the Registry of Families, established in 1886, the following “nationalities” are mentioned: Mingrelian (Mingrelian and Lazs), Svan, Ajarian, Gurian, Phshavian, Tushian, Khevsurian and Mtiulian ones.²⁷ It is quite possible, that the mistake made by Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, was caused due to the abovementioned issue and that is why he separated “Georgian and other people being in family ties with Georgians: Imeretian, Megrelian, Gurian, Svan, Ajarian and Lazs ones”.

Despite the erroneous views related with the origin of the Khevsurians (do they belong to the Chechens, are they possibly refugees of Georgian origin?) the author correctly describes their lifestyle, features and customs. At the same time, he properly separates the Christian and Pre-Christian layers in their beliefs, and notices the elements of paganisation of Christianity and domination of archaic customs in the Khevsurian lifestyle. Thus, the work contains essential ethnographic data, providing a possibility to study not only the Khevsurian traditional lifestyle, as well as that of regions visited by the author.

Hence, Lerchenfeld’s work is an important source from both the ethnological and anthropological points of view. From the point of view of visual anthropology, his work contains a number of competently created ethnographic sketches of different aspects, such as maps, anthropologic images, dresses, family life features, arms, etc. We may consider the value of his work from different aspects – the visual material is a multilayered source in details showing the elements of ethnoculture and providing a real picture of traditional lifestyle. Thus, the database keeps many, nowadays lost elements and provides researchers with a priceless source on the history and life of Caucasus.

But, we also should mention some incorrect issues – first of all an inaccuracy in titling the ethnographic sketches. In the majority of cases, Lerchenfeld correctly defines the titles of the proper sketches: Leks,²⁸ Svans,²⁹ Chechens,³⁰ Khevsurian woman,³¹ Ossetian village.³² But there are also general specifications, for which more correct titles would be more appropriate, e.g.

²⁷ R. Topchishvili, *Kart’velt’a et’nikuri istoria da sakart’velos istoriul-et’nograp’iuli mxareebi* (Tbilisi, 2002), pp. 14, 16-17.

²⁸ *Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld*, p. 27.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

“together with Caucasian woman”³³ – it would be better (considering Caucasian habits) to define it as “Caucasian man and woman”; in case of “Caucasian children”³⁴ it would seem more suitable to apply “Children of a noble Caucasian family”; whereas regarding the sketch “Gurian man”,³⁵ the title “Noble Gurian man” or “Noble Gurian guardsman” is more precise, similarly to the title used by the author in another case – “Guardsman Lek”³⁶



Gurian man³⁷



Guardsman Lek³⁸

We consider that there are errors not only in titling, but also in several pictures. For example, Svans’ headwear does not correspond to their traditional hats, an image with a typical Khevsurian dress is titled as “Chechen” (also illustrating a wrong tendency of unification of Khevsurians with Chechens). It is very important, that -in line with the visual material- detailed scrupulous descriptions of displayed subjects and events are also provided, ensuring an almost photographic correctness of details. Visual elements and wording

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

complement each other extremely well and provide an almost completed picture of the traditional lifestyle of different ethnoses or ethnographic groups. This work proves that the author is experienced not only in ancient sources dealing with Georgian tribes, but also in more contemporary ones, as well as researches made by travellers-researchers done at the same time as the author's research. At the same time, while critically evaluating existing data, the author mostly provides evidence, seen by his own eyes (his descriptions show reality, perceived in a comprehensive and objective manner) thus making his work especially important. The photo evidences of the Russian-Ottoman war are an example of the reality, not only seen, but also objectively assessed by a European.

The ethno-confessional pictures are described in a very interesting manner, showing differences between the lifestyle in mountaneous and valley regions, villages and towns and also depicting Russian and Turkish influences on native traditional lifestyle. Thus, his work actually fills the gaps existing in Georgian historiography, providing valuable information about Dukhobors, Molokan and Muhajirs. In total, the author provides a valuable ethnocultural description of the Caucasus of the 19th century (especially of Georgia), making his work a significant source of useful information for comparison of ethnographic data for other authors, ensuring an implementation of a detailed analysis, which enriches the data on Georgian ethnographic lifestyle and culture.

Ethnographic drawing: Shalom Koboshvili

Shalom Koboshvili's artwork causes interest due it's the display of the Georgian reality through his drawings. Shalom was born in 1876 in Akhaltsikhe to a poor Jewish family. In 1937, he started work at the Georgian Jewish Historical-Ethnographic Museum holding a gatekeeper's position. Following an initiative by Aron Krikhel, the museum was established and put into operation on November 23rd, 1933. The museum had three departments: ethnographic, historical and socialist. Between 1934 and 1936, the museum implemented scientific expeditions to almost all Georgian regions, populated by Georgian Jewish communities. These expeditions resulted in a collection of essential ethnographic material.

Having increased its scientific potential, in 1940-1945 the museum published three proceedings, and played a great role in increasing self-awareness among the Jewish people, as well as promoting the culture of the

Diaspora.³⁹ The activities of the Georgian Jewish Historical-Ethnographic Museum deeply impressed Sh. Koboshvili, who started painting at the age of sixty. During a five-year period, this self-taught artist created more than 60 different size pictures, performed in pencil, water color and oil painting. His drawings mainly display the old and the new lifestyle of Jews living in Akhlatsikhe.

The peculiarities of the every day life of Georgian Jews are carefully shown in the following pictures and drawings created by Koboshvili: ajla; agkala; a child, visiting a self-taught doctor; missionary, selling amulets; atara; childbirth; taking a child to circumcision, a market in Akhaltsikhe; the Bible of Breti; Jewish district (Axlatsixe); Jew bashing; Mikveh; ill woman with self-taught doctor at mikveh; missionary, blessing children; boy-servant; rich Jewish man's wife visiting a bath; groom; bride; taking a bride to the bath; Simhat Torah holiday; money distribution after agkal, Purim; street venders; ritual immolation of chicken; selling of Jewish boy-servant by feudal lords; handiwork; herem-anathema and others. Our work is focused only on some aspects of lifestyle of the Jewish family.

On the basis of toponymic, archeologic and ethnographic material it may be stated that town districts in Georgia were arranged under different principles. In some cases, there were the districts arranged in accordance with activities, characterizing the persons living there, in other ones, the separate districts were arranged in accordance with the ethnical, religious or other patterns. The same principle also characterized the Jews living in different regions of Georgia. Jewish districts were arranged around the synagogues in Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Surami, Sachkhere, Oni, Tskhinvali, Akhaltsikhe, Kula, and Bandza.⁴⁰

As an illustration we present only several drawings by Shalom Koboshvili: The Jewish district in Akhaltsikhe – a painting, which by its charming huts and barracks, drawn in pleasant and attractive colors, displays the reality of Jewish life. Only two synagogue buildings are distinctive by their size and arrangement in the district resembling a mountain village. Through this picture, the author wants to mention, that despite living in poor barracks and having low-wage jobs, the Jews could construct beautiful synagogues.⁴¹ This fact is also proved by

³⁹ *Sak'art'velos ebraelt'a istoriul-et'nograp'iuli muzeumis şromebi* (Tbilisi), Vol. 1 (1940), Vol. 2 (1941), Vol. 3 (1945).

⁴⁰ T. Ivelashvili and T. Tsagareishvili, *Gvixmobs mamuli mama-papuri edzgeba israelši tsasul k'art'vel ebraelebs da mat' ştamomavlebs* (Tbilisi, 1995), p. 17.

⁴¹ I. Papismedovi, *T'vit'nasc'avli mxatvari ş. Kobiaşvili da misi şemok'medeba – sak'art'velos ebraelt'a istoriul-et'nograp'iuli muzeumis şromebi* (Tbilisi, 1941), pp. 89, 91, 94.

the other authors, e.g. I. David noted that the “Jewish population of Akhaltsikhe lived in huts, illuminated by sunlights coming from the roofs.”⁴² According to a census implemented by the Commission of National Minorities of Georgian Government in 1932, the Jewish houses in Akhaltsikhe were single-floorones, sometimes semi-huts. The houses typically contained two rooms. Rich people typically had three rooms, seldom ten to twelve rooms, in which 60 to 70 people lived. Garbage, discharged from one house, was often collected on the roofs of the other ones. Dirt floor, especially in kitchens, where they spent most of their time, also was a typical characteristic feature of Jewish houses.⁴³

The message sent in 1933 by Ph. Makharadze to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union contained the following description about the houses of the Jewish people: “The houses, in which the majority of the Jewish people live, are semi-ruined mud huts; they are built from twigs and grove of Jerusalem thorns. The houses are damp, obscure, poorly ventilated, unprotected from winds, rains and cold weather. Almost each member of the community has insufficient living space – 1 square meter, multi-child families live in one room of 10-15 square meters and don’t have utility spaces. Because of the density of closely located houses, even a low scale fire will destroy the whole settlement resulting hundreds of thousands victims among the Jewish population”⁴⁴

In some cases, Jewish houses also had a religious status. According to I. Papismamedov, “16-17 Jewish families, residing in Gori, lived in one two-storey house. One big room on the second floor was allocated for prayer,⁴⁵ there was one-pool mikveh on the first floor, which belonged to the whole Jewish community of Gori”⁴⁶ Inspired by the abovementioned, in 1938 Sh. Kobiashvili painted an ethnography-related drawing: “Mikveh” and “Ill woman and self-taught doctor at mikveh”. One day prior to a wedding ceremony, a Jewish woman was brought to the mikveh for participation in a religious ceremony of ritual purity. Mikveh is a ritual pool filling in only by rain water. After three divings into the pool, the bride (without wiping her body) dressed her dress.

⁴² E. David, *History of Caucasian Jews* (Tel Aviv, 1989), p. 27.

⁴³ K. Abuladze, *Kart’vel ebraelt’a soc’ialur-ekonomikuri da kulturuli mdgomareoba 1921-1940* (Candidate’s thesis, as the manuscript, Tbilisi, 2000), p. 58.

⁴⁴ S. Vadachkoria, *Ebraelt’a sakitxi da Kart’uli sinamdvile (1921-1940)* (Tbilisi, 2005), p. 189.

⁴⁵ Three type of Jewish chapels are fixed in post Soviet area: officially registered synagog, unofficial chapels (acting before the beginning of antireligious campaign) and so-called quorum, which acted in private houses. See J. Rothenberg, *The Jewish Religion in the Soviet Union* (New York, 1971), pp. 47-50; M. Altsbuler, “Synagogues and Rabbis in the Soviet Union in the Light of Statistics, 1953-1964”, *Jews in Eastern Europe*, 35/1 (1998), p. 39.

⁴⁶ E. Papismamedov, *Nanaxi, mosmenili, ganjdili* (Tel Aviv, 1986), p. 156.

According to Jewish customs, the ceremony was related with reproduction and fertility. Through the ritual, the bride was awarded childbirth ability and the fertilizing power of water. The fertilizing power of water also played an important role in Georgian ethnographic life.⁴⁷ Ritual bathing was obligatory for Jewish women who participated in the ceremony in different cases – for example, they were prohibited to share a bed with their husbands without a symbolic purification.⁴⁸



The Jewish district in Akhaltsikhe

Peculiarities, general conclusions, and tendencies regarding the further development of ethnology and visual anthropology

The works of Russian administrative officials and scientists-researchers of the first half of the 19th century are also interesting with regard to the problems of the ethnocultural and social organization of Georgian and Caucasian people. The data collected by Russian and European researchers (enriched with demographic and statistic descriptions) became more and more systematic during the Caucasian war. Among the sources of this period, semi-official ethnographic notes and works about Circassians and Kabardinians

⁴⁷ M. Loria, "Nekotore aspekti traditsionnogo bita evreev (Po etnographicheskim materialam Adzharii)", *Balkanistic Forum, The International University Seminar of Balcaistic Studies, South-West University* (Blagoevgrad: "Neofit Rilski", 2006), p. 352.

⁴⁸ E. Papismedov, *Nanaxi, mosmenili, ganjdili* (Tel Aviv, 1986), p. 156.

implemented by N. Koliubakini, Karl Stall, Michael Veniukovi, Leonti Lulue, Vasili Geleshchevi-Kutuzovi, Alexander Komarov and others are also important, as well as the analogical descriptions of the mountaineers of the North-East Caucasus made by Peter Uslar, Bernhard Dorn, Marie Brosset and scientific research of Vsevolod Miller about the questions of language, history, ethnography and folklore of the Caucasian peoples.

The Tsarist state machinery provided the real conditions for the rapid integration of the Caucasus and particularly Georgia into the Tsarist colonial system. In 1850, one of the oldest geographic societies, the Caucasian Department of Russian Imperial Geographic Society (actually the base for the development of different branches of social and natural sciences in the Caucasus), was established in Tbilisi. This period is characterised with regular publications of the magazines of the Society: *Notes of the Caucasian Department of Russian Imperial Geographic Society* and *Messenger of Caucasian Department of Russian Imperial Geographic Society*, *Collection of reports about the Georgian mountaineers*, *Collection of materials to describe the places and tribes in the Caucasus*, *Materials of studying the economic life of state peasants in Transcaucasia*, *Materials of state summer and winter pastures and studying of cattle-breeding in the Caucasus*, *Agriculture of the Caucasus*, *Archeological Commission Acts of the Caucasus*, *Tiflis bulletin*, *Transcaucasian Messenger*, *Caucasian Calendar*, *Caucasian antiquities*, *The Caucasus*, etc. and also scientific works of K. Vermiševi, A. Kalantari, I. Andronikovi, P. Varavini, A. Eritsovi, M. Skibitski, V. Geevski, M. Ma č'abeli, I. Bartoholomei, D. Pagirevi, L. Zagurski, E. Weidenbaumi, A. Dirri, K. Yanovski, D. Der žavini.

The works of local authors (N. Berdzenishvili, I. Chilashvili, N. Palavandishvili, I. and V. Tsiskarishvili, D. Bakradze, P. Ioseliani, G. Kazbegi, R. Eristavi, N. Khizanashvili, etc.) also deserve attention. These publications included information on typical peculiarities of the traditional lifestyle and culture of the people, small ethnic or ethnographic groups of the Transcaucasia and the North Caucasus, as well as important issues of their origin and settlement, ethnic history, ethnologic environment, historical regularities of ethnocultural situation, values of material and spiritual culture, public law and social institutions, religious holidays, beliefs and habits.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ V. Shamiladze and O. Miminoshvili, *Sak'art'velos et'nologiis istoria* (Tbilisi: Universal, 2009), pp. 518-521.

Conclusion

As a conclusion we may state that being located on the crossroads between Eastern and Western worlds, despite a difficult political situation, Georgia always provided a cohabitation of different cultures, which is one of its distinguishing features. A new period of interrelations between Russia and the Western World towards the Caucasus started in the beginning of the 19th century. The background of such relations was backed by the Russian military success in Turkish, Iran and North Caucasian campaigns. These events and an increased safety environment turned the Caucasus (and especially Georgia) to an important centre for world geographic discoveries by Russian and European traveller-researchers. The nature, customs and loyalty to the ancient traditions made an exotic environment, attracting the foreign researchers' interests towards the romantic image of the Caucasian lifestyle and culture. The active interest shown by European traveller-researchers, journalists and public persons, and their theoretical and methodological studies on Georgia and Caucasus caused an active interest among the local scientific community and intellectual circles; and thus contributed in promoting the establishment and application of European knowledge and progressive methods of scientific research on the local people's traditional lifestyle.

Thus, the first half of the 19th century may be considered as a period of precondition for the establishment of ethnography as an independent scientific branch. From the second part of 19th century, considering the media resources, the works of the officials-researchers, statistical-demographic collections and registers related with the social and cultural-household peculiarities of the Georgian and the Caucasus people are especially interesting. The ethnographic heritage of Platon Ioseliani, Dimitri Bakradze and Raphiel Eristavi, who promoted the first stages of museum and ethnographic researches, need to be especially considered. The formation of ethnography as an independent branch takes place by 1925 and thus the preconditions for ethnographic film making are met.

The foreign researchers' first ethnographic description of the middle feudal period and the first part of the 19th century (including the references of the missionaries) are important for the development of visual anthropology in Georgia. A comparison and interpretation of ethnographic photos, sketches, field-ethnographic materials of different periods provides a ground for interesting decisions. Finally, in the formation and development of European mentality, the Georgian scientific world was essentially informed by records, monographs by foreign traveller-researchers, who promoted the formation and development of ethnography, ethnology and visual anthropology in Georgia.

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Institution Building and Research under Foreign Domination

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